The Park Lands of Isle au Haut:
A Community Oral History

The Community of Duck Harbor from Duck Harbor Mountain – Photo Courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society

A Research Report by

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Acadia National Park encompasses more than 47,000 acres, including a significant portion of Mount Desert Island, as well as geographically separate areas on Schoodic Peninsula and the small Island of Isle au Haut. This report focusses on the history of Isle au Haut, a rocky 12.5 square mile Island sitting on the coast of Maine. In particular, this report presents a thematic overview of the history of that portion of the Island sitting within Acadia National Park. While the research embodied in this report was informed by published and archival documents, this study has emphasized the recollections of individuals associated with this community who are knowledgeable about local history. These individuals have been able to provide information and perspectives that are elusive within the written record, and their words are quoted widely throughout the document.

Within this document, information is presented thematically and in roughly chronological order. In it, I focus specifically upon the history of those portions of Isle au Haut that sit within the modern boundary of Acadia National Park. Using a combination of archival and interview data, I provide brief overviews of the history of settlement on the Island, especially focusing on Duck Harbor, Head Harbor, Herrick's Camp, and other historical settlements that are now within or immediately adjacent to the park. I provide synopses that seek to illuminate historical economic activities – from fishing and lobstering to sheep herding and ice manufacturing – that have been carried out on what are today park lands. Also, based especially on the contents of interviews, I present historical information regarding residents' changing experiences with tourism on the Island, especially in the years following the beginning of National Park Service management. With the goal of facilitating constructive future dialogue, I draw from interviews and other sources to describe the community's changing relationship with the park since this time, and seek to illuminate the perspectives and concerns of the community's residents regarding future NPS management of lands and resources. In addition, I describe connections between specific families and lands and resources within the study area, and seek to illuminate certain families' deep and enduring attachments to places now managed by the park.

This report was been written with the intention that it will be of value to National Park Service resource managers seeking to better manage lands and resources within the Isle au Haut portion of Acadia National Park – especially those lands and resources that are of special concern due to their historical significance. The document was also written with the hope that it will be of value to community members and community scholars as they seek to document, commemorate, and protect their own historical legacy. While not representing a comprehensive story of Isle au Haut, this document is intended to be a sourcebook for all parties who might seek to care for this Island, and protect the integrity of its historically significant places and its community, for years to come.

Map 1: The island of Isle au Haut

INTRODUCTION

Rising high above the churning waters, where the deeply indented Maine coastline fronts the open Atlantic, the community of Isle au Haut stands apart from the rest of coastal Maine. On this isolated gem of an Island, small fishing communities took root and have persisted, in spite of the odds, for generations. While sitting far from the principal currents of American social and economic life, Isle au Haut instead fronted some of the richest fishing grounds that the New England coast had to offer. The small Island thus made a welcoming home for independent souls who were prepared to carve out a life oriented solely toward the sea. Arriving in the late 18th century from coastal New England and beyond, these families established small homesteads on the rocky Island, their attention focused on maritime occupations and the opportunities afforded by the sprawling Atlantic beyond.

Unlike other Maine coastal communities, isolation and environment conspired to limit other options, to eclipse agricultural ventures or large-scale industry. Instead, the families of Isle au Haut showed remarkable endurance, keeping alive the traditions of small-scale fisheries and small community life into the present day. Cod, pollock, haddock, flounder, and many other fish, caught far out to sea, were formerly brought back to Isle au Haut, unloaded, and often dried on flakes that once lined the shore. In time, lobstering would increasingly occupy Island fishermen, as fishing families supplied lobster to a lobster cannery and "wet smacks" that visited the Isle au Haut shore. Families supported themselves with mixed economies, shifting with the years and seasons: lobstering and fishing some times, working in sheep herding or shipping on others, cutting firewood and farming in-between other tasks. At its heyday, the Island was dotted with small but often prosperous communities, of fisherfolk and mariners, including the town of Isle au Haut proper, but also hamlets such as Duck Harbor and Head Harbor, that now sit in or very near to the park.

Yet, while Island life largely centered on the working waterfront, a new type of leisure-oriented community was taking shape a short distance away from these fishing villages. Led by the vision, initiative and capital of Ernest Bowditch – a skilled landscape architect from a prominent New England family – the affluent Point Lookout summer home colony took shape. Purchasing sprawling tracts of land on the undeveloped southern and central portions of the Island, Bowditch and his partners acquired an impressive collection of lands for conservation and recreational purposes through the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In 1943, a series of donations to the National Park Service from Bowditch's heirs would place the majority of the Island within Acadia National Park. (For a place where families possess such deep roots on the land, the residents have historically owned a surprisingly small proportion of their Island's total land base. Concerns over land use and access on these undeveloped parts of the Island,

forged over generations, are predictably part of community life and shape relationships with the National Park Service in a variety of ways today).

Fortunes changed for the Island's fishing families over the course of the 20th century, as lobster increasingly replaced other portions of the Isle au Haut catch. Gradually in the early 20th century, and hastily in the latter part, the fishing and lobstering industry of the Island began to contract, as Maine fisheries became increasingly consolidated on the mainland coast. Faster and bigger boats expanded the geographical range of fishermen, while simultaneously requiring access to developed wharves, mechanical shops, ample fuel, and access to shipping facilities of the sort mostly found in mainland ports. Over time, small Island fishing communities were partially eclipsed and eagerly edged out by their mainland counterparts, and Isle au Haut was no exception. Those tiny villages sitting in or near the park foundered, as most fishing families from Duck Harbor and Head Harbor moved to Isle au Haut's Thorofare or the mainland beyond. Today, Duck Harbor is largely unoccupied and sits within the park boundaries, while members of the families that once lived in that community are numerous on the Island and on portions of the Maine coast nearby – many still holding strong attachments to this part of the park. Head Harbor persists, but largely as a community of summer homes, its access to the sea limited by the territorial claims of mainland fishermen. Among Island residents, there have been times of genuine dread regarding the community's future, as the school-age population sometimes dwindles close to zero.

Yet, somehow, families continue, children are born, and the community of Isle au Haut has carried on in spite of it all. Today, the residents of Isle au Haut – many of them descended from the Island's original settlers – continue to exhibit a resiliency and a sense of community that persists in spite of the challenges. The people who maintain the Island's fishing traditions do so with great effort, and often with great affection for the heritage and freedom and of small-scale Maine fishermen. The community is tightly knit, and longstanding families are all related in one way or another.[1] As one many interviewees suggest, "if something happens on that Island, it affects every person on that Island" (BM). That part of the Island sitting within the park is still of profound importance to many, and arguably most, members of these longstanding families, a large proportion of them being descended from the historical fishermen and homesteaders who once occupied what are now park lands.

And, while the founding families of the Island remain central to community life, there have been successive waves of occupation that have transformed the Island and introduced new community attachments to park lands. Independent countercultural figures, inspired by the "back-to-the-land" movement, have arrived and "homesteaded" since the 1960s. Second home owners from the mainland and the larger urban Northeast began to arrive in greater numbers at around the same time. Meanwhile, the comparatively affluent "Point Lookout" community has become an increasingly integrated part of Isle au Haut life, too (and a few summer people have

occasionally "gone native," living and working on the Island for extended periods by choice). And there are other changes: even members of founding families sometimes now spend their winters off-Island if they have the time and means to do so. Accordingly, the year-round community is very small – less than 50 people – but the community of seasonal residents is considerably larger, and many of these seasonal residents are themselves from multigenerational families whose names are on the mailboxes, landforms, and gravestones of greater Isle au Haut.

The relationship between the community of Isle au Haut and the National Park Service has not always been an easy one. As residents attest, the lands now in the park were donated to the NPS with no input from the local community, placing roughly two-thirds of the Island in public ownership, and eliminating a range of conventional uses such as hunting and woodcutting on these lands. And there were soon other points of contention. Early park improvements involved the demolition of fish houses and other structures, abandoned and sometimes not, as the cultural landscape gave way to a largely natural one. Park visitors of the mid-20th century, finding few facilities on the Island, often wandered en masse through town, picnicking in residents' yards and creating what residents widely perceived as a "general nuisance." NPS planners have sometimes proposed park expansion into occupied lands, and residents still fear that a small inholding, in shared ownership among one of the Island's largest and oldest families, might be taken by the park through the use of eminent domain. Park management of forests raises concerns among many residents of a growing fire hazard to the community. The community in turn, "summer people" and year-round residents alike, have increasingly worked together to intercede and provide a unified front on many of these issues, and has sometimes collaborated successfully with the park in their resolution. Because of this collaboration, and the leadership of a few key individuals, visitors are now taken as much as practicable to Duck Harbor instead of the town dock, and boundary issues have been largely resolved through unique legislation, passed in 1982, which also asserts that the park will operate on the Island in a manner that is consistent with the needs of the local community. Divisive issues still persist, but their number has decreased noticeably over the years, as the park and the Island community have shared their concerns and sometimes identified solutions that meet their shared needs.

Still, with such a large proportion of the Island's land in National Park Service ownership, and the population so small, the Island is very different than the "gateway communities" of so many other parks. Most park activities on the Island, even relatively small and inconsequential ones, have the potential to affect community life, and seldom go unnoticed, often inspiring community-wide conversations. When the National Park Service interacts with one resident of the Island, the agency is in many respects interacting with an "extended family" that makes up a sizeable part of the Island community and is woven into other Island and mainland communities beyond. It is clear that the lands within the park mean something significant to many Isle au Haut

residents, and that this meaning is rooted in the fact that so many of these residents possess unique, very old, and often quite personal connections to the history of this place.

The current study seeks to do justice to this long and complex story. This document represents a historical compendium, covering well over two centuries of human history as it relates to a particular landscape – the park lands of Isle au Haut. This document does so using principally the methods of ethnography and oral history – allowing the words of past and present Isle au Haut residents to often "speak for themselves." With such an ambitious scope, it should be understood that some themes and periods are given only brief attention, though no doubt they could be the focus of independent studies in their own right. The document is careful to take no particular position on some of the thornier political and legal issues that have emerged on the Island over the years, but does not necessarily shy away from the discussion of these issues either – they are essential to a larger historical understanding of Isle au Haut history, and it is almost impossible to conduct an oral history interview without interviewees venturing into the Island's 'rougher waters.'

Residents of Isle au Haut customarily express concern about any undertaking that is likely to expose their community to greater outside attention, and the current research effort was no exception.[2] As a resident of a small Oregon coastal community that receives steadily rising levels of tourist attention (where shopping malls replace fishing boat repair yards, and, like some Isle au Haut residents, I have been unwittingly photographed by wandering tourists while standing in my front yard) I could not be more sympathetic to these concerns. We have sought to avoid any language that might seem especially promotional, and do not anticipate an especially broad public distribution of this document. For better or worse, the writing style is academic and it is not "best seller" material. Our hope is that this document will be read primarily by people within the community and the park, as both work together to document, commemorate, and protect the historical legacy of park lands in Isle au Haut.

That being said, it is important to note that Isle au Haut is a very poorly kept secret. Isle au Haut has been the focus of a number of mostly popular accounts that mention historical themes in the course of their broader narrative. Very few, notably Linda Greenlaw's highly successful *The Lobster Chronicles*, are the product of authors from multigenerational Isle au Haut families (Greenlaw 2002). (Linda is, moreover, descended from generations of Duck Harbor residents who once lived in what is today the park, giving her ties to the parklands that are presumably unique among today's national best-selling authors.) Others, including Jeffery Burke's *Island Lighthouse Inn* and Harold van Doren's *An Island Sense of Home* and *Lines on the Water* reflect the observations of authors who may not be similarly "multigenerational," but have made this Island their home for much of their lives and know the place exceedingly well (Burke 1997, van Doren 2012, 2006).[3] A variety of other accounts, such as Charles Pratt's

Here on the Island represent the experiences of authors who have resided on the Island for a shorter period of time – sometimes a year, or perhaps only a season (Pratt 1974). There have been some brief but very evocative written accounts of the sublime aspects of Isle au Haut's rugged scenery (e.g., Caldwell 1981: 187). Strictly scholarly treatments of the Island are, for better or worse, largely absent. All of these accounts share some significant emphasis on the Island's isolation, its strong ties to the sea and its enduring lobstering traditions. Some have ventured to offer concise histories of Isle au Haut.[4] Most comment on the Island community's unusually small scale, and on residents' shared tendency toward a kind of cultivated reclusiveness that thrives on the individualistic fringes of the American mainstream. They are all, in their own ways, outstanding books, and required reading for any National Park Service employee hoping to make sense of this unique Island. My own narrative must, by contrast and by necessity, be that of a relatively short-term visitor to this unique and beautiful Island.

For all of this writing, Isle au Haut's *park* lands are mentioned only parenthetically in most writings, and the area remains a poorly documented place within the corpus of Acadia National Park reports. When the history of Acadia National Park has been represented in books and other venues, the history of Isle au Haut is addressed only parenthetically, if at all in these park-wide assessment s (Dorr 1948). A need for more information on Isle au Haut history related to the park has been suggested in past studies, but very little formal research and writing has been undertaken by the park on this topic until now (Hornsby et al. 1999).

In part, the use of oral history as the foundation for this document is a response to the fact that the written record is thin on matters, and especially those matters that matter most, such as the experiences and knowledge of multigenerational families trying to make sense of the changing Island that they call home. Also, there is some value in recording the oral history of the Island in light of the fact that any community's lore tends to "slip away" with time. There are remarkably few "village elders" left with a lifetime's knowledge of the Isle au Haut. As Harold Van Doren noted in 2006,"There are very few people left alive who were born and raised on Isle au Haut; a quick count puts them at less than a couple of dozen," and it is likely that the number has dropped since that time (van Doren 2006: 286). Those younger people who remain on the Island are – like all of us – increasingly tied into the national ebb and flow of communications, the world of television and the internet and all of the other conveniences that make it all too easy to embrace things from afar even as local knowledge might begin to slip away. In this light, it is a worthy task that any small community might pause for a moment and ask their elder residents to speak, so that their words are recorded for posterity. Isle au Haut has done this before, in various oral history and writing projects involving village residents, and it is my hope that this document adds to this important record, this shared memory of the community.

Recognizing these things, this document in no way pretends to be *the* history of Isle au Haut. Instead, it is just *a* history of Isle au Haut – a sourcebook of sorts – written from a very particular vantage point to answer some basic questions about park lands. To the extent that it focusses on particular settlements, this document focusses on what is arguably the lesser known portion of the Island, where the small communities of Duck Harbor and Head Harbor sat apart from the core Island settlement. The task of writing the larger history of Isle au Haut still rests with Isle au Haut's Historical Society and its full- and part-time residents, many of whom are highly skilled writers with an appreciation of historical nuances that only knowledgeable local people can provide. The current document is written with the genuine hope that its contents will not somehow squelch out local voices, but that it will serve as a tool for local historians seeking to understand, document, and interpret the history of the Island. They may quote, excerpt, "cut and paste," or simply plagiarize this document as they see fit, so long as it is for the common good.

The interviewees who provided information and assistance in this research were wonderfully helpful; they come from diverse backgrounds, being descendants of multigenerational families, lifetime part-time residents, or relatively recent arrivals. Yet they have much in common. They are part of the same small community, with the same circles of friends and acquaintances and a sense of shared history and identity, sharing in many of the same challenges and opportunities that this little Island affords.[5] As the acknowledgement section of this document will attest, I am very much indebted to the people of Isle au Haut (interviewees and non-interviewees alike), the staff of the National Park Service, and representatives of various local museums and archives for everything that they have provided to this study. While certain omissions are inevitable in such a broad survey, I take responsibility for any glaring omissions, errors, and boneheaded mistakes.

Methods

This research represents an oral history study of a particular Island community, Isle au Haut, and its historical relationship to its physical landscape – primarily the portion of that Island now sitting within Acadia National Park. Relying especially on ethnographic interviews, and augmented with information recorded in published and unpublished sources, the study has sought to illuminate a wide range of themes. Such topics as historical settlement, community formation and development, occupational history, traditional life ways, and resource uses have been recorded insofar as they relate to lands and resources now located within Acadia National Park. Such information is expected to be of interest to Isle au Haut residents, including but not limited to members of the Island's relatively new Isle au Haut Historical Society, as they seek to document the distinctive history of Isle au Haut. Information regarding the history of this small community might also guide the park in preserving any places of particular historical importance and in accurately and judiciously presenting aspects of Isle au Haut history to Island visitors – another important goal of the current research.

While this research has involved the review and incorporation of available archival materials, it has especially emphasized the accounts of individuals with ties to Isle au Haut and knowledge of its history – its year-round residents, former residents, and "summer people" who all possess ties to this unique place. As a significant proportion of the human experience in this portion of Isle au Haut remains unwritten, but is well remembered by some members of the Isle au Haut community on the basis of both personal experiences and Island "oral tradition," oral history was seen as the most effective and illuminating way of gathering new information on the history of these areas. Oral history interviews were qualitative in nature, inductive and loosely structured around certain central themes, to insure that the breadth of this knowledge would be recorded for posterity, and to advance the general goals of this project.

Initial phases of this research involved archival research at pertinent state and local historical archives, to identify manuscripts, maps, and other materials that addressed key study themes. These collections included, but were not limited to:

1) William Otis Sawtelle Collections and Research Center, Acadia National Park
2) Revere Memorial Library, Isle au Haut, Maine
3) Isle au Haut Historical Society collections, Isle au Haut, Maine
4) Town of Isle au Haut municipal records, Isle au Haut, Maine
5) Deer Isle-Stonington Historical Society, Stonington, Maine

A variety of on-line archival sources were also compiled and analyzed in the course of the study. In addition, the research team acquired copies of all available census

compilation sheets for the study area from archived federal census records (U.S. Census Bureau n.d.). The outcomes of this analysis have informed the content of this document in various ways. Simultaneously, lists of names, ages, household size and occupation for Isle au Haut residents from 1850 through 1930 are included as an appendix to this report – both as a tool for future researchers, and as a genealogical resource for Isle au Haut families.

Based on a review and analysis of historical documents recovered during this initial research, the Principal Investigator was able to identify data gaps that required attention during oral history interviews. Oral history interviews were conducted with individuals who were reported to be knowledgeable of, or have personal and family ties to, the Acadia National Park portion of Isle au Haut. Some effort was made to interview a cross-section of the Isle au Haut community, including members of longstanding multigenerational families, fishermen, individuals who arrived during the "back to the land" movement of the 1960s and 1970s, relatively recent arrivals, "summer people," and avowed local historians. We also were able to interview former park employees, such as Wayne Barter, Deb Schrader, and Bill Stevens, who have lived on the Island for varying lengths of time as non-employees as well, to understand their unique perspectives (and we took the opportunity to informally interview recent park staff, such as Alison Richardson and Josh Bennoch, to understand ongoing management issues relating to historical resources from their perspective). A "snowballing" sample method was employed in this case, with each successive interviewee being asked to identify other knowledgeable potential interviewees in these categories until the pool of potential interviewees was well established (Patton 1990). Each of the individuals identified through this process were contacted if available and invited to participate in interviews.

Some 23 individuals were formally interviewed in the course of this study – some of these individuals being interviewed more than once. The majority were interviewed solely by the project Principal Investigator, Dr. Douglas Deur (Fred and Libby Eustis, did not participate in typical interviews, but maintained a dialogue with the project lead, Dr. Chuck Smythe and myself, and wrote impressively detailed responses to some of our questions which are quoted as appropriate in this document ([Eustis 2012]). Interviewees' initials are used within in-line citations in the text of this report, while a key to these initials is included in the "Sources" section at the end of this document. I have used an acronym for anonymous quotations, "AN," when a person agreed to interview and be quoted, but requested anonymity for their entire interview or particular portions (such as comments that are politically charged). It is a small community, this Isle au Haut, and one must surely understand and respect these requests. A number of other individuals provided valuable information and perspectives, but did not chose to be formally interviewed; these "informal

Figure 1: Harold van Doren, as he is often seen by those who travel with him in the field, bounding ahead with almost limitless energy near Herrick's Camp; an adroit local historian and author, van Doren is one of the many Isle au Haut residents who contributed significantly to the current report. D. Deur photo.

interviewees" are not quoted directly in the text, but some of the most informative are identified at the end of this document, also in the Sources section.

Interviews were conducted at mutually convenient times and locations. After being informed about the project goals and the potential uses of the results, interviewees were asked if they wish to participate; those who were willing were given a copy of the University of Washington informed consent form, as approved by the UW Human Subjects division, to review and sign during the interview. Interviews focused on key themes relating to the portions of Isle au Haut within Acadia National Park, including interviewees' knowledge of:

1) Places of known historical importance within the study area;
2) Places of enduring personal importance to interviewees within the study area;
3) Historical resource procurement, such as fishing or lobstering, within the study area;
4) The identities of individuals or families who historically occupied lands now within portions of Isle au Haut now managed by the Acadia National Park;
5) The social and economic circumstances of daily life within the study areas during the period when park lands were was being used regularly by Isle au Haut families;
6) The factors that contributed historically to the discontinuation of use of lands within what is now Acadia National Park on Isle au Haut;
7) The meaning of lands and resources within the park to contemporary Isle au Haut families, and their expectations for its future.

Interviewees were asked about their personal and family associations with the study area in order to contextualize their comments – including basic discussions of their family and the family's occupational history. Interviews were loosely structured, so as to facilitate a conversational tone between the interviewer and project interviewees; while focusing on the themes identified above, questions were not rigidly predetermined. Interviewees were posed questions regarding each of the themes outlined above, and allowed to discuss each theme to the full extent that they wished. Interviews were audio-recorded whenever interviewees provided their consent. Examples of the kinds of questions posed are as follows:

- What stories have you heard about the historical Duck Harbor community? Which families lived there? What kinds of livelihoods did these people have? Where there fish houses, fish drying flakes, or other structures associated with these activities?
- Do you have any information about the Duck Harbor cemetery or other burials in the park?
- What were the factors that contributed to people moving away from Duck Harbor?

- Are there remnant orchards, house foundations, or other features on the landscape remaining from the Duck Harbor community? Do you know which families were associated with these landmarks?
- Should the Duck Harbor area be managed differently than other NPS lands on the Island in light of its history? If so, how? What, if anything, should be told to park visitors at Isle au Haut about this area?
- In what ways did the families of Head Harbor use adjacent land now inside the park?
- Were other portions of the Island now managed by the NPS formerly used in the course of lobstering or fishing activities by the Isle au Haut community? If so, how? Are these places still used today in any way as part of lobstering or fishing?
- Are there landmarks around the Island (especially but not exclusively in the park) that have been used as navigational aids by fishermen, lobstermen, and other mariners?
- Did Isle au Haut residents formerly use areas now within the park for other economic or household purposes, such as the gathering of firewood, the picking of berries, the gathering of shellfish, the collection of stone, etc.? Are there still portions of the park that are important for such purposes today?
- Are there certain parts of the Island to which you or your family feel especially strong connections, because of personal history, etc.? Why are these places important to you?
- If they are managed by the NPS, do you feel that they should they be managed in a way that is different than other portions of the park? Should park visitors on Isle au Haut be told about these places or not? If so, what should they be told?
- Has park visitation changed community life in Isle au Haut? Has visitation affected places or resources in the park noticeably? If so, how?
- Do you have any thoughts on how the NPS might help insure that the outcomes of park visitation are positive for the community and for the lands and resources within the park?

Repeat interviews were carried out with certain interviewees, when it seemed that additional interviewing might elicit new and relevant material. Field interviews were especially valuable, in which interviewees visited places within the park while being interviewed, with local landmarks eliciting their memories of site-specific information regarding these portions of Isle au Haut.

In practice, interviewees' comments tended to progress in certain consistent directions. Interviewees spoke of diverse historic themes, from changes in the fishing economy to the experiences of the Duck Harbor and Head Harbor communities over the last century. Invariably, interviewees wished to discuss the effects of National Park Service management upon the Isle au Haut community and upon the land. Many spoke of how the conversion of the majority of the Island to National Park status changed longstanding patterns of use and access, or compounded social and economic trends that were already underway on the Island. Fishing stories were shared in abundance.

Many interviewees also spoke of efforts to maintain a constructive dialogue with the NPS regarding visitor numbers, interpretation, fire management, and a host of other issues that continue to be of keen interest to the Isle au Haut community today. All of these topics are pertinent for NPS management and were recorded in an effort to reflect the unique knowledge, interests, and priorities of the community.

On the basis of materials gathered through interviews and archival research, I compiled this report, providing a thematic and roughly chronological overview of the history of the Acadia National Park portion of Isle au Haut. Synthesizing a single coherent account from the accounts of a diverse assortment of individuals is no small task, of course. As interviewee Jeff Burke notes,

> "I like to make sure people understand that… Isle au Haut is like any other group of people. You have as many opinions as you have people. And although there are roots and very, very strong overall community standards or views…on individual issues, you'll have a lot of variation. There is no unified, absolute opinion that comes from the Island about anything" (JB).

Still, the themes of the report were largely suggested by the content of interviews – if a number of interviewees conveyed significant information on a topic, it is almost certain that this topic is represented in a distinct section or subsection of the report that follows. The report notes variation in opinion when it was pronounced, but also seeks to illuminate those topics that are especially prominent in interviewees' accounts, no matter their perspective.

Again, this document is meant to be one historical document that contributes to the understanding of Isle au Haut and is by no means "the history of Isle au Haut" in any complete or comprehensive sense. It is meant to provide a resource to Island residents and park staff alike, as they seek to make sense of this spectacular little Island. Toward that end, if interviewees have granted consent, recordings and transcripts from their interviews have become a part of the project archive, available to future researchers and future generations of Isle au Haut residents alike. While there are no doubt many omissions in any summary report that professes to outline the history of an entire Island over more than two centuries of human history, it is hoped that this report identifies many of the high points, and will help illuminate a path to future cooperation between the National Park Service and the community of Isle au Haut on various issues of mutual concern.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF ISLE AU HAUT

American Indian Use and Occupation

Native Americans visited and occupied Isle au Haut for unknown generations prior to the Euro-American settlements of the late 18th and 19th centuries. Extensive shell middens have been reported on portions of the Island, including the Thorofare and portions of the park, as well as adjacent Kimball Island, attesting to this use. Interviewees noted that evidence of Native American occupation was widespread anywhere with predictably potable water: "wherever there was running water, why, the Indians would camp there" (CB).

Knowing that I often work with Native American communities on research projects, Isle au Haut interviewees were eager to discuss their knowledge of this theme, as it related to park lands especially. Various accounts suggest that the tribes of the mainland paddled to Isle au Haut in pre-contact times to avoid black flies and mosquitoes, which were less numerous on the Island (KF). While on the Island, Native American people are reported to have gathered sweet grass (*Hierochloe odorata*) for basketmaking and other purposes. They fished, hunted marine mammals, and quarried stone in the Duck Harbor Mountain area. In later times, the Native Americans of the area sold baskets and other goods to Isle au Haut residents and Point Lookout residents alike, arriving by boat from "Penobscot River, from Penobscot, and around the bay" (Hosmer 1905: 17; Haviland 2009).

They also somewhat famously hunted ducks. Indeed, a variety of sources suggest that the name Duck Harbor originated from tribal hunting on that waterway witnessed by non-Indians during the early period of Euro-American occupation. Certainly, ducks are often abundant in the harbor. The one type of duck that commonly flocks in Duck Harbor in large numbers is the eider duck, presumably the origin of the name, though goldeneyes and other waterfowl sometimes congregate there (KF). The harbor is said to serve as a refuge for large numbers of waterfowl in major storms, while also containing robust mussel beds, which are commonly foraged by these ducks. Hosmer describes these early hunts in detail, which involved netting and later the use of firearms:

> "[one] source of supply upon which they relied was the seafowl, particularly of the duck kind; they were taken by shooting, netting, and driving. Every one who could procure a gun and ammunition did so, that enabling him easily to secure an abundance of them from the surrounding waters. The practice of netting was by setting large nets on the flats,

> fastened to stakes, in such a manner as to float and rise with the tide horizontally upon the surface, and when spread covering considerable space; when the fowl swam near the shore, as is their practice, and, diving, came up under the nets, they became entangled, and could be taken. Large quantities were taken in this way, and when dressed, those not wanted for present needs were salted for future use" (Hosmer 1905: 17).

Interviewees also suggested that there had been duck drives of Duck Harbor, flushing large numbers of birds into the harbor from open water and concentrating them near the head of the waterway, where they were dispatched. This practice was said to have been common among Native American visitors to the Island in the 19th century, and was at least sometimes timed to coincide with molting season, when the ducks could not take flight.[6] Again quoting Hosmer,

> "The other method was styled duck-driving, and as it has not been practiced within the memory of any but the very oldest of our inhabitants, it will be proper to give a description of the manner in which they were taken. For a very few days in the month of August they could not fly, as they were then shedding their quills, or larger feathers. The time was well known to the inhabitants in the places around…First a circle of boats was formed so as partially to surround them, and they were also stationed so as to prevent their taking a wrong direction. Duck Harbor, on the southwestern part of Isle au Haut, was the place selected to drive them into, as it was well suited for the purpose, being narrow and extending half a mile or more into the land. Beginning at the upper part of the bay, below Eagle Island, they were driven in for several miles; as this went on, others were overtaken, and by the time they had reached the place of destination a large number were included in the drive. Narrowing the flock as they went along, they were driven into the mouth of the harbor and up to the head of it; when the fowls reached the shore they were taken and killed, and every one engaged in it could have all he needed" (Hosmer 1905: 17).

Similarly, based on the accounts of Hosmer and other sources, Caldwell reports,

> "Duck Harbor was a favorite hunting ground of [the Indians]. The tribes drove sea ducks by the thousands into funnel-shaped Duck harbor, snared them in nets stretched across the narrow head of the harbor, smoked them and took them inland in the fall to eat during the winter" (Caldwell 1981: 188).

Later, as interviewees recall, the southern end of the Island became an important duck hunting area for Island residents, and duck drives are said to have been practiced by some non-Native Island residents. Indeed, Hosmer concludes that the practice of large-scale duck hunting by Euro-American Island residents on Duck Harbor can be traced to Native practices and the transmission of Native resource knowledge to newcomers. Speaking of Duck Harbor, he reported:

> "From what I have learned, I am inclined to the opinion that it was used for that purpose by the Indians before the whites settled this part of the country, as it was from them that the settlers here learned of that method of taking ducks" (Hosmer 1905: 191).

Residents note that, during the 19th century, both Native American visitors to the Island and non-Native residents also hunted birds on the southern portion of the Island for the purpose of acquiring plumes for hats and down for bedding and other purposes. Wayne Barter reports,

> "From what I hear, back during the, sometime in the 1800s, back when feathers were popular, the Indians would come down to the Island and shoot gulls for their breast feathers because it was in style for ladies hats" (WB).

Likewise, Hosmer noted of the outcomes of the Duck Harbor hunt, "the feathers were valuable for beds, and were salable, six full-grown [ducks] furnishing one pound of them" (Hosmer 1905: 17).

Penobscot Indians, especially from the Indian Island Reservation near Old Town, Maine continued to visit the Island well into the mid-20th century for the gathering of basketry materials, hunting, the sale of baskets to Island residents, and other purposes.[7] There is some indication in the accounts of the period that as the emphasis on large-scale hunting declined, the emphasis on basket making and sales increased – sweet grass harvests often drawing Penobscots to the Island in the summer and early fall. There is also some evidence to suggest that enduring Penobscot campsites had shifted significantly to the southern portion of the Island at this point, no doubt reflecting both localized resource opportunities there, as well as the relative sparseness of Euro-American occupation relative to other parts of the Island. Still, if there was some effort to keep away from the Euro-American residents of the Island, Isle au Haut oral tradition suggests that the two populations maintained a congenial coexistence until regular Penobscot visitation ceased sometime in the mid-20th century.

Figure 2: Seasonal American Indian visitors to the Island, apparently from Old Town, traveling through the Isle au Haut Thorofare by canoe in the early 20th century. Photo courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society.

The oral history of permanent, non-Native Isle au Haut residents makes frequent reference to this continued Penobscot presence on the Island. Gooden Grant (1876-1975) reported seeing Penobscots visiting the Head Harbor area for the entire summer season when he was young:

> "The Indians used to come to Isle au Haut: come from around Bangor. There was a whole crowd down all summer. Good fellows amongst them. They shot porpoise and fried out the jaws for the oil to sell. They shot gulls too, make trim for women's hats. One gull would make two feathers. They'd skin him and split the breast…I used to go to their camp when I growed up. They put big tents in every cove around here" (in Franklin 1974: 24).

As if to accentuate the congenial relationship between year-round Island residents and the Penobscots, Grant suggests that he often borrowed one of their canoes to paddle around Long Pond.

Portions of the park were said to have enduring physical evidence of these camps, including places now within or very near the park. Charlie Bowen's grandmother, who was alive and apparently living in the Head Harbor area at roughly the same time as the young Gooden Grant, could still identify their campsites on Eastern Head when she was elderly. Charlie Bowen recalls,

> "I know down on the Eastern Point down there, there's a spring down there. And my grandmother took me down there one day, and she showed me where they had the teepee poles. They'd dig a hole, and they'd fill it full of pitch. Then they'd stick the teepee pole in there, and that keeps the ants from running through. But they'd always camp near the water" (CB).

In more recent times, Billy Barter recalls that Penobscot Indians especially came to sell baskets to residents of the Island:

> "came here summers, as far as I know…I remember when I was a kid [in the 1940s] they used to come with those sweet grass baskets, they'd sell, come down and sell those…My mother always bought them…They smelled good, those baskets" (B. Barter 1999: 84).

Such references to the buying and selling of Penobscot sweet grass baskets appear parenthetically in a number of written accounts. Harold van Doren mentions in his written accounts of the Island, for example, that "Leon Small used to tell about how the Penobscots would come down here in canoes to fish and sell things they had made" (van Doren 2006: 166). Writing in the early 1970s, Charles Pratt spoke of annual visits of tribal members to the Island that had ceased not long before his time, so that "practically everyone over the age of thirty has memories of them" (Pratt 1974: 14). Sources such as Franklin (1974) and Barter (1999) also discuss a number of other anecdotes regarding Indian visits to the Island, and interviewees for the current project made many passing references to such anecdotes as well (see also van Doren 2012). Some Island families still have sweet grass baskets in their possession from the early- to mid-20th century. Meanwhile, modern Penobscots are reported to still have interests in their Isle au Haut history, and some recollection of this history too. No doubt, many insights might be gained by retelling of oral traditions of Isle au Haut offered by modern Penobscots alongside the oral traditions of longstanding Isle au Haut families.

Vernacular Placenames of Isle au Haut

Before continuing with a discussion of the Euro-American history of Isle au Haut's park lands, it may be useful to address the "vernacular placenames" of this area that may be used in the document that follows. People who live in a place for a long time, especially within small and stable communities, have a tendency to apply a locally unique set of names to the land. While these placenames may not be recorded on conventional maps or appear in national or state gazetteers, they are deeply embedded in communities' histories and fundamental to communities' everyday navigation of their home landscapes. Such placenames embody stories, events, and personal names from generations of shared history that are anchored to particular local landmarks. These names are sometimes termed "vernacular placenames," to differentiate them from the widely-recognized placenames that might be found, for example, on the maps of the U.S. Geological Survey and included in that agency's national Geographical Names Information Database. Certainly, as a small and remarkably stable community, Isle au Haut has vernacular placenames in abundance (Deur 2012).

Lacking commemoration in official maps or reinforcement from people hailing from off-Island, these names are dynamic and can be fleeting as the community changes with time. As Bill Stevens observes,

> "It's amazing how quickly people's knowledge of those little things disappear because they aren't used by people that you associate with that know, they lose it. For instance, the *Needle's Eye*, which is a stretch of road that's very narrow a mile down below here [on the east side of the Island] everyone said, "The Needle's Eye," you knew where it was but, now you say that to a bunch of people, they wouldn't know" (BS).

Such names are found on land in abundance, but in a community such as Isle au Haut, where generations of fishermen have gone to sea, the names cling like crustaceans to offshore rocks, shoals, and ledges. This constellation of descriptive fishermen's placenames embodies the geographically distinctive fishing opportunities, navigational needs, and genuine hazards of traveling by sea. Such landmarks were used to navigate fishing territories, find predictably rich fishing grounds and, if well known, might insure survival in the tumbling waters of a storm.[8] The exact locations of these fishing sites were sometimes difficult to discern in the course of indoor interviews, or even during field interviews conducted on land, and are only presented in general terms here. The documentation of this detailed geographical knowledge and nomenclature among Isle au Haut's many knowledgeable fishermen – especially those few who still remember earlier times and earlier navigation technologies - would be a worthy topic for further investigation. So too would be changes in the conditions or configuration of these ledges, which are sometimes reported by fishermen of the region.[9]

There may be some value in postponing the discussion of these names until later sections of this document, addressing later events in Isle au Haut's history with which they are connected. However, we choose to include a description of certain key placenames at this point in the document, if only because they are used freely in the everyday speech of Isle au Haut families and, consequently, these names will appear throughout the report. A list of certain key names is presented below, complete with a few representative quotation from interviewees who discussed the names of these places. (Residents mentioned a few placenames outside of the park and its adjacent waters; these were recorded and are part of the project archive, but are not reported in detail here.) The accompanying map shows the locations of these places in and around the park portion of Isle au Haut.

Barrel Rocks – Barrel Rock is a navigational landmark, apparently barrel-shaped, shown as "Rock T" on many nautical charts. As Billy Barter notes, "There's one [ledge] we call *Barrel Rock,* but I guess it's "Rock T" it's right there on the side of "Rock T." That ways, that's on the side of Moore's Harbor, toward the western, there's a marker, there's a buoy that marks it" (BB).

Betty Wentworth Brook – Betty Wentworth Creek empties into the sea near Shark's Point on the south end of Moore's Harbor. Many interviewees recall that this brook was named in honor of a girl by that name who drowned and was buried on the Wentworth homestead. Interviewees' accounts of the exact location of the burial varied slightly, but Turner reports a single burial of "Betsey Wentworth" at N44 02' 20.4" W068 38' 32.1" (Turner 2009). The Wentworth family was among the earliest families on that part of the Island and owned the tract immediately north of Solomon Hamilton by no later than 1836.

Black Ledge Shoal - A shallow shoal, its rocks black in color, a short distance south of Eastern Ear Island, sometimes fished, but also a potential navigational hazard for fishermen who once rounded this part of the Island by boat when traveling to or from Head Harbor and adjacent waters. Black Ledge Shoal is a navigational landmark and an occasionally productive fishing site; it is also a navigational hazard depending on the tide and swell. As described by Billy Barter, "You come out of Head Harbor. You're going towards the Eastern Ear, there was a, they call it *Black Ledge Shoal*. That's where Charlie Bowen [Sr.] upset his boat. It was a shallow place that broke on him, and he upset. Charlie Bowen had a trap there somewhere, and he kept watching and it kept breaking. And he figured if he counted the time between the breaks. And he said he went in to get it, and it came up behind him. You know, you ride off on it. And he tried to run away from it but no. He had his son-in-law with him, sitting up on top of the boat there, hollering for help. Somebody happened to hear him. I remember that. Towed him into Head Harbor, took the house off. They had it back going in about a week, back out" (BB). Also called Black Point Shoal by some Island residents.

Map 2: Selected vernacular placenames of Isle au Haut mentioned by interviewees

Black Ledges – A series of ledges, located in close association with the Grey Ledges and Washers, just west of the southern end of Western Head. The site is said to occasionally provide good fishing opportunities, and is a distinctive navigational marker due to its black color. When tides and swells line up, the ledges are also very hazardous. "One of the *Black Ledges* is pretty black looking. The other ones you can't really see. Unless it's really rockin', and then it's too scary to be there" (AN).

Booten Ledge – A ledge that includes both exposed and submerged rocks. At low tide, the submerged rocks are hazardous. As Billy Barter recalls, "Then there's a rock, Booten Ledge, they call it. That's down below Duck Harbor…There's a dry one and a sunken one. It's just inside the end of the Lieutenants. Got to be careful you don't run over [Booten Ledge] too. The top of it barely washes at low tide…you gotta be careful, hard to see it" (BB).

The Boulder – A large boulder, visible from the sea, that is situated on the shoreline on the south end of Western Head. The boulder is an important navigational landmark that has long been used to delimit fishing territories where the western and southern shorelines of the Island meet.

Bowditch Farm – The farm established on the northern end of Moore's Harbor at the initiative of Ernest Bowditch and other Point Lookout founders to supply produce to that community.

Brandy Ledges or "The Brandies" – The Brandy Ledges or "the Brandies" are a chain of largely exposed rocks that are seldom submerged, even when tides and swells are high. The ledges are an important fishing area, and are also commonly occupied by seals. Again quoting Billy Barter, "The Brandies don't [go underwater on high tides]; all the seals [are] on the Brandies. We fish there" (BB).

Bunge Head – The low point on the western side of the entrance to Head Harbor, reported to have been so designated in reference to a former Head Harbor fisherman of the name Bunge or Bungie. Also spelled as Bungie Head.

Cape Ann Ledge – A series of mostly submerged rocks, lying in deep water roughly south of Eastern Ear – popular for fishing by historical Isle au Haut fishermen.

Cedar Swamp – A swamp upslope from Isle au Haut, and associated with the northwestern "panhandle" of the park, that fishermen once used for cutting cedar to manufacture lobster trap buoys. As one interviewee recalls, "Back in the olden days, the guys used to go up there and cut cedar for their buoys. It's a huge bog with cedar all the way around it and in it. It's a very interesting place actually. It's hard to get at

except in the winter time because you sink down so much trying to get through it. Not too many people would know it by that, not many people know about it anymore" (AN).

The Cliffs – The steep cliff faces on the south shore of Isle au Haut on the eastern, interior face of Western Head. Fishermen of Isle au Haut formerly fished along the bases of these cliffs, which were said to be very productive, coming especially close in the summertime. Cliff-top hunting and hiking was also reported in this area.

Duck Harbor – As discussed above, Duck Harbor is reported to be named in reference to the abundance of ducks and the practice of duck hunting on this waterway, which was traditional among American Indian occupants of the Island at one time and was continued for a time by non-Native settlers in the 19th century.

Duck Harbor Ledge – A ledge some distance due west of Duck Harbor; in spite of its distance from Duck Harbor, the name references the use of this ledge to navigate to the harbor using cardinal directions prior to the advent of modern navigational equipment.

Eagle's Rock – A rock promontory near the westernmost point of land on the shoreline between Duck Harbor and Western Head, reported to have been named in reference to actual eagles that roosted there.

Eastern Ear Ledge – A ledge consisting of both predictably exposed and submerged rocks, used as a fishing area, but also serving as an important navigational landmark to fishermen on the southeast side of the Island – sometimes used in the assessment of fishing territory boundaries.

Figure 3: A historical photo of surf breaking and Eastern Ear. Photo courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society.

Eben's Head –There are no fewer than two Ebens of historical significance tied to this area. Isle au Haut interviewees generally suggested that Eben's Head was named for Eben Eaton, who had a fishing shack at this location long ago and was apparently related to Eli Eaton, for whom Eli Creek was named. Still, others suggested that the headland was named for Ebeneezer Leland, who was the first permanent Euro-American settler reported on Duck Harbor. Leland is consistently identified as one of earliest settlers on the Island generally, arriving not long after the Barter family in the late 18th century, and was among those first petitioning for an official survey of the Island to establish clear land title for settlers.

Eli Creek – Reputedly named for Eli Eaton, a relative of Eben Eaton (see Eben's Head, above). Eli Eaton occupied land along this part of Moore's Harbor in the 1840s and apparently resided there for a portion of the mid-19th century.

The Flat Ridges – As the name suggests, as series of flat ridges on the interior, eastern side of Western Head, formerly fished by Isle au Haut fishermen, but often treacherous if swells were high on the southern end of the Island.

Goss Beach – A beach on the Moore's Harbor shoreline, occasionally visited by Point Lookout visitors and others historically, and still a popular recreational beach for visitors and residents alike; said to be named for the Goss family.

The Gray Ledges – A series of rock exposures, gray in color, and exposed on certain tides; these ledges are adjacent to fishing grounds but are also a potential navigational hazard. They sit very close to the Black Ledges and the Washers.

Haddock Ledge – A ledge sitting a short distance southwest of the entrance of Duck Harbor, important as a fishing area, including the fishing of haddock historically and occasionally in more recent times. The ledge is also an important navigational landmark, and a navigational hazard for fishermen as they approached or departed Duck Harbor.

Harvey's Beach – Two locations were reported for Harvey's Beach, on opposite sides of the Island. It is likely that both locations have had the name at various times, and both are associated with the Harvey family, which was locally prominent in the 19th century. On the west side of the Island, the beach a short distance north of Eli Creek Cabin was reported to be "Harvey's Beach" – a popular picnic spot for Island visitors of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. On the southeast side of the Island, another Harvey's Beach, sometimes called "The Harvey Beach," is reported flanking Eastern Head on the Head Harbor (west) side of the bay. This relatively inaccessible beach is said to be a popular place for beachcombing by locals, as it is little known and largely inaccessible to visitors: "it doesn't get any hiker activity, so it's an interesting place for the flotsam

and jetsam" (TG). Tar can be seen on the rocks here where fishermen applied preservative to their lines prior to the advent of synthetic ropes. A large cast iron tar pot is said to be found there in the beach sediments, being exposed after storms that temporarily erode the beach. This was said to have been used as part of the waterproofing process for fishing gear at this site when Head Harbor was a bustling fishing community in the 19th and early 20th centuries (RB).

Herrick's Camp – The former 1850s homestead of Job Herrick, which is characterized by a number of remnant stone features dating from short-lived agricultural efforts by Herrick and his family. The former settlement area served as a hunting area in later times and was overgrown with dense conifer forest; in more recent times, this area has been crisscrossed by recreational trails, some of which follow the historical trail network linking Isle au Haut, the Herrick settlement, and Head Harbor. This area is discussed in detail within the pages that follow.

Hole in the Wall – A narrow passage through the rocks on the west side of the Island not far from Duck Harbor: "it is a narrow passage on the west side. You can get through almost any time. At real low tide you got to go real slow because it's pretty shallow. It's just below Duck Harbor…it's alright as long as it's clear, it's just foggy is [dangerous]" (BB). "It is right next to that ledge. At low tide, there's a whole bunch of ledges that come out from shore perpendicularly, and there's one little spot you can steam right through if you're careful. That's the Hole in the Wall" (AN). This area was sometimes said to be associated with oral traditions of an African-American couple that stayed temporarily on the Island facing this waterway during the Civil War era. According to Wayne Barter, "There's a place now on the west side of the Island that's called the Hole in the Wall. It was called something else not very politically correct. But this Les Grant…said that back in the Civil War days there was a black man and woman that just showed up down there once, and he never knew if they were runaway slaves or what. That might fit in [with the story of the name "Black Dinah"]. He said they appeared there and, somehow I think it might have been during the winter or something. And they got kind of worried about them, went down and they were gone. So they just came and suddenly disappeared" (WB).

Landing Place – A former landing point on the western shoreline of the Island, near the outlet of Eli Creek. This landing is shown on the earliest survey of the Island, dating from 1803, and appears to have served as a community landing point for residents of southern Moore's Harbor and vicinity (Lewis 1803). Little is known of this site today, but some structural evidence of a landing area persist. According to Wayne Barter, "I've seen on the old maps that here in Eli Creek it was called the Landing Place. And there is some rock…on, down [along the shoreline], it's around the trail, right after the bridges that cross the creek. It's not a foundation. It's definitely something that somebody brought rock out for some purpose. It was like a bulkhead… if it was called the Landing Place, possibly it might have been part of a dock or something" (WB).

The Lieutenants or ***Lieutenants' Ledge*** – A shoal of multiple rocks, which are immediately adjacent to popular fishing waters for Isle au Haut fishermen; as Billy Barter notes, "they're good fishing areas. And they go under on a real high tide" (BB). The name was said to possibly reference the fact that these rocks stand somewhat upright and "at attention."

Merchant Brook – See Nat's Brook.

Middle Ground – An area of open water, used as a fishing ground by Isle au Haut fishermen historically, located roughly halfway between Eastern Head and Western Head.

Moore's Ledge – A ledge at the mouth of Moore's Harbor, said to be an important navigational landmark for fishermen, with fishing areas sitting immediately adjacent.

Morris' Mistake – A historical site on the northeastern shore of Western Head. On August 17, 1814, an American war frigate, the "Adams," under the command of Captain Charles Morris (1784 – 1856) ran aground on the rocks at this location. "Her guns were landed to lighten her and she was finally pushed off again" (Revere Memorial Library 1959). "He ran aground and took damage to his vessel. And they got it off, and they went up to Bangor and got it patched up," but the ship was later destroyed to prevent her falling into the hands of the English during the Battle of Hampden at Hampden, Maine (BS). Bates reports this as being "A noble bluff on Western Head…known as Morris's Mistake, from the adventure of Captain — afterward Commodore — Morris, who ran the sloop-of-war *John Adams* ashore here in a fog" (Bates 1885: 652-53).The fact that Morris later became a Commodore made this place a potentially embarrassing reminder of less illustrious moments in his earlier career. The place where the ship foundered is still called "Captain Morris' Mistake" or simply "Morris' Mistake" by Island residents. Some charts show this site as being called "Flat Ledge."

Nat's Brook - A prominent brook, named for Nat Merchant, who settled for a time (or maintained a well-used fish house – accounts vary) near the mouth of this waterway. Some speculate that the evidence of settlement at the mouth of this waterway, including stone foundations, are associated with the Merchant occupation. The site is often called "Merchant's Brook" but also used to be called "Hadlock's Brook."

The Net Ledges – A series of rock exposures at the mouth of Head Harbor, formerly fished by Head Harbor fishermen. As the name implies, the area was sometimes fished by net; with complex currents and variable exposure to the swell of the open Atlantic, nets were rumored to have been lost on these ledges too.

The Puddings – A rugged rocky area on the lower southeastern flanks of Duck Harbor Mountain, said to resemble the surface of a pudding, with its numerous small rock pinnacles. "The Puddings, the Puddings Trail…there's a name they'll lose… it's really interesting. And the reason is it's descriptive because puddings are little peaks. You know, you think of pudding and you whip it up and have these little peaks of pudding. That's why it was called the Puddings Trail, because of these little pinnacles along the way. The Puddings Trail" (BS).

Red Bank - Residents use the placename "Red Bank" in reference to the area near the road overlook at Duck Harbor, in reference to the exposed red soil and rock there. While the waters in the outer portion of Duck Harbor can be turbulent in stormy weather, making a boat landing difficult, Red Bank has a low gradient and is sufficiently protected from swells that it has long been a popular landing spot – even in the most turbulent weather. Accordingly, various individuals have maintained fish houses at this location.

Roaring Bull Ledge – The Roaring Bull ledge is an important navigational landmark and hazard southwestern of Eastern Head. The landmark is of such navigational importance that it is frequently referenced in navigational guides to this coastline: "Roaring Bull Ledge, bare at half tide and marked by a spindle (iron, red)… There is good water around this ledge, but strangers are advised to keep well to the southward of it" (U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey 1891: 85). Residents took part in various efforts to mark this ledge prior to or after Coast Guard intervention, and continued to exert considerable effort to maintain a navigational landmark here even after the Coast Guard had erected a buoy at this point. According to Charlie Bowen, one of his relatives drilled a hole in the top of the rock at low tide to secure the buoy: "[M]any years ago, there was a Thomas Bowen...he rowed out there [to *Roaring Bull*], and he drilled a hole, put a spar in there… If you think of it, that's quite a thing. He rowed out there in a dory. And he must have had to tie the dory to himself because that ledge isn't much bigger than that chest, maybe twice as big. It sticks up about like that at low tide…Well, the ice came down, bent the spar over a little bit. So the Coast Guard come down and said that it isn't any good. 'We'll put a buoy out there'" (CB). The Coast Guard buoy is apparently tethered to the bottom and drifts with the currents: "Well, that buoy ranges about a quarter of a mile. You never know where the hell that darn buoy is until you hit it!" (CB). Likewise, Billy Barter reports, "Used to be a buoy up at the head, a bell buoy, Bull spindle, that the Coast Guard [built] and put a buoy outside of it. That spindle used to be a good mark, too. I don't know what the heck they did that for. Took 'em fourteen months to put the spindle on there…You had to have real good weather and a low tide to do it. They put that great big steel spindle in there, and then…mitered it off. Over in Head Harbor. The Roarin' Bull. Didn't make a lot of sense to me, a lot of the fishermen, either. Now they got this big red buoy outside of it. But that Bull spindle used to be a nice landmark when you're fishing outside the—'cause they can fish way outside of Head Harbor" (BB).[10]

Shark's Point Beach – A beach on the Moore's Harbor shoreline, once considered a premier picnic beach among Point Lookout homeowners and other affluent visitors of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. A remnant road grade links the park road to the beach in this location, and a number of stone structures are visible nearby – some relating to this historical use and others to settlement near this beach.

Stone House Field – A field southeast of Duck Harbor, containing the remnants of a former homestead. Remnants of stone house have been visible at this location. "there's a cellar hole. And the only thing I know about it is, the area that is, it's called the Stone House Field…You can hardly see the foundation. It's sort of, there's a big birch tree growing" (WB).

The Washers – These are low-lying shoals sitting west of the southern end of Western Head, in close association with Black Ledge. The Washers is a name that is descriptive of the movement of water over these rocks: "if you watch, the waves wash over them" (AN).

Western Head Break or ***Western Head Breaker*** – A navigational landmark and hazard off Western Head Ear, which is marked by breakers under most conditions and produces complex currents that must be carefully circumnavigated under certain conditions. According to Billy Barter, "the *Western Head Breaker*…Boy it sure comes out at low tide…you go around the end of Western Head going into Head Harbor. You're getting in close to the end of Western Head, and then the breaker lies outside of that, east a little bit, probably at 500, 600 yards between the buoyage and the head…Hardly ever calm enough so you can't see it unless it's real high tide and real calm. There's always an undertow on it"(BB).

Wharf Rock – A point on the northwestern end of Western Ear, which formerly had a small wharf associated with historical fish houses at that location.

Early Settlements and Economies of Isle au Haut

The early history of Isle au Haut is of perennial interest to Island residents and Maine historians alike. At the time of this writing, there are many capable researchers working on this topic, and a detailed synopsis is forthcoming in anticipated works by Fred Eustis and members of the Isle au Haut Historical Society. For this reason, only the thinnest of sketches is presented here, directing attention primarily at historical and geographical trends that would later affect human use and occupation of that portion of the Island now within the park.

As many sources suggest, the Island was named by celebrated French explorer Samuel Champlain, who anchored off this Island in September of 1604 – the name being a reference to its unique height among the Islands of outer Penobscot Bay. The Island received occasional references in the navigational and historical literatures of the 17th and early 18th century, but it was not until the mid-1700s that the Islands of outer Penobscot Bay began to attract the attention of potential Euro-American settlers.[11] Deeds for land on Isle au Haut appear from at least as early as 1773. The first organized survey of the Island, the Rufus Putnam survey of 1785, makes reference to five people living on the Island at that time. In spite of its sparse population, Isle au Haut was included in the boundaries of the community of Deer Isle, along with Great Deer Island, Little Deer Island, Sheep Island, and other small Islands nearby, when Deer Isle was incorporated on January 30, 1789 (Hosmer 1905: 36 ff.; Chatto and Turner 1910; Bangor Historical Magazine 1887).

These early attempts at settlement are poorly documented and were apparently fleeting. However, most sources agree that the first effective and permanent settlement began with the settlement of the Island by the Barter family. The patriarch of the Barter family, Peletiah Barter, Sr. (1741-1825), was a veteran of the Revolutionary War – originally hailing from Kittery, Maine, he later fished the Deer Isle area (Stevens 2001).[12] Peletiah Barter, Jr. (1772-1852), who lived for a time in the vicinity of Boothbay, Maine before settling on the Island, arrived with his father and two brothers, William and Henry. The Barters' arrival is conventionally dated to 1792, but various lines of evidence, including oral history, suggest a slightly earlier date of arrival – on or around 1788 (Bangor Historical Magazine 1887). A variety of sources present the biographies of Peletiah Sr., Peletiah Jr. and other members of the Barter family, noting that they were key to Isle au Haut settlement (e.g., Hosmer 1905: 187 ff.). The descendants of the Barters are still numerous on the Island, continue to play an important role in community life, and include a number of formal and informal interviewees for this project.

The Barters arrived on an Island that had indications of recent settlement, but was largely unoccupied. As Bates noted,

> "They had been preceded a year or two earlier by Robert Douglass, who came to the Island with his son; but the father having succumbed to hardship or disease, the son buried him in a roughly-hewn slab coffin, and abandoned the place. He subsequently returned, indeed, and his descendants are still to be found in the village; but in the meantime, the Barters had taken up their abode on the wild slopes of the Island, and from continued residence may, perhaps, be fairly enough considered the pioneers of the modern settlement" (Bates 1885: 651).

In addition to the Douglass (or "Douglas") family, a number of individuals followed in the final decade of the 18th century, drawn to the Island by its unique proximity to the prime fishing grounds and shipping lanes that were key to the burgeoning New England economy of the time: "Abiathar Smith from Norton, Mass. settled there about 1790; Jonathan Carleton, Ebenezer Leland, Ebenezer Sawyer, Robert Douglas and Charles Kempton came soon after" (Bangor Historical Magazine 1887). Many individuals – the Barter family in particular – settled on the northern portion of the Island near the modern community of Isle au Haut, and this Thorofare core of settlement would only increase in significance with time. Still, a number of early settlers quickly began to explore, use, and occasionally occupy portions of the Island now within the park. Ebenezer Leland was reported to have maintained a cabin at Duck Harbor by the early years of the 1800s, and owned a 120 acre tract of land there by no later than 1803. So too, Abiathar Smith had occupied the eastern portion of Head Harbor, including lands now within the Eastern Head portion of the park, by the same date, while Jonathan Carleton occupied a Moore's Harbor tract straddling the modern park's northern boundary (Lewis 1803).

The following decade witnessed an even larger and more ambitious wave of settlement, which brought fledgling industries to the Island to augment and support small-scale fishing. Calvin Turner arrived in 1800 and established a salt works near Seal Trap to support what appears to have been a rapidly growing local fishing industry. Asa Turner, his son, brought 400 sheep to the Island, beginning a burgeoning agricultural economy that would eventually, if temporarily, occupy significant portions of the Island. (Modern-day Turners, such as interviewee Bob Turner, note that they are descended from this original family, who are reported to have arrived in 1796, originating from areas just south of Boston. The Turner family was extensively involved in the construction of the original houses at Point Lookout, and has had residences on the east side of the Island near Long Pond for most of the history of American settlement.) A growing number of men, fishermen and merchant mariners among them, brought their families to settle on the Island: "The Robinsons, Kimballs, Sawyers, Smiths, Keptons and Lelands soon joined the settlement" (Caldwell 1981: 189). They were drawn in part by the outstanding access to New England's prime fishing grounds and shipping lanes, but also, arguably, by the autonomy afforded by this small Island home.

Yet, on this rugged and rocky Island, settlement could only occur within relatively narrow geographical parameters. Access to potable water, for example, was a significant limiting factor for settlement. On this glacial landscape with shallow soils and largely impenetrable bedrock, there are comparatively few springs, brooks, or natural reservoirs of groundwater. Settlements were few, and tended to aggregate near water sources. For this reason, not only are the modern villages of Isle au Haut situated near fresh water sources, but interviewees also commonly note that wherever one finds

a year-round stream in the park there are associated historical settlements of some kind – many dating from this early period of settlement. As Harold van Doren notes,

> "When you start to think about the first settlers down here, you start to think about what they needed to survive. And one of the things that they all needed was to be near some body of water or some brook or something, or some spot where there was enough of a water surface table close enough so that they could make a shallow well. Because you got to have water if you're going to live out here" (HV).

Simultaneously, on such a small Island, ground transportation was limited and limiting, while the sea provided access to the full expanse of the Maine coastline. In time, settlements would therefore aggregate on protected coves, fronting navigable waters – places such as the Thorofare, Duck Harbor, Head Harbor, and Rich's Cove. Roads arrived relatively late on parts of the Island, especially its southern half, while the waters of Maine were the highways – often dangerous and inaccessible highways, but highways all the same. Again, quoting Harold van Doren,

> "of course, the first people who came out here were primarily fishermen anyway. They came out here because they were closer to the fishing grounds, and so that's why the place was settled to start out with. They didn't come out here to farm. They ended up farming because they had to do something to survive other than fishing. So they needed to be near water" (HV).

To understand the historical geography of Island settlement, then, one must think like a mariner rather than a pedestrian or a motorist.

Farming was extremely limited too, especially in these early years. As Kathy Fiveash notes, "ten thousand years ago the whole Island was under ice, so there is only half an inch of topsoil in some places" (KF). The few places that were suitable for farming were places where sediments accumulated unusually fast – along lakes and bogs, and a few sites along floodplains and estuaries. The earliest farms were established on the edges of wetlands in particular, which contained some of the only especially deep and rich soil to be found on the Island (KF). Yet, most of the Island was unsuitable for agriculture, which significantly limited its settlement and development, and restricted most occupations to those centered on the sea. Indeed, the 1802 petition to the state government by the Island's earliest settlers for a survey of the Island noted that

> "A great part of said Island is very poor land, being nothing but ledges of rocks, or barren heath, and not fit for cultivation, which renders the

> remaining part of said Island of much less value than it would have otherwise been" (in Revere Memorial Library 1959).

As with all items needed on the Island, food self-sufficiency was critical. Sea ice might effectively block transportation to the adjacent mainland for months at a time (a phenomenon that continued as late as the 1930s, by most accounts) making this self-sufficiency even more critical than in more forgiving Island settings.

Only sheep herding, which did not rely on cultivable land, was widely successful – allowing for the diffuse use of inland portions of the Island. As Robin Bowen notes, "these were fishing people; they looked at any kind of agriculture as kind of alien" (RB). Only small subsistence farms, orchards and "kitchen gardens" persisted for long. Some interviewees suggested that this only compounded existing maritime orientations of the New England families that arrived on the Island: "people placed very low value on the land" historically, prioritizing instead modest homesteads that gave them access to navigable waters (JW).[13]

Most of the land within what is now the park was not settled during this period and, indeed, a significant portion would never be settled, as it was not suitable for agriculture and had limited access by land or sea:

> "the land that the park owns, primarily, is just unsuitable for any kind of agriculture, when you come right down to it. Because it's either not suitable in terms of soil, or it's not suitable in terms of accessibility, or it's not suitable in terms of—what? It's just rugged and hostile territory to try to do any agriculture on" (HV).

Indeed, the absence of historical settlement or agriculture on these lands would ultimately contribute to their donation to the park, as there were few settlements or competing uses that might preclude transfer of large tracts to the park. It is important to note, too, that migration was not solely islandward in these early years. Some settlers found Island life too hard or isolating. There was "a lot of fleeting settlement all along the shoreline" in the early 19th century in particular. A great deal of this occurred along the rugged southern shore, now occupied by the park, where freshwater streams and great fishing opportunities tempted people to build homes in otherwise rugged terrain in the lands running from Duck Harbor to Head Harbor (BS).

Adding to these challenges of Island living, by the beginning of the 19th century, these settlers found that they were unable to get clear title to lands on the Island (and title to many lands on the Island remains ambiguous in early historical records). In 1801, the Island's settlers, including a number of Barters and Duck Harbor resident Ebeneezer

Leland, petitioned the Massachusetts House and Senate for a survey and the official recordation of land claims.[14] The Senate responded in the affirmative:

> "resolved that the Honorables John Read and Peleg Coffin Esquires be and they are hereby directed to cause the Great Island of Holt [sic] to be laid out and surveyed in suitable lots for the accommodation of the Settlers and Purchases having referenced to the fisheries which are or may hereafter be carried on from the aforesaid Island and to the settlement of [the petitioners]" (in Revere Public Library 1959).

This led immediately to the 1802 Lathrop Lewis survey – the first formal land survey of the Island, and facilitated the earliest acquisition of title to many parts of the Island now located within the park. As described by Hosmer,

> "In 1802, a survey was made of the Island by Mr. Lathrop Lewis, and the most of it was divided into lots; but a portion of over thirteen hundred acres lying west of the pond on the Island [including much of the interior of the park] was let in one body, and sold after the separation to the late George Kimball, Esq. Another of three hundred and thirty-nine acres, lying near the southwestern point of the Island [including Western Head], was purchased by David Thurlow and parties in Castine. We have understood that, before the separation, the late Peletiah Barter was appointed as an agency by the residents who had taken up lots, to go to Boston and take measures for the acquirement of titles, and from the fact that the persons who were in possession of lots at the time of the sales made by the land agents of both States [Massachusetts and Maine] were not disturbed, we judge that they had acquired titles to their lands" (Hosmer 1905: 178-79).

The survey produced the first detailed accounting of the homesteads on the Island, and is still a critical reference for the early history of the Island.

Both Kimball and Thurlow, who acquired a sizable portion of what is today the park, appear to have been motivated to acquire portions of the Island as investments. Kimball was a man of significant means and influence in the early history of this region, with a number of properties and vessels in his possession.[15] Some speculate that Thurlow's interests may have included the timber on the Island; as Hosmer notes,

Map 3: The Lathrop Lewis Survey map as it appears in the Maine plan book series. The original map dates from 1803, but pencil annotations were added decades later. This map shows the earliest recorded Euro-American settlers on the island, including Eben Leland on Duck Harbor and Abiathar Smith on Head Harbor. Meanwhile, Barters are concentrated on the northern end of the island, much as they are today. Hamiltons, Wentworths, Grants, Lindseys and other families are mentioned in later annotations relating to lands now in the park. From Lewis (1803).

Captain David Thurlow (1775-1857), originally of Newbury, Massachusetts, established a highly productive sawmill on nearby Thurlow's Island in roughly 1800 and was a preeminent pioneer industrialist, building numerous ships from his mill facility in the years that followed (Hosmer 1905: 152-54). Lumber may have been milled for this purpose from the lands of Isle au Haut, as part of the small-scale lumbering operations sometimes mentioned on the Island in these early years (Eustis 1952).

By 1820, the Island was becoming increasingly popular for men involved in maritime occupations other than fishing, especially merchant shipping. A growing number of these men were involved in the shipment of cargoes within New England and beyond – some carrying New England fish and lumber to distant international ports. (One document on the Island early history, transcribed in the Isle au Haut Historical Society collections mentions that Isle au Haut fishermen's "vessels carry dry fish to the West Indies and brought back rum and molasses" [Munch 1999]). Indeed, some two-dozen men were identified as "shipmasters" on the Island in that year (U.S. Census n.d.). Shipbuilders, too, seem to have been represented among the Island's early residents – some with possible ties to the Thurlow mill.[16]

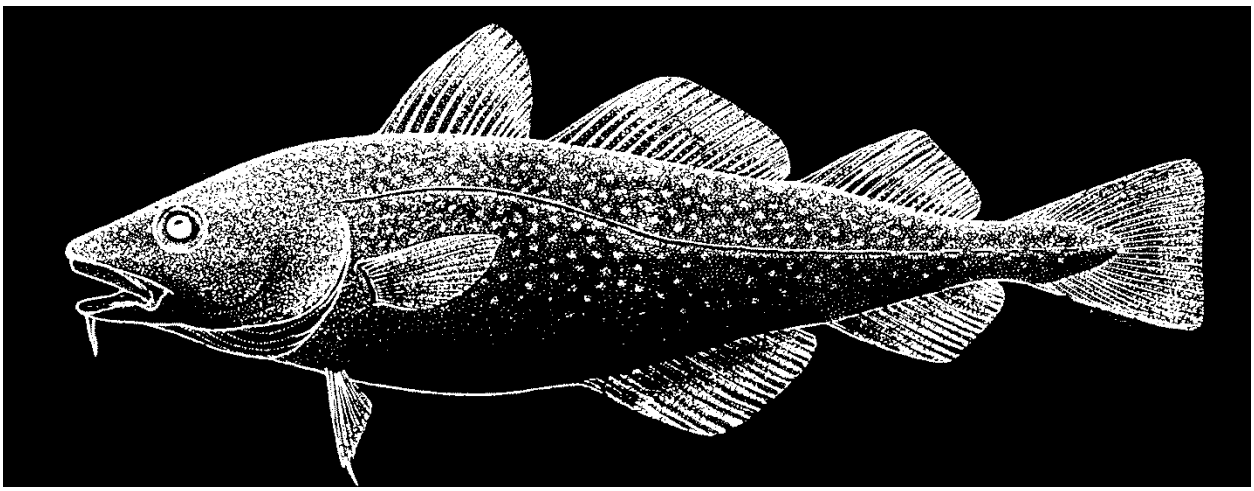


Figure 4: Illustration of the Atlantic cod (*Gadus morhua*), a mainstay of early Isle au Haut fishing. Public domain image from the NOAA Northeast Fisheries Science Center.

Settlement was also expanding. An 1824 survey shows 36 deeded lots of land, ranging from 32 to 182 acres. Only a small portion of these - the lots hugging the navigable shoreline of the Island - being owner-occupied year-round. Caldwell (1981: 189) estimates the population at this time, conservatively, at roughly 180 persons. Additional homesteads were being established on the Island, but title remained ambiguous. In 1833, seeking to sort out lingering title issues and to facilitate settlement of the Island, the State of Maine authorized the State Land Agent to sell additional lands from the public domain. In some cases, this allowed settlers already on the Island to secure

formal title to lands they had already effectively occupied. This prompted a second major State land survey, completed by Oliver Frost, which documented the ownership and occupants of this period; they included not only the sprawling Kimball lot, but smaller tracts owned by the Hamiltons, Lindseys and Wentworths of the Duck and Moore's Harbor areas – all names that will reappear later in this document.

Small village outposts, tied to the sea for transportation, income, and sustenance, were beginning to expand from the early homesteads on various small coves of the Island, including Duck Harbor and Head Harbor on the southern portion of the Island. The economy and culture of the Island was tied to the sea in a way that echoed the coastal New England origins of its residents, but was somewhat amplified by the absence of enduring agriculture, mining, or other occupations.[17] The fundamental geography of Island settlement, and the fundamental rhythms of community life, were already largely in place - even at this early point in Isle au Haut history.

Though early fishing centered on cod, haddock, pollock, flounder, and other fish from nearby waters, lobstering was reported to have been negligible in the early years of settlement – principally a subsistence pursuit rather than a commercial fishery, often done using labor-intensive dipnets instead of with traps. Significant commercial lobstering arrived on the Island only in the mid-19th century. As one document in the Revere Memorial Library recounts, local man Joe Eaton – apparently a relative of both Eli and Eben Eaton for whom Eli Creek and Eben's Head are named – initiated the practice of using traps locally, bringing about a minor revolution in the speed and commercial viability of the local lobster harvest:

> "Lobsters used to be caught in a dip net. The first man to catch a lobster in a trap in the vicinity of Isle au Haut was Joe Eaton of the Eaton family for which the cove on the east side [Eaton Cove] was named. He could get a dory full of lobsters from fifteen traps. When he got them to the factory in the Thoroughfare he would use a five-tined fork or a shovel to pitch them onto the wharf" (Revere Memorial Library 1959).

A Boston-based firm constructed a lobster cannery along the Thoroughfare in roughly 1860. Sometimes called "Lewis Factory" or just "the lobster factory," this operation helped to consolidate settlement and the Island's maritime economy along the Isle au Haut Thorofare. By the time that Isle au Haut was incorporated as a settlement independent from Deer Isle in 1874, "More than 24 Island women and children worked in [the cannery], shipping Isle au Haut canned lobster to Crosse and Blackwell in London" (Caldwell 1981: 189). Lobster canneries were becoming widespread throughout the Penobscot Bay region in this period, and by the lobster canning industry's apex in the 1880s, roughly 100 of these canneries lined the coast of Maine.

By the time the lobster factory was fully operational in 1860, the town of Isle au Haut was already becoming a sizeable and settled community, with its Union Congregational Church well-established, and the beginnings of a municipal government. The Union Congregational Church was built in 1857. Isle au Haut was incorporated in February 1874, and the first town meeting was held on March 30th of that year, with William Turner, John Barter, and Noah Page as Selectmen (Hosmer 1905: 36 ff.; Chatto and Turner 1910).[18] The distant Head Harbor and Duck Harbor communities meanwhile remained small outposts of community life, visited by itinerant summer preachers (Palmer 1902). There were small stores operating locally but, in the summer, merchants and craftspeople visited the Island in boats custom designed for their trades. Munch notes that "Lobster boats were always welcome. They bought fresh lobsters right from the traps and sold apples, cookies, flour, sugar, and many other groceries" (Munch 1999).

The late 19th century, then, became a kind of "golden age" of Isle au Haut's history and the traditional fishing economy that supported it. The Island bustled with new activity and an expanding fishing economy. Writing in 1881, George Varney noted in the *Maine State Gazetteer*,

> "The occupation of the inhabitants is wholly related to the sea. There is in town an establishment for canning lobsters, and a boat-builder's shop. The nearest post-office is Green's Landing, on Deer Island. The town has a church edifice, occupied as a union house. There are two public schoolhouses, which, with their appurtenances, are valued at $200. The valuation of estates in 1880 was $32,756. The population in 1880 was 274" (Varney 1881: 287-88).

You may have read that the factory closed in 1880, probably according to the memory of Captain Charles Turner, but it makes a lot more sense to me that it closed earlier, especially since the building was used for the very first town meeting, probably a substantial gathering.

Residents of Isle au Haut caught, sold, and consumed the American lobster (*Homarus amenicanus*) in growing numbers during this period, but the regional and national markets were still quite small. Ironically, interviewees note that, as the market for lobster grew, the competitiveness of Isle au Haut and other small, offshore ports in the industry declined. In particular, a series of regulatory changes that began in roughly 1860 (and arguably have continued into recent times), designed to foster the long-term stability of the Maine lobstering industry, required significant investments in gear and shore facilities that worked in favor of larger operators and often resulted in the displacement of small and poorly serviced fishing communities in favor of large ports (Deur 2012; Acheson 1997; Judd 1988a). Lobster canning operations consolidated along

the coast, while early lobster length restrictions were being considered by state authorities.

Closer to home, local laborers and fishermen were increasingly at odds with cannery management over a range of issues, prices among them (HV). On or around 1873 (some sources suggest dates as late as 1880), partially in response to these industry-wide changes and partially in response to conflicts with fishermen over prices, the lobster cannery at Isle au Haut closed. Soon, the abandoned "lobster factory" became the first Isle au Haut Town Hall. As Harold van Doren notes, "the first town meeting was held in that building in 1874. Captain William Turner had a store on part of the first floor, and that is where Ernest Bowditch first met the Islanders." The old lobster factory continued to serve this function until a separate hall was built in 1906; isle au Haut residents held dances and other social events in this hall that brought together people from all of the small Island communities, such as Duck Harbor, Rich's Cove, Head Harbor, Moore's Harbor, and York Island Harbor (in D. Barter 1999). The building also served as the town store until 1962, when it was damaged by a storm and demolished (WB; Caldwell 1981: 189, 196).

Yet, by this time, lobstering had become thoroughly integrated into the lives and economies of local fishermen. Life became more challenging for many Island residents, some of whom found themselves with reduced access to predictable cash income and increasingly relying on "mixed economies," fishing and farming for both subsistence and commercial purposes. By 1891, Samuel Drake (1891: 288) noted that "the population is small, poor and decreasing… [and] the inhabitants eke out a poor living by raising a few sheep, fishing a little, and farming a little, and by gathering blueberries."[19]

Yet, these Island residents endured, adjusting to the changes in the fishing economies with customary resilience and independence. In spite of the closure of the factory, residents worked to maintain and even expand the local lobstering. Interviewees spoke of considerable lobstering in and around Isle au Haut by resident fishermen through the late 19th and early 20th centuries, supplying mainland distributors with lobster while also participating in enduring fisheries for cod, pollock, and other marine fish. These fishermen sometimes worked together within each small community to develop markets and sort through the challenges of distribution. Live lobsters continued to be shipped out of the community on a fleet of "wet smacks" based on the Island; these boats could carry tanks of up to 1,500 live lobster to purchasers elsewhere along the coast – New York City and Boston being especially popular destinations. These smacks continued to operate for many years to come, sometimes visiting only the Thorofare, and sometimes making special trips to smaller Island communities such as Head Harbor to obtain the local catch – a practice that continued into roughly the mid-20th century.

Figure 5: An early view of the Thorofare shoreline, not far from the Lobster Factory. Lobster traps, wooden pounds, and other gear line the shore. Photo courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society.

As interviewees attest, the Island's residents had certain geographic advantages as they sought to navigate the changing fishing industry. There is broad agreement that some of the best fishing and lobstering grounds in the region were to be found along the shores of Isle au Haut during this period. Isle au Haut fishermen may have suffered for their distance from markets, but they were unusually blessed in their proximity to good fishing. Indeed, the famed abundance of these waters was cited by federal authorities as justification for construction of the Robinson Point Lighthouse in the early 20th century. Written in 1904, a Congressional report called for the construction of this lighthouse

noting the area's reputation for "exceedingly good fishing grounds" as well as the fact that the community of Isle au Haut was a critical port not only for local fishermen, but was "highly valued and much frequented by fishermen" from other ports who frequented these productive waters (Office of the Light-House Board 1904: 146).[20]

And, among those especially good fishing areas, some of the best were immediately offshore from the modern-day park. Interviewees consistently reported that the southern shoreline of the Island, and some of the ledges nearby, represented some of the best lobstering and fishing grounds in the region. Lobstering areas were said to be very good even immediately along the shoreline, and the abrupt banks of the south shore allowed year-round lobstering in the deep waters further offshore. Nonetheless, weather and ocean conditions had to be monitored closely along the entire outer coast; the swells on this exposed end of the Island made fishing close to shore a very dangerous prospect, especially in hurricane season and in the winter months, and especially in the days of sail. As Bob Turner notes,

> "People set lobster pots close to the shore there on the south end of the Island in summer…they're farther away in winter because it's dangerous…the waves" (BT).

Moreover, in winter, the colder water was said to chase lobsters into deeper water, causing lobstermen to move offshore in pursuit (B. Barter 1999: 23). And, while fish and lobster were the primary focus of the fishery on the southern half of the Island, there were other resources to be found there - shrimp and scallops, and clams in the bays – which have sometimes augmented both commercial and subsistence catches, even into recent times. Meanwhile, the shallow harbors and bays were sometimes fished for bait – sculpins, flounder, and other species that were easy to catch – in support of the offshore fishery (M. Barter 1992a).

All over Isle au Haut, and especially within the small communities of the south Island, people traditionally lobstered close to shore and close to home. This was in part because of their small boats and in part because of their close proximity to prime lobstering grounds. As Billy Barter notes,

> "They didn't go too far years ago because they didn't have…the boats, the fast boats, and bigger. They had small boats. Gooden Grant and those guys who fished out of Head Harbor, they didn't go north. They were right on the winter grounds" (B. Barter 1999: 22).

This very localized pattern of resource harvesting contributed to the stability of traditional fishing territories, which will be discussed later in this document.

Yet, the productive waters offshore from Isle au Haut drew expanding attention from fishermen hailing from mainland ports and other Island communities. Many sought a terrestrial foothold from which to launch their modest fishing boats, and Isle au Haut was among the most appealing places to do so. Interviewees made reference to summer "lobster camps" of fishermen from the mainland and other Islands operating along the south shore and as well as Head Harbor and Duck Harbor. As Jim Wilson explained,

> "These were Stonington fishermen who'd come out here late summer and, you know, it's a good place to fish from. Plus, the smacks, so that you didn't have to deliver your goods to Stonington. They were sailing and rowing, so you didn't have to get in there for repairs" (JW).

Increasingly through the 19th century, small fish houses and "squatters" camps began to spring up surreptitiously in many places on the sparsely occupied southern part of the Island. Local fishermen's responses varied. Sometimes Isle au Haut fishermen might allow friends, relatives or business partners from the mainland to maintain their Island foothold in the local fishery, but were sometimes crowded by these fishermen and actively resisted their incursions. Fundamental tensions between Island fishermen and mainland fishermen were taking shape that would continue to define Isle au Haut fishing – and by extension every other aspect of the Island's social and economic life – in ways that would persist into the present day.

Historical Sites & Structures

Mentioned by Interviewees

1 Historical home site with foundation and cellars
2 Historic homesite, with barn foundation and cellar holes
3 Wentworth home site and cellar hole
4 Former dumping site for old vehicles
5 Site of one of the Hamilton family houses
6 Site of the Solomon Hamilton house
7 Robin Bowen fishing camp site
8 Archie Hutchinson's fish shack site
9 Pat Welch house site; cellar still visible
10 Historical house and barn site
11 Native American stone quarry
12 Cellar hole at former home site
13 Fishing structure, possibly established by Harvey family, later used by Stonington men
14 Tar marks on rocks from fishermen waterproofing gear
15 Rock piles associated with historical farming activities
16 Historical house site with foundations in clearing
17 Home site with cellar hole
18 Historical house site and cellar hole on Barred Harbor
19 Nat Merchan'ts home site and cellar hole
20 Former dumping site for old vehicles
21 Historical house with remnant clearing and cellar hole
22 Diffuse rock walls and piles, possibly associated with Grant family sheep farm
23 Stone walls and piles associated with historical farming
24 Gooden Grant fishing wharf
25 Historical fishing wharf
26 Knickerbocker Ice Company wharf
27 Historical Trail route over Eastern Head
28 Historical Knickerbocker Ice Company Road
29 Former Head Harbor school site

19th Century Settlement and Society on the South Island

Early Settlers on the Southwestern Island

Early settlement on the southwestern portion of the Island faced some unique challenges, even when compared to other Island settlements. As Harold van Doren notes,

> "[T]he land was either too steep or it didn't have any topsoil on it. So with the exceptions of possibly Duck Harbor and *possibly* Western Head, as far as I know, there was nobody really living on it. And frankly, I think sheep would have had a tough time over a good portion of it" (HV).

For this reason, certain early settlement efforts seem to have been only marginally successful outside of Duck Harbor, and many early settlers later relocated to more forgiving port communities on and off the Island. Indisputably, on the southwestern side of Isle au Haut, all early community life centered around Duck Harbor. The community that took form there was not a town, in the conventional sense, but an aggregation of interdependent homesteads. Each homestead relied on fishing, shellfishing, hunting, wild food harvests and small gardens and orchards for their sustenance; until roughly the 1830s, the famous duck drives also provided both sustenance and occasional income.[21] Yet, for most of their cash income, these families relied on the vagaries of the sea, especially pursuing fish such as cod, pollock, and herring for commercial markets, with commercial lobstering developing in the second half of the 19th century. At certain times, the little bay also served as a stopover point for mainland fishermen, who sometimes used fish houses on the cove through arrangements with local residents that are largely forgotten to time. The scenic bay around which this settlement grew was itself small but well sheltered – good for small-scale fishermen operating small boats - and fishermen could readily navigate their way home through the complex geography of outer Penobscot Bay. As Bates noted,

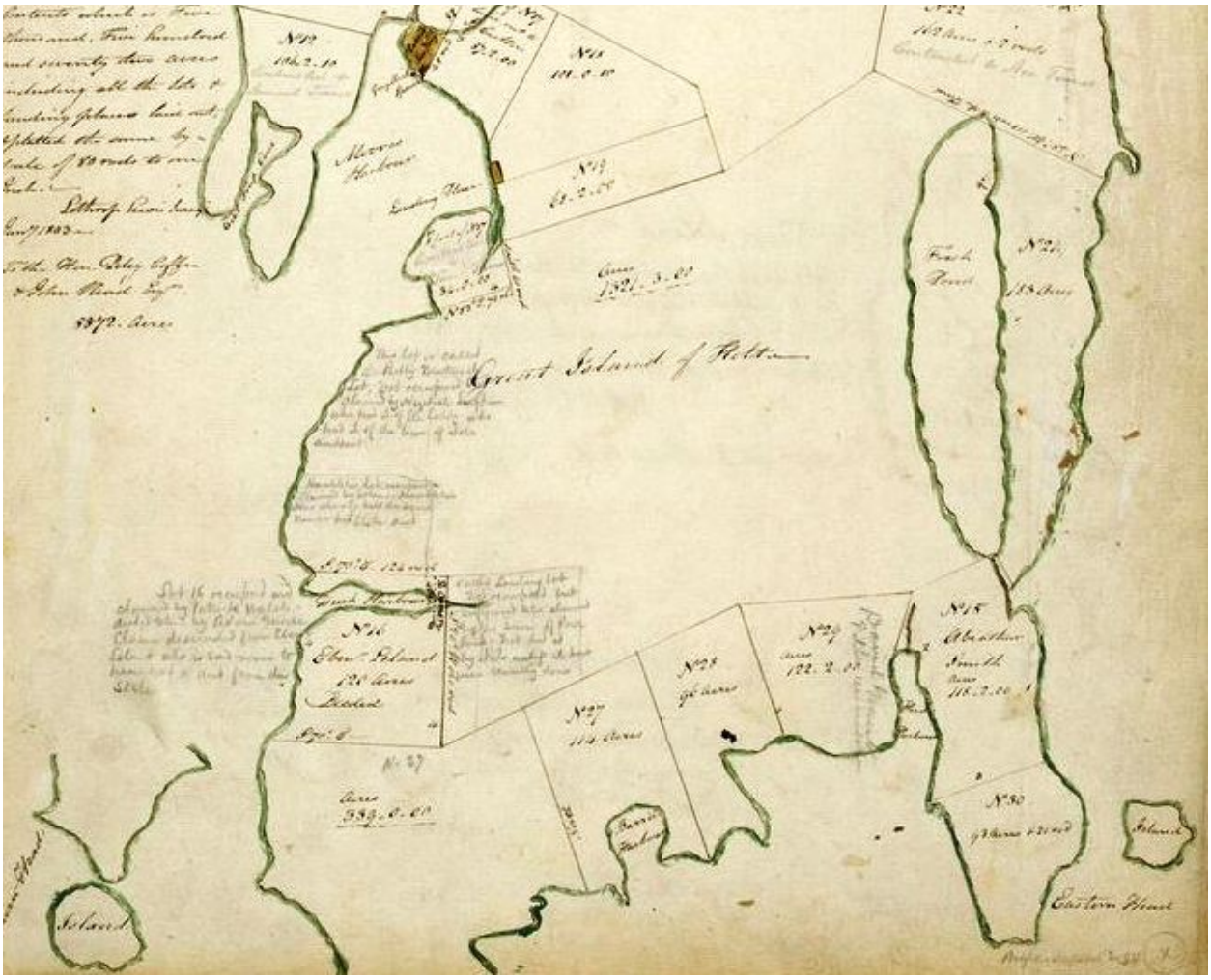
> "Farther down on the… shore of the Island is Duck Harbor, about which, in the opinion of many, lies the most beautiful portion of Isle au Haut. The entrance of this little bay is so hidden as to be almost imperceptible until the mariner is close upon it, although the hill which guards it on the southern side affords a convenient landmark by which to shape one's course" (Bates 1885: 652).

As various sources suggest, for surprisingly long periods of time, the community was made up of only two or three extended families – and increasingly over time, these families were all related to one-another by marriage (e.g., Noyes 1932). The modern descendants of these families do not hail from a single identifiable family, then, but are commonly descended from (or somehow related to) all of the major Duck Harbor families together, so that their association to this place is uniquely rich and encompassing. What follows is largely a review of the identities of some of these early settlers, ancestors to many of today's Islanders.

Early Duck Harbor settler, Ebenezer Leland is often reported to be the first Euro-American settler to live permanently on Duck Harbor. By most accounts, he arrived on Isle au Haut not long after the Barter family's arrival in the late 18th century. As Hosmer notes,

> "Ebenezer Leland, we have understood, was the person who made a settlement on the Island next after that of Mr. Peletiah Barter. He came from the town of Eden, Maine [now Bar Harbor], and settled near Duck Harbor, mentioned in the account given of duck-driving…Mr. Leland, not long after the Revolutionary War, lived in what is now the town of Brooksville. Whether he came from that place or not to Isle au Haut is not known, but he was originally an inhabitant of Eden, of which place his father was one of the early settlers. In the war of the Revolution he was a lieutenant in the regular army, and after his discharge happened to be at Bagaduce while the British were there, and was arrested as a spy. Had he not been able to produce his written discharge, he might have suffered death. His wife was a Miss Dyer, of Steuben [Maine], near a place known as Dyer's Bay" (Hosmer 1905: 191-92).

By 1803, Leland's Duck Harbor homestead appears to be well-established in survey notes and maps, and it is clear that Leland was among those settlers who worked with the State government to bring some order to Isle au Haut's chaotic land title system of those early years (Lewis 1803). Foundations and a former well have been reported in the general vicinity of the Leland home by interviewees as well as past cultural resource studies supported by Acadia National Park (Ruberstone et al. 1979; Sanger 1974). As noted above, Eben's Head is sometimes said to be named in reference to Leland (though the site was used by fisherman Eben Eaton long afterwards, complicating the question of name origins). By 1860, the Leland name is absent from records for Duck Harbor, with W. Harvey occupying some portion of Leland's former claim (Ruberstone et al, 1979). Yet, this landowner was apparently William Harvey, a grandson of Leland – his daughter Hannah (born in roughly 1810) having married John Harvey, Jr. (b. 1800).[22] Eben Leland's other children and grandchildren married members of the Hamilton,



Map 5: A detail of the Lathrop Lewis Survey map as it appears in the Maine plan book series, showing the homesteads of Eben Leland on Duck Harbor and Abiathar Smith on Head Harbor. From Lewis (1803).

Grant, and Bowen families of the south Island, insuring that – while the Leland name largely disappeared - the descendants of Ebenezer Leland are still integral to the larger extended families living on the Island today.

The Harvey family, in turn, was reported to have come to America from England in the early to mid-18th century. John Harvey Sr. (b. 1750) was reported to be a Revolutionary War soldier from South Carolina who moved to Maine following the war; it is unclear whether he lived on Isle au Haut, though he did live on Islands near Stonington later in life. His son George Harvey resided on Russ Island (near Stonington, Maine), while his son John Harvey, Jr. relocated to Duck Harbor in the early 19th century, marrying Hannah Leland. Both sons were veterans of the War of 1812. John Jr. and Hannah lived on Duck Harbor for many years, left for a time to live in New York, and later returned[23] Their children continued to occupy various portions of the southern Island:

interviewees suggest that their son, James Harvey, lived on Western Ear with his family for a time, camping there temporarily at other times while fishing, while his brother William lived on Moore's Harbor and at the old Leland homestead at Duck Harbor at various times too; both were said to be Civil War veterans.[24] The presence of "Harvey's Beach" on Eastern Head may indicate a period of occupation there as well. James and William's sister Nancy, meanwhile, was married to, or minimally involved with Isle au Haut settler Nat Merchant for a time. Some of their uncle, George Harvey's descendants also moved to the Island, including Thomas Harvey (b. 1817), who lived on Duck Harbor and whose daughter Sarah Elizabeth married Solomon Hamilton, Jr. after Thomas' death – making George Harvey ancestral to many Hamilton descendants on the Island. The descendants of the Harveys also married into the Grant family on Head Harbor, so that the Harvey family's reach included every community of southern Isle au Haut (Hosmer 1905; Noyes n.d.).

Nathaniel or "Nat" Merchant, Jr., meanwhile, was also a prominent settler of the Duck Harbor community. Arriving in the 19th century, Nat Merchant was the grandson of master mariner Anthony Merchant, Sr. and his wife Abigail (Raynes) Merchant – the founding settlers of Merchant Island, just north of Isle au Haut. Anthony Merchant Sr. is reported to have originally hailed from Cape Cod, by way of York, Maine - settling the Island that bears his name with Daniel Austin and partnering in the development of the Island (Noyes 1932). Arriving in the area by 1772 or 1773, most accounts suggest that Anthony Merchant Sr. was the first permanent Euro-American settler in all of the greater Isle au Haut area – living on the Island until his death (Hosmer 1905: 281).[25] His eldest son, Nathaniel Merchant, Sr. is reported to have lived on Camp Island on the southern side of Deer Island Thorofare, and died "a few years prior to 1830" (Hosmer 1905: 180).[26] (One of Nathaniel Merchant, Sr.'s sisters married a member of Isle au Haut's Barter family, so that descendants persist in the Isle au Haut area as part of the Barter family line.) Nathaniel's son, Nathaniel Merchant, Jr., moved to Isle au Haut proper – living on Duck Harbor for a time, but also having lands, a house, and fishing interests on the southern side of the Island on and around Merchant's Cove. Nat Merchant is reported to have been married, at least for a time, to Susan Smith (also reported as "Susan Merithew") of Head Harbor; their children largely dispersed to other, more populated portions of the Maine coast (Noyes n.d.). He was also reported to have been married to, or in a long-term relationship with, Nancy Harvey of the Duck Harbor Harvey family. While he moved around the Island over the course of his life, he was still reported to have had a house on the south side of Duck Harbor at the time of his death (ca. 1880). Many Island residents today know the Merchant name due to its continued use on park trails, Merchant Cove, and Merchant Creek, as well as Merchant Island and the Merchant's Row chain of Islands, but suggest that little is recalled of the Isle au Haut branch of the Merchant family today.

Other settlers who lived in the Duck Harbor community included the Welch family. James Patrick Welch was born on March 22, 1833, in Guysboro, on the coast of Nova

Scotia; he married Abbie Coombs (Knox County n.d.). The Welch family appears to have been living on a portion of the former Leland claim, adjacent to the Hamilton family, by the mid-19th century. While the story of the Welch family is somewhat thin in formal, written accounts, their homestead site was still widely known to interviewees. Robin Bowen, for example, observes that

> "The Welches had a place on the south side of Duck Harbor…by the park outhouse. They had a fish house there, a dock, there are still foundations and a cellar [and] old stone walls where they had a pasture" (RB).

Wayne Barter also identified the Welch homestead and cellar. The homestead was said to be dilapidated by the mid-20th century, being slowly overgrown with young forest and brush. (Interviewees often note that trees regenerate and grow in especially high densities at former settlement sites – a process that was said to be especially noticeable at Duck Harbor and Herrick's Camp.) Most of the Welch family were said to have relocated off-Island and descendants of the family were reported still living in the Stonington area.

Figure 6: An overexposed historical photo of Duck Harbor, showing the Welch house on the opposite (north) shore to the left, the Hamilton house on the north shore to the right, and the Leland (and later Harvey) house, wharf, and fish house on the south shore. Photo courtesy USDI National Park Service, Acadia National Park.

The Hamilton Family

Of the various family names that are associated with Isle au Haut's Duck Harbor settlement, however, perhaps none is as pivotal within the history of that community as Hamilton. Interviewees generally described the Hamilton family as the core of the Duck Harbor settlement and identified Solomon Hamilton, Sr. (1804-1887) - an ancestor to many Island residents - as one of its principal founders. Clearly, the Hamiltons were connected to many of the major events of the community's history and were among the most enduring presence on the Harbor; indeed, their importance in the Duck Harbor community only increased with the passage of time, as other settler families moved away and the Hamiltons endured. Even today, there is a single private inholding within the Duck Harbor portion of the park and it belongs to the descendants of this family – a point that will receive more detailed attention later in this document.

The brief discussion of the family's genealogy that follows is meant to serve as a foundation for later discussions of the Duck Harbor community. Extensive overviews of Hamilton family genealogy and history are available in such sources as Mixer (1976) and Hamilton (1912), while additional resources relating to the family are on file in the Isle au Haut Historical Collection and Revere Memorial Library in Isle au Haut. It is on the basis of these sources and interviewees' comments that the following profile has been developed.

Prior to their arrival on Isle au Haut, the Hamiltons were already a longstanding New England family with strong ties to the sea. Documents in the Isle au Haut Historical Society collections trace the genealogy of the Hamilton family back as far as Scotland in the 1300s and suggest that the Maine family line descended from David Hamilton, who sailed from Gravesend, England to New England in November of 1651 (Mixer 1976; Hamilton 1912; Noyes n.d.).[27] There were many Solomon Hamiltons descended from David Hamilton living on the coast of Maine through the 18th and 19th century. Through the 1700s, three generations of Solomon Hamiltons lived on the mainland coast of Maine: Solomon I lived in Berwick, and his son Solomon II moved north to Belfast. The younger Solomon's wife was a member of the Knowlton family, who also settled on Isle au Haut in the years after the Revolutionary War (and was ancestral to the Smith family – one of the prominent families of 19th century Head Harbor.)[28] It was in Belfast that their son, Solomon III – also known as "Solomon Hamilton, Sr.," the founding father of that branch of the Hamilton family that moved to Isle au Haut - was born and raised (Knox County n.d.).

Map 6: The 1836 Frost survey shows Solomon Hamilton occupying a homestead just north of the Leland homestead on Duck Harbor, while the Wentworth family occupies the homestead to the north of the Hamiltons. The sprawling George Kimball lot occupies much of the Island's interior at this time. From Frost (1836).

Solomon Sr. was born in Belfast, Maine on December 25, 1800 (some sources report 1804) and he moved to Isle au Haut at an early age - no later than in 1819 (U.S. Census n.d.).[29] Census records identify him as a "sailor." Survey records suggest that he was among the first non-Native residents of Duck Harbor and had acquired his 103 acre parcel there prior to the Frost survey of the south Island in 1836. He married Margaret Lindsey between 1818 and 1824 (accounts vary). (The Lindsey name appears on early documents as an early Duck Harbor family, with the interior portion of that harbor being identified as the "Lindsey lot" on mid-19th annotations to survey maps from no later than 1836 [Lewis 1803; Frost 1836]). Margaret appears to have been the mother of Solomon Jr., who would later be a cornerstone of Duck Harbor community life; she was also the mother of Jane Solomon, who is reported to have been born on Isle au Haut by 1819. Margaret later died, but by 1855, Solomon Sr. married Anne Buckminster in Deer Isle, Maine. The 1850 census lists 13 children in Solomon's household: Solomon, Jr., Alfred, Mahalee, Corinda, Emily, George, Josiah, Jane, Margaret, Abel, Harry, James, and John (U.S. Census n.d.). Solomon Sr. died and was buried in the Duck Harbor cemetery in 1887, after roughly seven decades living on the Harbor.

Their son, Solomon Hamilton, Jr. also lived in Duck Harbor much of his long life (April 1, 1830-Sept. 3, 1919), and was a central figure in that community's history through the better part of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Born on Isle au Haut, presumably on Duck Harbor, Solomon Jr. followed in his father's footsteps in many respects, and was also identified as a "sailor" in census records. Solomon Jr. married Sarah Elizabeth Harvey (ca. 1850 - April 17, 1942).[30] Sarah was a daughter of the Hamiltons' Duck Harbor neighbors Thomas and Anna Harvey, and part of the same Harvey family discussed above.[31] While accounts of the exact numbers vary, all parties agree that Solomon Jr. and Sarah had a large number of children. Most written accounts suggest that Solomon Jr. and Sarah had 13 children who survived into young adulthood, plus another four who died at birth. Living children included Georgia Celeste (Coombs), Lillian (Robinson), Freeman, Ada (Prescott), Julia (Smith), Maggie (Rich), Cora (Cummings), Mina (Thomas), Beatrice (Bowen), Lizzie Bell (1- Barton/2-Vinal), Charles, George, and Ephraim.[32] As the last names suggest, this generation of Hamiltons also married into many of the other Island families, often relocating from Duck Harbor to other communities on the Island such as Rich's Cove,[33] Head Harbor, and Isle au Haut proper on the Thorofare. Between the families of Solomon Sr. and Solomon Jr., the Hamilton's kinship network was truly vast, linking them to every longstanding family on the Island. Much more will be said of the Hamiltons in the pages that follow.

By the second half of the 19th century, then, the basic social landscape of Duck Harbor was in place. The 1881 Colby atlas shows four major households on Duck Harbor – those of P. Welch, S. Hamilton (Sr.), S. Hamilton Jr. and N. Merchant, while W.H. Harvey is shown living a short distance away on Moore's Harbor. By this time, all of the families identified in the narrative above were represented on the shores of the

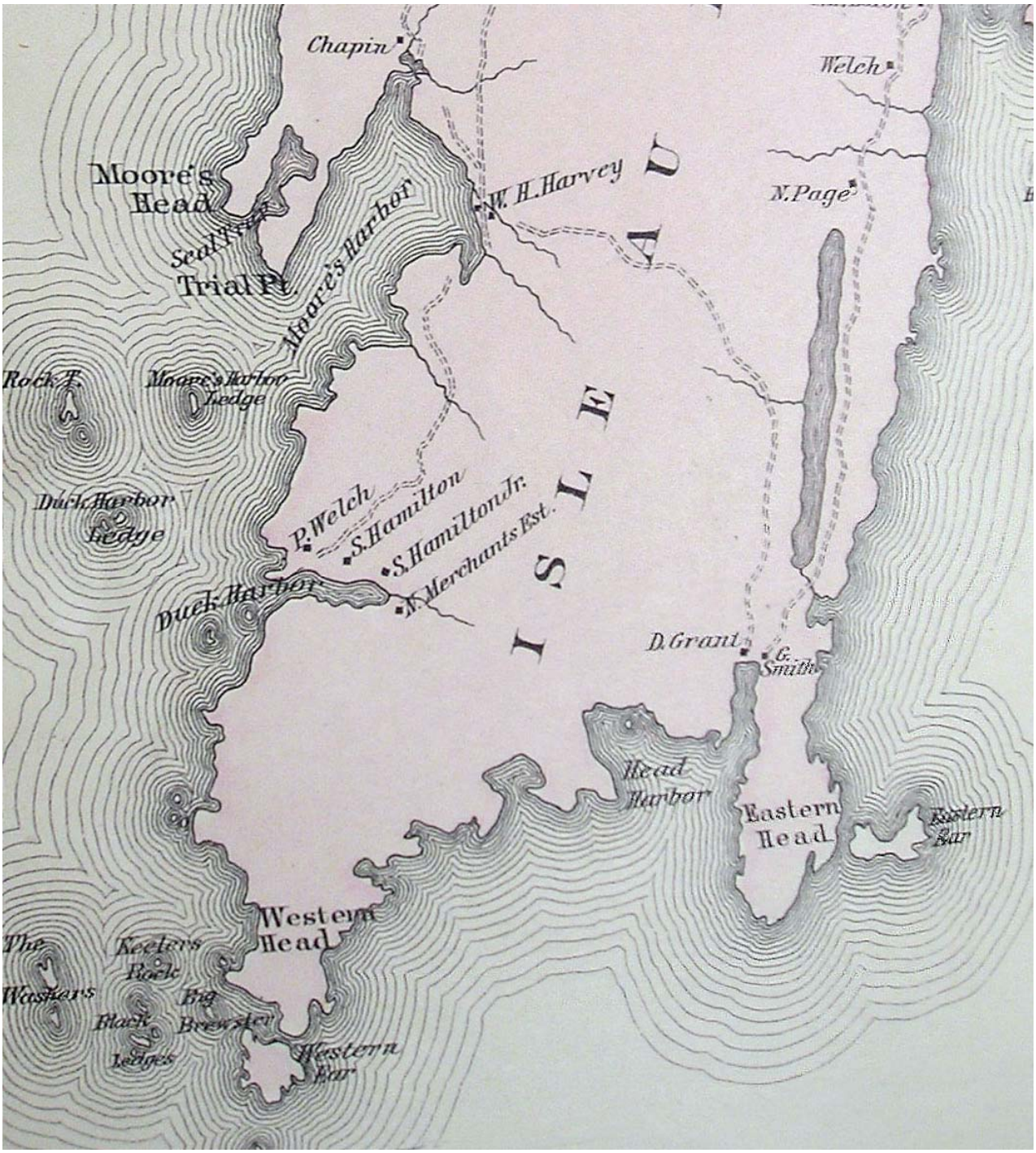
southwestern Island. There were a small number of temporary or absentee land owners at this time too, but most related in some way to these cornerstone families; there is also evidence that some of the principal families were starting to subdivide their lands between certain male children at around this time.[34]

The Hamilton Cemetery

While there are no longer permanent residents living in Duck Harbor, the cemetery from this longstanding community persists a short distance away from the Hamilton homestead. Sitting on the northeastern side of the Harbor, this cemetery is a place of enduring importance to many members of the Isle au Haut community. Most of the individuals buried there are members of the extended Hamilton family described above, so that the cemetery is sometimes referred to as the "Hamilton Cemetery" locally, in addition to sometimes being called the "Duck Harbor Cemetery." Some 18 individuals are reported to be buried there: of these, 10 are members of the Hamilton family, three are members of a single nuclear family by the name of Thomas, and the remaining five are individuals with surnames appearing nowhere else in the burial records for any cemetery in Isle au Haut – Eaton, Hopkins, Parson, and a woman and infant by the name of Richards. Burials were added to the cemetery between 1817 and roughly 1942 – the final burial being that of Sarah Hamilton, the prominent matriarch of the Hamiltons through the early 20th century. A list of individuals recorded in the Hamilton Cemetery is provided in Table 1.

Many shipwrecks have been recorded in and around Isle au Haut, some resulting in significant loss of life.[35] Interviewees made references to family oral traditions describing former Duck Harbor residents burying at least one or more non-resident fishermen or shipwreck victims who had been claimed by the sea nearby in the cemetery, but recalled few specifics. It is possible, then, that shipwreck victims make up some portion of those individuals with unknown surnames in the burial records, or may be unrecorded in the formal roster of burials for this cemetery. Of those identified in the Duck Harbor cemetery, Charles Parsons is the only individual reputed to be a shipwreck victim (HV).

Hamilton descendants, in particular, continue to visit this graveyard and the graves of their family there, and the place is of enduring importance to that considerable proportion of the Isle au Haut population that possesses Hamilton ancestry. There is still space in the cemetery for additional burials, but interviewees did not mention any continuing interest among Hamilton descendants or others in any future use of the site for new burials.



Map 7: A detail of the southern Island from the 1880 Colby atlas. By this time, the Welch family, Nat Merchant and both Solomon Hamiltons (Junior and Senior) had houses on Duck Harbor. Meanwhile, the Harveys occupied Moore's Harbor and the Grant and Smith families were established on the northwestern and northeastern ends of Head Harbor respectfully. From Colby (1880).

Table 1
Individuals Buried in the Hamilton Cemetery
Adapted from Turner (2009)

Name	Birth	Death	Age	Spouse	Parents	Notes
Eaton, David			79 years			Only Eaton in Isle au Haut burial records, but likely relative of Eben Eaton et al
Hamilton, Chester E.	1865(?)	Oct. 6, 1880	15 years		Abel & Sarah (Coombs) Hamilton	
Hamilton, Ephraim W.	1869	June 5, 1887	17 years, 10 mos.		Solomon Jr. & Sarah (Harvey) Hamilton	
Hamilton, George A.					James Nelson & Martha (Holland) Hamilton	Child/infant?
Hamilton, George L.	1889	Jan. 9, 1899	9 yrs., 10 mos., 20 days		Solomon Jr. & Sarah (Harvey) Hamilton	
Hamilton, Hazel M.					James Nelson & Martha (Holland) Hamilton	Child/infant?
Hamilton, Mary "Moddie"	1879	June 29, 1881	2 years, 3 mos.		Abel & Sarah (Coombs) Hamilton	
Hamilton, Sarah Elizabeth	April 20, 1850	1942		Solomon Hamilton, Jr.	Thomas & Ann (Buckminster) Harvey	(Maiden name of Harvey)
Hamilton, Solomon, Jr.	April 1, 1830	Sept. 3, 1919	89 years	1 – Ann Buckminster 2 – Sarah E. Harvey	Solomon Sr. & Margaret "Peggy" Hamilton	
Hamilton, Solomon, Sr.	Oct. 12, 1804	Sept. 10, 1887	83 years	Margaret "Peggy"	Solomon II & Miss (Knowlton) Hamilton	Epitaph on gravestone: "Grandfather"
Hamilton, Willard	1892	May 5, 1892	3 days		Solomon Jr. & Sarah (Harvey) Hamilton	
Hopkins, Justus G.	June 7, 1871	April 24, 1904	33 years	Judith L. Thomas	Asa D. & Fannie Hopkins	Only Hopkins in Isle au Haut burial records

Parsons, Charles	probably 1792	June 26, 1817	25 years			Only Parsons in Isle au Haut burial records; probably shipwreck victim
Richards, Lizzie & baby						Lizzie Richards & baby only Richards in Isle au Haut burial records
Thomas, Alfreda	Nov. 19, 1852	April 29, 1918	66 years	Henry Thomas	George Jr. & Judith (Knowlton) Smith	Parents in Smith / Thomas / Woollen cemetery @ Head Harbor
Thomas, Henry	1836	Oct. 13, 1897	60 yrs., 10 mos., 23 days	1 – Lavina Brown 2 – Alfreda Smith		Other Thomases in Small cemetery @ Rich's Cove
Thomas, Robert		1894				

Adapted from: Turner, Charles F. 2009. Isle au Haut, Maine Burials and Cemeteries. Unpublished ms. in collections of the Revere Memorial Library, Isle au Haut, Maine.

In addition to the development of cemeteries, Island residents have a tradition of burying family members on one's property, a short distance from the family house. A number of burial sites are said to be associated with former home sites in many parts of the Island. This sort of burial pattern has persisted into recent times in residential areas of Isle au Haut. While no specific burial sites were reported adjacent to Duck Harbor home sites, some interviewees suggested a modest probability of additional, isolated burials in these settings.

The Community of Head Harbor

While most the Head Harbor community lies outside of the park, its close proximity makes the history of the community inseparable from the larger history of park lands and resources. Many of the resource areas that supported community life – such as fishing grounds, sheep grazing areas, and the like - included what are today park lands, and many of those lands were once owned by Head Harbor families. The small community hugs the shoreline of Head Harbor, proper – a waterway that has long been

awash in both unique challenges and unique opportunities. As the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey has explained it, Head Harbor is "a small bight in the south shore of Isle au Haut, just west of Eastern Head; it is exposed to southerly winds and only used by fishermen" (U.S.C.G.S. 1891: 85). As such, this little community has been conveniently located close to some of the best fishing and lobstering waters on the Island, but also precariously exposed to the open Atlantic, where waves sometimes crash into the shoreline, damaging fish houses and scuttling gear.[36]

Like Duck Harbor, the little village of Head Harbor poses some interesting challenges to historical researchers. As a small community long isolated from the population centers on the northwest side of the Island, its history is difficult to reconstruct based on written sources alone. As Charles Pratt noted of Head Harbor, "in its heyday it was off by itself and thus generally excluded from whatever small amount of history was recorded in the town" (Pratt 1974: 110). A combination of written and oral history perhaps provides the clearest window into the changing nature of this small community over time.

As interviewees attest, for most of its early history, there were two principal families living in the head Harbor area – the Smiths and the Grants. These families arrived quite early in Isle au Haut history. (Indeed, the 1860 Walling atlas and the 1881 Colby atlas identify only two families residing in Head Harbor at the time: those of D. Grant and G. Smith.) Both families had kinship ties to most of the larger Duck Harbor community, and both have persisted in some manner into the living memory of the Isle au Haut community. In later years a number of other fishing families with both Head Harbor and Duck Harbor connections – Bowens, Harveys and others – would also make Head Harbor their home, augmenting the fishing community in a variety of ways.[37]

The two founding families of Head Harbor arrived early in the Island's Euro-American history, from other parts of Maine. Not long after 1800, the family of Abiathar Smith, hailing from Thomaston, Maine (near Rockland) took up residence at Head Harbor – he and his family apparently being the earliest Euro-American settler to do so permanently.[38] The family claimed a tract of land on the eastern portion of the harbor. His son, George Smith Sr. (b. 1780) settled for a time north of the Turners on Long Pond, but is later reported living on Head Harbor and apparently assuming ownership of the Smith family homestead (M. Noyes n.d.: 52). Some of George Sr.'s children also continued to reside on Head Harbor into adulthood, including his son, George Smith, Jr. (b. 1810). In time, most of George Jr.'s siblings moved away, leaving George Jr. and his immediate family still residing in Head Harbor and overseeing family interests on the property; George Smith, Jr. ultimately inherited his grandfather Abiathar's sizeable tract of land, and raised his own family there.[39] Wayne Barter recalled local oral tradition about the Smith family, George Jr. in particular:

> "He's buried right there in Head Harbor, George Smith…I think it was George Smith that had been wounded at Antietam during the Civil War. I

> think, don't hold me to that. He died in the 1880s…[I]f it was him, he got hit by cannon fire, I guess, because back then, the rebels would put anything they could find in their cannons. He got hit in the head. And they said he had a silver plate in his head… And they said he got hit in the hand, and his hand was permanently [contorted] like that, and his pipe fit perfectly" (WB).

The genealogy and early history of the Smith family is presented in a few accessible sources, including Hosmer (1905) and Noyes (n.d.), and sheds valuable light upon the experiences of this important period in Head Harbor settlement.

Map 8: The southern portion of Isle au Haut in the 1860 Walling atlas. At this time, the Grant family was well established on Head Harbor, while Nat Merchant occupied the southern shore of the Island, and the Harvey and Hamilton families occupied Duck Harbor. From Walling (1860).

The Grant family arrived in the 1840s, more than a generation later than the Smiths, but was no less consequential in the early history of this small community. Elisha Grant was reported to have been a Penobscot County sheriff in Hampden, near Bangor, prior to moving to Isle au Haut with his family. His first wife had died and records suggest that she may not have lived on the Island, but he brought his children from that marriage

including his roughly 16-year-old son, David Grant (born circa 1830).[40] The family took up residence on Head Harbor, initially occupying lands on the west side of the harbor, abutting the Smith homestead. By the time of Elijah's death in the 1870s, he had remarried twice, to members of both the Hamilton and Harvey families. In the course of his life, Elijah Grant, sometimes in partnership with his son, David, had started to acquire what would become the Grant family's truly extensive tracts of land. They purchased land near Merchant's Cove from Martin Lennon in 1845, may have acquired interior portions of the Island near Long Pong from the Kimball family, and acquired certain lands on Head Harbor and the Merchant's Cove area from the Smith family through the late 1860s (NPS n.d.). By the time David Grant inherited his father's land interests, the Grant holdings included portions of Eastern Head, the eastern reaches of the Island's south shore, and an impressive portion of the Head Harbor's western waterfront.

David M. Grant, the heir apparent of the Grant family's Isle au Haut interests, had grown up on the Island, but had also been exposed to ideas and places well beyond the Head Harbor waterfront. David was born in Hampden in 1830, and had returned to the mainland for a time to pursue an education not long the family's arrival at Isle au Haut. As Pratt suggests, David acquired land somewhat interior to his father's lands at a young age and was pivotal in helping establish the early sheep herding industry on the Island:

> "David Grant…was born in interior Maine in a somewhat urban environment and was college educated. When he was young – probably in the 1840s – he came to the Island and paid fifteen dollars for a hundred-acre farm down by the pond. He grazed five hundred sheep on the west side of the pond" (Pratt 1974: 111).

In addition to fishing and raising sheep, David had founded a store on Head Harbor with his father, and continued to operate the store for a number of decades. David and his wife, Sophia (b. 1847), had no fewer than four children, including Ulysses S. (a.k.a. "Les," apparently named with reference to the sitting president of the United States, in 1866), Eliza (b. 1870), Gooden (b. 1876), and Mary Emma (1879) (Knox County n.d.). Some residents still recall that the steep rise on the road just to the west of Head Harbor sits on land owned by David Grant and has sometimes called been called "Dave Grant's Hill" in his honor.

With their four children, all born on Head Harbor, David and Sophia's family had large and enduring effects on the southern Island, residing there for much of their very long lives (Gooden Grant lived almost 99 years, from 1876 to 1975; his brother Ulysses lived roughly 92 years, from 1866 to 1958). Many contemporary residents of the Island can

still clearly recall both brothers, and almost all attest to their singular importance to Head Harbor history.

Of these two brothers, Gooden was mentioned more frequently than any other south Island resident by interviewees for this study. Indeed, on the basis of local oral history, Pratt concluded that "the history of Head Harbor is the history of Gooden Grant" (Pratt 1974: 110). He was born on March 19, 1876, possibly while the family was staying at Herrick's Camp, and passed away in January 1975.[41] As Pratt summarized, Gooden's youth was spent on the sea, fishing as part of the family's business:

> "at the age of ten he began fishing from a rowboat, seining with hoop nets for porgies and pressing them for their oil, which was used as the basis of paint. It took one hundred porgies to make a gallon of oil, which he could sell for one dollar. At fourteen he was lobstering alone from a peapod" (Pratt 1974: 111).

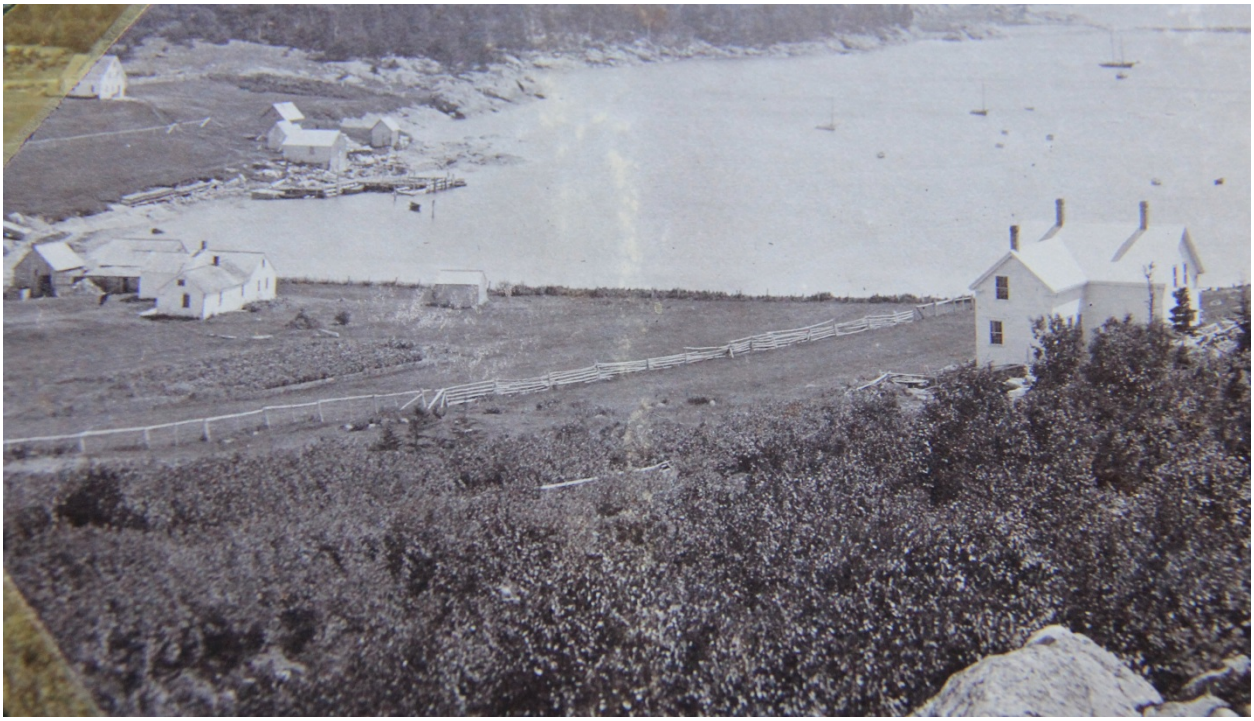


Figure 7: An early view of Head Harbor, with the Grant house visible on the right. Photo courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society.

Many interviewees mentioned Gooden Grant and his wife, Nettie.[42] Gooden had one child, Edith Elvina Grant, who was born while he and his wife lived in Brooksville; Ulysses had no children, but did have a stepson by the name of Bert Newell, Jr. (Noyes n.d.). Both brothers lived on the northwestern shore of Head Harbor.[43]

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Head Harbor community was at times both surprisingly autonomous and prosperous, its waterfront bustling. As Tom Guglielmo summarizes matters,

> "I think it was a fairly prosperous community down here. First of all, these waters out here, I hear, are some of the most productive fishing waters on the coast of Maine. And these guys out here, they guarded it. And then there was a big store out here that supplied, maybe in the 19th century, you know, supply store. And when there was fog out there, all these schooners would come in, and fishing boats, and things like that. So there was an independent life down here. And these guys took advantage of it" (TG).

Long Pond and Isle au Haut Ice Manufacturing

A scenic finger lake, extending north-south in the Island's southeastern interior, Long Pond is by far the largest body of fresh water, and is among the Island's most significant scenic and recreational areas lying principally outside of the park. Most of the Long Pond shoreline, and almost all formerly settled portions of it, lie beyond the park's boundaries, but its history intersects with that of the adjacent park lands in numerous ways.

Many interviewees spoke of the use of the pond by members of the Head Harbor, but also alluded to special ties to the pond among the Turner family, who arrived very early in the Island's history and very soon thereafter took up residence on the pond's north end. This family, still resident on the Island today, descends in part from the family of early Isle au Haut settler, Calvin Turner. As Hosmer notes,

> "Calvin Turner came early with his family, and settled near the northern end of the pond. He formerly resided in what is now the town of Orland [Maine]. It has been stated that he built the first saw and grist mills in that town, in 1773. The exact time of his coming is not known to us. His wife was a Miss Stinson…The sons of the family were: the late Captain Asa Turner, who lived and died on Isle au Haut; James Turner, who lived in Bucksport; John Turner, who removed to the town of Brooklin, where he died. Another, whose name, we believe, was Calvin, was lost at sea, and

> was at the time master of the vessel on which he was lost. Of the daughters we know nothing, as none of them remained here. Mr. Turner died in 1838, at the age of ninety years. The land he lived on was afterward occupied by his son, Captain Asa Turner, who was a man much respected" (Hosmer 1905: 192).[44]

The family house has persisted in this location. Indeed, in Hadlock's 1963 list of historical and archaeological sites in and around Acadia National Park, the 1820s Turner home on the north end of Long Pond was reported to be a likely candidate for the oldest building on the Island (Hadlock 1963). (Residents, however, allude to two structures that are reputed to be older, including the "Mary Ellen" house from the early 1800s in the Thorofare village and the Rich homestead on Rich's Cove, dating from 1803 [HV].) While the Turner home was later occupied by Noah Page (whose name appears in this area on Colby's 1880 map of the Island) the Turner family continued to occupy various places nearby, as well as on the Thorofare side of the Island. The Turner family's name was still applied to the pond for a number of years, being called "Turner Pond" instead of "Long Pond." (The lake also appears as "Silver Lake" and "Fresh Pond" on some early maps.)

By no later than the early 1880s, the east side of the pond was lined with a road that connected to Head Harbor. A number of houses are reported to have lined the pond in these early days, which are not generally apparent on maps but appear in local oral tradition; foundations may still be found in this area that attest to settlement in this area (HV). The south side of the pond, owned for an extensive time by members of the Grant family, was still used well into the first half of the 20th century by visiting tribal members who camped there "with the permission of the landowner, shooting gulls (which was then legal) for the feathers and gathering sweetgrass" (Pratt 1974: 14).

The use of the pond for fishing is longstanding, and has been popular for residents and visitors alike. In modern times, Long Pond has been stocked with trout since the 190s and – from the 1930s through the 1980s – was stocked with landlocked salmon (HV). The pond has also been popular with locals for ice fishing: "the state stocks it with trout now. I've iced fished there" (WB). For many years, people from off-Island have sometimes landed there with float planes and fished. (Indeed, in the course of this research, the author saw floatplanes coming and going from Long Pond at various times with recreational visitors.) Recreational swimming and canoeing in Long Pond has been a longstanding tradition among some residents and "summer people," while ice skating was reportedly popular with winter residents (Dice n.d.: 9; Pratt 1974).

Of all the historical activities that interviewees mentioned in reference to Long Pond, however, early industrial-scale ice production was among the most significantly linked to park lands and resources. In its early years, the Point Lookout community cut ice

from the pond for use at the club in the days before gas refrigerators were used. Harold van Doren notes that there were still remnants from this Point Lookout operation on the Island into recent times: "There are huge-toothed ice saws still around in outbuildings, and back in the 1970s, I saw a motorized (6-cyclinder Buick, I think, from the 1920's) engine that ran a portable ice-cutting saw" (HV).

However, the most intensive Long Pond ice manufacturing was undertaken for off-Island customers. During the 19th century, a number of companies began to distribute ice at a regional scale for the preservation of foods – notably meat, fish and other seafood – as well as the manufacture of ice cream and other frozen foods, and use in drinks. As one industry publication of the time noted,

> "The harvesting of ice has become a most important industry. Within the last half-century its increase, as a business, has been most remarkable. Ice, once a luxury, is now a necessity; and, in the tropics, it is invaluable" (Blanchard 1889: 5).

Maine was a major supplier to the American ice industry. (Indeed, coastal Maine was arguably the epicenter of American ice production; south of Boston, winter weather had been deemed too unpredictable by early business leaders to warrant developing the infrastructure required for large-scale ice production.) By the late 19th century, many of the major rivers and lakes of Maine hosted ice harvesting operations to support the demands of the urban Northeast, and larger national and international markets beyond. Natural ponds near major roads, railroads or navigable waterways were especially preferred; still, companies sometimes dammed streams to create reservoirs that might freeze over in the winter and provide ice in conveniently accessible locations. Isle au Haut's Long Pond – sitting a short distance away from the protected small bay at Head Harbor – presented ice companies with an appealing opportunity for small-scale ice production a short distance from the open sea.

The company that ultimately acquired rights to harvest ice from the pond, as well as interests in considerable tracts of Island land, was the Knickerbocker Ice Company. The Knickerbocker Ice Company was founded in 1831, initially establishing large ice-making operations in Rockland, Maine. As the company grew in the following decades, the Company added major production and shipping facilities on the Kennebec River, as well as in the vicinity of Boothbay, roughly 50 miles by the sea to the west of Isle au Haut.[45] In time, Knickerbocker had grown into a sprawling ice empire. By the mid-19th century, Knickerbocker Ice Company had consolidated their business offices in Philadelphia and had constructed vast ice warehouses in such cities as Philadelphia, Boston, and New York to supply ice to the urban Northeast. From ice production sites throughout rural Maine, blocks of ice were commonly shipped to holding warehouses in towns such as Gardiner and Farmingdale before they were shipped to these big cities.

By the 1870s, the Company began to dominate the domestic ice market, and was by necessity expanding their facilities and their ownership of ice sources rapidly into untapped parts of rural Maine – a process that was hampered by narrow roads and other transportation barriers in these less developed parts of the state. During roughly the same period, Knickerbocker executives decided to expand the maritime shipping wing of the company, and began pursuing ice sources close to the open Atlantic to allow increased production that might bypass the transportation challenges of the interior mainland. The company developed its own fleet of ice ships and barges that delivered ice between warehouses within Maine, and between Maine production sites and urban markets. It is during that period that the company acquired their interests in Isle au Haut; by the late 1880s, it was reported that their coastal expansion had been a success and "The company [now] owns ice properties at Baxter's Island, on Sheepscott River, and at Isle au Haut, with unrivaled facilities for storing and shipping" (Blanchard 1889: 10).

Interviewees and archival accounts provide hints of what Knickerbocker's ice production meant to residents of the Head Harbor area. Teams of men scraped snow off the ice's surface, often with the aid of horses; they then cut blocks of ice, commonly with large saws and blades that were pulled by horse teams. (In some larger production sites, gas-operated mechanical cutting tools were brought into use by the late 19th century, but no references were made to this practice at Isle au Haut.) The company often used local labor in its operations and it is reasonable to conclude that they did so at Isle au Haut, though interviewees could not recall who was employed at the Long Pond operation. Typically, harvesting sites had small warehouses where ice was packed in sawdust for insulation, being stacked with the use of ropes, pulleys and some combination of horses or mechanical engines. There, ice was stored until demand was highest in the summer months. Interviewees noted that there had been buildings associated with ice production, presumably associated with temporary storage of ice, tools, and other items.

While company records were not reviewed in the course of this research, interviewee accounts suggest that land acquisitions and access were arranged with the Grant family, which owned vast tracts of land on this part of the Island. Interviewees consistently reported that a road linked the southern end of Long Pond with a wharf constructed by the company on the eastern side of Head Harbor. The old Knickerbocker Ice Company wharf is still visible along the shoreline, linked to Long Pond by remnants of the former ice works road – none of these features being within the park. Along with the land required to develop the wharf, the Knickerbocker Ice Company also acquired a goodly portion of Eastern Head contiguous to the wharf site from the Grant family, apparently for anticipated infrastructure and perhaps housing relating to the ice operation. "The Knickerbocker Ice Company owned the entire headland there"(RB). These lands, now constituting much of the Eastern Head portion of the park, remained largely undeveloped during Knickerbocker's period of occupation.

While the exact relationship between Head Harbor residents and the ice operation at Long Pond received little attention in interviews or archival accounts, it is clear that there were some symbiotic aspects to this relationship. The Grant family in particular seems to have benefitted from this relationship, selling or leasing lands, but also acquiring a steady supply of ice with few equals in the Penbscot Bay region. Interviewees suggested that the Grants may have sold ice to fishermen from their store on the Head Harbor waterfront and likely used it in the refrigeration of their own catch:

> "They sold ice down here, you know, because fishermen needed ice to keep [fish] Knickerbocker Ice Company was out here somewhere, and dragged ice from the lake" (TG).

Such abundant access to ice was largely unprecedented, and may have allowed the Grants and other south shore fishermen greater flexibility in the storage and shipping of fish from Head Harbor. Some local oral tradition persists regarding this early ice production; for example, as Harold van Doren notes, "Gooden Grant claimed the ice from the Pond was so clear that you could read a newspaper through 10 inches of it. Gooden was given to hyperbole, but maybe this time he was right?" (HV).

By the very early 20th century, however, the ice harvesting industry was being gradually displaced by emerging refrigeration technologies. The Knickerbocker Ice Company began a slow contraction, hastened by internal restructuring and employee turnover in their highest ranks. Their peripheral production sites were among the first to be disbanded – ironically, those places that were last to be added to their production chain were often first to be sold. The Long Pond interests were no exception. Not long into the early 1900s, the Knickerbocker Ice Company ceased production and began to sell off their assets on Isle au Haut. Wayne Barter has collected correspondence from this transfer of lands:

> "I have a letter actually from the Knickerbocker Ice Company to David Grant telling David Grant that old man Knickerbocker had died, and they were no longer needing that land. So that's what tells me that it might have been Grant land at the time. Because the Grants owned a tremendous amount of acreage…Because the Grants owned from here, middle of Long Pond, they owned this—what is the park now—and way over to Merchant Cove. Where the Nat Merchant trail goes in, that was the boundary there. And that was all Grant land" (WB).

By the 1930s, the rural production facilities of Knickerbocker and their competitors were in rapid decline throughout the state, as artificial ice production plants appeared

throughout the country and a small number of households obtained home freezers. By the end of World War II the industry was abruptly swept away by the diffusion of modern home freezers and related technologies.

Herrick's Camp

Of those areas of the park that are interior to the park road, perhaps the most commonly mentioned by interviewees was the "Herrick's Camp" area, just west of Long Pond.[46] Archival and interview accounts mentioned that the Herrick family bought land from either Solomon Kimball or David Grant. (Deed records suggest that Joseph Herrick purchased the land from Solomon Kimball in 1847, and the land was then transferred from Joseph to Job B. Herrick in 1855 [NPS n.d.]). The Herrick family occupied the Herrick's Camp area for only roughly ten years before they largely abandoned the land. As Wayne Barter recounted,

> "His name was Job B. Herrick. And I know where he's buried too, over here in Northport, down here in Northport. He died in 1910…And he was only there about ten years roughly. And I have the deed where it was transferred back to the Grants and he left" (WB).[47]

While the reasons for the family's departure are unclear, some Island residents cite the Herrick story as an example of the high stakes and limited success of early agricultural settlement, and invoke the Herrick's experience as proof of what happened to Isle au Haut residents who chose occupations that did not somehow involve the sea. Without access to the sea, the place seems nonsensical within the larger sweep of Isle au Haut history: "I can't believe anybody lived there year round!" (BB).

Certain interviewees who have explored this part of the Island reported that the Herrick home site was still identifiable from its foundation, cellar hole and other remnant features on the landscape. As Harold van Doren notes,

> "Herrick Camp— you can still see the foundation for it—and that's up towards the headwaters of Bull Brook that runs into the pond there, on the west shore of the pond. And the access to it is a trail that runs from the foot of the pond, that road along the foot of the pond. It runs up along the west bank of the pond, and it actually eventually joins in with the Long Pond Trail there" (HV)

Figure 8: One of the many large stone cairns at Herrick's Camp, largely overgrown by spruce forest that has become established since Herrick's departure. D. Deur photo.

During their brief tenure, the Herrick family created large clearings with apple orchards and other croplands before abandoning the homestead. Herrick and others had sought to improve the land for agriculture by removing stones from the land's surface – a monumental task in this rocky area. As they cleared, tilled, and planted the land, they cast aside stones in piles, rows, and myriad other formations. Herrick was clearly a busy man: the Herrick's Camp area is still dotted with stacked rock features, some of over 6 feet in diameter and 4 feet in height on the forest floor, partially concealed by the spruce-dominated forest that has regenerated since the land's abandonment. A number of interviewees commented on the rockworks at Herrick's Camp, with their short and sometimes fragmentary walls, as well as conical rock cairns, linear rocks features, and other stone features. As Deb Shrader notes, this is a unique point of interest in the otherwise dense and relatively young conifer forest surrounding the park trail:

> "there's a stone wall up on, like, on the old Herrick Trail. Up on the Long Pond Trail, there's one really pretty one, really nice stone wall with a foundation and the rock piles. It's really nice. It actually makes that trail sort of worth walking, otherwise it's not…[I]t's definitely a nicer one, and it's right on the trail because that trail used to be, it's a whole historic trail

that the guy used to get up to his house. It was part of the whole homestead, so it goes right to the house" (DS).

There are also myriad stone fences in this forest that were identified by interviewees as sheep enclosures for various purposes – from lambing and lamb pens to protective barriers for gardens. It is unclear if these date from the Herrick family occupation, though there is some suggestion that a portion of his rock piles may have been rearranged subsequently by the Grants or others to accommodate sheep grazing in the homestead site. Some have been rearranged in more recent times, it seems, into trail cairns that complement the blue-painted tree blazes and other markings used to highlight the trail's passage through this dense and sometimes disorienting forest. And, in many cases, there are low, linear features for which no clear function is apparent – some perhaps being remnant segments of fences or rock piles that simply aggregated in linear form as they were cleared to one side from adjacent fields. Most of the stone features do not appear to align with any known land boundaries. In fact, one regular Island visitor, Dr. Richard Marks, meticulously sought to locate and map these rock features and compare them to land boundaries of the 19th century, finding no clear correlations. This map, still reported to be in the possession of Dr. Marks, is a document of clear historical interest and may deserve attention by park staff hoping to make sense of the 19th century stone labyrinth now in their management.

Figure 9: One of several stone walls at Herrick's Camp. D. Deur photo.

Aside from the apparent rearrangement of rocks after the Herrick family's departure, there is other evidence that the Grant family continued to use and occupy the Herrick's Camp site once the land reverted back to their ownership. Grant family oral tradition made reference to the continued use of the Herrick family cabin after their departure. Indeed, Gooden Grant apparently claimed to be born in that cabin in 1876: "[the] old Head Harbor resident named Gooden Grant…I think he claimed to have been born up there in that" (HV). Title files relating to the land confirm ownership of the parcel by David Grant in the 1880s (NPS n.d.). As noted elsewhere in this document, the Herrick's Camp area was still traversed by travelers along the old trail between Head Harbor and the west side of the Island, and was still grazed by sheep for many decades to come.

Island residents, Harold van Doren prominently among them, have been working to maintain and improve public access to the Herrick's Camp area in recent times, through the development of conservation easements and improvement of trails:

> "one of the things that we hope to do is to have a conservation easement on this land, and have this trail be able to be maintained because it's an attractive walking trail. You get a nice view along there. And this goes up, and it's called the Herrick Camp Trail because it goes up to the Herrick Camp" (HV).

The area continues to be of considerable interest to Island residents today, and its popularity has arguably grown for resident hikers seeking to walk trails where park visitors from off-Island are still few in number.

Sheep Herding

Especially in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a number of small Islands on the Maine coast were used to graze sheep, which were used for both food and wool. These Island settings were ideal, having few natural predators (or a small predator population that herders could quickly eradicate) and were naturally bounded so that sheep could not roam. Isle au Haut was no exception. Indeed, some sources (e.g., Hadlock 1963) suggest that fishing at least briefly became secondary and supplemental to sheep-ranching for a time, though most sources assert that the reverse was true and that sheep raising was always secondary to fishing within the Island's economy and in the household economy of individual families.

Still, almost the entire undeveloped portion of the Island was grazed by the mid-19th century. Summarizing tax records available from the early 1880s, Harold van Doren notes, "on Isle au Haut proper, there were 23 people keeping a total of 1,372 sheep.

There were two flocks in the hundreds, one 250 and one 350. The remainder numbered 80 or less, typically around a couple of dozen or so." The practice was well established in the 1800s due to the pioneering efforts of such settlers as David Grant on Head Harbor, as Pratt notes: "in 1900 there were a thousand sheep running over the Island, which implies that sheep had been grazed for some time" (Pratt 1974: 19). During its peak, at roughly this time, Caldwell suggests, "the Island was almost bare of trees and a thousand sheep grazed here" (Caldwell 1981: 188). The population of sheep was so large, and the number of families involved with herding sufficiently numerous that herders on the Island developed diagnostic "sheep marks"– marks made on the ears to distinguish sheep owned by different Island residents. Some portion of these sheep marks were recorded as a matter of public record and are still available in Knox County records for Isle au Haut (Knox County n.d.).

The history of sheep herding is important to briefly consider here, in that it was among the few activities that drew settlement inland and away from the coast, and is therefore fundamental to the history of the interior portion of the park especially. The history of sheep herding is also critical to understanding the vegetation of the park portion of the Island. While fires and firewood gatherers cleared the land, sheep were perhaps the most ubiquitous influence on Island vegetation during the period of active herding. Photos of the Island from the 19th century are remarkable in the degree to which they demonstrate the absence of trees – a fact that some (but not all) residents attribute to the widespread agricultural occupation of the landscape at the apex of the Island's population, including sheep grazing as well as the cutting of trees for domestic use.[48]

"They certainly would keep [the vegetation] trimmed down" (WB). By the end of the 19th century and into the first decades of the 20th, the Island's interior lands were being abandoned as the Island slowly returned to its almost exclusively coastal focus, in both economy and settlement. The spruce forest quickly reseeded from residual stands of forest that still stood on steep lands and ravines that had been largely ungrazed – producing a relatively homogeneous and even-aged spruce forest that now covers significant portions of the park's lands.[49] As Jim Wilson observes,

> "the sheep market collapsed around World War I, somewhere in there. The industry stopped here, and the spruce came in. And that's how you have this relatively uniform conifer forest. And why it's all falling down on Eastern Ear" (JW).

The rebound of Island vegetation brought not only forests but a profusion of certain species that were said to have been rare during the apex of sheep grazing (Eustis 1952).

As sheep herding declined, a few families continued to maintain small herds – often relegating them to small and usually unoccupied offshore Islands where the sheep were

Figure 10: An image of Head Harbor's northeastern shore from the late 19th century, showing the relative absence of trees. Photo courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society.

effectively "corralled" away from human settlements. Most notably, the Barter family maintained sheep on most of the larger Islands without permanent human populations near Isle au Haut well into the late 20th century. For example, Billy Barter recalled that his grandfather owned Big Spoon Island and still ran sheep on it into the mid-20th century. Billy Barter recalls that he used to visit Spoon Island, Merchant Island and other nearby Islands at shearing time, helping his family with this operation:

> "My grandfather used to have sheep on Big Spoon Island, he owned that once. When I was a kid [in the late 1940s and early 1950s], we used to go up there in May and shear them. Then he moved them from there to Merchant's Island. Then they moved them from there back to Burnt Island. In my day, that was quite an experience for a kid. 'Course, we had to take all the fencing down, roll it all up, and transport it from Spoon Island to Merchant's. There was an old barn and an old house up on north end of Merchant's so we used to shear them in that old barn. And down on the south end there, there was another, we had to have another fence for shearing because the flock was split up, some of them up on the other end, some down on the south end" (BB).[50]

In his 1974 book, *Here on the Island*, Charles Pratt provides an illuminating glimpse of the final phases of sheep herding among the Isle au Haut community in the early 1970s. By this time, almost all sheep herding functions had been moved offshore to York Island and other Islands (Pratt 1974: 164-71).

Sheep herding eventually disappeared from the Island altogether, a victim of declining wool markets and competing obligations, as well as the two great barriers to Isle au Haut industries, "winter hardship and economic isolation," which Caldwell suggests "gradually drove out most people and sheep" (Caldwell 1981: 188). The regrowth of spruce on the Island and park ownership of so much of the former grazing lands were factors too. Asked when people stopped sheep farming of the Island, Billy Barter answered,

> "My grandfather passed away in '62, and I had the sheep for a few years. My brother had them for a few years. That was, I don't know, must have been in the early '70s…wool prices went down. There's nothing like having a big barn at home and a field, and you had to run them down, and turn them in, and there's so many trees on the Islands. My grandfather used to butcher the lambs and sell to summer people. There was a woolen mill in Camden then so sent the wool over to Camden. In warm weather, we had to shear them, too, near the bay. Also, a lot of tree—spruce, spruce dirt in the wool, so that cut the price down because they lived under those spruce trees in the winter time, running through the woods, the wool got so full of dirt" (BB).

The Eatons, so woven into the history of Isle au Haut, were reported to be perhaps the last family raising sheep on the Islands around Isle au Haut in any appreciable quantities. Charlie Bowen recalls that Dennis Eaton still maintained herds on some of the smaller Islands into the later 20th century, and would sometimes transport sheep to and from Isle au Haut:

> "Dennis Eaton. He was the last one, I think, to run sheep. That's on Eaton Cove. He ran 'em on a couple of Islands to the north because I came down from Stonington one day, and he was rowing a 16-foot dory with a great big bag of huge shears for sheep. And he had a couple sheep hogged tied in the bottom of the boat. I took a line and I towed him down to Eaton Cove, put them in the cove" (CB).

Dennis Eaton continued to have sheep on the Island until around the time of his death in 1971 (HV).

Figure 11: Caring for one of Isle au Haut's sheep. Photo courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society.

Today, remnant stone corrals, lambing pens, fences, and other features can be found in the forests and fields of the Island as witness to this period, in places such as Herrick's Camp, and are some of the little remaining physical evidence of the sheep industry, alongside a handful of placenames such as "Sheep Thief Gulch" on the eastern shore of the Island.

Moore's Harbor

While lacking a large and singular community similar to that of Duck Harbor or Head Harbor, Moore's Harbor has also been diffusely settled over the years, and so this document turns to a brief overview of its southern reaches, including those portions now inside the park. While protected under certain weather conditions, Moore's Harbor can be a treacherous moorage and its shores did not witness the development of a longstanding port-based fishing community. As noted in the early reports of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey,

> "Moore's Harbor is a cove on the western side of Isle au Haut, about 2 ½ miles above Western Ear. This harbor has many outlying ledges off the entrance and is an unsafe anchorage" (U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey 1891: 85; cf. Loomis 1939).

Harold van Doren recalls various accounts suggesting that the name "Moore," in turn, was not associated with an Island family, but was the name of a mainland fisherman – Captain John Moore of Castine - who once fished the area extensively and anchored there in the late 18th century:

> "It was actually named Moore's Harbor because there used to be a fellow, a fisherman, that used to come over from the mainland and use it. There wasn't anybody out here actually named Moore. It was the name of the fisherman that just used to come over here and anchor his boat here" (HV).[51]

Early settlement on Moore's Harbor was primarily undertaken by the Turners – a large and prominent early family on the Island, discussed elsewhere in this document. Mid-19th century annotations to the 1803 Lewis map shows discontiguous parcels of land on the south side of the interior cove, as well as the entire Seal Trap area, having been deeded to Samuel Turner (ca. 1784-1839), a shipmaster in the freighting business (Lewis 1803).[52] A salt works was located at nearby Seal Trap in the 19th century, to supply salt for the local fishery and other purposes, and was for a time run by members of the Turner family.[53]

A family by the name of Carleton also acquired a tract within what is now the park on a point of land south of Goss Beach prior to 1790, and this was shown on the 1803 Lewis map. George Kimball later owned this land, and resold it to J. Knowlton in 1830. Ownerships were brief and there is little evidence of enduring settlement. No permanent structures are shown on this property in the historical maps of the 19th century, though a road accessed the site in 1881 maps, suggesting use for maritime access or other uses (Rubertone 1979).

The Wentworth family also had a homestead on this part of the Island, centered on Betty Wentworth Creek, and including Wentworth Mountain. Their name appears in association with this land on the 1836 Frost survey map of the Island, but does not appear on the original 1803 Lewis map (Frost 1836). Their presence appears to have been relatively brief, and information on the family was comparatively scarce in documents consulted for this study. Some interviewees note that there is still evidence of the family's house and farm: "there's two foundations down there where they must've had a house and a barn" (BB). Oral tradition is consistent on the point that Betty Wentworth drowned in this area when she was a girl, and is buried a short distance from the park road near the brook that bears her name. Wayne Barter speaks of this place, the burial, and the very thin information that he encountered on the family's history:

> "Wentworth Brook, Wentworth Mountain, it runs into Deep Cove. There's a cellar hole about right there. Wentworth, J. Wentworth. I don't know what the J. stood for…It's just a legend. I don't know anything about the family, how they got there or what they did. I assume they were farmers. If you go down in the narrow brook, there's a cellar hole and there's a large stone corral. I assume they had animals. And it's also called, that brook, is called the Betty Wentworth Brook. On the break just below, just downhill a bit from the cellar hole, is a flat area, and there's a stone there. I've always heard that she, Betty Wentworth was drowned in that brook. And according to Del Bowen, that stone, it's not a store-bought stone, it's just a square stone, that's Betty Wentworth's grave" (WB).[54]

This event apparently occurred very early in the Island's history, as the name "Betty Wentworth lot" is applied to this tract of land in mid-19th century annotations to the Lathrop Lewis map (Lewis 1803). The unmarked Wentworth gravestone and an associated cellar pit are reported to be just north of Shark's Point Beach: "these sites are deep in the woods" (Isle au Haut n.d.).

Interviewees noted that – from the very beginnings of Euro-American settlement on the Island - the Moore's Harbor area was heavily fished by Isle au Haut residents, and that there were public landings on that harbor that were used in spite of the absence of a fishing community. They explain that the sea often iced up around the northern portion of the Island (indeed, a number mentioned that people used to sometimes walk to Stonington across the ice in especially harsh winters). During these times, the Thorofare often was impassable, but Moore's Harbor was usually ice-free, becoming an impromptu seasonal port. As Harold van Doren notes,

> "The fact is, if you look on one of the old maps down there, the Lathrop Lewis survey pulls out along the east shore of Moore's Harbor, they actually pulled that out as a public landing. I think that's actually in private ownership now. I think that Jock Davis' family owns it…but originally it was actually pulled out as a public landing, it was surveyed as a public landing. And it has been used as an alternative when the surf there is iced up. A boat has gone into Moore's Harbor to land the mail in the past" (HV).[55]

The Lewis map shows two landings, including one close to the mouth of Eli Creek as well as a "Public Landing" at what later became the Bowditch farm.

Families from other parts of the Island are reported to have occupied this shoreline for a time, often moving to Moore's Harbor and then, after a few seasons battling the difficult harbor and contending with the poor soils, moving elsewhere on the Island. William Harvey, mentioned elsewhere in this document, apparently moved to Moore's Harbor from Duck Harbor sometime after 1860. The Harvey homestead is reported to still be identifiable based on the presence of cellar and foundation pits, as well as a remnant stone wall, sitting close to the former road access to "Harvey's Beach" – a vernacular placename still used in reference to the Harvey family. Interviewees note that Harvey's Beach continued to be a popular place for picnics among the affluent seasonal visitors, who drove to this spot by carriage and later by car through the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

And there is evidence of other ephemeral settlements by members of Isle au Haut's longstanding families. There is some consensus among interviewees and within published sources, for example, that Eli Creek was named for Eli Eaton, who had a homestead there for a time on land that had been previously owned by Aaron Merithew until his death by drowning in 1844 (Hosmer 1905: 207; Lewis 1803). The Eatons are an extensive family, apparently descending in part from William Eaton, who was the first reported permanent settler on Deer Isle, arriving there in 1762; they were married into various Island families, apparently, including the Smith family of Head Harbor, and included Eben Eaton, for whom Eben's Head is named, as well as the Reverend Joshua Eaton who helped found the town's church and Joe Eaton, who is reported to have brought the tradition of lobster trapping to Isle au Haut. Eli Eaton appears to have only occupied the land for a short period, his claim being discussed in the past tense in what appear to be mid-19th century annotations to the 1803 Lewis map. There are cellar holes and foundations in the vicinity of his homestead, said by some interviewees to be associated with Eaton or prior settlers such as Merithew.[56]

Figure 12: An early view of the northeast corner of Moore's Harbor, at the public langing near what became the "Bowditch Farm." Lobster traps sit on the bar. Photo courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society.

By the late 19th century, this fleeting settlement was giving way to new land uses, driven in part by the settlement of the Point Lookout community on the northern Island. As will be discussed in more detail later in this document, Ernest Bowditch oversaw the purchase of a farm in the northeast corner of Moore's Harbor, outside of the modern park, to supply fresh farm products to the Point Lookout community in the 1880s. As Margaret Dice recalled,

> "The Farm has been built by the Point Lookout Club to provide fresh vegetables, poultry, and milk for their members. Ernest Bowditch even strung a private telephone line from Point Lookout to the farm so that the Club could order what it needed. At the time the farm house had, and still has, red and green shingles, a wood furnace, and a cistern in the cellar. It also had a fishhouse with a dock, a carriage house, a barn, and a granary [which was later moved off-site]" (Dice n.d.: 11).

A small satellite outpost of the larger Point Lookout community developed on Moore's Harbor, principally its northern end in association with "the Farm," in the early 20th

century (M. Dice n.d.). The Jones family built the bulwark house in this small, diffuse settlement – the "Boulder Cottage" - on five acres fronting Moore's Harbor in 1906 – immediately adjacent to the park. This family stayed at the cottage every summer in the early 20th century, seeking to escape the Boston heat and the black flies that sometimes plagued the mainland Maine coast (M. Dice n.d.: 2).[57] Dice notes that immediately prior to the development of the Boulder Cottage in 1906, there was only one extant building on Moore's Harbor called "The Farm" – the Harvey house and other structures from historical settlement apparently being abandoned by then, or used only infrequently (Dice n.d.: 11). A small number of other summer cottages were added over time on the north end of the harbor, mostly occupied seasonally by families with ties to Point Lookout – their small land purchases facilitated through personal friendships and informal communications between Boston-area families. [58]

While the use of the Moore's Harbor shoreline gradually transitioned from resource-based to amenity-based uses, natural resource economies persisted and even thrived on the harbor. Just offshore, fishing of the harbor continued unabated, rising and falling with the lobster and fish markets; proximity to the Thorofare insured that the waters along this part of the Island were seldom quiet for long. In the 19th and 20th century, specialized fisheries also emerged in Moore's Harbor – especially centering on the large herring runs that have intermittently entered this harbor since the earliest Euro-American settlement on the Island.[59] In the mid-20th century, fishermen from Isle au Haut built a herring weir on Moore's Harbor and for a time brought in a considerable harvest. As Billy Barter recalls,

> "My father-in-law [Phil Alley] had [a herring weir] at Moore's Harbor, right out in the cove there. Right in the middle of the cove, not too far out, pretty close…There used to be one in Duck Harbor, too. Charles Hamilton. Eli Creek, there was one.
>
> "[The herring fishermen] had [different] ways to, they call pound, around, and they had wings, so the herring come in the cove. When they come up there, you know, they follow those what they call the leaders right into the pound. They had a gate, it had a mouth, you know, so high, 'bout as large as this room [fifteen feet]. When the herring went in there, they put the net up from the hole, and they had the seine they brought around inside the pound. There was a weir and thoroughfare there, too, two weirs. After her father [Phil Daley] retired, my son and I and another guy… took over the weir, but we only caught herring one year, I think, in thirteen years. So we gave it up" (BB).

Similarly, Virginia MacDonald recalled the "big business" that was herring fishing in the mid-20th century:

> "the herring, they had the weirs around the Island. It was a big business for a while. They used to just set the nets in some places instead of building the weir. That was big business for a lot of years, then all of a sudden, the sardines, they just disappeared. Overfished, like a lot of other things.
>
> "Then they started setting these huge nets [purse seiners] outside and broke up the schools before they ever got a chance to come inshore. That took care of a lot of the (local fishermen)" (MacDonald 1998: 50).[60]

A locally popular historical film, "Fence in the Water" features the herring weir at Moore's Harbor and its owners, Phil Alley and Gordon Chapin (P. Dice 1980). The film, still available from the non-profit Northeast Historic Film organization in Bucksport, Maine, demonstrates the mutual interest in the herring weir operations on Isle au Haut's shore among both Island and mainland fishermen with ties to the Island.

Ted Hoskins recalls that men watched for the movement of herring while lobstering elsewhere on the Island, such as on the south shore, and when there was evidence of large schools of herring moving in, the fishermen would prepare to relocate to the weir:

Figure 13: Early herring fishermen of Isle au Haut. Photo courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society.

> "we'd watch them, you know, during the day when you're hauling traps because you're fishing for lobster. And you'd watch the gulls and birds feeding, and see where they were. And then you'd go out at night, and you'd just row out around in a very good-sized seine boat, rowboat. And then, feeling poles, you've seen those. So they'd just feel them out, you know, and the guys were good at that. And they could tell how deep they were, and where they were going, and whether they were circling, or whatever, and where they started and where they stopped. And we'd watch where they were moving. And you know, with your moons and your tides and your wind and everything, you'd know when they were going to move in, and then you'd shut off, run your running twine and then run out your pocket. And then go back and call for a boat to come pick them up. And of course, then, every town had its sardine factory. And there would be competition for that" (TH).

Similar weirs were constructed in many of the coves on the Island, except perhaps the southern coves which were too exposed to the open sea to be productive.[61] When the weirs were active, certain people had "pumping boats" that gathered the fish from the weirs and took them to processing sites on the mainland. Again, quoting Ted Hoskins,

> "The *Kingfisher* and [boats like the *Novelty* and *Betsy and Sally*] I don't remember now all the names of them, but a whole bunch of those boats would come. And they'd load, and we'd, well, at first we'd load with dip nets, and just as I was getting out of it, we saw one or two pumpers come. Now all they use was pumpers. But that was something, you know, because you'd purse them up, and you'd draw them up a little bit, and run them up alongside. And then you'd run your dip net, and then it would be up over a boom and onto a little gas engine on board. And haul that out and bring it over and dump it into the hold…
>
> "You know, taking up, drawing, that's the worst job in the world. You know, your back. You're just hauling a net in, and it's just hard work. There's always a bottle in the bow and in the stern, and you pass it back and forth for quick energy" (TH).

Associated with these manufacturing facilities were the "scale plants" that used sardine scales to manufacture buttons into the 1950s (MacDonald 1998: 50).

In spite of the fishery that boomed just off shore, land-based industries were relatively inconsequential on this side of the Island. Salt manufacturing was in decline even before the Point Lookout farm was established, and in time the farm ceased operations and

was sold as well. Residents recall that the rock along this side of the Island was suitable for use as gravel, and so at least one productive quarry operated into the mid-20th century, possibly originating for use in Point Lookout operations. As Billy Barter notes, "They used to take gravel - now the park's closed up all the gravel pits... There was one [gravel pit] right close to where that grave [Betty Wentworth Brook] is, next to the road" (BB). Still, by the time that the shoreline along the southern reaches of Moore's Harbor was transferred into park management, it had laid largely silent, containing mostly traces of short-lived settlements that had appeared and just as quickly disappeared over the course of the 20th century.

The South Shore

Interviewees mentioned having many fond memories of the coves on the south side of the park, but settlement was said to have been so long ago, and so fleeting, that little oral tradition persists regarding this area. Merchant's Cove or "Nattie's Cove" was widely reported to be named for Nat Merchant, who was said to have lived there for a time and may have fished from the area when living elsewhere on the Island (such as his Duck Harbor home). Title files relating to these lands suggest that Anthony Merchant first acquired land in this area as early as 1837, and that there were Merchant family lands until at least 1870, when Nat Merchant sold his parcels to Ezra Turner (NPS n.d.). A number of interviewees mentioned a stone foundation that is clearly visible near the high water mark on Merchant's Cove.[62] At least a few interviewees and archival sources imply that this structure is related to Merchant's occupation of the cove. Noyes, for example, notes

> "Nathaniel Merchant lived in a house near [the] shore of "Natties Cove" (named for him) [on] south side of Isle au Haut and cellar is between Head Harbor on road to Duck Harbor and is ¾ way over to the Merithew Stone house…Nathaniel was a fisherman [and married] Susan, daughter of Pioneer Smith and a sister of Geo. Smith" (Noyes n.d. 2(26): 51).

Merchant is also sometimes reported to have been buried on the cove, though most sources suggest that the burial site is in Head Harbor. Ernest Bowditch acquired this land by 1881, and transferred it to his Isle au Haut Company in 1894, suggesting only a very short lapse since the ownership of the land by the Merchant family (NPS n.d.).

Interviewees also mentioned Barred Harbor, one cove to the west, as a place of minor historical significance as a fishing outpost. Fishing boats that enter this harbor are protected from the surf under most ordinary conditions, but are unable to enter or exit at low tide due to the shallow bar at its entrance and boats were commonly trapped there until the next tide. The property at the head of Barred Harbor was purchased by

the Merchant family from George Kimball in 1848; in 1860, records indicate Nat Merchant living on that cove (Rubertone et al., 1979). A number of interviewees noted that a stone cellar is visible there: "There's a foundation in each place… Merchant's Cove and…Barred Harbor" (BB). There is some speculation that this structure was also associated with Nat Merchant. Interviewees mentioned that there were certain rocks on this cove that were marked with strips of tar, where fishermen had maintained and waterproofed their gear long ago.

Fishermen from the mainland and other Islands were rumored to have used this area for fish houses at different times, due to its proximity to the prime fishing grounds off the Island's south shore. There is some suggestion, too, that whalers operating in the area sometimes landed on this part of the Island (Franklin 1974). Shipwrecks are also rumored to have occurred from time to time along this southern shore; no fewer than four vessels are reported to have been lost on southern Isle au Haut in the years since "Morris' Mistake" on the interior face of Western Head, though the locations of some of these wrecks remain conjectural (Price et al. 2009: 16-17).

Interviewees and archival documents suggest the use of the shoreline by members of the Grant family and some interviewees suggest that fishermen from other areas who maintained fish houses here did so with the Grant family's permission (and presumably some fiscal arrangements). Gooden Grant was widely known to have fished this area extensively in the late 19th and early 20th centuries:

Figure 14: A historical view of the southern shore near "Morris' Mistake." Photo courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society.

> "That was as far as he ever went probably… Out of Head Harbor, I imagine, Eastern Head, just that Head Harbor area. He didn't have to go far, you know, there are not many traps. Merchants Cove, Nat's Cove, Barred Harbor" (BB).

His wife, Nettie, also mentions in her diaries living temporarily in structures along this south shore in the mid-20th century - perhaps in abandoned or temporary structures that had been more actively used in earlier times (Grant n.d.). Interviewees also mentioned that trails historically ran along this south shore, linking some of these former settlements sites, and that the modern park trail system follows this old trail network in places. Even in the absence of regular settlement, the south shore continued to be used for certain resource harvesting purposes, as mentioned elsewhere in this document, such as for subsistence hunting or for temporary haul-outs when fishing on the south shore.

The vicinity of Western Head and Western Ear Island was less accessible by sea than these protected coves, but was also used at various times historically. A number of interviewees alluded to a former home site and fishing camp area on Western Head. Accounts varied, suggesting that this area may have been occupied and reoccupied more than once by successive generations of fishermen, including perhaps one very early local homestead at this location, which was subsequently used as a seasonal fishing camp by men from Stonington or other "mainland" communities. The oldest structures on the end of Western Head were said to have dated from very early in the Island's Euro-American occupation. As Harold van Doren notes,

> "[T]here is a house foundation down there [at Western Head], and there is some record of some fisherman that was living down there at one point…We're going back a long ways on this one, though. It's got to be back into the early 1800s, the first decade or two of the 1800s, you might have had some isolated fisherman living down there…[The house foundation is] on the right side as you're starting down towards the Western Head trail from out of the campground there" (HV).

Interviewees such as Wayne Barter provided similar accounts as to the site's considerable antiquity: "I'll tell ya, it's an old cellar hole!" (WB).[63] Later, the same general area, as well as the opposite shore on Western Ear, was said to be used as an outpost for mainland fishermen. Robin Bowen, for example, notes that "guys from Stonington would come down and fish summers" from Western Ear and that remnants of a camp dating from as late as the 20th century could be seen there (RB). Some

interviewees suggested that there had been altercations between the mainland men living in these outposts and Isle au Haut fishermen trying to "contain" their spread into local fishing territories in earlier times. As Billy Barter notes,

> "There used to be a camp on the Western Head [at Western Ear] a fishing camp…The camp was out on the part you couldn't get to at high tide [from the main Island] unless you had a boat…Pretty sheltered cove in the summer. I know the people on Isle au Haut didn't want them there, and they burned them out once. They built it back, I guess, and they drove 'em off somehow. [Squatters from the] mainland, Stonington probably" (BB).

In time, a boulder on Western Head, visible from the sea and appropriately called "The Boulder" by local fishermen, would serve as a territorial marker between fishing territories. A present, Isle au Haut fishermen stay west of this marker, while Stonington area fishermen occupy the waters to its east.

Prominent landmarks, such as Western Head and Duck Harbor Mountain were sometimes used as navigational landmarks, occasionally appearing in coastal registries and journals (e.g., Reynolds 1918: 222), as well as being used for dead reckoning and other traditional methods of navigation. Navigation was done by dead reckoning and other traditional methods until very recently, and some of the older fishermen of this Island are still distrustful of the new technologies and the overconfidence they feel these technologies have created. [64] As Billy Barter observes,

> "Now the technology you get to go fishing, you can come out of college in Washington, DC and know more. In a week you'll go out. If you know how to run electronics, you can learn everything there is to learn about fishing in about a week, all the bottom, I mean. It tells you where all the bottom is, and how long a course to run to get there, and how long it's gonna take. Along my time, they used to have to use a sounding lead, find the hard bottom and all that. So you could tell hard from soft bottom" (BB).

Using Western Head and Duck Harbor Mountain as points of navigational reference, fishermen were able to make their way through the "frightening barricade of ledges" that mark the southwest corner of the Island and approaches to Duck Harbor (Pratt 1974: 1). Without the ability to see these landmarks, the waters were often quite treacherous and there are a number of stories of near-disasters in inclement weather that precluded the smooth navigation of these waters.[65]

The Foundation of Point Lookout and the Efforts of Ernest Bowditch

While Isle au Haut was an isolated home to working people in its early years, the rugged beauty of the Island was sure to catch the attention of the affluent pleasure-seekers who visited this coast in growing numbers through the 19th century. The agency of Ernest Bowditch and his partners in the development of an aristocratic yet rustic vacation district at Point Lookout would change the Island in many ways – in time, this would lead directly to the creation of the Isle au Haut portion of Acadia National Park, as Bowditch's heirs made expansive land donations to the National Park Service. Yet, even before Bowditch's arrival, the Island was already receiving the attention of the travelers and artists who would presage the "rusticator wave" that swept the Maine coast in the late 19th century. Artists and adventure-seeking vacationers were in the vanguard. The Hudson River School painter, Fitz Hugh Lane, traveled the Island, for example, painting an image of Duck Harbor and other landmarks in the 1850s, while landscape artist Edward H. Barnard sketched images of the Head Harbor community and other landscapes soon thereafter (Wilmerding 1988: 142).[66] While these initial attentions were fleeting, rumors of the Island's scenic virtues were beginning to circulate in places such as Bar Harbor and other vacation communities beyond.

By the late 19th century, the Point Lookout Club would provide the first and most enduring bulwark of urban amenity seekers on the Island. In time, the affluent Point Lookout summer community would be hugely influential in the Island's history. In many ways, the community also reshaped the Island's larger identity; as Charles Pratt observed, "to many people, up until a few years ago, the name of the Island was synonymous with the name of the traditional summer colony" (Pratt 1974: 139). And, through the agency of the Bowditch family in particular, the Point Lookout community effectively fostered the creation of what is today the Isle au Haut unit of Acadia National Park.

Among all of the individuals who were influential in shaping the fate of the Island generally, and the portion now within the park specially, perhaps none can compare to Point Lookout Club founder, Ernest W. Bowditch (1850-1918). An MIT-educated landscape architect and civil engineer, Bowditch was deeply interested in the natural landscapes of the Maine coast. Indeed, Ernest Bowditch was a landscape architect of some renown, having aided in the design of a number of New England summer estates, apparently including a few in Eden, Maine (later Bar Harbor), developed residential communities such as Tuxedo Park New York, and even worked with John D. Rockefeller on the development of Cleveland's Rockefeller Park. In a manner analogous to George Dorr on Mt. Desert Island, Bowditch stood out as a pioneer New England conservationist, with financial resources, aesthetic interests, and philanthropic inclinations that compelled him to amass vast tracts of land on Isle au Haut.[67]

Also, critically, Bowditch hailed from a prominent, and even "famous" New England family. A number of Island residents noted that the Bowditch name had been essential to his success among the fisherfolk and other mariners of the Island, and that much of the Island's park history pivoted, somewhat ironically, on that historical detail. This is because Ernest was a descendant of Nathaniel Bowditch (1773-1838), who was himself a celebrity among mariners. A gifted mathematician with interests in maritime navigation, Nathaniel Bowditch was the principal author of many navigational treatises – perhaps none so important as his *American Practical Navigator*, first published in 1802 (Bowditch 1802). Explaining navigational matters with unprecedented mathematical accuracy but in language accessible to the layperson, his volume became the standard navigational manual used by mariners along the New England coast. Even today, copies of the *American Practical Navigator* continue to be published in revised form, are available digitally from federal websites, and still guides navigation throughout the region. In recent times, Nathaniel Bowditch continues to be depicted as a brilliant and somewhat heroic figure in historical and even children's literatures.[68] An association with the famed navigator gave Ernest Bowditch almost instant credibility among the mariners of Isle au Haut.

The origins of the Club can be traced to a chance visit to the Island by Ernest Bowditch and his longtime collaborator Albert Otis, in 1879.[69] Returning from a stay amidst the crowds of Bar Harbor, the two arranged to visit the Island and were immediately struck by its wildness, its scenery, and its lack of visitors. According to Fred Eustis,

> "[Ernest Bowditch] visited Isle au Haut for the first time in 1879 quite by chance. He was returning from Bar Harbor (where he was probably working on a couple of summer houses) by steamer to Rockland. He had not liked the crowds in Bar Harbor hotels. The steamer stopped at Green's Landing (now Stonington). He saw Isle au Haut in the distance and chartered a small boat to take him there. After an initial frosty reception, he was welcomed by the local people he met because of his name—his grandfather Nathaniel Bowditch's book on navigation being of enormous use and help to seafaring people. He evidently liked what he saw. A few (two?) years later, he returned with friends and rented rooms in a fisherman's house for a kind of "get away from it all" vacation" (Eustis 2012).

Under Bowditch's leadership, the two men and their business partners founded the Point Lookout Improvement Company at around the same time as this 1881 visit, and almost immediately began purchasing tracts of land. For the core of their planned summer community, they purchased land on Point Lookout, extending northward of, and standing some distance apart from, the longstanding Isle au Haut community on the Thorofare. Drawing on his considerable design skills, Bowditch began developing

plans for a district of sizeable summer homes, with lands set aside for a dock, clubhouse, and other shared community amenities. Realizing that water supplies were insufficient to support their planned community, Bowditch, Otis and their partners founded the Isle au Haut Water Company in 1883 to provide water supplies to Point Lookout and certain adjacent lands.

With lots divided and water secured, Bowditch and his partners embarked on the development of a clubhouse and the initial cottages almost immediately. As Dorothy Barter noted,

> "They bought land on the Island and interested some of their wealthy friends to form a men's fishing club…All the land and worn out farms were bought by the Summer People. One had to belong to the society of the rich in order to obtain land on the Island for a cottage. Later this stock of wealthy people from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia built a wharf, club house, and cottages" (in D. Barter 1999).

Bowditch actively promoted the early development of properties within the new resort, drawing and distributing conceptual sketches of a booming resort community with – in Bowditch's words –"Plans & Estimates for Building Cheerfully Furnished" to prospective buyers (in Cole 1990).

A centerpiece of the planned development was the "Point Lookout Club" – a gentleman's club that was to provide opportunities for social gatherings among people who built homes in the community, as well as a venue for vetting planning and procedural matters among landowners in the fledgling community. In practice, this Club brought the customs and traditions of upper-class New England to this Island outpost. The Club, in its early years, has been called "a masculine outpost of proper Bostonians" (Caldwell 1981: 189-90) and was widely depicted as a place of "socialites," founded by the "Bowditches of Boston." "It is decidedly English in all appointments and rules," some noted (Lewiston Journal 1905). As Fred Eustis notes, the Club was exclusive, but evolved quickly with the community:

> "In the earliest days of the Point Lookout Club there were reportedly three rules: no women, no children, no dogs. Over time, members married, built cottages, and family summer homes became the rule" (Eustis 2012).

Figure 15: An early view of Point Lookout, including the clubhouse, cottages, and private wharf. Photo courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society.

The Club membership is reported to have had an interest in keeping the Island relatively unsullied by the more vulgar aspects of New England coastal tourism, and exerted influence very early to maintain private control over access to the Island, enlisting their own steamer to make trips between Stonington and Isle au Haut – suggesting certain values and influences not dissimilar from those of their descendants who still visit the Island today.

As a budding summer community of prominent New Englanders, the fledgling summer colony received high praise in press accounts of the period. In 1885, for example, *Outing* magazine reported,

> "already a crop of summer cottages is coming on both thriftily and speedily, is the Club House on Point Lookout. This is owned by a party of gentlemen, who use it for the accommodation of themselves and their friends, and it is pervaded by an atmosphere of private hospitality, free alike from ostentation and the faintest trace of that awful vulgarity which makes of the typical summer hotel a horror and a delusion. Its cheery red roof is visible almost to Green's Landing; while from its broad piazzas the views are exquisite. Golden indeed are the days one passes at the Club House, for never were quiet and tranquility more absolute than here. He who fears solitude, and who desires to avoid Madame Nature except when she is fashionably attired, will do well to shun Isle au Haut until

> those melancholy days shall overtake her which are the lot of such Islands as fashion has chosen for her own. He who is content with the purest and most invigorating air, with nature wild and unsophisticated, with excellent boating, and enticing points of interest beguiling to the excursionist in all directions, with capital fishing, gunning, bathing, and climbing, will find the Island a little paradise" (Bates 1885: 654).

Witnessing the success of Point Lookout, entrepreneurs with no clear connection to the Point Lookout community attempted to undertake a few recreational developments on the Island. The "Hotel Des Isle," for example, built in 1886, offered visitors to the Island the "Realization of Quietude…A Fairy Land of Enchantment…[and]Nature's Wonders Unsullied by Man" (in Pratt 1974: 23). The Point Lookout community was highly influential already at this time, however, and discouraged the profusion of unrelated developments (the Hotel Des Isle being burned and closing only two summers after its founding – possibly due to arson).

With an abundance of seafood but neither commercial agriculture nor refrigeration, the Island was ill prepared to support the food needs of the Point Lookout community. Bowditch and Otis arranged for the acquisition of many of the largest arable tracts of land on the Island - developing a large farm on the northern end of Moore's Harbor. (Later, his daughter Elizabeth acquired another farm on the northern end of Long Pond.) At Moore's Harbor, the Point Lookout agricultural outpost was later accompanied by small satellite colonies of summer cottages – including but not limited to the "Boulder Cottage."[70] Many interviewees for the current project spoke of both establishments, which are today in private ownership and without direct affiliation to Point Lookout, but sit very close to the park boundary.

The Point Lookout community almost immediately took an interest in the residents of the year-round fishing community. The community provided considerable labor for the early development of Point Lookout. Members of the Turner family, especially Charles Turner, are mentioned as playing a critical role in the early days of Point Lookout– overseeing the construction of homes, landscaping, and boat maintenance, as well as introducing summer people to parts of the Island for the first time. The Turners and other Island men found long-term work in landscaping and construction work, while women sometimes worked as maids, cooks, and laundresses; seldom Islanders' principal occupation, these economic activities went largely underreported in employment data for the Island, but were an important supplementary source of income for some families, taking some of the pain out of the "booms and busts" in local fisheries in a way that has persisted to a degree into recent times (M. Barter 1992b; D. Barter 1999; see Graph 1). Unlike more accessible portions of the Maine coast, this economic diversification did not eclipse traditional resource industries.

In time, property owners from Point Lookout also increasingly contributed to charitable causes relating to that community. As Dorothy Barter notes,

> "It was owing to the Club Folks that the Town Hall was built. This building contained a well stocked library at the Thoroughfare. Another cottager built a pretty parsonage not far from the church and paid the salary of a combination minister and doctor for several years" (in D. Barter 1999).

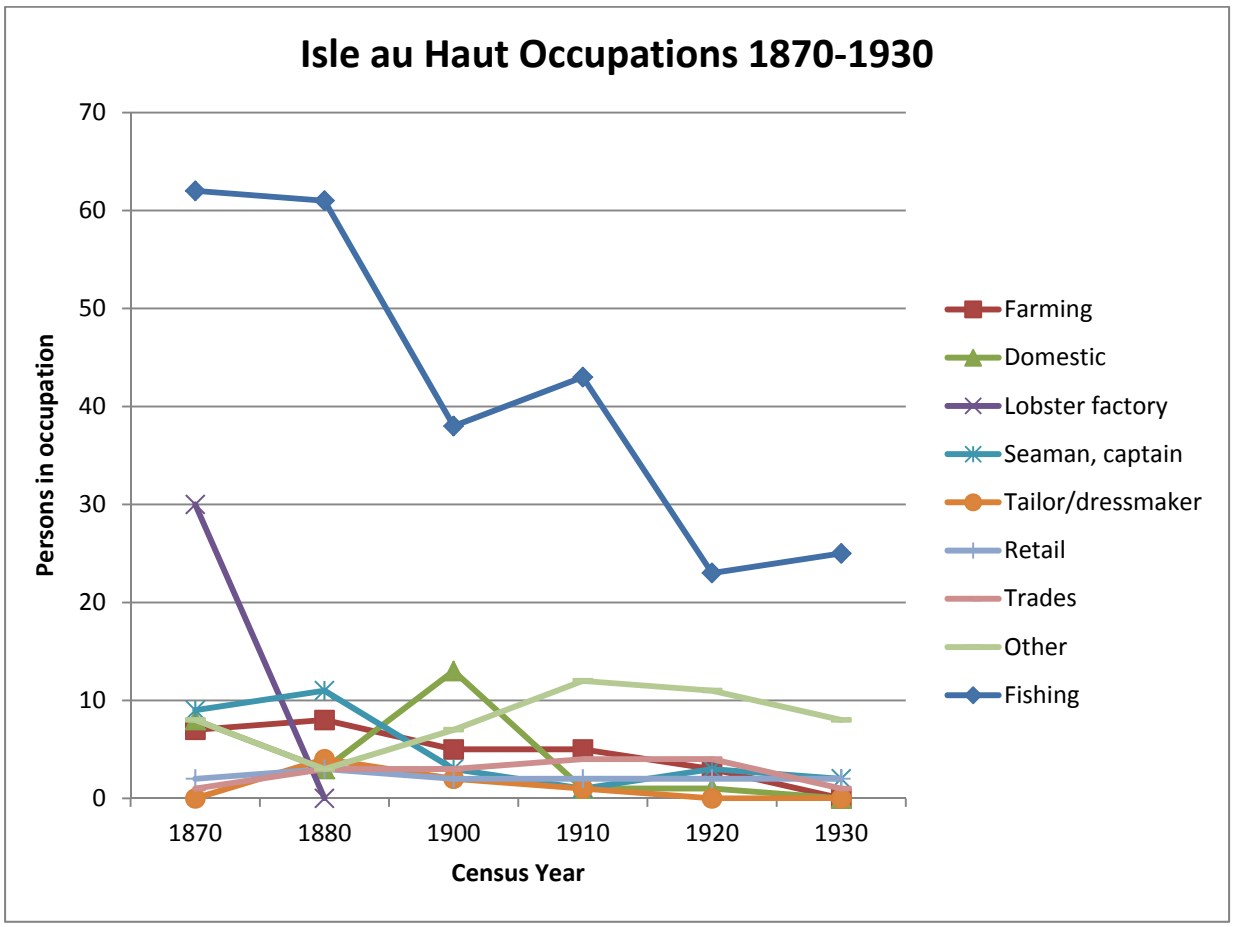
Still, clearly, vast chasms of wealth and class separated the two communities, even as they sometimes worked together in these early years. Accordingly, the arrival of these early "summer people" brought people to the Island who saw the local landscape very differently than longtime residents. Written accounts from the growing number of Island visitors described the landscape in romantic terms that arguably anticipated the views of park visitors, and contained indications of the land's ultimate transformation from resource-based to amenity-based uses.[71]

By the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the summer community at Point Lookout stood out somewhat - being prominent in its small scale, relative isolation, its members' loyalties to the Island, and its prominence. The press of the period dubbed the community "Maine's most exclusive summer resort" (Lewiston Journal 1905). As Fred Eustis observes,

> "By the time of the First World War, a highly organized community had evolved, which we today would consider formal, but which by the standards of the day was simple and rustic. What was not there was notable: there were no mansions, no sloping lawns, no formal gardens. All these things the members had elsewhere and left pretty much behind… There was a minimal disruption of nature. One or two cottages did have small flower gardens, but that was all. Needless to say, there were no crowds" (Eustis 2012).

The Clubhouse bustled throughout the summer season and the Club had its own yachts – the *Day Dream* and the *Circe* - for recreational trips and transportation and recreational trips alike.[72]

Travel to the Island was not easy for these loyal summer residents. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, families from the urban Northeast undertook a long and complex trip to the Island - taking steamers from Boston, New York and other cities to Rockland, then taking a smaller boat to Stonington, where they then boarded an even smaller boat to Isle au Haut (Dice n.d.: 5). For some, this became an annual migration, and part of the larger adventure of a summer spent on Isle au Haut.



Graph 1: Isle au Haut employment in fishing persisted through the late 19th and early 20th centuries; the late 19th century witnessed a very modest rise in domestic work and other occupations relating to the Point Lookout community, which helped offset in small ways the abrupt loss of jobs at the lobster factory in the 1870s. From U.S. Census (n.d.)

Increasingly, the Point Lookout community was a seasonal home to a selection of the Northeast's most influential leaders of government and industry. U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice, Harlan F. Stone (1872-1946), for example, often vacationed on Isle au Haut, staying at Point Lookout and later owning a house in the Thorofare village. During the final moments of the infamous "Sacco and Vanzetti" case in August of 1927, the U.S. Supreme Court had to track down Justice Stone on the Island (no easy task in those days) to seek a stay of execution for the two Italian immigrants, Ferdinando Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti – a stay of execution that was not ultimately granted (Stone 2008; Evening Gazette 1927). Harlan Stone's wife, Agnes Harvey Stone converted a shed into an art studio and painted a number of pictures, including scenes of Isle au Haut, that have since been featured in regional galleries in the Northeast (Conohan 2004).[73]

The summer residents of this unique outpost perceived the vast scenic and recreational potentials of the Island, and this fact would prove critical to the future development of the park especially through the works of Ernest Bowditch. Deed records from the period show that Bowditch, often accompanied by Otis, started purchasing land very soon after first arriving on Isle au Haut, and continued to make purchases until very near the end of his life (NPS n.d.). Indeed, purchases of lands now in the park were apparently being negotiated by 1881 - before construction was fully underway at the Point Lookout community. Again, quoting Fred Eustis,

> "For reasons not stated, and soon, he began buying land. His friend Albert Otis was almost certainly crucially involved in the first purchases. These began, I believe, with the Kimball Great Lot, which included the bulk of the southern part of the Island. The Eastern Head was also an early purchase. These are the heart of the present Park holdings.
>
> "Mr. Bowditch's interest encompassed all of Isle au Haut. He bought not only the Eastern and Western Heads, but also Rich's Head, Point Lookout, Seal Trap, and a good many lots in between. (I have many or all of these records at my home in Milton, Massachusetts.) He evidently saw the Island as a whole and thought of it as a whole…He seems to have regarded the southern part of the Island as a recreation area for hiking and buckboard driving" (Eustis 2012).[74]

As Eustis notes, these purchases were facilitated by the relatively low price of land at this time, as the Island-based fishing economy was beginning to decline due to the closing of the lobster factory, overfishing, and the growing consolidation of lobstering at mainland ports, as well as the fact that large portions of the undeveloped Island had been recently been burned over due to wildfires.[75] These purchases, and indeed Bowditch's larger vision, was also said to have been influenced by his work at places such as Tuxedo Park, where a designed community sat alongside vast undeveloped natural areas that were used for recreational hiking, skiing and hunting.[76] Originally, in the early 1880s, Bowditch and Otis purchased these lands independent of the Point Lookout Club, but soon founded a land holding company – the Isle au Haut Company – to hold title on these outlying parcels; once this company was established, existing landholdings were transferred to the Company, and new purchases were made directly into the Company's ownership. Bowditch was both President and principal shareholder.

Members of the Point Lookout community oversaw the blazing of new recreational trails in various places on the Island, including both lands close to Point Lookout as well as those outlying places owned by the Isle au Haut Company and later placed within the park (W. Bowditch 1960). Occasionally these trails were constructed by the "summer people" themselves, especially boys and young men, but in more rugged and

remote areas permanent residents did most of the work. William Bowditch recalled, for example, his family being aided by members of the Turner family in constructing trails on Western Head:

> "I can remember quite well the first trip by buckboard around the Island and to the cliffs on the south end. I also remember a letter my father had from Clarence Turner saying that he had cut a trail to Morrises Mistake and had taken a horse with him" (W. Bowditch 1960).

Residents mentioned that early phases of Point Lookout residents' recreational uses of the Island were characterized by extensive traipsing across the landscape, and odd recreational outposts tucked in the trees and coves of the Island. There was an ice cream parlor established on the ridgetop of Mount Champlain, rewarding hikers and view-seekers with improbable mountaintop treats.[77] There were popular picnicking

Figure 16: A woman of the early Point Lookout period, visiting Shark's Point Beach. Photo courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society.

spots on Shark Point Beach. (William Bowditch [1960] recalled many "day-light picnics to Sharks Point and other places attainable by horse and carriage.") Day trips to places like Boom Beach, Long Pond, or Thunder Gulch on Eastern Head were not uncommon.

In many respects, the Point Lookout community seems to have perceived the growing inventory of Bowditch lands on the southern and interior portions of the Island as a recreational preserve, and Bowditch did much to encourage this notion. Bowditch and his peers began to systematize the development or improvement of trails in the southern end of the Island, hiring a forester to oversee these operations. (There is also evidence to suggest that this "forester" served in other capacities, assisting with landscaping or camp counseling duties at Point Lookout.) At around the time of Bowditch's death, or shortly thereafter in the 1920s, the Point Lookout Club forester was involved in the construction of the Eli Creek cabin on a 150 acre tract of land that had belonged to Bowditch since 1882. This cabin – one of the only functional "historical" structures still standing on the Isle au Haut park lands – served as a base of operations for his trails work on that part of the Island through the 1920s and 1930s. The structure was probably not permanently occupied: "I don't think anyone lived there" (FE). The cabin was of log construction, near Moore's Harbor on Eli's Creek, near Goss's Beach - a sandy beach that was later largely washed out by a hurricane. The Eli Cabin site became a popular stopover for Point Lookout Club members and their families as they traveled around the Island, and a popular picnic spot. The cabin served as the first ranger station on the Island and, in more recent times, it served as a seasonal camping site for NPS staff. Interviewee Bill Stevens formerly lived in this cabin "for a couple of summers" while working for the park, in his early years on the Island (BS, WB; Cole 1990). But, while historical structures were few, the sprawling lands of the Isle au Haut Land Company would eventually be transferred to the National Park Service – a historically pivotal development that will be addressed in later sections of this document.

The Evolution of Land Transportation on the Southern Island

Transportation options and limitations on the Island are somewhat unique, and have shaped the history of park lands in ways both profound and diverse. As a maritime people, the residents of Isle au Haut used boats for everyday transportation needs in a way that is difficult for inland people to comprehend; interviewees attest that these people "traveled by boat everywhere" even into the mid-20th century (RB). Sailing dories were commonly used as transportation between settlements through the first century and a half of settlement, while "peapods…made from hackmatack [the American larch, *Larix laricina*] but later built of oak" were common for nearshore fishing and other purposes (Munch 1999). Larger sailboats and ships, in turn, provided relatively unfettered access to the better part of coastal Maine to those who owned them.

The development and maintenance of roads have always presented a challenge at Isle au Haut. Indeed, as Harold van Doren notes, the rugged terrain and a lack of road building materials have conspired to minimize development in the interior of the Island and to consolidate settlement on navigable waterways and gently sloping lands adjacent:

> "Isle au Haut is a mountain, and it has very steep slopes, rocky areas without any really good way to make a road. It doesn't have good road building material and I could tell you, even now, we have to bring on road materials because we've run out of what little there was down here. It seems crazy, but that's what we have to do. So, as a result, the primary development down here occurred around the shores rather than in the interior" (HV).

Foot travel and occasionally oxen were used for land transportation between settlements, but otherwise options were very limited indeed.

Figure 17: Oxen were a mainstay of early Isle au Haut land transportation and were found traveling on most early Island roads, hauling heavy loads. Photo courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society.

This was especially salient on the rugged southern and interior portions of the Island, where road development came late if at all, owing to the difficulty of access, compounding other factors that kept these parts of the Island relatively primitive. Only footpaths traversed certain portions of the Island, such as along the southern shoreline of the park, or along the western side of Long Pond. Again quoting Harold van Doren,

> "there wasn't even a road down to the southern side of the Island. If you look at the old maps, like back in 1882, I think it shows a trail over to Duck Harbor, and there wasn't any link across there to Head Harbor. There was no road there. And there was a road down the east side that went to one side of Head Harbor. And there was another trail that went up through the mountain and along the ridge along the west side of the lake, and came down to the west side of Head Harbor. So, you know, beside those…paths running across the mountain ridges there, there was just nothing. I don't think there were even ox-cart paths" (HV).

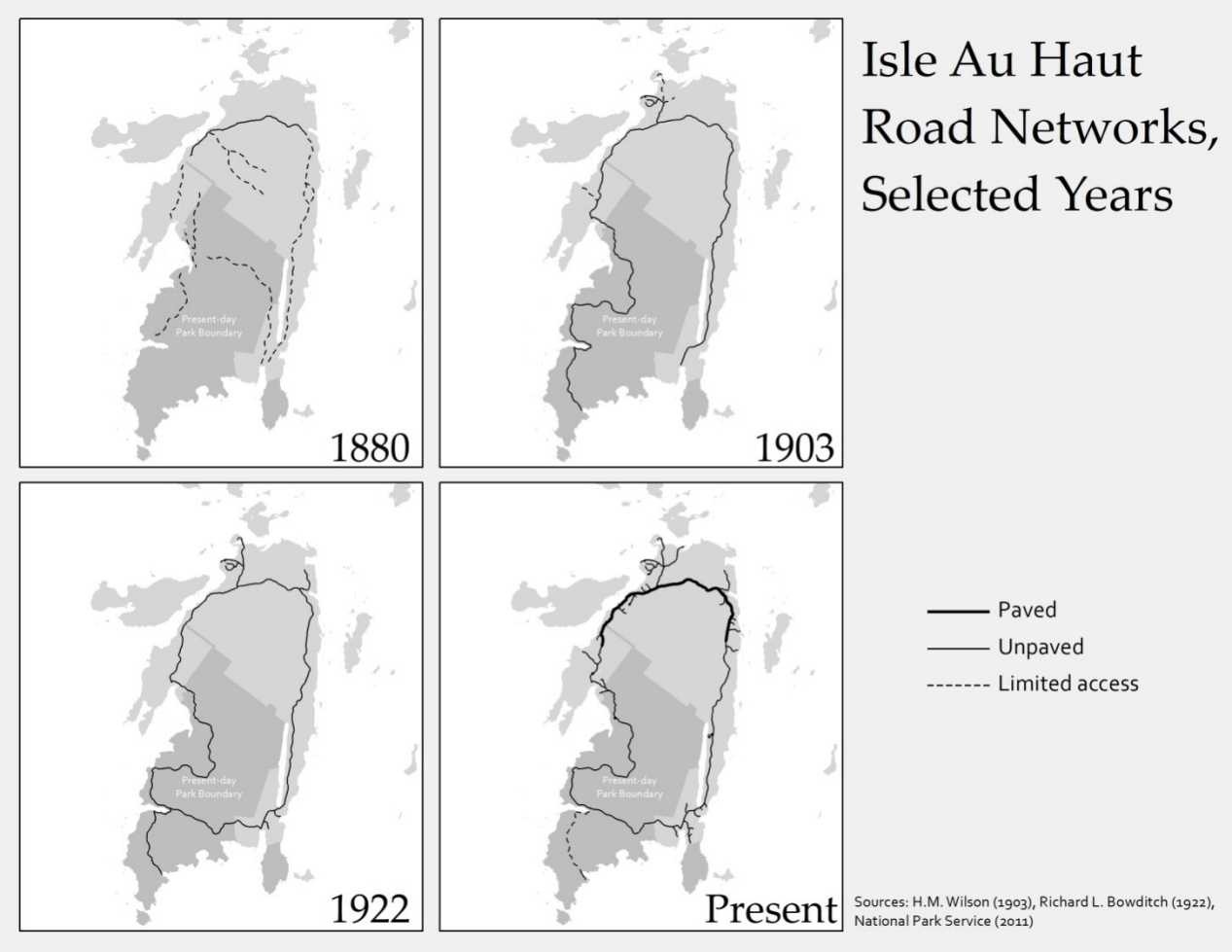
Similarly, Fred Eustis notes,

> "Before the summer people came to Isle au Haut, there were either no or hardly any roads worthy of the name. There were no horses. There were oxen, cattle, sheep, and perhaps donkeys. There were some tracks and trails. I think there was something of a road through the Thoroughfare village and from there to Rich's Cove… Needless to say, horses and wheeled vehicles were introduced" (Eustis 2012).

In turn, this limited access restricted demand for these lands, allowing the Bowditch family to readily acquire them and ultimately transfer them to the park.

These limited transportation options also left Duck Harbor and Head Harbor relatively isolated from the larger population of Isle au Haut. Through much of the 19th century, these settlements were accessible from the west side of the Island only by rough ox trails along the western shore and over the interior ridge of the Island respectively. The rough road from Head Harbor to Moore's Harbor passed over the ridge of the Island, passing south of Long Pond then ascending northwest on the west side of the Pond. This road served as an ox track and foot trail, linking the two communities, but also serving as an access to the Island's interior. During the peak of sheep production in the second half of the 19th century, this facilitated the establishments of certain interior homesteads, such as at Herrick's Camp, and served to link them with one-another and with the outside world. This road was the principal way to access Head Harbor, which it intersected on its northwestern corner. A separate road along the eastern shore of the Island intersected with Head Harbor on its northeast corner, and the two roads

apparently did not intersect, except maybe on informal pathways through the Head Harbor settlement – a phenomenon that is clear on certain late 19th and early 20th century maps.



Map 9: The Evolution of Isle au Haut Road Networks, Selected Years

The affluent "summer people" were especially interested in land transportation options and lacked the same casual access to boats that defined the transportation choices of long-time residents. They were also eager to support fire prevention on the Island – another early justification for road building. The Point Lookout people introduced pressures for roadbuilding, just as they introduced horses and buggies to the Island in their first appreciable numbers. As Harold van Doren recounts, "The horses were introduced primarily when the Point Lookouters came down here and they started using them to carry people around with buckboards and buggies" (HV).[78] There is some suggestion that the first permanent horses were brought to the Island by members of the Turner family, who worked extensively on the construction of homes and roads

for the Point Lookout community (Eustis 1952: 38). Using these introduced forms of transportation, the summer people began seeking out far-flung corners of the Island: picnicking on Shark Point Beach, watching the surf at places like Boom Beach and Thunder Gulch.

As Fred Eustis, suggests, the influence of the summer people was somewhat revolutionary in this respect, bringing unprecedented transportation options that linked all communities by passable land routes. By the end of the 19th century, Ernest Bowditch had begun work to produce a road that might link these attractions in a single scenic loop around the Island – the precursor to the modern park road – linking a number of preexisting ox and foot trails in some places with new links in others. By the turn-of the century, this effort had successfully linked Duck Harbor and Head Harbor along a semicircular route centered on the Thorofare. Clarence Turner, an Island resident who worked for Bowditch and the Point Lookout Club on many projects, worked to link all of the road segment on the Island, first completing a rough first approximation of the Island's full "loop road" in roughly 1903-04 (HV). The road around the Island became a point of interest to the press of the time, which suggested that "since the coming of the Club there have been built splendid roads…there is no other drive like this in the country"(Lewiston Journal 1905). The roads that linked the communities of the southern Island, however, were still so rough road that some suggest did not warrant designation as anything but a "trail." Only at the very end of his life did Bowditch succeed in organizing the readily traversed loop road that he envisioned.[79] It was only in the years immediately following after Bowditch's death (in 1918) that his family oversaw the final improvements on the section of road between Duck Harbor and Deep Cove (on the southern end of Moore's Harbor), as well as the road linking Duck Harbor and Head Harbor – the two final pieces in the Island's loop road that had required such improvements to be usable by most vehicles of the day (WB).

Accordingly, by the early 20th century, use of the road segments bypassed by Bowditch's new road quickly fell into disuse or became footpaths of enduring importance to Island residents. In particular, the road between Moore's Harbor and Head Harbor was in decline and use had almost ceased by the time the Island's loop road was completed. Residents continued to use the cross-Island road as a path for various purposes, such as to access places used for hunting, and wood and berry gathering. As the road was grown over with young forest at the conclusion of the sheep herding era, residents (permanent and seasonal) began to mark the trail with stone cairns and tree blazes. Some of these features appear to be quite old, with blazes largely overgrown by regenerated tree bark, and cairns overgrown with mosses and lichens. Later, trail uses painted the blazes light blue for added visibility in the young, dense forest and cairns have been augmented occasionally with new stones into recent times.

Figure 18: A blaze tree along the old trail through Herrick's Camp. Blue paint is still visible inside the scar, which has been largely overgrown by new bark. D. Deur photo.

20th Century Transitions on Isle au Haut

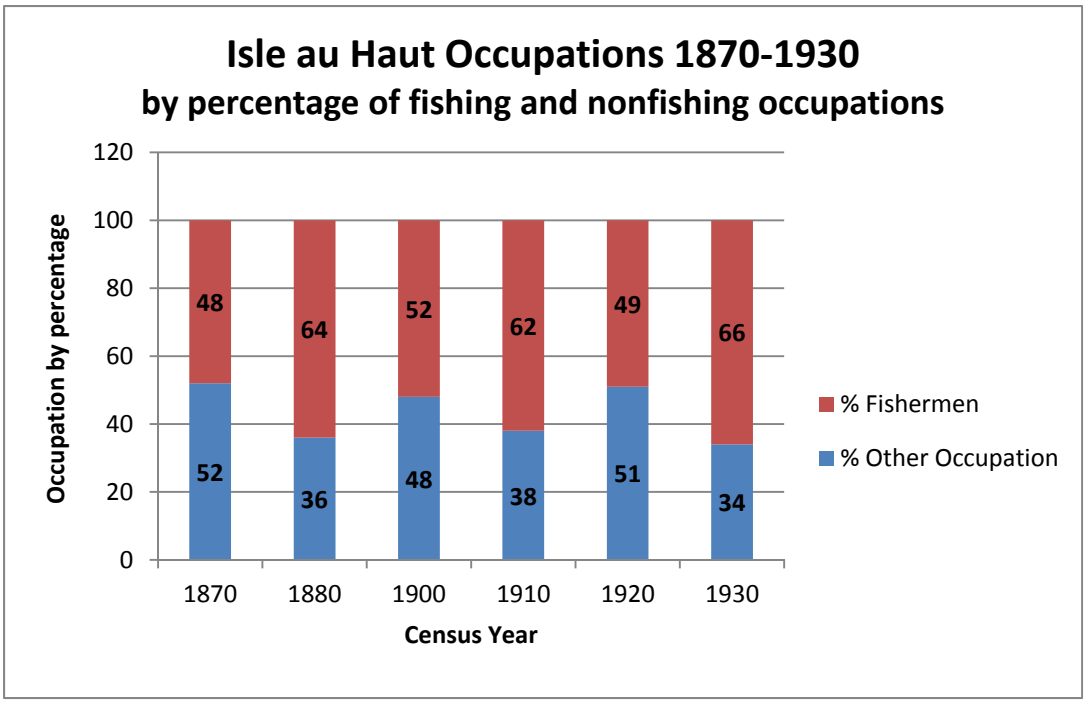
The 20th century was a time of profound change on Isle au Haut, even as the Island community remained small and focused on the sea. The century would witness a number of changes, as will be discussed in the pages that follow, but few of those changes would be as large and transformative as the creation of the Isle au Haut unit of Acadia National Park in the mid-1940s. Self-reliance remained key to survival on the small Island. Speaking of the first half of the 20th century, Harold van Doren noted,

> "If a family lived out here, they had to be self-reliant, and able to survive without the mainland luxuries. Men were obliged to work in dangerous conditions of bad weather and treacherous ocean. Women had to make do with wood stoves and kerosene lights, limited supplies and difficult gardening in thin, rocky soil. Children had very limited opportunities. An education began and usually ended in one-room schoolhouses. If you were a boy, you were raised up to be a fisherman. If you were a girl, you were taught how to be a fisherman's wife. A high percentage, literally hundreds of Island children grew up not wanting to be "stuck on the rock" and left, the boys for mainland jobs, the girls for mainland husbands" (van Doren 2006: 288).

A degree of isolation was also central to Island life. Those who welcomed it thrived on Isle au Haut. Women, especially those born elsewhere who married onto the Island, sometime had difficulties with the isolation – in the long cold winters especially (B. Barter 1999: 19-20). Harsh winters, generally, with the Island's shore sometimes ice-bound for weeks at a time, contributed to the departure of some residents for warmer climes and mainland ports (Pratt 1974). So too, the consolidation of the fishing industry on the mainland, fostered by bigger boats and changes in shipping in the post-War period, would chip away at Isle au Haut's prominence as a fishing outpost. Small operators were increasingly edged out in favor of capital-intensive commercial fisheries. As quoted Harold van Doren, fisherman Maurice Barter –who lived through this transition – keenly observed,

> "When I first started out, you didn't need that much. Now, look at what you've got to have to be in this business – thousands of dollars' worth of gear and a big boat. It gets more expensive every year. There's guys in it now what're so dam' deep in hock, they'll be lucky if they ever get out" (van Doren 2006: 87).

Still, small-scale lobstering persisted, and its relative importance increased significantly, as fishing declined, its prime grounds moving both further offshore and its processing centers moving landward. The population and fishing economy consolidated on the Thorofare; meanwhile, small ports, such as Duck Harbor, slowly disappeared during the period of park creation in the middle 20th century while others, such as Head Harbor would change in time to become a second-home community. The Island's overall population declined gradually too, sometimes dropping precariously low in the winter, but always persisting, and rebounding robustly with working people and summer people through the warmer parts of the year.



Graph 2: Unlike many communities on the Maine coast, the proportion of Isle au Haut residents engaged in fishing persisted through the late 19th and early 20th centuries, even as the total population began to decline. From U.S. Census (n.d.).

Over the years, and especially in the second half of the 20th century, the residents of Isle au Haut keenly felt their declining control over their own surroundings. A 1977 planning document states it plainly: "Most of the land on isle au Haut is owned either by the federal government or by non-resident individuals" (NPS 1977: 8). Moreover, the waters around their little Island were increasingly contested, being reoccupied by the growing ranks of "mainland" fishermen who arrived in larger numbers and in larger

boats. The fishermen who remained had to somehow contend with mainland fishermen, staking expanded claims around the Island, and had to navigate around yachts and pleasure-craft of summer folk, plying the waters with recreational intent.

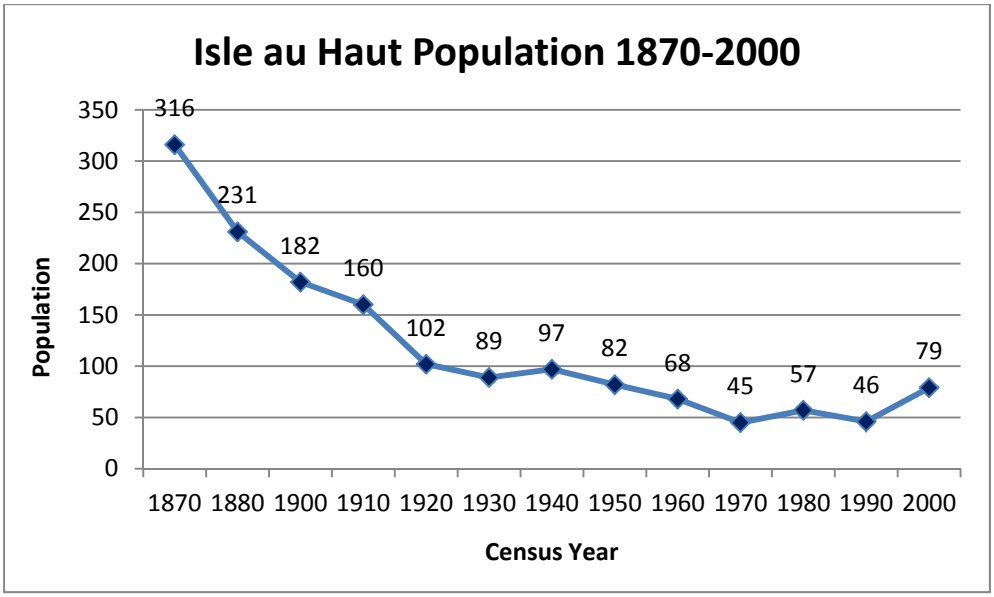
Yet, throughout the century, and in spite of these challenges, there was tremendous social cohesion within the communities of Isle au Haut. Communities of the Island were bound together, and with one-another, not only by ties of friendship and kinship, but with large and frequent social gatherings involving good food, music, and dancing. These social events were a pivotal part of Isle au Haut life, bringing together residents from around the Island, and sometimes even summer people. Island residents often walked for miles to and from the events, while cars and boats carried food and musical instruments from cove to cove (Pratt 1974; M. Barter 1992b; van Doren 2006). As Ted Hoskins recalls,

> "We used to go down after the dances…Archie and Eva [Hutchinson], they lived later on with Gooden and Nettie. And he used to play the squeeze—he'd play any instrument you stuck in his hands, but he was really good at the squeezebox. You squeeze this way, and you pour the rum in that way, and you just keep going all night. We'd go down after the dances because we had dances all the time, used to put on musicals and everything. And it was great. Gooden'd go out and get half a bushel of shorts out in the traps out in the harbor out there, and they'd cook up a lobster stew, and there'd be other instruments, and we'd sing, play, and just go right on after the dances and have a neat party down there. That was a nice world.
>
> "Ralph Chapin over at Moore's Harbor, he used to play the fiddle, and we'd have musicals down there sometimes, too. You know, whenever things were a little bit dull, you'd have a musical. And now about all we do is gather at Billy's shop and gather together a few people and play and sing. And that's good…" (TH).[80]

Summer people and year-round residents found that the barriers between them decreased with time, aided by events such as these. As Fred Eustis has noted, "all these social relations on the Island were of human proportion – between people who knew each other in daily life and had a home in common. The community was tending to become a kind of extended family" (Eustis 1984: 5).

The big technological changes that reshaped the outside world came late to Isle au Haut. Electricity and most indoor plumbing only arrived since 1969, and diffused gradually around the Island. Writing in 1974, Pratt reported,

"There are no telephones, although nearly everyone has a Citizens Band radio. There are no movies and no restaurants. The list of inconveniences which make living on the Island difficult is so long that you begin to wonder why the population decline hasn't been more rapid" (Pratt 1974: 26).



Graph 3: The Population of Isle au Haut, 1870-2000. From U.S. Census (n.d.)

Telephones only arrived in the late 1980s, and were not especially widespread or predictable until the following decade.[81] The arrival of phones and electricity opened up the Island for new kinds of development, drawing summer people, urban expatriates, "back to the land" enthusiasts, and others with a lower threshold for primitiveness and isolation. Many of these new arrivals now play critical roles in the community, and some have entered into the small but remarkably persistent fishing economy of the Island.

The small Isle au Haut community, still made up in no small part of large multigenerational families, has somehow adopted and, in time, successfully incorporated each successive wave of newcomers. Today, there are still community events such as potlucks, card games, pig roasts, and music that serve to bring the extended community together – not just "old timers" but relative newcomers as well. These events may not be as frequent or as central to social life before,[82] but they are essential – helping maintain a sense of community and providing ebullient entertainment to punctuate the Island's solitude. Islanders still support one-another in myriad ways, providing a cup of flour, a gallon of fuel, or a ride to the mail boat when a

neighbor is in need. Many take pride in this aspect of community life, though it is sometimes said to be as much a response to the practical necessities of remote living as it is to Islanders' unique beneficence.[83] True, people who have arrived on the Island in recent decades consistently site the park as one of their key inspirations. Yet they also note that the cohesion of the community continues to be a key "asset," drawing new residents to the Island in search of a sense of community – a sense that can be elusive in more urban and urbane parts of the country.[84]

Figure 19: The south shore of Duck Harbor, showing the Harvey (later Hutchinson) fish house and lobster traps. Photo courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society.

The Duck Harbor Community in the 20th Century

The Duck Harbor settlement continued to thrive well into the mid-20th century, mostly centered upon the homes of the Hamiltons and their descendants. Both Solomon Jr. and Sarah Hamilton lived on Duck Harbor until their deaths in 1919 and 1942 respectively. Many Island residents (including some portion of this project's interviewees) still recall visiting Sarah when she was still living on Duck Harbor, the elderly matriarch of the Hamilton clan.

The Duck Harbor that the Hamiltons occupied still centered very much on small-scale fishing, with families working independently or in community-based fishing teams to catch and process fish from the immediate area. As interviewees attest, in the early 20th century, most Duck Harbor fishing was still accomplished in very small boats, often propelled by sail and oar. Billy Barter notes that Duck Harbor's fishing and lobstering was largely accomplished with "peapod" boats in the early part of the century:

> "Just all it is was peapods that fished out there, double ended. They followed a small area before engines and all that stuff. Just the power of how far you could get. I don't know that it would be into miles, maybe, one mile. Course, they didn't have many traps to heave in those days" (BB).

Toward the end of the Harbor's full-time occupation, fishermen began to use various small motorized boats, including "Naptha" boats, a motorboat with an external combustion engine with a small boiler – similar in appearance to a small steam engine (TH, BB).

Residents also recall that, until the mid-20th century, lobster smacks traveled up and down the coast and sometimes stopped at Duck Harbor. Duck Harbor families were able to sell lobsters to this operation, and could also obtain needed supplies from these smacks – helping the community to persist in spite of its isolation. In addition to lobster, residents recall a diverse range of fish being harvested in the Duck Harbor area by resident families, such as cod, flounder and pollock. Billy Barter recalls that flakes and other drying racks once stood along the shore of Duck Harbor to dry these fish:

> "Codfish. Yeah, there used to be all kinds of flounder, a lot of flounder in every cove, way back then. Pollock…I presume they dried, you know. We used to hang 'em on the clothesline. You know, get the wind [drying them]. Now there's too many flies around. You don't get the northwest cold wind like we used to get in fall. Doggone flies'll lay their eggs on them. 'Course, you can't catch one anyway now. Can't get one now to dry anyways. Yeah, they used to have flakes, I remember. Some people had it screened in, though" (BB).

Similarly, Charlie Bowen recalls that resident fishermen maintained a wharf and a building for drying cod on the interior of Duck Harbor through the early 20th century, grounding boats there at low tide while they offloaded fish:

> "that ledge, way in Duck Harbor there—they'd go in behind the ledge, and they had a wharf there—they used to bring boats in there and let

Figure 20: A one-man lobstering operation near Duck Harbor. Photo courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society.

> them ground up in there. And they had a great big barn there full of dried [cod]fish. And they used to load dried fish out of that. Then when the tide came in, well, the boats would go back out" (CB).

Interviewees such as Jim Greenlaw recall that seiners from off-Island often pulled into Duck Harbor and would effectively "live" there onboard their boats when not fishing. These seiners befriended members of the Hamilton family and some were said to be thought of as part of the community.

Other non-residents also used the harbor in the early 20th century. In inclement weather, the harbor was sometimes used as a stopover for fishermen from other communities, anchoring for hours or days. Interviewees also note that Duck Harbor was a popular stopover point for bootleggers during prohibition. The place was relatively remote and private, making it an opportune location for the temporary storage or transshipment of liquor. Some residents of the harbor were said to have assisted in bootlegging, but off-

Figure 21: An early 20th century image of Duck Harbor, with a possible smack moored at the wharf on the south shore. Photo courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society.

Island men were said to run the trade, including the pilots of a "lobster smack" that traveled up the coast delivering supplies and liquor while taking aboard lobsters.

As the 20th century progressed, many individuals drifted away from Duck Harbor, moving to other parts of Isle au Haut or nearby communities on the mainland, in search of more forgiving harbors and the amenities of larger towns. Over time, the population dwindled so that only the extended Hamilton family remained as full-time residents, with seasonal residents occupying fish houses and remnant homesteads nearby. Interviewees still recall Sarah Hamilton living on the old family homestead in the 1930s and early 1940s. Indeed, interviewees Jim Greenlaw and Charlie Bowen, described how they visited Sarah, their great-grandmother, at Duck Harbor when they were boys in the 1930s. As Charlie Bowen recalls,

> "I remember the Hamiltons' house. It was about two rooms. They were about the size of this room here. They had a big black iron stove, and… out back that was Uncle Frank's hangout. My great grandmother…must have spit those kids out. They had 15 kids. And that house, that size, with 11 women living in there; must have been hectic. You know, because my grandmother was a Hamilton. My wife's grandmother was a Hamilton…I used to be down there [at Head Harbor] before I went to school, summers…And every Sunday—why, we had an old Nash touring

car with a canvas top—we'd go motoring over there every Sunday for dinner at Duck Harbor" (CB).

So too, Jim Greenlaw recalls that Sarah and Solomon Hamilton had a large number of children who grew up in the Hamilton house and survived into adulthood, including his grandmother Lillian Hamilton Robinson.[85] Some of these children, such as his uncles Freeman and Charles Hamilton, continued to live on the Island for many years and he got to know them well in his childhood, while some of their sisters married into other Isle au Haut communities; other members of this family moved to Kimball Island, Head Harbor, and off-Island through the mid-20th century. When Sarah Hamilton died in 1942, press coverage of the time mentioned no fewer than 171 descendants, including nine sons, two daughters, and many grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren – some living on Isle au Haut, some living on the adjacent mainland and Islands of the mid-Maine coast, and some living in places beyond (Knox County n.d.).[86]

In light of the relative remoteness of the Duck Harbor community, there were a number of historical "use areas" just beyond the edge of the Hamilton house and associated homesteads. Subsistence hunting and fishing was said to have been a big part of daily

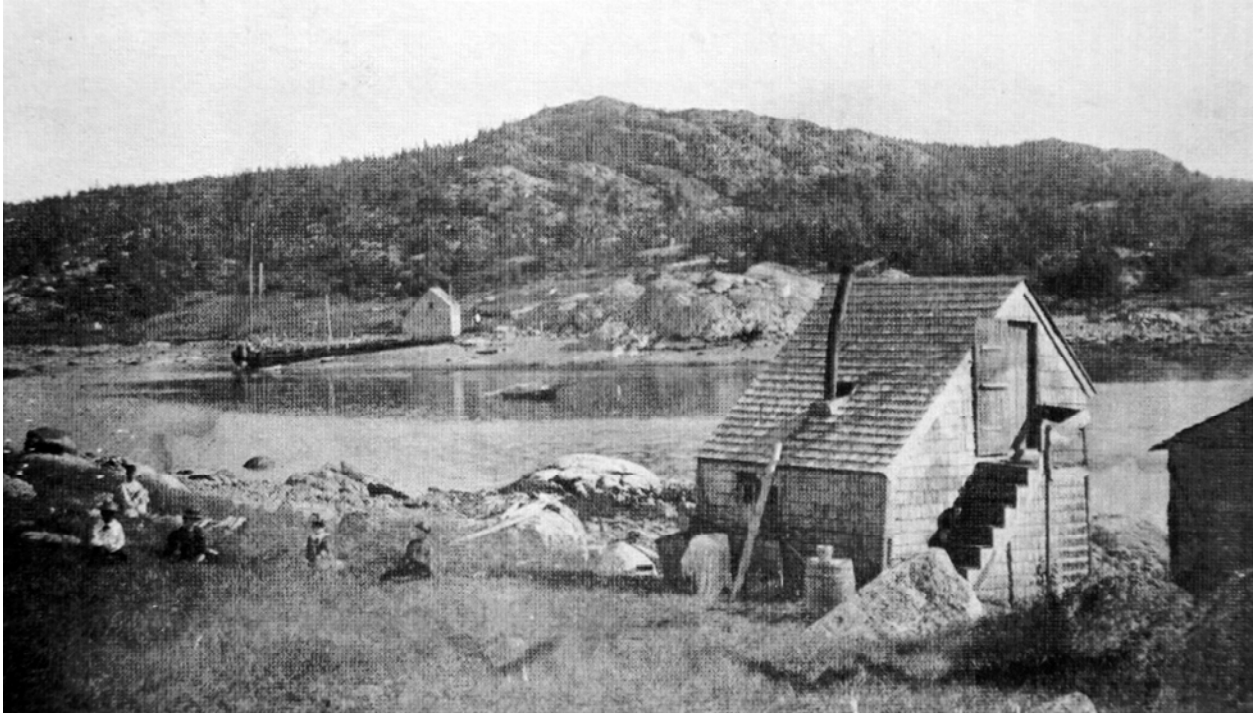


Figure 22: The two-story Hamilton house as it appeared in 1896, in the foreground, with the Duck Harbor wharf in the background. External stairs lead to what are reported to have been a bedroom for the family's many children. Photo courtesy USDI National Park Service, Acadia National Park.

life for the people living on Duck Harbor, involving lands and waters in all directions from the old family homesteads. As Billy Barter notes,

> "[They had] as many as fourteen children, the Hamilton family. They must have eaten a lot of deer meat, and seabirds, and grown a lot of vegetables. I can't imagine it, down in that area, supporting a big family like that" (BB).

As Robin Bowen notes, "they got most of their food from the sea" (RB). The family, as well as certain other fishermen from other communities maintained fish houses along the shoreline. Interviewees note that Charles Robinson, for example, maintained a fish house just below the Red Bank overlook, on the north bank of Duck Harbor. He had a hauling line and a skiff there in the 1930s and beyond, allowing him to fish from the harbor. Meanwhile, the ravine upstream from the Duck Harbor head was for many years the community's chosen spot for the disposal of certain types of refuse. In the early 20th century, this was a disposal site for old cars, which were pushed into the ravine and apparently accumulated there over the years, perhaps being salvaged for parts.

Following Sarah Hamilton's death in 1942, members of the Hamilton family persisted at the old homestead, even as the larger Duck Harbor community dwindled. Interviewees such as Jim Greenlaw recall going to visit his grandmother, Lillian Robinson, at her home on the Harbor. His memories of these visits are both fond and rich. The family continued to occupy the old Hamilton house, located at the modern-day Eben's Head trailhead. Several interviewees noted how the landscape used to be open and unforested at the Hamilton homestead in this period, with open views of the water through the mid-20th century, but trees have since grown up and obscured this view. A meadow can still be seen there at the site of the house. The Hamilton family maintained a small orchard, a portion of which still survives on the margins of the encroaching forest: "There used to be what was called "the orchard" out by Eben's Head. That was planted by my ancestors" (RB). The family bagged apples and put them in a root cellar for later use "they weren't much to look at, but they tasted fine and were good for pies" (JG). A relatively lush spot in the grass on the western side of the road, still visible today, marks the site of their former vegetable garden – the tended topsoil no doubt still contributing to the fertility of the ground there. As Jim Greenlaw notes,

> "My grandfather [Charles Robinson] had a good garden there…carrots, tomatoes, beets, cucumbers, and then they would grow potatoes to store for the winter. And they had an orchard there of apple trees…When I was a kid I visited my grandmother there at Duck Harbor….she'd make pies for us and I would raid my grandfather's garden. Then we'd walk all the

Figure 23: The north shore of Duck Harbor on the shoreline of the Hamilton homestead in the early 20th century. Photo courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society.

> way over to Head Harbor to where my aunt lived and she would feed us over there too…I was pretty well fed on those trips!" (JG).

As Robin Bowen notes, "Those old people lived without refrigeration for the most part" (RB). The family canned vegetables, but cellars for the cool storage of food and other goods were the standard. Cellar holes persist at old settlement sites around the Hamilton homestead and elsewhere around Duck Harbor as testament to this practice. As Bill Stevens notes, a number of these cellar holes are still visible:

> "Where the campground originally was, there was the cellar hole from the Hamilton homestead. And the cellar hole was still there, maybe a little bit of the wood from the lower part of the house, not much" (BS).

By the mid-20th century, the Hamilton family had largely moved away from Duck Harbor to the town of Isle au Haut and elsewhere on- and off-Island; still, the family continued to use the homestead regularly as a base of operations for fishing from the Harbor, sometimes staying there seasonally. Among the Solomon Hamilton descendants, his son, Charles Hamilton was the principal person to use the house in this way, and received title to the property. As Billy Barter recalls,

> "Charles was the last one that fished out of [Duck Harbor] - that was Charles Hamilton. That was in the '50s probably, '40s and '50s. They lived in the place, the house, where I live now [in the town of Isle au Haut]. They rented it from my grandparents. They stayed there winters" (BB).

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Duck Harbor shoreline continued to be of importance for fishing – both for Hamilton descendants and for individuals with longstanding ties to the Duck Harbor community. There were various fish houses on the shoreline of Duck Harbor – one on the north shore at Red Bank, built by Charles Hamilton in 1958, the other on the opposite bank, near the modern kayak pullout. The fish house on the south shore was sometimes used by Stonington fisherman, Archie Hutchinson, and the cookstove still found on the shore in that area is said to have been used as part of this fish house (RB).

Like the Thorofare and Moore's Harbor, there was also a herring weir on Duck Harbor for a time.[87] The weir at Duck Harbor was built in the late 1950s by Hamilton family members, Charlie "Del" Bowen and Charles Hamilton, as well as Maurice Barter. Robin Bowen recalls helping build the weir with these older members of his family. A number of residents, including Harold van Doren recall this weir functioning in the mid-20th century:

> "When I was a kid growing up, Charles Hamilton and his wife lived down there, right on the shore, where there's a house now. And he and a couple of my friends, other fishermen there, had a herring weir. So this was back in the '50s. They had a herring weir there. And they operated the thing for, I don't know, better for ten years, I'd say...And it was used, and they prospered with it...
>
> "[The weir] was out towards the mouth of the harbor. Because, you know, the procedure here is that the herring come into the harbor at night, and you go out in a boat, and you have a feeler pole, and you poke down around there. And if you feel herring, and if it's night, if you see what they call 'fire in the water,' why you know you've got some fish in there. And so then what they do is they close off, there's a twine gate there that they can close off. And that locks the herring in the harbor. And it's made so that as the tide flows out, the fish will try to go out, and then you can surround them. There's an area within that that you can surround. And then eventually, you can run a net around that and purse them up and catch them… Back in the '50s and '60s they had what they call a pumper that would pump the fish out of the water and into the hold of the ship directly" (HV).

In the course of this research, Charlie Bowen sometimes recalled a time when his father asked that he watch the weir while he was out of town:

> "The old man had [a herring weir] in Duck Harbor. And he was going away for a week, and I was coming down for my two weeks' vacation. And he says, 'Will you tend the weir for me?' 'Sure.' I don't know the first thing about it, but I imagine Maurice Barter and Uncle Charlie Hamilton, they'll know how to run it. Well, I went out there, and I think it was the first night out, I saw herring. They were firing in the water. 'Yep, we're going to shut off.' Finally, we got shut off. And we ran out of twine. And we had to have about, oh, 75 feet more on one of the wings. They didn't know where we were going to get that. I says, 'I do. Right down at Red Bank.' And we went by the Red Bank there, and hauled it aboard. Took it out there.
>
> "I think it was Stinson, over in Rockland - I called him up, he says, 'Yeah, I'll send a boat right over in the morning.' So we went out there and the boat came in, and I told the guy, I says, 'Hey, look. I don't know how to do any of this stuff. I'm just down here on vacation.' He says, 'I'll show you.' So he got right in there, and he took a boatload of herring out of there, and I think I was paid something like twelve dollars and something. That was my share after they paid all the bills and they got all theirs' (CB).[88]

Operations at the Duck Harbor weir were already in decline as purse seiners and others began to effectively harvest herring from offshore, when storm waves destroyed the structure in the late 20th century. It was "crushed in a big sea and that was the end of that…and purse seiners were hitting herring hard too" (RB).

At roughly the same time, the old Hamilton house on the property was burned to the ground – apparently an intentional fire, that some Island residents attribute to park "cleanup" efforts on lands that had recently been acquired. Again, quoting Billy Barter,

> "The old homestead, I remember that. Somebody burned that on purpose. One day Charles Hamilton was coming across there…and he saw smoke when he was coming across…Come over where the house was, and somebody had burned the house down. So he built the little place on the shore" (BB).

Following the fire at the family homestead, Charles Hamilton built a cabin on the shoreline at Duck Harbor – the same cabin that is still maintained by his nephew, Robin

Bowen, today. Hamilton originally remodeled a family fish house that stood on the site, then expanded this structure incrementally to build a functional cabin - the same structure that stands on the site today. Robin Bowen reports that some of the boards inside the older portion of the building are marked with writings from roughly 1892, suggesting that the original fish house has been on the Duck Harbor shore for a very long time (RB). As will be discussed in later portions of this document, this cabin continues to sit on a small inholding, owned by numerous Hamilton descendants, and has continued to be a point of contention in modern park-community relations into modern times.

In spite of a history of burned houses, broken weirs, outmigration, and occasional friction with the park over issues of modern management, the Duck Harbor community retains its profound significance to many Island residents. Especially for many modern Hamilton descendants, the old family homestead still "feels like home" - a place of warm memories and enduring attachments, a place where generations of their ancestors called home (JG).[89]

Head Harbor in the 20th Century

By most indications, at the beginning of the 20th century, Head Harbor was a thriving little community. At its peak, in roughly 1900, wharves once stood on either side of Head Harbor, while a growing phalanx of fish houses occupied its western shore. At this time, Head Harbor was said to have no less than three stores that catered to fishermen, lobster smacks, and local people. David Grant continued to run one of them – the family's establishment on the western shore – supplied by regular shipments from a Boston-based wholesaler (Pratt 1974: 111). In addition to the usual fishing and maritime gear, the stores sometimes sold fish, salt, and ice processed at Long Pond directly to schooners and fishermen plying the rich waters offshore. This store in particular was an important stopping-over point for local fishermen and a cornerstone of community life. It also sold candy. Billy Barter's family recalled stories of the Grant family's store:

> "He had a store there, too, Gooden's dad. On the right as you go down over the fence there. There's a shop there [now], there used to be a store there on the right hand side. My grandpa told about going down and getting candy Sunday afternoons. Said you hold up your hands like that, for a penny, you could get a whole [two handfuls together]. It'd last you a whole week" (BB).

On rare winters, the Thorofare and even Moore's Harbor froze, so that Head Harbor was one of the only ice-free points of access to the sea; in these times, mail and supplies

were sometimes routed through the harbor and the Grant store was apparently the depot for some of these activities as well (M. Barter 1992b). Gooden Grant assumed responsibility for the store by the time he reached young adulthood, and continued operating the store there until 1914, when David Grant died. He continued selling gas from the store for many years thereafter (Pratt 1974: 111).

Head Harbor's fishing was almost legendary on the Island, providing direct access to the best lobster grounds, but also a direct line of access to fine cod fishing waters too. For a time, the Grant family maintained cod flakes along the shoreline, while also harvesting lobsters for visiting wet smacks. The Grant store on the Head Harbor wharf was linked to the family saltery, and sold salted cod directly to schooners traveling up the coast in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (JO, JW). In later years, cod fishing continued but at a smaller scale, with small-scale temporary flakes being maintained by certain families. (Nettie Grant's diary entries in 1948, for example, mention that she sometimes helped "fixed up some flakes for Gooden's fish" [Grant n.d.].) Billy Barter has rich memories of the Grant family drying saltcod on Head Harbor during this period:

> "Nobody [dries cod on flakes] anymore. Dried fish used to be good. Fish flakes they called them. You laid them out on a screen of wire, some particular wire, but so many flies now, you can't. They used to have something over them to keep the flies [off]. I know that Les Grant, they used to salt cod for winter, before refrigeration. I remember going down there to eat when I was a kid. He had a washtub across the road, he had his fish caught up in a washtub…or some tarp or something there to hold them. We used to go across the road and get a couple of saltcod. And his wife used to have to freshen them, bring it to a boil, dumping it, you know, keep freshening it so it was fresh enough to eat. Fish and potatoes was the main thing in those days, salt fish and potatoes…We used to go catch a hundred pounds [of cod], split them, go ahead and salt them and dry them, hang them on the line in the fall of the year after the flies left. Just to do our salt fishes. It wasn't real salty, though, it was just dried. You ripped off a strip of it, and it was just kind of chewy. You can buy it now in the little three ounces for six or eight dollars. It's too salty, they get it too salty" (BB).

By this time, fishermen increasingly had to transport their own cod from this small harbor to nearby communities for sale and final processing. Gooden Grant, for example, spoke of often taking his dried cod to nearby Vinalhaven where purchasers were to be found (JW, SW).

Figure 24: A view of the wharf in front of Gooden Grant's store, with Eastern Head in the background and lobster traps in the foreground. Grant stands on the left. Photo courtesy Isle au Haut Historical Society.

Yet other species were also enthusiastically fished on Head Harbor by local fishermen, with pollock and flounder being especially abundant. When asked what was fished out of Head Harbor fifty to seventy years ago, Billy Barter replied,

> "Pollock, those big pollock. And there was still haddock, you know, you'd catch all the haddock you wanted to eat too. Course, Head Harbor was known for its flounder too. We were the best place for flounder, Head Harbor. They got depleted too, or something happened to them, for some reason. I think they cycle around. They're starting to come back now. The traps would catch the little ones…[The fishermen] would drop their old bait in the harbor. Think that towed them in" (BB).

Other fishermen also recalled that Head Harbor residents used to "toll" or "chum" the shallow interior waters with bait and fish waste to attract flounder and pollock:

> "When I was in the harbor, in my day, when you took the bait off the traps, you dumped 'em in a barrel, you didn't dump 'em overboard. And when you got in the harbor, and got on the [boat] you dumped your old bait overboard, and that trolled all the fish. You could get flounder and pollock" (CB).

Various methods were used to process the diverse fish caught from this harbor. In addition to salteries, ice from Long Pond could sometimes be used to keep fish cool for extended periods. Some sources also mention the use of a "porgy press" in Head Harbor – a device invented in nearby Blue Hill and used widely in the making of fish oil to compete with the whale, seal and cod oil industries of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Franklin 1974).

Gooden Grant was reported to allow Stonington fishermen to maintain fish houses on his property on Head Harbor and the south shore of Isle au Haut, with the agreement that he would serve as middleman in their sale of fish, including the sale of fish to schooners and smacks entering Head Harbor. "You had to be in with Gooden to build anything down there – you had to be a friend" (JO). He "owned all that property, but he also had a dealership. Alright, and so these guys were putting up shacks on his land and selling lobsters to him" (JW). Bootleggers also used Gooden's fish houses as stopover points and depots during prohibition, not necessarily with his permission. (Smugglers often used the remote Island as a stopover point, and the south side of the Island – including Head Harbor – was said to have played some role in this smuggling even well before Gooden's time [Smith 2000].)[90]

Head Harbor was also a center of sheep farming, where some significant portion of the sheep were raised, and most local families are said to have had some historical role in the sheep business. Head Harbor was also among the most important transshipment points for the Island's sheep industry, where sheep and sheep products were placed on boats and shipped to market. (The general Head Harbor area was also rumored to be a common target for maritime sheep poaching through concealed access points outside of the main harbor, leading to the name "Sheep Thief Gulch" being applied to a small cove north of Eastern Head.) Many Head Harbor residents were involved in some way with the raising of sheep well into the mid-20th century when only a small number of people – some of them quite elderly – maintained herds of sheep in adjacent parts of the Island or on small Islands not far away.[91]

A number of one-room schoolhouses were once found on the Island, arising and disbanding as student-age population of the small communities rose and fell. The Head Harbor school was often cited by interviewees as the foremost example of this pattern, being established and dismantled as the school-age population fluctuated in the small

community. Schools, some note, were not consolidated on the Island reflecting the challenges of transportation between communities.[92] For example, as Pratt noted,

> "Around the turn of the century a family named Gross settled in Head Harbor, and so the town built a special school for the education of their children, which closed when they moved back to the mainland after a few years" (Pratt 1974: 77).

Later, a school would be reestablished in the community to service local children, but this was closed once again by the mid-20th century (BB).

Houses in this community were often designed to be functional combined spaces for living and working – similar to the two-story fish houses reported on some parts of the Maine coast (Smythe 2008, Deur 2012). The Bowen family at one time owned a sizeable tract of land in the Head Harbor area, for example; Robin Bowen recalls that his family had a house there when he was young, with the living quarters upstairs and a gear shop for all of their "wooden traps and buoys" below. This was the family's home for a few generations and was occupied by Bowens when Robin's father Charlie, Jr. was born in the early 20th century (RB). Many houses in Head Harbor were accompanied by small gardens, orchards, and small family burial plots on the periphery of individual lots. Today, remnant apple orchards are still visible here and there in the encroaching shrubs and forest at the village's margins.[93]

Some interviewees were quick to point out that Head Harbor was a "rough" place at times from its late 19th century heyday into the mid-20th century – not the quiet community of summer homes, intellectuals, and "nature lovers" that one finds today. Residents recalled that Ulysses (or "Les") Grant was a mild-mannered man who got along well with neighbors; most suggest that Gooden was very different than his brother in this respect.[94] The Nettie Grant diaries from 1948 mention Gooden's brush with the police after shots were fired in an incident involving lobstering (Grant n.d.). Today's residents also recall incidents of this kind, with Gooden commonly getting into altercations with fishermen who were in the Head Harbor area without the consent of the Grant family. While not solely responsible for the little community's brawling reputation, interviewees suggest, Gooden contributed significantly to it. Even at the height of the Korean War, people from Isle au Haut sometimes called the Head Harbor community "Little Korea" because of the conflicts.

Near to Head Harbor, and only accessible through it, sits Eastern Head. A significant portion of Eastern Head – principally its southern end - was purchased by Ernest Bowditch and Albert Otis directly from George and Judith Smith in 1882 (NPS n.d.). As was noted elsewhere in this document, another portion of this headland – centered on its northern end - was owned for part of the late 19th century by the Knickerbocker Ice

Company, which processed ice from Long Pond and shipped it via a wharf on the eastern side of Head Harbor. Portions of the headland were obtained by the Grant family following the conclusion of the Knickerbocker operations on the Island. As a number of interviewees recall, a portion of the headland was then acquired by the U.S. government for a lifesaving station. The lifesaving station property at Head Harbor was never developed, however; in time, some portion of the lifesaving station land was declared surplus and made available for bid sale.[95] Charlie Bowen Sr. successfully bid on the land, and when he died his descendants received 1/7th shares of this land (RB). As Charlie Bowen recalls,

> "Knickerbocker Ice Company owned the Head, and they brought ice from Long Pond to the shore there…my family bought Eastern Head…then the Coast Guard bought some of it…in the 1930s I think" (CB).

On the interior of Eastern Head, small "Harvey's Beach" was an occasional outpost for fishermen apparently, used for working on fishing gear and possibly the site of a fish house or camp. Crossing Eastern Head, the Thunder Gulch Trail was long used by Head Harbor fishermen to check the conditions of the surf as a safety precaution prior to disembarking in marginal weather. This is still done in recent times, though increasingly for recreational purposes by Island residents with no immediate plans to travel by sea.[96] A number of individuals report that when the ocean was especially rough, the noise and "tremor" from the surf pounding into Thunder Gulch could be detected from their homes in Head Harbor. Sometime in the mid-20th century, the rumble diminished, when wintertime ice fractured a portion of the rock formation and stole some of this famous landmark's thunder for good.[97]

Until roughly the same time as Thunder Hole's transformation, the Head Harbor community began to fade somewhat too. Fishing changed abruptly in the immediate post-War period. Larger, faster boats expanded fishermen's range of harvest but also required increased consolidation in large mainland ports with developed wharves, mechanical shops, ample fuel, and shipping facilities. Small ports like Head Harbor persisted with small, and increasingly elderly, operators using boats and technologies of prior decades. Head Harbor continued to be a thriving little community, but from the end of World War II it was clearly a community in transition. Modern residents have memories of that time that are fond and clear. Charlie Bowen recounts what it was like to stay in Head Harbor at this time – an account that warrants quoting at length:

> "It was a community. You had that Gooden Grant over there. And he had a stern man there with him from Stonington, Bill. I guess he had only one eye. And I used to hang around with his son. And I see, then you had coming across the beach, you had Virgil, Virgil Gross. He built right on the, practically on the beach, just set back a little bit. And I remember

> we had a real strong wind. And Louise was down there trying to keep the seaweed from coming in through the door. Didn't want it to cross the kitchen floor.
>
> "Then up at Wilson's [on the east side of the cove, along the road to Eastern Head], why, there was Gracie and Jim Jenkins. She was a character; so was he. He'd get taking a little something, you know, and the tongue would hang out. And she'd say, 'Jim, put your tongue back in your mouth. People will think you're foolish.' Then I'd get the car, and I'd go up to get the mail, and they'd be both in the store. And she'd come out with a list. And she says, 'Would you mind picking these things up for me?' She had an account there at the store. Well, I'd come up. And, oh, she'd get canned milk and cereal and stuff like that. Take 'em back. Come up the next day and she'd hand me this list. And I says, 'That's the same list you gave me yesterday.' She said, 'Alright.' 'What do you do with all this stuff?' So she took me in the house, and look on the northeast corner of the bedroom there. It was all shelves. And she had quite a store. She had a big, room-sized pantry.
>
> "And then there was the house on the hill. That was my grandfather's shop. And that was [people by the name of] Thomas. The old people down here, when they got old, why they, 'You take care of me and you can have this piece of land.' So, I guess they approached my grandmother [to take care of them], and she said yes or something. And they made some kind of a deal. Alfreddie Thomas, her name was…And my grandfather, he came into that land when Alfreddie passed…He told me, he says, 'You want a piece of that land? Go build yourself a house on it.'" (CB).

Still, Charlie and those of his generation often did not choose to stay for long in Head Harbor, in spite of family ties and free land, instead taking work in bigger ports or urban areas some distance away.

There were other shocks to the little community of Head Harbor as well. Exposed to the full force of the seas, the community was sometimes hit by destructive storms and tidal bores that sometimes flooded and ripped at the waterfront. An especially damaging storm hit the community in the late 1940s, destroying or badly damaging most of the wharves, piers, and other fishing infrastructure of the waterfront. As Billy Barter recalls,

> "That's the worst, the east side and the south end. They had one bad—they didn't call it hurricane. I remember it, I think it was 1947. They called it a northeaster—wiped out everybody, just the whole harbor. It wiped out everybody… It was in November. They call it a northeaster

> 'cause it was northeast alright. All those big logs, I don't know if there's any left in the woods or not. Great big logs came right up in the trees there. They've probably all rotted by now" (BB).

Tough longtime fishermen like Gooden Grant continued to fish, but even Gooden was getting old enough that the work was a challenge. Nettie Grant's diary makes this plain. Her entry for August 1, 1948, for example, notes that "Gooden started taking up his traps to-day. Brought in two loads. It was hard for him to work alone…" (N. Grant n.d.). Recognizing that he was already in his early 70s by this date, these difficulties are certainly understandable. By no later than the late 1960s, Gooden and a number of his older contemporaries had largely stopped fishing. As Billy Barter notes,

> "[The Head Harbor fishermen] all moved out about the same time. All the Head Harbor fishermen up and left in the '60s, yeah, I think in the '60s. I don't what the reason was, they just got tired of fighting the elements, I guess. Wooden traps, you know. They lost so many traps. They had to build traps year round to keep in business. Every storm they lost quite a few traps. Course, we got more hurricanes in those days than we do now" (BB).

As Grant – an aggressive protector of Head Harbor fishing rights - began to exit the fishing business, the territorial claims of Head Harbor fishermen became vulnerable. As noted elsewhere, the territorial claims of Head Harbor fishermen were being challenged by mainland fishermen who had long sought a foothold in the productive fisheries on the south end of Isla au Haut.

Even after he had quit fishing, and very late in life, Gooden continued to "pick the slip" and do other traditional tasks to maintain the shoreline as he had in earlier times:

> "[one] very vivid thing I have in my mind, and always will, is Gooden Grant who used the property all his life. I remember seeing him down on the shore carrying up rocks and building up the bank of the access road. I remember reading in the fish shack document from Otter Creek [Smythe 2008] how the guys would have to periodically clean out the slips and stuff. Well, that's what I remember Gooden, when he was in his 90s, down there picking up rock, carrying them up one at a time. He was still in his maintenance mode. And I have a vivid picture of him doing that. You know, and I was quite amazed at his age and that he still felt a need to maintain his access, which is pretty incredible considering he probably hadn't finished for fifteen or twenty years" (BS).

In 1964, Gooden Grant sold the old Grant lands west of Long Pond around Herrick's Camp to the affluent philanthropist, Francis Goelet of New York, and in 1965, he sold a significant portion of the family's original core homestead on the western side of Head Harbor to Boston attorney, Henry Streeter, Esq. (NPS n.d.). After Gooden Grant died, there were no more Grants living on Head Harbor.

As will be discussed in later sections, most of the remaining Head Harbor fishing families soon sold their homes and moved away, causing a relatively abrupt revolution in the Head Harbor community. The homes of this fishing community were very soon reoccupied by newcomers – professors, urbanites, and back-to-the-landers – who still live on the Island seasonally or permanently. One of these seasonal Head Harbor residents, Tom Guglielmo, describes this abrupt turnover, as the homes of the old fishing community were sold en masse to new families:

> "This is our 40th year here, 41st summer. And, in fact, all these houses down here were bought in '71. It just happened that the McBeans bought in '71, the Wilsons bought in '71, and I think the Woollens either bought in '71 or '70, something like that. So one, two, three, four houses. You know, it might have been vacant for a while, boom, all of a sudden… these are all summer families" (TG).

While the bustling heydays of Head Harbor's fishing community are largely over, there are still many clues in the landscape of these times. Billy Barter points out that the pilings and remnant wharves of the harbor still hint at these events:

> "Down where the building is now, there was Gooden's workshop. And beyond that, he dug into the bank, put a roof over it, and kept his bait in there. On the other side, there's a wharf with a shop on it. Jim Jenkins owned that…There was a dock with a shop and a fish shed. You go down, there's a couple of posts still there. Across the harbor…there's still those cross[beams]. That's Gooden's oil and gas. The oil boat used to tie up to those… That's been a long time ago. They're still standing. I don't know what the heck kind of wood they are…He had his own gas and he sold it to the other fishermen. At least in those days the boats were pretty slow about going to Stonington. Not like now" (BB).

These landmarks still serve as constant reminders to modern Head Harbor residents of the rich history of their small cove, and give glimpses into the great challenges and opportunities that faced their predecessors on this distant southeast corner of the Island.

The Shrinking Fishing Territories of Isle au Haut

A number of interviewees mentioned that the shoreline of Isle au Haut has been subject to territorial claims by the various fishing communities of the Island and adjacent "mainland": "There's lines… we could fish down so far without being in someone else's territory" (SC). Jim Wilson, who is both a seasonal Isle au Haut resident and a professor in the University of Maine School of Marine Sciences, has some unique perspective on the development of these fishing territories:

> "I think they originally arose just because of the difficulty of traffic…If you're fishing regularly with sailboat, you're not going to move from here [at Head Harbor, for example] down to east side of the Island" (JW).

Such territories served to provide predictable locations for fishing harvests. Some suggest that these territories also fostered a more productive and sustainable fishery in the aggregate, as different harvest areas were overseen more-or-less exclusively by communities with a direct interest in long-term viability of localized fisheries (Deur 2012; Acheson 2003, 1975a, 1975b). As is true in many parts of coastal Maine, these fishing territories had both exclusive use areas and places where communities' fishing territories overlapped on the margins (Acheson 1988, 1975b). While there were ordinarily no formal, legal foundations for these territorial claims, they were enforced by fishermen through a variety of mechanisms, including the scuttling of gear placed within a territory by fishermen without rightful claims to that location. In other cases, certain lobstermen might collect lobsters from an invader's traps.[98]

On the shores of Isle au Haut, as in many other small fishing communities, local fishing territories have gradually been consolidated within and displaced by the expanding fishing territories of the mainland coast ports. This has occurred in multiple steps, over a very long period of time; the trend reflects such decisive factors as the growing efficiency of large, motorized boats and a growing reliance of the larger fishing industry on increasingly large fish processing and wharf facilities on the mainland, in places with centralized facilities and road access. Billy Barter discusses some of the changes he has seen in his lifetime relating to these technological shifts:

> "Well, see, they got the boats, fast boats. Used to take half a day to get from Stonington to Isle au Haut, and now you can get down there in ten, fifteen minutes. [People live in Stonington but] they "commute." Technology has ruined a lot of things, I guess" (BB).[99]

This mobility, as well as ready access to fuel and other mainland resources, gave mainland ports a growing advantage over small Island fishing communities, so

that by the end of World War II, the fundamental geography of the fishing industry had been forever transformed. Again quoting Jim Wilson,

> "When power came in, and the transportation shifted to the land, this place [Isle au Haut] shifted from being a good place to be to being a bad place, a very difficult place now" (JW).

In turn, as fishermen have become more concentrated in these mainland ports, the relative decline in the proportion of area fishermen living on the Island has made it increasingly difficult for Isle au Haut residents to effectively defend their claims against outside interests. As Virginia MacDonald recalls,

> "Originally, years ago, there were enough fishermen on Isle au Haut to hold the fishing grounds around it. Stonington fishermen would never come down that far. They'd go to the east or the west. But gradually the fishermen down there [at Isle au Haut] died off, [outside fishermen] got bolder all the time so that now they're fishing right down by Point Lookout and around the lighthouse – because there are so few fishermen left" (MacDonald 1998: 52).

The increased efficiency of boats only compounded the impacts of the relative increase in fishing infrastructure at Stonington and the relative decline in the number of fishermen at Isle au Haut. As Wayne Barter observes,

> "Back in the old days, nobody lobstered around Isle au Haut but Isle au Haut fishermen. And anybody that came in from the outside lost their traps. That's been going on a long time. [I]t's changed a lot. The problem was—well, my uncle blamed it on the invention of the internal combustion engine—it's more accessible. And nobody replaced the old fishermen, you know. They just got outnumbered" (WB).

Isle au Haut's struggles over access to the water have received prominent attention in such venues as Linda Greenlaw's bestseller, *The Lobster Chronicles,* in which she discusses Isle au Haut residents' "disgust for the steady increase of pressure on their fishing grounds from outsiders" and noted that, upon her return to the Island from a career as a swordfish boat captain, "it became abundantly clear that the greatest hindrance to my happiness and financial welfare would be what all Islanders perceive as the most palpable threat to our livelihoods: the overfishing of our Island's fishing grounds by outsiders" (Greenlaw 2002: 28, 5). Even in region-wide treatments of the lobster industry, it has been noted that "Isle au Haut lobstermen remain inundated with

Map 10: Approximate fishing territories of the early 20th century, as reported by interviewees.

boats from nearby Stonington, which has a larger gang and is linked to the mainland by a bridge" (Woodard 2004: 277).

It is important to note that this pattern of conflicting resource claims between Isle au Haut and the mainland holds true not only with lobster, but with other maritime natural resources. For example, clams have been intensively harvested by off-Island interests, leaving this resource depleted. As Harold van Doren notes,

> "Years ago, I tried to get the Town to have a clamming ordinance that would have kept any non-resident from digging. But, most of the people wouldn't go for it because they didn't think it could be enforced and nobody down here was making a living from clamming at the time. Next year, clam diggers came in from the mainland and cleaned the flats right out, even took the seed clams. You see, there wasn't any fight over territory, they just came in and took it over. There's nothing left now. Time was, I could dig a mess of clams inside of half an hour down in the cove and now I have to scrabble around up in the rocks and I'm lucky if I can find half a dozen little ones" (van Doren 2006: 168).

Today, a very small portion of the Isle au Haut coastline is exclusively claimed by fisherman based in the town of Isle a Haut, but a larger and apparently growing portion of the Island's shoreline is claimed by fishermen from Stonington, as well as Vinalhaven, and other communities. At the points of intersection between their exclusive claims are joint use areas – unsettled, contested, and changing with time. The expansion of other communities' fishing territories has been a perennial source of concern since at least the late 19th century. As mentioned previously, men from these inland ports often sought to fish and trap lobsters in these waters, but also to build fish houses to serve as bases of operation there, owing to the distance of these fishing grounds from their home ports. Robin Bowen explains that his family has stories of showdowns between Island fishermen and fishermen from Stonington and the mainland dating back to the time of his grandfather Charlie Bowen the first: "In my grandfather's time it didn't go over very good" (RB). His family recalls, for example, an occasion when a group of mainland fishermen constructed a fish camp in the "saddle" on Eastern Ear in the early 20th century. At that time, a group of men including Gooden Grant, Ulysses Grant, Charlie Bowen and possibly others ventured over to the camp when the men were away pulling up their lobster traps – they burned the new fish house to the ground and then fired shots at the men in their boats until they retreated up the bay (RB).

The fishermen who lived on the Island had their own general territories that differentiated the fishing grounds of Isle au Haut, Duck Harbor, Head Harbor, Rich's

Cove, and other small communities (see Map 10). Still, between many Island residents there seems to have been informal agreements that fishermen could use one-another's territories – a practice no doubt influenced by the fact that the residents of these small communities were often family to one-another or possessed other grounds for reciprocation. As Billy Barter notes,

> "The guys that lived up at Turner's and Rich's, they came down around. There wasn't a territorial dispute in those days, or lobster wars. They came down the east shore. Some [stopped] at Head Harbor, and some didn't… On the east shore, there are a lot of [ledges] there, especially off the south end of York Island, Cowpen" (BB).

Today, the fishermen of Isle au Haut are therefore hemmed in somewhat by outsiders' fishing territories, which have continued to expand in recent times and within the living memories of individual fishermen.[100] When asked to describe the fishing territory of Isle au Haut fishermen, Billy Barter replied,

> "Pretty much from the lighthouse, just that little tiny Island [Kimball Island]. We go as far as the Western Ear. Half way on the east side, York Island…my grandson, he goes the furthest over there. He went out to Spoon Island, he hasn't got in any trouble. Somebody left a note on his buoy, "Greedy, greedy"…We can go quite a ways out on the Western Bay, we call it, to Saddleback… We got quite a lot of area on the west side. The east side is the worst, more territorial…I used to [fish out to Saddleback], probably wouldn't let me there, the Vinalhaven people, probably pretty much. I used to fish real close to it …Merchants Row [is the dividing line between here and Stonington]… " I go [fishing] about halfway around the Island, I guess. On the east side and around on the west side. [And] in Duck Harbor, as far as the end of the Western Head" (BB).

It is important to note that the situation is fairly complex. Some interviewees suggested that a portion of these Stonington families (especially those using the northern and eastern sides of the Island) are sometimes related to, or descended from Isle au Haut residents who moved from the Island to the mainland.[101] Harold van Doren notes some examples of how this complexity emerges:

> "Charles Turner, and his son Harold Turner used to lobster and lived at Turner Cove on the east side. Harold had three sons who all went lobstering on the traditional family grounds, but eventually all moved off the Island. One son continued to fish the family territory after moving and still does to this day. His sons also do. That's when the requirement that

> you've got to live where you're going to fish becomes unworkable, at least around the Island. Interestingly, Island fisherman, Maurice Barter, had a daughter who married a Stonington lobstermen, but the man never tried to fish in Island waters" (HV).

And, while communities claim entire territories, it is important to note that individual ledges are sometimes seen as the exclusive property of a single fisherman or fishing family: "some people think they own a ledge and if you go in there you'll lose your gear" (JO).

Only the very small Thorofare channel and areas immediately adjacent are effectively claimed by Isle au Haut residents alone.[102] As one interviewee describes the situation,

> "There's a buoy about right there [by Robinson Point]. And there's a line from the lighthouse across that buoy over to [Kimball Island]. And there's a line right about there. That's what Isle au Haut fishermen have. We gotta keep something. If they come inside there, we either move 'em out or cut 'em off. We gotta have something. But from there on down, you have the, just the Thorofare down to the lighthouse, is all we have" (AN).

As a number of interviewees noted, the Thorofare alone provides poor lobstering opportunities compared to once rich lobster beds that sustained the community in former times. Indeed, the Thorofare used to be so shallow that relatively little of it was viable lobstering ground; the channel could be impassable by boats and could be forded from Kimball Island at low tide. Only after dredging that occurred between the 1930s and 1950s was there enough open water to allow regular access and improved lobstering options, and it was after this dredging that the town dock was constructed.[103] Fishermen still venture as far north as Merchant's Row, but beyond there the waters are claimed more-or-less exclusively by Stonington fishermen.[104]

Most of the western portion of the Island beyond the Thorofare is still used by Isle au Haut fishermen, including Duck Harbor (see Map 11). At Western Head, "the Boulder" serves as the dividing line between Isle au Haut territories (to the west) and Stonington territories (to the east). As Billy Barter explains,

> "People from Isle au Haut all go to about the same area….[So Moore's Harbor and Duck Harbor are] still all Isle au Haut people…As you get around the end of the, I guess that's Western Head, isn't it? There's a boulder off there, that's the line, as far as The Boulder. And you can't go up in that area [beyond there]… We fish as far as the end of the Western Head, and can't go up in towards the Cliffs. We can't go

> around…Stonington has taken over Head Harbor. And around the end of [Bungie] Head and Head Harbor. There's lines on both sides, on the Eastern Ear part and on the Western Head part. Off-limits for, just a few Stonington guys. The cliffs area and around there, we don't go in. Six or eight [Stonington fishermen] just took it over. Not even the other Stonington guys don't even go in there. Probably eight fishermen from Stonington" (BB).[105]

The "invisible line" between fishing territories is said to extend south from the Boulder, three miles out into the sea.[106]

Meanwhile, the eastern side of the Island is contentious. Maurice Barter may have been the last fishermen to regularly fish this side of the Island, with his stern-man, Harold van Doren continuing for a short while thereafter.[107] Today, well-established fishermen from Isle au Haut may still try to fish there in spite of challenges from mainland fishermen, but younger or less experienced fishermen often steer clear of the area to avoid conflict. Again, quoting Billy Barter:

> "Some people don't go on the east side, where we fish. Most people that have moved in recently don't go on the east side. The guys don't want to go over there!" (BB).

Indeed, a few established Isle au Haut fishermen effectively "specialize" in fishing the east side of the Island, recognizing that it brings both higher risks but higher rewards too.[108] The northern side of the Island is a less contentious area of overlapping claims, some say, but still carries some of the potential risks and reward characteristic of the eastern Island.

The lobstering and fishing on the southern end of the Island, facing the park, has been especially contentious over the years; it represents "some of the best in this part of Maine. That's why they are willing to fight for it" (AN). [109] Today, the area around Head Harbor and Eastern Ear is no longer fished by Isle au Haut fishermen. Quoting Harold van Doren,

> "fifty years ago, old Gooden and the other fishermen living here had all this to themselves. As far as that goes, no Stonington lobstermen could set south of Merchant's Row without losing gear. But, then, people down here started to get old and move off. After that, the Deer Islanders got in. It cost them plenty, but they did it, and now, no one from Isle au Haut can fish down here, even if they live in Head Harbor…Legally, you are supposed to be able to, but the fact is, you can't. If enough people try it,

Map 11: Approximate boundaries of modern fishing territories as reported by interviewees.

> you end up with a trap war and the wardens step in and close the area" (van Doren 2006: 167-68).

Interviewees consistently reported that the decline of the fishing community on Head Harbor was heralded by the death of Gooden Grant and the conversion of a number of houses in that community to summer residents over the course of the 1970s: "after all the Head Harbor fishermen died off and moved off…probably thirty years or so" (BB). Since then, the southern end of the Island, especially the Head Harbor area, is reported to be fished almost exclusively by one family from the Stonington area by the name of Bridges. As interviewees commonly report,

> "There's sort of an invisible line. Yeah, the Bridges sort of have the, in there, family, sort of have control of the whole Head Harbor fishing area. And if you cross that line and set your traps, when you go back to haul them, they're not there" (WB).

Though not originally from Isle au Haut, the Bridges family purchased a house on Head Harbor in 1956, giving them a foothold in the Isle au Haut fishery by local convention. Most interviewees believe that the family bought the house for the purpose of securing fishing rights. As one interviewee recalls the circumstances,

> "[The Bridges] bought this house in '56 because people on Isle au Haut were threatening to go to the legislature to get a territory like Monhegan. One of the rules, I think, the territory was a mile all the way around the Island, which is quite the large territory. And the rule was, if you lived on the Island, you could fish. Or, that was the proposed rule. So they just bought this house as a license fee. That was their entry" (AN).

The house was reported to be inexpensive and "that's a good buy for fishing [rights]!" (AN). The family lived on Head Harbor for roughly five years. Certain contemporary Stonington-area members of the Bridges family spent their early years at Head Harbor on Isle au Haut, then, but moved off-Island, retaining their claims to fishing rights on the Island's south side. The Bridges family sold their house to interviewees Jim and Sharen Wilson in the early 1970s, but continued to claim fishing rights in the Head Harbor area thereafter – allowing members of this extended family access, but restricting access even to unrelated Stonington fishermen.[110]

While use of the south shore is said to be fiercely guarded by mainland fishermen, its use by these fishermen varies over time – it is a productive area, but small-scale operators "don't want to burn a lot of gas" to get there (KF). Still, speaking on condition

of anonymity, one interviewee asserted that the continued assertion of territorial claims by Stonington residents is "the biggest threat to the survival of fishing on Isle au Haut." Residents report that their gear has been scuttled when they try to fish in waters off the south and eastern sides of the Island, and hostilities have at least once escalated to the level that local police became involved.

In more recent times, there have been proposals for an "exclusive use zone" around the Island, that would give Isle au Haut residents sole access to lobstering areas within a defined distance from the shoreline. Residents of the Island were involved in some planning for a congressional bill to secure these fishing rights. Still, these proposals have not yet succeeded, but have nonetheless compounded frictions with Stonington fishermen (who are frequently encountered by Island residents who must travel to and from the mainland). [111]

In response to the claims asserted by Stonington fishermen, the people of Isle au Haut have adapted in various ways. Once a bustling little fishing community, Head Harbor has only one active fisherman, the remaining house being occupied by summer people or those with other occupations. People living in this community now explore other economic opportunities, including the harvest of unconventional marine resources such as edible seaweed. (Such proposals have a considerable time-depth; Pratt (1974: 177) discussed aquaculture as being among the Island's limited prospects for future economic development by the early 1970s). Other families that used to use this area have experimented with supplementary terrestrial pursuits, such as beekeeping. Such harvests would not require the same immediate processing as fish and shellfish, and so might overcome, somewhat, some of the logistical disadvantages that the Island experiences within the modern seafood industry. The perceived pristine quality of Isle au Haut is clearly a marketing advantage, these people suggest, and one that can aid in the promotion of alternative small-scale resource economies on the Island. Coordination with the NPS would be required, however, for any novel marine harvests that might make use of waters immediately adjacent to the park – a point still being explored by some proponents of alternative marine resource harvests seeking to adapt to the shrinking fishing territories of Isle au Haut.

Hunting, Plant Gathering and Freshwater Fishing

The use of natural resources (other than fish and lobster) for subsistence purposes has long been part of Isle au Haut tradition, and has sometimes been essential to the success and endurance of communities on the Island. Interviewees often mentioned that hunting – especially the hunting of deer and waterfowl – was once a cornerstone of the local diet, perhaps being secondary only to fish and shellfish in its overall importance among natural food sources. Isle au Haut formerly had a very large deer population,

and was reputed for its hunting this both on- and off-Island. Hunting was said to be a practical necessity in this remote setting: "It was more like shopping than hunting" (RB). Interviewees mention that families such as the Hamiltons and Grants on the south side of the Island used to derive a significant part of their sustenance from deer hunting in particular, and that the bulk of this hunting was accomplished in lands now within the park.

Certain places now within the park were hunted with particular intensity by south Island residents. A number of individuals mentioned that residents of the Duck Harbor area used the forests and field margins in the vicinity of Duck Harbor widely for deer hunting. The practice of hunting these areas continued well into the mid-20th century. As Robin Bowen notes of the Hamilton and Bowen families of Duck Harbor: "All my family [hunted]…always had a deer in the shed from the time it was cold enough to keep one until it was too warm" (RB).

Meanwhile, for the residents of the Head Harbor area, places such as Herrick's Camp were considered to be excellent places for subsistence hunting. As Billy Barter recalls stories of people hunting near Herrick's Camp many years ago:

> "I heard my father tell about it, he used to go up there deer hunting years ago, my father and my grandfather. The deer were all around the road up there up there. They jacked [hunted with lights at night], they went up there in the night, and jacked, I guess. I guess there were apple trees there years ago. They shot three up in there one night, my grandfather said. Took all night dragging them down to the road. That's when they really needed deer meat to survive in those days. They said when they shined the light in the field there, the deer eyes!" (BB).

The forest-meadow margins of Head Harbor were also said to be suitable for deer hunting, but Eastern Head was reported to have insufficient browsing opportunities to draw a large deer population.

A number of residents formerly hunted along what is now the park road, driving along the route while watching for deer, deer trails or other recent signs of game. The road provided hunters with uniquely convenient access to forested portions of the southern Island, but also allowed residents to easily assess the potentials of hunting areas in advance. People often scoped out potential deer and deer hunting areas along the road in spring and summer in anticipation of hunting in the fall. As Ted Hoskins notes, people gathered considerable information on deer distribution in the course of these drives, and sometimes chose the exact deer they would hunt later in the season:

> "And you'd see - you go around to these places often enough, you know where the deer are…So you'd pick out your deer, you know, during the spring and the summer, and then you'd go get it in the fall. And most of the people, used to be they'd get a deer in the fall, one or two, and hang them up, you know, and you'd see them" (TH).

When a person left their vehicle to pursue deer, they conventionally left their door open in the direction they had traveled as a safety precaution. Again, quoting Ted Hoskins,

> "Used to be, growing up, you'd come along in the fall, and you'd drive around and you'd see a car parked on the side of the road, and if the door was open that meant they were hunting out that direction. And they'd park on the side and leave the door open, so you'd just know, don't go in there" (TH).

While such hunting was largely undertaken for the sustenance of hunters and their families, deer hunting sometimes was carried out for other Island residents and visitors. Interviewees sometimes made reference to providing some portion of the meat from their hunt to friends and neighbors – especially people who could not hunt for themselves. Following the development of the Point Lookout community some residents were able to earn extra income bringing venison to Island visitors. Residents sometimes hunted for people staying on the Island for other reasons as well. For example, Jim Greenlaw recalls that his father, who was from the interior Maine, enjoyed hunting. When he came to Isle au Haut he hunted deer to provide meat to the Smith family, who ran the lighthouse and were not hunters themselves. The lighthouse keeper and his family apparently enjoyed the meat and consumed a full deer in roughly three days' time; his father was happy to oblige in hunting enough to keep the Smith family with ample meat for extended periods of time (JG).

Meanwhile, men from the mainland or other Islands sometimes hunted deer on Isle au Haut's unpopulated southern shoreline when traveling past by boat. People from Mantincus Island, for example, formerly used to hunt by boat along the southern shoreline of the Island, as well as landing in Head Harbor and other small coves on the southern Island for short hunting trips.[112] This practice persisted into the late 20th century. As Ted Hoskins recalls,

> "They'd talk about coming hunting on Isle au Haut from Matinicus. And they'd come over, and they'd come into Head Harbor, or else they'd go along the shore and they'd get a deer or two right from their boats. And then go ashore and drag it down in quarters or whatever. But a number

> of the guys on Matinicus used to talk to me about that. I don't know that it's recent at all, probably 30, 40 years ago" (TH).

This practice was said to have formerly been widespread and sometimes damaging to local deer populations. It was also the foundation of an illegal trade in venison among hunters from off-Island. As Charles Pratt noted in the early 1970s, "There is a kind of black market for illegal venison on the Main, known as the "meat market," and most of its produce comes from the Island" (Pratt 1974: 13).

In recent years, the residents of Isle au Haut have agreed to a ban on deer hunting generally. Explanations of the rationale for this prohibition vary, but it is clear that it relates to concerns about the adverse effects of outside hunters, rather than concern about safety or park rules by residents. As explained by Wayne Barter,

> "The thinking behind the town's stopping deer hunting is they felt that if they opened Isle au Haut up to deer hunting, you'd get this influx of hunters…I think they were protecting their resource. I mean, they felt if they opened it up to hunting, they'd get these 'Deer Island [people],' as they called them, would come down, and you'd have to live in the cellar for the month of November. And bottom line is, they didn't want anybody come out shooting our deer…My grandfather's generation and generations before, my uncle's, my father's generation, people fed their families on deer meat. But, no, that's the reason. That's definitely the reason" (WB).[113]

A number of interviewees suggested that hunting persisted on park lands after park creation, but gradually dwindled due to both concern about enforcement as well as the growing availability of alternative foods. Today, the deer are hunted so little that some residents share concerns about crowding, starvation, disease, and other maladies that might affect the deer population. Again, quoting Ted Hoskins,

> "anymore, there's not that much of it [hunting]. We've sort of wished that we could have more of it. [Some say] if you get a chance, shoot a doe, so you don't have the increase. So they don't starve them out or something. But there isn't enough hunting to make that much difference, I don't think. And you know that there isn't any open season or anything like that, I don't think" (TH).

While deer numbers are said to be high, the arrival of coyotes on the Island in recent years has moderated their numbers somewhat. Both deer and coyotes are reported to be

able to swim to the Island from nearby lands, allowing them to recolonize the area without human intervention. In turn, residents suggest that there has been a rebound in the abundance (or, at least, the visibility) of young deciduous trees and wildflowers (KF). "The deer have probably decimated more plant life down here than anything else" (HV). Also, summer residents often bring dogs, which can affect wildlife on the park's margins: "The deer are very comfortable, but if dogs arrive they scatter and their behavior changes" (JO). This, some suggest, intensifies grazing pressure on some parts of the Island while reducing it in others, but is of greater concern because of the direct effects on deer and other wildlife.

Bird hunting has also been very important within history of southern Isle au Haut. Duck Harbor and the south shoreline of Isle au Haut were especially popular for hunting of waterfowl. Waterfowl populations were said to have been huge in this area, and could be hunted with ease from the shore. As Charlie Bowen recalls,

> "You'd go right to the Western Head, there'd be nothing but ducks, from the back of Bunker [Bunge] Head. I'd go up on that Goat Trail, and I could get up underneath of a tree, pick out a duck, and snipe it. And the wind was always off southwest, and bring it right to me" (CB).

A number of residents mentioned bird hunting being widespread at one time at Barred Harbor, Merchant's Cove, Deep Cove, and along the rocky shoreline as far west as Western Ear. Among these, Merchant's Cove was mentioned most prominently as a premier bird hunting area. Many of these south shore hunting areas were ordinarily accessed by foot along Goat Trail and other points of access now largely incorporated into the park trail network. Speaking under condition of anonymity, one resident discussed waterfowl hunting and associate culinary practices on Isle au Haut in recent decades:

> "People do hunt the eiders still. They're a better table duck than the coots or the scoters… We have all these other ducks too but people don't—we don't have the golden eyes which people call whistlers. We hardly have any of them anymore, or the buffleheads. People didn't use to shoot them much anyway, well, sometimes the whistlers. The harlequins we have. They don't hunt them. We have a population of them down on the southern end, down along in here you can see harlequin ducks. Mostly between Merchant and Deep Cove, I'd say in that area, maybe even the head, right along this shore here. You can see harlequin ducks. I haven't seen them anywhere else. Nobody hunts them anyway. For one thing, I think they're protected. It's on the park too…Some people still [hunt scoters], not as much as they use to. Probably back when Billy [Barter] was a younger guy, a lot of people hunted them and ate them then. The

> black ducks are the better eating duck. They used to eat a bunch of those. I've eaten quite a few eiders, I've eaten some scoters too. I think the eiders are better, but some people don't like them at all. Depends how you cook them too…That's about all the hunting that's [been] done on the park, I guess, so that's good" (AN).

While hunting of the south shore persisted into the period of park management, the use of this area for bird hunting has nearly disappeared in recent times – not only because of park creation, some note, but also because of a significant decline in both bird numbers and community hunting activity. Charlie Bowen discusses these trends:

> "I tramped all those [coves between Duck Harbor and Head Harbor]. I used to take that Goat Trail over there, go to Barred Harbor, and shoot ducks…Yep, we ate rabbit, duck and deer. I was down there, what, a couple of years ago, and I was kind of disappointed. Because from Eastern Head to the Western Head, it was all ducks [years ago]. I mean, you couldn't walk amongst them, it was that thick. But not now. And I don't believe there's that many hunters. They've sort of grown out of that. These younger generation, they don't hunt, not unless they live off the Islands here." (CB).

As mentioned elsewhere in this document, commercial hunting for bird feathers was said to have been common on parts of the Island, including the southern end, which housed nesting colonies of eider and other birds. The descriptions of hunters varied, but may have included both locals as well as Native and non-Native men from the mainland. Gulls were especially targeted, as they were elsewhere along the Maine coast, resulting in localized extirpation of black backed and herring gulls. Historically, eider down was gathered in large quantities at nesting sites, often without lasting harm to the birds, but it is unclear to what extent this was practiced on Isle au Haut (KF).

While marine fishing is mentioned in other sections of this report, it is important to note that freshwater fishing has been the focus of both recreational and subsistence fishing on parts of the Island. In particular, residents mentioned fishing at Long Pond. Long Pond contains native populations of sticklebacks, American eels, and other fish, but brook trout have been stocked there – at times, by airplane. Landlocked, presumably 'kokanee," salmon have been stocked and fished there in the 20th century. There are stories of people catching "salmon" on the pond in earlier times but their exact species and origin was not readily recoverable (KF).

Interviewees also discussed the importance of berry picking on the Island. Residents reported the longstanding practice of picking huckleberry, lowbush blueberry, wild

raspberry, blackberry, lingonberry, bog cranberry, elderberry, and other species. Blueberry harvesting was said to have been an especially popular activity historically, providing sustenance to permanent residents, while being a source of amusement and supplementary food to visitors and summer people. Early sources suggest that fresh, dried, and canned blueberries in particular were an important part of the Island diet, a point that has been echoed in more recent writings (e.g., Greenlaw 2002: 191). As Harold van Doren recalls,

> "[A]t one point they did a lot of blueberrying down here. But you're going back to the middle of the 1800s or so. From then on. They make mention, they used to call the berry pickers that came out here, they used to call them 'plummers' because apparently the berries were really big" (HV).

Residents consistently noted that the best berrying opportunities were afforded by open or freshly disturbed areas. "When there's a blowdown, the raspberries start taking over" (AN). A number of individuals, for example, mentioned that robust raspberry patches have become established where the forests on Eastern Head that were toppled by heavy winds in the late 1990s.

Fire suppression and other management restrictions on forest disturbance were said to have depressed the output of berry patches used even in living memory. Billy Barter spoke of the changes in berry productivity that he had noticed over the course of his lifetime:

> "Blueberries, blackberries…Blackberries clear all died out. There's a few, but down at the pond, along the edge of the road, there used to be tons of them. You could pick a ten-quart pail full in half an hour. Yep. Now the only place you see one is in the bushes where deer can't at it…[T]hey don't live very long, blackberry bushes. They keep dying. The old part dies and the new shoot comes up. But the blueberries, since people stopped cutting wood and making big openings, the blueberry bushes are pretty well smothered out now. Too bad the park wouldn't let you cut the downed trees. They won't let you" (BB).

The increase in deer population – possibly associated with hunting prohibitions – also was said to have suppressed the productivity of lingonberry and bog cranberry in particular, so that use of these berries had declined in living memory (KF). Still, in disturbed sites such as Eastern Head, as well as along bogs or wet meadows, some residents still find a few berries to gather still. Cranberries are still popular: "Sometimes we pick a few cranberries when we go around the Island on the road, there's a couple bogs off to the side. Hardly anybody does that" (AN). Blueberry,

raspberry, huckleberry, blueberry, cranberry and lingonberry are still gathered opportunistically, where access and conditions permit.[114] Residents also report picking mushrooms in various parts of the park into recent times, but were concerned about discussing specifics due to uncertainty regarding the locations and legality of harvesting. Eastern Head was said to have been popular for mushroom gathering in times past.

The harvesting of trees for firewood is a practice of great antiquity on the Island. Firewood from various sources – downed trees and limbs, standing dead trees, harvested life trees, and even driftwood – was essential for both heating and cooking throughout the year. Men of the Island commonly also cut firewood for summer people and off-Island markets in the 19th and 20th centuries; some of this firewood cutting was carried out in lands now in the park, such as the Grant and Bowditch family lands. Following park creation, wood harvesting continued for a time on park lands: residents were said to have "cut firewood all over" by custom. Quantities were said to be small, and yet critical to the household economies of the Island:

> "[the park portion of the Island] used to be a good wood-cutting place. Just drive a truck down, cut trees on the side of the road, you know, but nobody does that anymore…you know, the total amount that was taken off the park wasn't ever that much anyway because it would be just three or four guys that did it, just enough firewood for the winter. Really not too much" (AN).

Firewood from other parts of the Island was sometimes limited in quantity and the cost of transporting wood to the Island was prohibitive, some noted, so wood cutting on these customary lands was considered necessary for their self-sufficiency and survival on the Island (RB).

Rock gathered from beaches was used in the construction of fireplaces and other household stonework, historically. However, this gathering of rock in lands now within the park was very limited, due to the weight of the rock and the distance of park lands from most developed portions of the Island. Residents have a longstanding tradition of beachcombing for usable fishing gear – buoys, bait bags, and other items. This is especially popular on the south Island, where large swells tend to toss gear high onto the beaches. (The NPS has sponsored gear salvage by visitors, some portion of the usable gear being shared with the local fishing community.) More conventional beachcombing is also practiced by some residents, who might gather "a few shells." Visitors to the Island are reported to be the primary "gatherers" today, taking rocks and shells in numbers that some residents say dwarfs any local gathering.

Figure 25: Wild raspberry growing in abundance amidst the toppled trees of Eastern Head. D. Deur photo.

Mixed economies, involving both cash employment and the harvest of these natural resources for personal use, have persisted for generations at Isle au Haut. Some modest level of subsistence hunting, fishing and farming persists alongside more conventional employment. Even today, some Island families take pride in having lobster, deer, geese, and berries in the freezer, and kitchen gardens beside their home – providing sustenance and self-sufficiency through a diverse range of economic pursuits.

Living with the Park

World War II and the Creation of the Park

By the estimation of interviewees such as Fred Eustis (2012) the Great Depression had relatively little effect on this little Island. Families long accustomed to mixed economies and lean times were well prepared for the downturn of the national economy. Moreover, as Fred Eustis recalls, some portion of the Point Lookout families were somewhat buffered from the Depression's effects and were still hiring local people. As a result, the Island seemed to experience a less dramatic downturn than some other parts of the nation:

> "The Depression of the 1930s seems to have caused a temporary increase in the year-round population of Isle au Haut. This was very unusual—the first time since the Civil War. I think it was because conditions were so horrible elsewhere and the summer community did provide some work. In that decade Mrs. Richard Bowditch (Mabel Rantoul Bowditch, daughter-in-law of Ernest) ran the Point Lookout Club, and she hired local staff. The Point Lookout summer community was certainly impacted adversely. I remember some closed and boarded up cottages. But those who remained did provide some work to local people" (Eustis 2012).[115]

World War II, however, changed the Island noticeably, and had significant implications for the formation of the park. Indeed, as Fred Eustis notes,

> "The Depression of the 1930s had virtually no impact on the family decision on donation. World War II did have a major impact. In fact, it may have caused the donation: it certainly precipitated it" (Eustis 2012).

After the death of both Ernest Bowditch and his wife in the years between the two world wars, the lands of Isle au Haut had been inherited by their three children, Richard L. Bowditch, Dr. Sarah Bowditch, and Elizabeth Eustis as interests in the "Isle au Haut Land Company." Richard Bowditch became acting President of the Company. As Fred Eustis (1984: 7) reported, members of these families were directly involved in the war effort, and "patriotic feelings of the wartime surrounded the inception of the Park on Isle au Haut." More specifically, he notes,

> "The [Bowditch] property by that time was in the hands of three of Ernest Bowditch's children: Richard, Sarah, and Elizabeth Bowditch Eustis. Richard Bowditch was a successful businessman. He became among other things, solid fuel administrator of New England during the war. He was a very busy man. Sarah Bowditch was a medical doctor who had been in Europe between the wars. She understood very early the overwhelming need to stop Hitler. She served first in the British army (Royal Army Medical Corps) in the hospitals in London, then after the U.S. entered the war, in the American army, when she was again sent back to London. This threw all the weight of the Isle au Haut situation on Mrs. Eustis, who was busy with her own war work herself (running an operation making bandages) and raising her family. A person who did not live through these years may have difficulty understanding how much the war impacted all lives even in the United States on the home front. There were blackouts, food and gasoline rationing, vastly higher federal taxes. Children such as I were set to collecting newspapers and tin cans for scrap" (Eustis 2012).

The community at Isle au Haut was also mobilized by the war effort. At the onset of World War II, some Island men left the Island to join active military service. Others contributed to the military effort in other ways; Charlie Bowen Sr., for example, moved to Boston to work as a welder throughout the war (RB). As was true of many coastal areas, there was a brief buildup of military facilities on the Island, including a lookout tower on Mount Champlain:

> "It's not in the park but, off of Mount Champlain during the Second World War, there was a lookout tower. My mother said she used, they used to go up there and watch the enemy planes and stuff, you know" (WB).

There were rumors of Germans lingering nearby; indeed, there are oral traditions of Germans coming ashore on the eastern side of the Island at the peak of the war, but interviewees offered few specific recollections of the event (M. Barter 1992b: 29).

As Fred Eustis notes, Isle au Haut was a changed place with so many men away in active service:

> "This atmosphere of course affected Isle au Haut. People went off to war or war work. There wasn't the labor to maintain the roads that Mr. Bowditch had built and the family had maintained through the 1930s. The Point Lookout Club was closed. There was no more forester, so the trails

> were abandoned. (At least in the interwar years of the 1920s and 1930s, the Point Lookout Club sponsored a forester who looked after the trails and presumably built the Eli's Creek cabin.)" (Eustis 2012).

The vast Isle au Haut Land Company holdings were falling into disrepair and needed more active management than the family could readily provide, at the very moment that the family was contemplating how they might do more to serve their country. Fred Eustis provides a detailed and revealing account of the family's decision to donate their land to the United States government, worthy of lengthy quotation here:

> "Besides this immediate situation [i.e., World War II], there was also the view that in the long run after the war a more radical world would emerge in which there would probably not be a place for large private landholdings such as ours on Isle au Haut. I remember being told this as a child.
>
> I have been told by an older sister that consideration was given to donating the property (or much of it) to The Wilderness Society, but that that society would have abandoned the road and let the south part of the Island revert to pure wilderness. This seemed a bad idea given the always continuing worry about fire and the general convenience of the Island population.
>
> Then the idea was taken up of an earlier approach by the Park. During the latter part of the First World War, when Lafayette National Park (Acadia) was established, its advocates had approached the Bowditches and apparently invited inclusion of their lands on Isle au Haut or some of them.
>
> While I have not studied the subject, my understanding is that the Bowditches' answer was "No—at least not now." Certainly this would have been a difficult time for the family to make a major decision. Ernest Bowditch was in good health at least until 1916, but by 1918 he was dead after a siege of cancer. His eldest son was, I believe, in the Army Flying Corps. His second son was still a student. I don't now know who would have been in a position to make a major decision—perhaps his widow Margaret Bowditch, perhaps some bank or trustee. So their answer to the Park would seem to have been reasonable at the time.
>
> As we know, the legislation for Acadia looked to gifts from anywhere in Hancock County and the Islands of Knox County east of the Ship Channel (West Penobscot Bay), thus enabling future gifts from Isle au Haut and also, I suppose, from North and Vinalhaven…
>
> In the 1940s, the National Park Service was thought of (and I believe really was) the custodian of a few natural wonders: Yellowstone,

> Yosemite, the Grand Canyon, and (because of its mountains and fjord) Acadia. I remember being told that the justification for the inclusion of Isle au Haut was the Cliffs along the south shore and Thunder Gulch on the Eastern Head. The mission was conservation. There wasn't pressure for recreation" (Eustis 2012).

On the basis of this reasoning, the three Bowditch heirs decided to explore the option of donating their lands to the National Park Service – apparently within weeks of the attack on Pearl Harbor. Richard Bowditch represented both the family and the Company in this effort, calling Harry Sanders, Chief of the Department of the Interior Land Office, on February 4, 1942. As Sanders' memorandum from that day recounts,

> "Mr. R.L. Bowditch called this office today and requested information concerning the possibility of the acceptance by this Department of a donation of some 13,000 [sic] acres of land owned by him on Isle au Haut for the addition to Acadia National Park" (Sanders 1942).

A series of follow-up communications sorted out the options and terms of donation. Richard Bowditch then delivered a formal offer of donation to Interior Secretary Harold Ickes on July 6, 1942, noting that

> "We believe the people of this country will be benefitted by having this property added to the National Park area. It is with a good deal of pleasure that we ask you to accept the same" (R. Bowditch 1942).

The Secretary of the Interior formally accepted and recorded the initial donation on January 26, 1944; the family completed additional donations in 1947. By the end of the decade, the former Bowditch land holdings were in the possession of the U.S. Department of the Interior, and were being incorporated into the lands of Acadia National Park – perhaps one of the more tangible and enduring effects of World War II patriotism to be found on the coast of Maine.

The Early Effects of Park Creation

By all accounts, the Bowditch family's transfer of the majority of the Island's land base to Acadia National Park in the 1940s came as a great surprise to the community. As Virginia MacDonald observed in oral history interviews undertaken prior to this study, "it was a done deal before we knew anything about it… We were so mad" (MacDonald 1998: 65).[116] There had been very little, if any, prior communication with Island

residents about the proposed transfer. Interviewees such as Harold van Doren sought to make this clear:

> "The park wasn't really invited out here other than by the Bowditches, who gave the land. When you came right down to it, they were the only people that said, 'Well, we're going to give it to the park.' You know? I remember picking up on this in a book…the way it was written, and I think it might have been a park one, too—it said 'the community' donated the land in the park. And there wasn't any community whatsoever that donated it. It was the decision of two or three private individuals who owned the land. If the community had had something to say about it, I'm not sure they would've, when you come right down to it. And I guess it's important for me to say this, okay, because of what I've had for experience with the park" (HV).

When word of the land donation did reach the community, interviewees suggest that year-round residents were generally angry, opposing the loss of the tax base and the erosion of local control over their Island. There is also some hint that the transfer complicated relations between summer people and year-round residents. As Fred Eustis has noted,

> "No one ever asked the people of Isle au Haut or their elected officials whether they wanted a National Park established in their midst with the concomitant instant removal of a large land area and potential property values from the tax base of the community. The gift was the gift of summer people who saw the area as a place for recreation. Its effects fell also on winter people who saw the area as a place in which to earn a livelihood. The Park was thus, from its very inception, related to a very sensitive aspect of the local social structure" (Eustis 1984: 6).

Still, interviewees suggest, very little changed. In the immediate post-War period, tourist pressures were negligible and the Island only gradually returned to its pre-War routine:

> "On Isle au Haut after the Second World War and the initial return of veterans, the long-term decline of the year-round population resumed. The Point Lookout Club reopened, but without a forester, so the trails (including those on Park land) were either abandoned or opened by self-appointed "volunteers" as they chose. In the 1940s there was no town landing on Isle au Haut. Mail and everything else came ashore at the Point Lookout dock in the summer and by rowboat over Collins Beach in

> the late fall, winter, and early spring. In [1956] the Thoroughfare bar was dredged and a town landing constructed at its present location at the south end of the Thoroughfare village" (Eustis 2012).

On the newly-designated park lands, there was even less change. "When the park first arrived they didn't make a big splash" (RB). In the early years of National Park Service management, there were very few improvements made to the new park lands. There was only one seasonal ranger, and only very limited efforts to facilitate visitation. Interviewees note that Island residents continued to hunt, gather firewood, and participate in other time-honored uses of the park lands with few interruptions. As Robin Bowen suggests, "People were barely aware of the park…when you needed something you just went and got it…if it wasn't improved" (RB). Similarly, Wayne Barter observes,

> "when the land was given over to the park in the '40s, people, I'm sure, still hunted in the park and did whatever they wanted to because the park, Acadia, ignored Isle au Haut for a long time after the land was given, it seems" (WB).

Interviewees suggest that this state of affairs continued for roughly two decades until the 1960s, when the park began to rapidly consolidate their management of the Isle au Haut unit. The first clear memory interviewees had of active park management was in the early 1960s, when park staff began work to repair the Eli Creek cabin as a temporary ranger station and seasonal quarters for park staff; Charlie Bowen Sr. is reported to have helped early rangers find the structure, which had been donated to the park but sitting unused in the intervening years (RB). As Wayne Barter notes,

> "The first rangers didn't start coming out there until the '60s sometime. I think all of a sudden it dawned on them, 'We got this land area we got to do something with.' So the ranger's station was the Eli Creek cabin when the first rangers came out" (WB).

Rangers were deployed in larger numbers in this period, and the park began making significant improvements to trails and other infrastructure for the first time. There was also an effort to remove old and derelict structures from prior settlement on the new park lands. By the mid-1960s, park records suggest that NPS staff were increasingly trying to "clean up and stop adverse fishing use" among seasonal users of park lands. This apparently included the discouragement of commercial fishing from park lands and the beginnings of efforts to remove fish houses and other old structures at Duck Harbor and beyond – points that will receive more attention in a following section of

this document (Jacobi n.d.). During the early 1960s, the park prohibited overnight camping until such time as a campground could be developed. Residents initially supported such facilities be developed at Eli Creek, but by the late 1960s, the park determined to develop plans both for Eli Creek and Duck Harbor. The park soon began stationing a ranger at Duck Harbor regularly through the summer, and began more active development of that area for visitor use.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the park also decommissioned certain longstanding road segments, most notably the once-popular road to Western Head. Some residents regretted the loss of access to this area, though a few seemed content with the trail that replaced this road.[117] Continued and unimpeded road access along the remainder of the "loop road" was seen by residents as an important and positive choice by park managers: "there aren't problems with access since the same roads are all there and open" (JG).

Trail networks were also decommissioned as new trails were established, eliminating some popular pathways while creating new paths radiating from visitor access points. This was no small task. By most accounts, the trail system that had developed during the early years of the Point Lookout Club and augmented thereafter did not neatly follow property lines, but meandered in and out of Bowditch lands in undeveloped parts of the Island. At the time that Bowditch lands were donated to the park, was used only lightly. Moreover, the Club had stopped hiring a forester in the years leading up to World War II; with little regular use or maintenance, the trail network deteriorated badly.[118] At that time, a growing number of the Island's "summer people" had been informally caring for the trail network. This continued into the era of park ownership and included areas both on and off of park land. As Bill Stevens recalls, the NPS trail system was built in the late 1960s and 1970s in no small part by improving these Point Lookout trails that had since been maintained and augmented by the summer community but had fallen into disrepair:

> "There were active people in the summer community that decided to keep some of the trails up, and put up little signs and so on at trail-heads and intersections. They weren't park signs because I started putting, in the '70s, the park made signs for the Goat Trail and stuff…[S]o I was replacing little signs that were kind of hand done, painted on a shingle…A lot of [the trails] were disappearing even before. In the late '60s, I could still find markers for them and stuff, maybe cairns, you know, if they were areas that were open and not a lot of vegetation. But most cases [the markers were] just blazes on trees with different color. Usually, they were blue back then, kind of a light blue" (BS).[119]

In the early years of trail development, the marking of the park boundary was of particular concern to some park staff, though this often led to the revelation that portions of the old trail system crossed park boundaries.[120] In some cases, such as at Eastern Head, the park initially found it difficult to allow public access without somehow crossing private lands.[121]

There are still areas of the park where visitors meander over into private lands, creating localized tensions - a process that has arguably been complicated by the shifting of park boundaries during land acquisition and consolidation. As Ted Hoskins notes,

> "Back before [the park was created], we had a set of trails…we had a lot of trails that we all sort of kept up, town trails. And then, when the park took over, they did their own trail set, and people'd come on, and they'd go on those trails. And our trails, like Jackrabbit and the others, have fallen into total disuse and they're not even there anymore. But that was also because you could go anywhere. And as people moved on that were newer to the Island, they liked to know where their property boundary was. And all of the sudden you'd see a No Trespassing sign. And first time you saw that, everybody sort of, 'What the hell is that all about?' And somebody lay a load of shit in front of it, so they'd get an idea of how they felt about it in town. But it was just, it's just a different feeling of ownership and property and 'this is mine and that's yours'" (TH).

A number of interviewees similarly report that there has been a dramatic shift in how claims on land are perceived and acted upon by Isle au Haut residents, which is said to reflect in part boundary issues associated with park visitors crossing private lands. As some note, "no trespassing" signs proliferated due to increased visitor pressure on trails and park access points adjacent to private lands.[122] Some portion of these boundary issues persist today, but are being actively discussed between park staff and landowners.

The park presence was said to intensify noticeably in the early 1970s, as national interests increasingly turned to backcountry recreation, the Island gained broader attention, and campsites were developed in the park. Interviewees note that community relations with the park were souring quickly. Residents felt that the park had little interest in building collaborative relationships with Isle au Haut as a gateway community, taking the position that "as soon as visitors stepped off park land we don't care what they do" (BT). There was also a growing sense that the community's interests were being forgotten as those who had been involved in the donation of the Bowditch lands moved on or died, and relationships formerly negotiated on an interpersonal scale became increasingly distant and enmeshed in the bureaucratized realities of park management (Eustis 1984: 7).

Island residents took issue with the park on a growing range of issues. They began lobbying for a cap of approximately 50 visitors to the park per day, which was to be regulated primarily through the limited capacity of the mail boat (BT). In later years this effort would evolve into formal negotiations with the park, as will be discussed in following sections. (In the 1970s, electrical service arrived only in what locals called the "magic mile" along the Thorofare; Acadia National Park owned a small amount of land in that area and, partially in response to residents' concerns, placed a trailer on that property to greet visitors.) Many residents also bristled as the park began to enforce bans on hunting, the gathering of firewood, and similar activities on park lands.[123] Then, in 1972, a highly controversial draft park Master Plan was developed by the NPS Denver Service Center, which "envisaged the indefinite expansion of tourism, the acquisition of the power of eminent domain…and the considerable geographic expansion of the Park" (Eustis 1984: 8). The NPS expressed an interest in acquiring the Island's highest points on Mount Champlain and adjacent ridges. A number of interviewees discussed this now-infamous document. Residents generally opposed this plan on the grounds that it was expansive and included private lands that were customarily used for other purposes.

Interviewees suggest that these developments raised concerns well above levels seen during the original park lands donation. Many residents began publicly question whether a park had been an appropriate use of the lands in the first place. As Virginia MacDonald recalls,

> "The biggest to-do (on Isle au Haut) was when the Park started moving in. The whole Island got up in arms about that. That was the major thing in the last hundred years" (MacDonald 1998: 65).

The proposed expansion and development of the park contributed, some suggest, to the community's sense of declining control over their own fate. Even in the absence of those land acquisitions, "only about 250 of the Island's 7,000 acres remain in the hands of the Island's year-round residents" and the prospect of further erosion of this toehold on their Island was seen as unacceptable (Caldwell 1981: 188).

The town began to organize to resist NPS implementation of the park Master Plan and to respond to the growing tensions surrounding tourist visitation. In the process, they came to realize that raising concerns to a federal agency was very different from the informal communications that had been used to address concerns during the Bowditch's period of tenure. Some suggest that the institutional processes were cumbersome, institutional memory was often short-lived, and the park seemed to possess almost limitless legal and technical resources to defend their position. As Harold van Doren notes,

> "Having the park as a neighbor is a lot different than having anybody else as a neighbor because it's perceived as an all-powerful governmental organization that makes laws unto itself. In other words, if they want to do something, it's different than if a private individual wants to do something because they operate under a different set of laws. We have found over experience that if you motivate enough public opinion, you can certainly affect the policy, the park policy. But we do understand that to do that, it takes a very concentrated amount of energy and effort and public opinion…And so it's an entirely different relationship with the governmental agency in the form of the national park than it is with anything else. So you're always sort of looking at, well, it's almost like you're always aware that you're dealing with a neighbor that's more powerful than you are, in some ways. So that's a different feeling" (HV).[124]

Residents note that both park management and visitors from the 1970s onward have tended to view the park portion of Isle au Haut as a relative wilderness, a place without much history that could be managed for natural resource values. This, they suggest, contributed to the removal of historic trails, fish houses, and other signs of prior human habitation. Yet, on the plus side, they suggest that this management strategy has tended to emphasize values of "primitiveness" that significantly limit visitation and infrastructure, and are more compatible with general resident preferences than a wide range of other typical NPS planning scenarios. The park has since undertaken a number of planning efforts that reaffirm this position, in spite of subtle variations on the theme over the intervening years (Acadia National Park 2006, 1990, 1981, n.d.a, n.d.b, n.d.c; NPS 1977).

Fish Houses

A number of interviewees recall that fish houses formerly occupied the shoreline on Head Harbor, and were historically found at places now within the park including Duck Harbor, the south shore (including Merchant's Cove), Western Head and Western Ear. Of these places, only Head Harbor still has a standing fish house structure, sitting well outside of the park. These fish houses served a number of functions to Isle au Haut fishermen. As summarized by Chuck Smythe (2008: 13-14) in reference to other small fishing communities on the Acadia coast, fish houses were multi-functional spaces, serving as:

1) a base of operations and a staging area for fishing activities;
2) a place to prepare bait, bait tub trawls, and salt and store bait;

3) a place to store gear (inside and outside) including tub-trawling lines, lobster traps and buoys, bait barrels, tools and miscellany;
4) a place to repair and construct equipment, including build lobster traps, paint buoys, and maintain gear; and
5) a gathering place, serving as a social space for fishermen.

Isle au Haut had a tradition of local men maintaining fish houses along the shoreline, like many small fishing communities on the Maine coast. Fish houses were said to have been widespread at one time, and were found wherever there was a suitable landing site for fishermen: "there'd be a place that was good for a wharf, and then you'd have a shack up at the end of it" (TH). Stripes of tar can still be seen on the rocks around Duck Harbor and Head Harbor where families applied tar to their ropes and other gear in order to waterproof them; in many cases these markings were said to be associated with former fish houses that disappeared long ago. John Blaisdell recalls that as late as the 1970s on Head Harbor, there were a number of very old fish houses of this kind: "there were a number of them – dry stacked stone foundation, eight by twelve foot" (JB). These structures were made with lumber that was reported to be milled at Head Harbor.

However, less common was Isle au Haut's function as a launching point for fishing in remote offshore waters, where mainland fishermen maintained fish houses based on agreements with resident landowners. "Back in the days of sail it took people a long time to come or here from the mainland, so they came out here to set bait and prepare to fish"(JO). Fishermen therefore gathered in places on the southern half of the Island who hailed from Stonington, Rockland, and other ports. In many cases, these "mainland" fishermen had kinship ties or other connections to Isle au Haut fishermen that allowed them to be accepted as an ephemeral presence in the Island fishery, while others were dismissed as "squatters" and their fish houses were sometimes targeted for demolition by locals.

In many places, then, people built, used and maintained fish houses on lands that they did not own. Residents reported a number of arrangements between private landowners and the fishermen who built and maintained fish houses on their lands. As mentioned elsewhere, Gooden Grant made arrangements with fishermen from the mainland, and perhaps also from other parts of Isle au Haut, allowing them to build fish houses on his lands on Head Harbor and the south shore of the Island, provided that he could serve as "middleman" in the sale of their catch to lobster smacks and other fish buyers. On Duck Harbor too, fish houses were built on lands with various agreements, seldom recalled today: "It's just one of those bygone ways of doing business…if somebody had some land you could arrange to build a shack on it" (RB). Especially in later years, as the premium for Isle au Haut launch sites declined somewhat, these "arrangements" persisted but seem to have become more symbolic.

By the mid- to late-20th century, at least one Thorofare family continued to let a fisherman use a fish house on their lands in exchange for "one legal lobster per year" (AN).[125]

Some Isle au Haut residents continue to express concern about access to fish houses, and agreements to allow their continued use by fishermen who do not own the land, into the present day. For example, longtime resident, John Blaisdell, continues to use the wharf and former Grant family fish house on the western shore of Head Harbor and reports that he'd "be ruined" without access to the sea at this place. When Henry Streeter purchased the land formerly owned by Gooden Grant he allowed local people to continue using fish houses on his land. When Blaisdell arrived on the cove in the early 1970s, he asked Streeter for permission to use a fish house at this site. Streeter agreed to allow for this access free of charge, provided that they maintain a written agreement to that effect. Recently, when the land was sold to the Maine Coastal Heritage Trust, Blaisdell was concerned that this might affect his access to the site. He approached the Trust and they confirmed their support for maintaining residents' access to the fish house property in perpetuity; the Trust is reported to have provided written verification of Blaisdell's continued access (JO, JW). Through these sorts of agreements, the tradition of fish house use and small-scale fishing, might continue to be part of Maine coast life for generations to come.

The remaining fish houses on the Island are held in high esteem by some Island residents, not only for their many functional values, but also for their symbolic, historical, and aesthetic interest. When asked if maintaining the remaining fish houses on the Island was important for the community, Bill Stevens replied,

> "I think so because it's so visual. I go down there, I think of Head Harbor and, to me, one of the iconic structures down there is the fish house over on the west shore. Some of the other houses, like Gooden Grant's house, is a nice example of a Victorian house, and so on. But the iconic thing I associate with Head Harbor, Bunge's Head, is that fish house in the distance, a pile of traps there that, the wharf's been gone for a long time but the pieces, the remnants there" (BS).

On Duck Harbor, remnant fishing structures were demolished decades ago by NPS staff and others, there is little physical evidence of the fishing past to a casual observer. In particular, as part of the park's cleanup efforts as staff began to actively manage the land in the 1960s and 1970s, the National Park Service discouraged continued use of fish houses and typically demolished fish houses that were on park lands. As Bill Stevens recalls of his early years working for the park,

> "One of the first things when I worked for the park that I had to do was, down at Duck Harbor there was a fish shack on the south side, over about where the dock is now, that I had to remove the contents and demolish it. I think we burnt it up on the shore or something…I didn't know whose fish house it was, it didn't really matter. It was kind of like, I'd gotten to know this guy a little bit and I was feeling really kind of [uncomfortable] having the responsibility to kind of deal with it, you know? Because, even though he wasn't using it, it was sort of like it was his place…I don't remember there being any real ill feeling toward me about it. I think the guy was a fisherman. He just accepted it, you know, like it was a place that he used, but he could get by without it… [H]e kind of was a caregiver, he and his wife, to Gooden Grant, who was an older gentleman who lived down in Head Harbor. His name's Archie Hutchinson. And I think he and his family used that [fish shack] over there for a number of years. But I was told he was a squatter—not by the park—recently. But it didn't matter. At the time, I had become friends with them and it was kind of a difficult thing" (BS).

Archie Hutchinson was from Stonington, but was widely accepted as having valid fishing rights on the Island.[126] The old cook stove that still sits on the waterfront of Duck Harbor – reported to be a perennial item of interest to park visitors – was said to belong to Archie Hutchinson and to be associated with his fish house. Unlike certain other parts of the Acadia National Park coastline, there does not appear to have been much direct conflict between the park and displaced fishermen associated with these cleanup efforts (cf. Deur 2012).

Otherwise unoccupied residential structures also have served as fish camps. In this light, it is important to note that the park cleanup effort also involved demolishing a number of other structures, residents suggest, possibly including the old Hamilton house, that had been acquired by the park but were still being used seasonally as a base of operations for fishing at Duck Harbor. While not implicating the park, Billy Barter has made a number of references to this fire:

> "I remember when the old house, the homestead, was there [in Duck Harbor]. And there used to be a fishing camp across the other side, where a guy from Stonington came to fish summers. He lived in the old house for a while, 'til somebody kindly burned it down. Yep. He used to go to Rockland, spend the winters. Comin' 'cross the bay to move back in the spring, and he saw smoke, and somebody'd, somebody had torched the old house on him. So he built a little camp down on the shore…And actually, Hutchinson had the camp across the cove, on that side where the campground is now. He fished out of there" (BB).

Figure 26: The Head Harbor fish house; the only fish house still standing and in regular use on the southern island today, this fish house sits on private land. D. Deur photo.

During roughly the same period as these demolitions, a few of the structures from Duck Harbor and vicinity – apparently including at least one fish house – were salvaged from park lands and moved to other parts of the Island to serve as sheds or cabins.[127] Still, fish houses persisted on lands outside of the park. There are several today on the Thorofare of Isle au Haut, for example, of various ages and conditions. On privately owned Rich's Cove, old and dilapidated fish houses can still be found, as well as relatively new fish houses, even if the cove is no longer a launching point for commercial fishing boats. And, as noted above, there is one fish house remaining on the western side of Head Harbor, apparently the last of the Grant family fish houses that lined the shoreline for much of the 20th century (Figure 26).

"Invading Hordes" and the Rise of Isle au Haut Park Tourism

For a variety of reasons, beginning especially in the 1960s, the Isle au Haut portion of Acadia National Park began to experience a significant increase in visitation. National interest in wilderness was on the upswing, the park was just beginning to develop and invite visitation to this area, certain private interests began to promote Isle au Haut tourism: the reasons were many, and the cumulative effect was profound on the Island. As Fred Eustis has observed,

> "Modern tourism came to Isle au Haut during the decade of the 1960s. We don't know exactly what the numbers were. But we do know that the numbers appeared threatening to the community, that they increased sharply, and that they caused disruptions and provoked antagonism in a community that already had serious problems of its own" (Eustis 1984: 2).

As a largely undeveloped part of the park, the Isle au Haut unit was in many respects unprepared for this increase. Moreover, there was no formal entrance to the park, so that boats dropped park visitors at the town dock with few instructions as to how to find the park, let alone how to behave in a small and isolated community such as Isle au Haut.

There was disorientation and a fair amount of culture shock, as "hippies" and other outdoor enthusiasts began wandering through this little New England fishing village en masse. The stories from this period are extraordinary. Many interviewees recall that visitors commonly held impromptu picnics in residents' front yards, used private outhouses with and without permission, and sometimes even tried to pitch tents in front of their homes: "They wanted to put their tents right in my yard!" (AN). Sometimes, if tourists were told to depart from private yards they became confrontational. As Belvia MacDonald recalls,

> "When they first started bringing people down there, to go down to the Park to camp, if they couldn't get on to the Park, they'd pitch a tent anyplace. They weren't happy campers if you told them they couldn't park…Really got awfully mad at us once because they wanted to pitch their tent out back of my house, and we said "no." They were not a bit pleasant. They used to get quite dirty mouths at times" (BM).

Interviewees consistently describe visitors taking photos of them and their homes, as well as taking firewood from their winter supply and souvenir lobster buoys from their assembled fishing gear. As Billy Barter recalls,

> "[The tourists] just weren't respectful, you know, they just helped themselves. Jack McDonald, a friend of mine, he had some buoys out under his trees, come out, and someone's down there picking his woodpile over. So he picks up this piece of two-by-four, and he kind of sneaks down through the woods…He didn't say a word, he just picked up this two-by-four and crept toward them down through the woods. 'Cause they didn't know where to go. They came ashore there, you know, they didn't know where the park was. They used to come down my driveway and knock on my door, you know, 'Which way to the park?' The park should've had a little sign or something. That was kind of a nuisance…Like I say, just when they first started to land them here, that was the worst part of it" (BB).

Lacking formal guidance, visitors were also reported to have had impacts on Duck Harbor as well. Stories of vandalism in these early days are common, and some interviewees mention park visitors soaking their feet in the Hamilton family well at Duck Harbor – still in regular use then by family members who fished the area seasonally - though the ocean sits only a few feet away (RB).

As the widely-esteemed Pastor to the community's church, Ted Hoskins, not only witnessed some of these events, but often found himself being approached by frustrated town residents wishing to "bare their souls" on the matter:

> "[D]ay-trippers, at first, they were downtown, and we didn't know what to do with them. And they'd walk along, and there wasn't much for them to do in town. The store wasn't set up for them, and they'd look for a head, you know, and they'd knock on the door and see if they could use the john. Of course, what the people had was an outhouse out back. And they didn't feel that comfortable…And then the park developed a place where they could go, so we could head them down that way….the poor people were just lost. I mean, you'd see them walking, and they didn't have a clue. They might've well've been in north China or something, looking around at all the strange stuff" (TH).

The analogies developed by past writers to explain this period of Isle au Haut history – rich in "aliens" and "invading hordes" – are colorful, and evoke the shared concern about this onslaught. Writing in the early 1970s, at the height of these troubles, Charles Pratt observed,

> "the day trippers are thought of as an invading horde, and conflicts do occur between them and the community. There are no public overnight

> accommodations except the campground, so they have about four hours on the Island, which is too short a visit to begin to walk to the pond or the trails down at the southern end and too long a visit to be filled by visiting the church and the store" (Pratt 1974: 153).

Similarly, writing in retrospect a decade later, Fred Eustis noted that, in part due to the park,

> "Day tourists entered this world like an alien invasion from outer space- an outer space which some people of Isle au Haut did not know at all and from which other people of Isle au Haut were trying to escape… people of Isle au Haut found that they were being reduced to the status of exhibits in a public zoo. It was worst in the very center of the town and hardest on the winter people there" (Eustis 1984: 5, 8).

The park was held significantly, if not always exclusively, responsible for this sudden change: "They'd drop them off at the dock and just encourage them to hike around" (BM).

A number of interviewees recall that the disruption caused by the arrival of so many tourists in town was a catalyst for major changes in the community that were ultimately positive. Work with the park was said to have been very fragmented and inconsistent at this time. Residents decided to initiate an organized effort to reach agreements on various unresolved issues. Summer people and permanent residents began associating more, discussing their shared interests and concerns relative to tourism and the park. As Belvia MacDonald recalls,

> "they realized they needed to work together…there was a common issue we wanted them to address – that they were dropping off tourists unsupervised…[the summer people and residents coming together was] a nice thing that came from that" (BM).

Similarly, Fred Eustis has noted,

> "To the community, the Park and the tourists appeared to form a menacingly interlinked problem the expansion of which threatened all. The summer and winter populations drew together and worked together as they never really had before except in short-lived emergencies" (Eustis 1984: 12).

Residents also saw the issue as grounds for revisiting a variety of issues that had been simmering for years, such as the fact that the lands originally donated to the park had been discontinuous, resulting in highly irregular boundaries and an assortment of management challenges. So too, many saw this as an opportunity to address changing park policy of further land acquisition. People began to organize in a way that had precedents in the town, but with an intensity and scale that was new, led by year-round residents like Jack MacDonald and Bowdtich heir and summer resident, Fred Eustis. As Belvia MacDonald recalls,

> "In the early 1970s the year-rounders decided that they needed to approach the park…they joined with the summer people and invited the superintendent of the park to come to Isle au Haut…they decided that the park needed to get together in one package deal [agreements on visitors, boundaries and the like] with the park here and the rest of us" (BM).[128]

The organizational effort was not always easy, but prompted a number of significant changes in park management on the Island that would, with time, begin to reduce the more onerous effects of the "invading hordes" and "alien invasions" of Isle au Haut. These efforts were an important catalyst for various planning efforts that have been undertaken by the park to attempt to grapple with visitor issues, and led significantly to formal legislation, discussed below, that required that the Isle au Haut portion of the park be managed in a manner consistent with the needs of the local community.

Seeking Solutions: The Duck Harbor Campground

As the community's concerns regarding visitor impacts grew, the people of the Island (and a small but growing number in of park staff) began to petition for solutions. Many wished to concentrate visitors in the Duck Harbor area of the park to minimize their impacts on other parts of the Island. The development of campgrounds and other facilities had been anticipated in early park planning for the Isle au Haut unit too, and circumstances made park staff increasingly aware that the development of such facilities might solve some of the most pressing problems on the Island.

In the late 1960s, the park began to develop a campground to host visitors at the park. Duck Harbor was agreed to be a suitable site. Park staff constructed the original Duck Harbor campground atop the recently abandoned Hamilton settlement on the north side of the harbor. While this was an appealing spot, in a clearing with filtered views of the water, interviewees noted that the location was problematic for several reasons. The campground placed tourists in the middle of a place with unique significance to local residents – with remnant constructed features that were of historical importance,

hazardous, or both – and adjacent to the enduring family inholding on Duck Harbor (WB, JG, BS, RB). Some residents noted that any accidental fires from this campground could easily have progressed northward to populated parts of the Island as well. Moreover, the original campground was also situated on the road, where there was little privacy for campers or passing Island residents who often drove around the Island on this road.[129] As Bill Stevens recalls:

> "The old campground was originally…just camping out…I believe it was 1970…and that summer the park built three shelters at Duck Harbor but on the north side of the harbor in the area where Hamilton homestead was. They drilled a well there…And there was one shelter up in there next to that apple tree. And there were two shelters on the west side of the road. They were right off the road. One of the disadvantages of that was that it wasn't such a private experience for the campground. And people driving around the Island would be seeing the camping activity and so on. That was one of the reasons [for moving the campground to the south side of Duck Harbor], it was not as private a location, especially as more people traveled the roads and so on. And then the other concern that was presented for not having it there was potential for fire" (BS).

Soon, the visitor population on Isle au Haut exceeded the capacity of these campgrounds, resulting in periods of summertime overcrowding and "spillover" of campers into undeveloped areas on the margin of the old Hamilton homestead.

By 1972, the Isle au Haut planning board was advocating a more organized effort to concentrate visitation on the southwest part of the Island as a containment measure. By the following year there were proposals to move the campground to the south side of the Harbor, but the park initially hesitated to do so. Still, the existing campground helped to sequester campers in a defined area, far from the residential part of Isle au Haut. Residents clearly viewed the Duck Harbor campground as a place to which they might direct disoriented campers in town, and more than one camper was cheerfully driven to the campground by residents hoping to expedite their journey through town (Pratt 1974).

Beginning in 1974, boats began to experimentally take park visitors directly to Duck Harbor, bypassing the town of Isle au Haut, and by 1976 rangers on the Island were proposing to the park that Duck Harbor be designated as the park's principal point of entry for visitors to solve a variety of logistical issues and assuage community concerns (Jacobi n.d.). In 1978, the park constructed a floating dock on Duck Harbor to accommodate the regular arrival of boats, including the mail boat from Stonington. Wayne Barter recalls,

> "people didn't want the park visitors in the town. Back then, that was the attitude. So they built this dock at the harbor so the boat company could bring the hikers directly there" (WB).

There were several advantages to this new arrangement. While concentrating visitors away from town, the mail boat ride to Duck Harbor also gave park rangers the opportunity to explain park rules, precautions and etiquette to an essentially "captive audience." By the time the floating dock was built, park rangers were often riding along with mail boat passengers traveling to Duck Harbor. As explained by Wayne Barter,

> "when they're taking the campers and the hikers to Duck Harbor, there's a Ranger who gets on the boat at the (Town) Landing, takes the hikers and campers directly to Duck Harbor. Gives them a little speech on the trails, distances, times involved…On the boat, we put the fear of God in them… Basically tell them the tides involved, the trails, make sure they're back at the boat a certain time" (W. Barter 2000: 2).

This orientation was said to have been valuable and generally well-received, while helping to reduce visitor impacts on park lands and on the larger Island in various ways.

Seeking Solutions: Boundary Negotiations and Legislation

Beginning in the 1970s, town residents had been organizing and had entered into negotiations with the NPS regarding planning and future land acquisition. The goal, some suggest, was to minimize impacts on the local community by attempting to keep the park "corralled" on certain portions of the Island, while leaving other parts of the Island largely unaffected by visitor traffic. There was also an effort to cap visitor numbers at a sustainably low number. As Fred Eustis has observed,

> "Alarmed by the numbers of tourists and the rate of increase, the Community has repeatedly tried to persuade the Park to fix a limit and stabilize the numbers. The Park Service looks on the same numbers from the perspective of other Parks rather than from the perspective of Isle au Haut history. Seen from an outside Park perspective, the Isle an Haut numbers undoubtedly look small" (Eustis 1984: 17).

Taking the lead on this negotiation effort were certain key community organizers, including Bowditch descendent Fred Eustis, Jack MacDonald, Bob Turner, and others. As Fred Eustis notes, "Our community entered into a dialogue with the Park, which

was developing a planning effort that evolved into what I believe has been a very constructive program on Isle au Haut" (Eustis 2012). Community organizers invited Maine's U.S. Senator, George Mitchell, to tour the Island and consider the effects of various park boundary proposals. Mitchell became interested in negotiating a permanent solution that protected community interests; "Mitchell took the position that "this is your home, and you should have a say" (BT). He asked the community to draw up an alternative proposal to what had been proposed in the park's Master Plan. This alternative proposal became the primary foundation of the boundary adjustments and land consolidations that followed. As part of the land consolidation effort, residents also sought to have the NPS commit to no further land acquisitions following the conclusion of the boundary adjustment.

Almost all parties – Island residents and park managers, alike – were said to be in favor of consolidation. While solving many of the problems that had faced the community since the 1960s, the consolidation of boundaries would also simplify NPS management. So compelling was this vision that certain landowners with properties desired by the park decided to make these lands available to the NPS as part of the grand bargain - as a way of incentivizing NPS compromise with the community's boundary preferences, "so the park can have their trails, and we don't have tourists wandering through our yards" (BM). Henry Streeter, who owned a large share of Gooden Grant's former lands, made portions of those lands available for park acquisition. Mary Schofield Nowee approached the park about the transfer of her land, including much of Western Ear, to the park (NPS n.d.).[130] Other donations helped shore up the park's largely contiguous ownership on the southern Island.

True, certain boundary issues were thorny, requiring compromises and ambiguities that sometimes complicate park management today. The status of the Hamilton family inholding on Duck Harbor was not addressed conclusively, for example. And while Eastern Head remained discontiguous, Isle au Haut representatives approved of the continued management of Eastern Head by the NPS provided that no formal access was maintained to the site. The trail passes through residents' yards, they recognized, and significant visitor traffic was expected to be disruptive to residents of the Head Harbor community, resulting in this compromise position (BT).[131]

Negotiations by all parties led to an agreement that addressed most of the key concerns raised by the community in their efforts to intercede with the park through the 1970s. A series of land transfers were approved within a revised external boundary to the park. As Fred Eustis recalls,

Figure 27: The Head Harbor community today as seen from the Eastern Head Trail – though isolated from many of the effects of park creation, visitors to Eastern Head still must navigate private neighborhoods to access the park. D. Deur photo.

> "By 1981 agreement between the Park and the Community had been reached on a rationalized geographic boundary for the Park. The Park would acquire lands in the southern portion of the Island which would enlarge and consolidate its position there, it would transfer to the Town its isolated and semi isolated lots in the north central portion of the Island. This was made possible by the generosity of the owners of some of the southern lands in question. Lands deleted from the Park ownership were to be protected by special provisions above a certain altitude in order to conserve the general character of the Island" (Eustis 1984: 17).

The result of these negotiations and outreach was a bill before Congress. The bill proposed the transfer of lands between the park and private landowners to consolidate park landholdings largely on the southern part of the Island, restricted future park expansion, and formalized the park's policy of minimizing impacts on the local community by taking visitors directly to Duck Harbor. Virginia MacDonald provides a

rich first-person account of the contents of the bill and their implications from an Isle au Haut perspective:

> "The first part was transferring over three parcels of land to the town in the north central portion of Isle au Haut. (What had happened was) the Park had been given disconnected acres of land. To get to them people had to cross private land. The Park agreed on some swaps so the Park land is now all of a piece. Then they tightened up some of the Park boundary lines on the southern coast of the Island. That all became law"
>
> "The second thing that was very important was that no person in the future would be allowed to give or sell to the Park any land what-so-ever. This was for the people who lived on Isle au Haut who did not want their tax base eroded any more. That was only fair.
>
> "The third part had to do with the people who were going to arrive and visit Isle au Haut. What we call day trippers. They would come down on a special boat, just to the park landing at Duck Harbor, to stay for the day, and be picked up around six o'clock at night, and back to Stonington. There were however to be no more than fifty of them. If there's a party that has a whole lot more than fifty, I have been told twice by two different boat captains, Buster Aldridge and Tim Shepard, that they have most regretfully said, "No, if this goes up much higher, we can't let you go over." So they've been pretty good keeping it about fifty. That's what the third part of that tri-partite bill that went through the United States Congress accomplished…
>
> "I think they have done the best thing they could do for the Island, to set the parameters and get that all settled finally. I did wonder for a few years if the next president (of U.S.), or who ever, would decide to change it, if anybody put on the pressure. In spite of the fact that they aren't supposed to ever transfer any more land to the Park…(MacDonald 1998: 66-68).

With such broad support and both Island residents and NPS staff agreeing on the fundamentals, Bob Turner notes that the bill's passage could have been a relatively easy process; however, he recalls, the involvement of the U.S. Congress as well as non-profit organizations such as the Sierra Club and The Nature Conservancy added a little drama and complexity to the proceedings. To support the effort, residents from Isle au Haut traveled to Washington D.C., and some were even asked to speak before the Senate:

> "I know Jack MacDonald, who was selectman at the time, and the head of the Isle au Haut committee under Fred, went to Washington and spoke to the Senate with Fred. He apologized – I remember him laughing about it later – apologized, I think it came out in the paper, that he [wasn't?]

> educated to speak before that body. But I'll be darned if he didn't do a beautiful job. Just beautiful" (MacDonald 1998: 68).

In 1981, the bill passed, becoming Public Law 97-335 (96 Stat 1627). The language of the final legislation noted the sensitivity of the Island's resources and community concerns, redefining the boundary and requiring that

> "The management and use of parklands on Isle au Haut shall not interfere with the maintenance of a viable local community with a traditional resource-based economy outside the boundary of the park….every effort shall be exerted to maintain and preserve…the park in as nearly its present sate and condition as possible. In recognition of the special fragility and sensitivity of the park's resources, visitation shall be strictly limited to assure negligible adverse impact on such resources, to conserve the character of the town and to protect the quality of the visitor experience" (96 Stat. 1672).

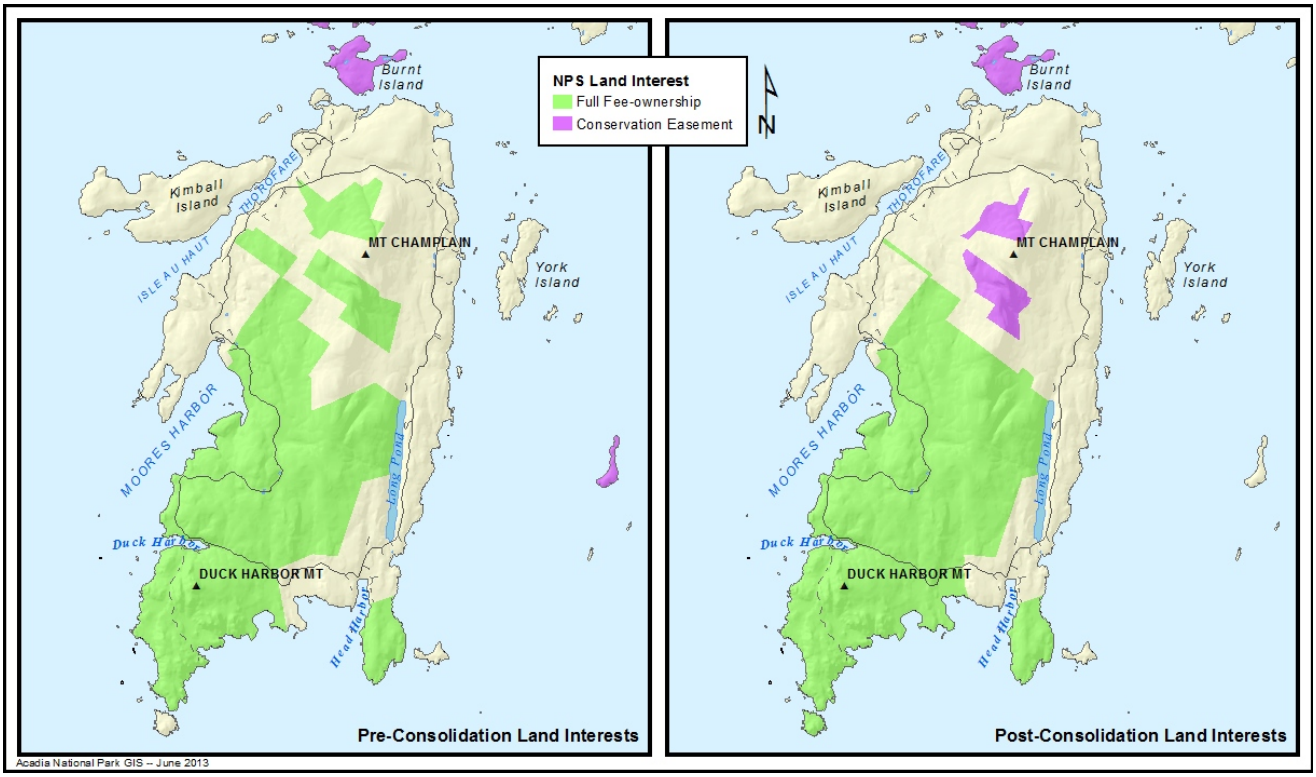
As Fred Eustis notes of this final legislation and its goals,

> "The borders were rationalized and legislated to be permanent, thus going far to remove the element of fear from local relations. The entrance to the Park was moved to the extent possible from the Town landing to Duck Harbor. Park officials met incoming boats at the Town landing and provided information and guidance to their visitors. Finally the legislation committed the Park Service to considering carrying capacity of their holdings on Isle au Haut. I and my friends and colleagues did whatever we could to reassert the old primacy of conservation over recreation" (Eustis 2012).

Interviewees widely assert that there was a great sense of accomplishment in the community, and a certain amount of rejoicing too. As Virginia MacDonald recalls,

> "We were so happy when it was finally settled that way. It seemed as though we had been battling it for so long. It was the best solution they could come up with that was acceptable to both sides" (MacDonald 1998: 68).[132]

The organizers of the community effort, such as Eustis, Turner, and MacDonald, continue to be celebrated for their monumental efforts and their contributions to the



Map 12: Park Boundaries Before and After Consolidation (K. Anderson, USDI NPS)

long-term stability in park-community relations. All of these organizers are still seen by many Island residents as defenders of community interests against what were perceived as the dual threats of rampant tourism and the national park expansion. [133]

Relationships between the community and the park, while not perfect, were said to quickly improve, as park staff worked to insure adherence to the terms of the boundary legislation. As Bob Turner notes,

> "Things are a lot better today than 20 years ago, mostly because of the rangers…it's a lot better than it used to be…you might wake up and find someone tented out on your back yard [before the legislation]" (BT).

Community committees have sometimes worked with the park to assess the degree to which the conditions of the boundary legislation are being upheld, and to help develop measures of the park's carrying capacity with the goal of maintaining reasonable limits on visitation (Jacobi 2000, n.d.). Visitor numbers continue to be vexing, but the park increasingly coordinates with the community to address these issues. The Island continues to be featured in travel and lifestyle magazines that promote visitation, though the park reportedly does little to facilitate this sort of attention. Many interviewees suggest that, all things considered, the boundary legislation has been a long-term success. As Ted Hoskins notes,

> "we've always felt that the park tried very hard to make things work right. And very little sense of contentious feeling between. And the park would send people out, superintendent or somebody, and you'd have a meeting, discuss stuff, and that was good" (TH).[134]

The Mail Boat and the Duck Harbor Dock

For a number of years, residents and certain park rangers had been lobbying for the relocation of the Duck Harbor campground to reduce impacts on the Hamilton homesite, to reduce fire hazards, to minimize disturbance of campers from road traffic, and a range of other issues. As Virginia MacDonald has noted,

> "We wanted (campers) to be contained in Duck Harbor, not spreading all over the Island, pitching tents right and left where ever they thought they want to" (MacDonald 1998: 66).

Finally, in 1983, not long after the conclusion of the boundary settlement, the park agreed to move the campground in response to the language of the boundary legislation, but also motivated by privacy and fire containment issues that were of general interest to park planners. The park constructed five camping shelters, each housing up to six people, providing a hypothetically maximum campground population of 30 people. In 1988, the park constructed a more substantial pier and landing dock on the south side of Duck Harbor, adjacent to the campground, to accommodate regular arrivals by the mail boat.

Associated with the park boundary legislation, the park and the mail boat company agreed that park visitors would be taken almost exclusively to the Duck Harbor dock, rather than the town dock. The mail boat's role in the Isle au Haut community, and the effort to restrict boat access to the Island are of considerable time depth, long preceding the development of these facilities in the 1980s. Even 19th century authors marveled at the small-scale precursors to the mail boat, carrying mail and the occasional passenger to and from the Island; most observers of the day seemed to assume that formal ferry service would inevitably replace these small-scale operations.[135] Yet, both full-time residents and Point Lookout families resisted more voluminous boat service at various times, wishing to minimize conventional tourism and associated nonresident development pressures on the Island. Between the 1930s and the 1960s a succession of lobster boats of roughly thirty feet in length had been responsible for mail, freight, and paid passenger traffic to the Island from Stonington. In the 1950s, the town dock on the Thorofare was built, and the mail boat sometimes took people directly to Duck Harbor - irregularly and sometimes informally instead of as part of a regular schedule. The

capacity of these boats was only 28 people.[136] As Fred Eustis notes, "in one way or another most of the Island community depended on the Mail Boat" (Eustis 1984: 3). In the 1960s, as year-round traffic was dwindling, the mail boat owner happened to marry a motel owner from Stonington and became much more active in promoting tourism on Isle au Haut – advertising the Island widely throughout the Northeast and delivering a growing number of tourists unaccompanied to the town dock.[137] In 1972, when the owner decided to retire and the contract to operate the mail boat became available, Fred Eustis – the last heir to the Bowditches still living seasonally on the Island – decided to purchase the mail boat with "like minded" colleagues to improve the situation.[138] They formed an independent company to do so.[139] As Eustis explains,

> "I and some like-minded colleagues purchased the mailboat. At the same time we were involved in a community planning effort, which had as its objective a modest increase in year-round population and a traditional resource-based economy independent of tourism. In regard to the mailboat, we discontinued all advertising and adopted a policy that we would simply transport anyone who showed up on the dock in Stonington and wanted to go to Isle au Haut" (Eustis 2012).

Through the 1980s and 1990s, Fred Eustis owned and developed the mail boat company that provided pedestrian transportation and shipping to and from Isle au Haut (MacDonald 1998: 71). "The boat became, *de facto*, less a commercial venture and more a public service conducted to promote the policies of the community" (Eustis 1984: 13). While the capacity of the boat increased somewhat, it was kept intentionally small-scale in an attempt to resist tourist pressures. The boundary legislation, followed soon thereafter by the dock improvements on Duck Harbor, gave the mail boat company an opportunity to respond to community sentiments, directing all park-bound traffic on a direct run to Duck Harbor that essentially bypassed the town dock. "Since then the boat company cooperates with the park, taking the people to [Duck Harbor]" (BM). As Eustis suggests, "This shift alone has greatly eased the strained relations between the Park and the Town" (Eustis 1984: 15). While some residents express concern that Duck Harbor – a place of considerable concern to the community - has now been made to absorb the adverse effects of tourism, there is almost uniform gratitude to Eustis, and to a somewhat lesser extent the park, for facilitating this shift.

The combined effects of these developments in the 1980s - the movement of the Duck Harbor campground to the south shore, the construction of the improved dock, and the rerouting of most park visitors to this location – seemed to abruptly solve a plethora of issues between the community and the park, as Eustis's account suggests. Even among park detractors, there is clear satisfaction that the park consolidated the campsites on the southern shore of Duck Harbor, protecting both town interests and the integrity of the Hamilton homestead site. Many interviewees spoke of the National Park Service

dock at Duck Harbor as a tremendous success, that effectively eliminated the principal source of friction between the community and the park. The general opinion of the community was clearly expressed by one "informal interviewee": "What really changed things is when they moved that dock so that people stopped just marching through town" – a sentiment expressed widely by formal and informal interviewees alike.[140] Billy Barter provided an especially detailed review of the outcomes:

> "[It's gone] good. Since they built the dock down there…They land all the people down there. When they first started bringing them they were eating picnics on your lawn…and wandering off, all over everywhere. They just acted like they own the place. Now they don't since they built the dock and landing down there they don't bother at all.
>
> "Just like the "Keeper's House." You never know those people are here. Of course there's only a dozen or so, but they don't roam around on the property. Hardly ever see them. Worked out well, I think…The day trippers used to come down and knock on our door and wanted to know which way was the Park. Three or four times a day they'd be down our road. ..They were sort of a nuisance" (B. Barter 1999: 70).

Park visitors still sometimes pass through town, but with the bulk going to Duck Harbor, and the presence of signage and the ranger station in town, the effects have been moderated considerably. Again quoting Billy Barter,

> "We have the day-trippers, guess they more hike the trails and stuff. I guess the back trails, they hike. Then the ones that camp, they take down from the boat. 'Cause the ranger station now is in a good location, so they just walk from the town up to it, and get all the information. They usually take that trail right behind the station…But they don't bother us. I mean, since they got the dock. That was the best thing they ever did… So [the park has] done a pretty good job of managing it and controlling" (BB).

Today, the campground is open between May and October, with the peak visitation occurring in July and August. Recent visitation to Duck Harbor has risen to roughly 5,000 visitors a year, with approximately 10% of that number staying at the campground, and most staying between two and three days, on average. This total visitor population represents roughly one-quarter of one percent (0.25%) of total Acadia National Park visitation, but is sizeable when one considers the very small resident population of the Island. The fact that a visitor population of no less than 100 times the permanent wintertime population visits this Island in a season, but residents, in Billy Barter's terms "never know those people are here" is a testament to the success of this simple shift in visitor entry to Duck Harbor (Acadia National Park n.d.a).

There are, admittedly, some downsides to routing visitors away from the town. Some interviewees noted that the store and café, for example, would have much more business if there were more visitors in town. Also, a few individuals noted that there were occasional advantages to the exchange between visitors and residents, and these impromptu exchanges were now much less common. As Sharen Wilson notes, this has resulted in noticeable differences since she and her husband Jim started staying on the Island regularly in the early 1970s:

> "the town really cut itself off from people coming to go to the park by having…that Duck Harbor wharf. [It] just removes people from walking through the town which is what the town wanted. But, when we came out, that's how some people got their first view of Isle au Haut, and why they wanted to come out and live out here…that was what attracted them to coming out was being able to walk around and see the town. But you can understand why people got very tired of it" (SW).

Newcomers

As a very small community with a core of families having resided here for generations, Isle au Haut has had varied relationships with newcomers to the Island. In some respects, the Island residents have a conservative outlook on new arrivals. Interviewees note that some residents habitually refer to people as being "from away," if those people were born elsewhere and not from a longstanding family, even if they have lived on the Island for much of their life.[141] Yet, over time, the Island's multigenerational families have integrated outsiders into the fabric of community life. Here, we address two different communities that have arrived on the Island since the 1960s – "back to the landers" and "summer people" – whose stories have intersected with the history of Isle au Haut's park lands in various ways.

Back to the Landers

The "back to the land" movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s brought new people and energies to the Island. A small but steady stream of what are sometimes termed "hippies" and other independent countercultural characters arrived, residents suggest, drawn by the remoteness, the freedom, and the wildness of the park. Those who arrived early in this process introduced friends to the Island, and they too moved there in time. These young adults, most from other parts of the Northeast, often allowed new arrivals to stay at their homes, and helped them to find land or accommodations for an enduring stay. They often viewed themselves, and sometimes even called themselves "homesteaders" even though they might have arrived in the 1960s, 1970s, or 1980s.

Certainly, there was some grounds for this view, as these people chose to build their own homes, develop their own gardens, and learn to survive in natural resource economies reminiscent of an earlier era. As Bill Stevens notes, "The 'back to the land movement' arrived here in the 1960s and 1970s…people *had* to be resourceful to live here at that time" (BS).

"The park was definitely part of it because I knew that if the park was here, it was going to stay. The national park system…And just the park's ability to preserve it despite all the wrangling, the political wrangling and the governmental funding problems, the park sustains itself somehow and maintains itself and continues…So not only do we have this but we have the park to protect what is already here. So that was a big part of it for me, knowing that the park owned half the property, half the Island" (TG).

By their own admission, these newcomers were drawn to the Island in some part by the presence of the national park, which insured that portions of the Island would remain wild in perpetuity. In some cases, they first viewed the Island as park visitors, wandering through town from the community dock like the rest:

> "The people who came out in the late '60s and '70s arrived [through the town]. They came by the mail boat. They just kind of wandered around the town and never left…So now they're neighbors" (JW).

As Robin Bowen notes, "when the hippies arrived, the place had a whole different feel…they had a self-imposed kind of rural self-sufficiency" (RB). This was not entirely comprehensible to the families who had lived in these remote conditions for generations and, in some cases, failed to see how life without conveniences such as plumbing could be seen in such romanticized terms. Despite some initial reluctance by the community, these newcomers were gradually integrated into community life, bringing new energy and ideas to the Island. Originally, "the community developed a "them versus us" mentality, but now that is gone…the old-timers are much more accepting…that's a *big* change" (JB). These new arrivals also simply brought their numbers to a small community, and were parents to a new generation of Island children: "The 'hippy group' made the whole community more sustainable" (JO). Some of these new arrivals attempted to enter into commercial fishing and lobstering, with varying success. Some encountered stiff resistance from established fishermen, especially those from Stonington and the nearby mainland who were vehemently asserting their control of the Island's southern and eastern shorelines at this time. One fisherman reported losing roughly 250 lobster traps to sabotage before abandoning efforts to fish the south shore. Yet a few succeeded, learning from the older, established fishermen of the Island, and sometimes working aboard their boats.

Changing Relationships with "Summer People"

Most interviewees spoke about another trend in community life: the generally declining social distance between "summer people" and year-round residents. Isle au Haut has been widely recognized as having "a small, intensely loyal summer colony" (Caldwell 1981: 235). The community of Isle au Haut has persisted and thrived, aided in no small part by the actions of benefactors – most of them "summer people" – who possess a genuine affection for the Island and its people.

Yet, while these families returned every year, and had considerable interests in the Island and its year-round community, it is clear that a sizeable social and economic gulf once separated the two populations. In the early years of the Point Lookout Club, interviewees suggest, the affluent summer population remained very isolated and relationships were sometimes tense and awkward. Year-round residents sensed what Harold van Doren has called a ""you're not quite as good as us" attitude" among the summer people (van Doren 2006: 222). Simultaneously, there was a sense among year-round residents that summer people could not comprehend the challenges of living and working on this Island, which summer people viewed in scenic and recreational terms. Speaking of "the relationship between the Islanders and the summer people," Maurice Barter "has always claimed there was no way that anyone who was not born and raised here could truly understand the Island and its people" (van Doren 2006: 192). Even the Union Congregational Church, a hugely important institution in the community since its founding in 1857, had to accommodate the divide, providing separate church services to summer and year-round residents. As Ted Hoskins notes, the content of the services even differed, and featured "good old, great, staunch, continental English hymn[s]" for the former and "gospel hymns that the Islanders like to sing" for the latter.[142]

Yet, this all began to change after World War II. Interviewees agree that in the second half of the 20th century, "the divisions broke down" (BT). To some degree, the democratization of society anticipated by the Bowditch family at the end of World War II came to pass, with members of Northeastern "society" becoming increasingly integrated into the regional and national social fabric. As Ted Hoskins observes,

> "After the war, the social intermixing changed. Before the war, the summer people pretty much stayed up at the point. And their houses were up there, and they had their own social life, so to speak. After the war, they began to spread out, and have houses here and there around the Island, and then they'd mix up differently" (TH).

In part, this change was brought about by simple familiarity, after multiple generations of the two communities living in close proximity year after year. The summer

residents, interviewees note, had a deep and abiding affection for the Island, which brought them back year after year and helped them build strong connections with Island people and places (MacDonald 1998: 61-62). Harold van Doren notes,

> "There are summer people out here now whose grandparents were the first that came out here, and they've gone through two generations of bonding with the place. So even though you could say they weren't born and raised here, they really have a strong sense of connection, and that's sort of the way I think I feel. I happened to bond with this place at a very early age, when I was only ten years old. And to me, this is home...This is where I feel the most at home. And I think a lot of people feel that way out here, you know? The people that have chosen to live out here, they really made a conscious choice of wanting to be here. And as a result, there's a very strong loyalty to land and community out here. And I see even more of that, I see that as something that's growing. And I'm happy to see it growing, too, because if we have any assets out here, it really is our summer people. I think we've got a very good seasonal community out here. It's a good batch of people, it really is" (HV).

Similarly, Ted Hoskins observes,

> "The longtime summer people have a good appreciation of what Island life is like. They'd come and they'd stay, and they'd get a feel for what was important. It was people that come on a short time, you know, and then set their own little limits, and have their own piece of heaven, that made it difficult. But you'd get past that. And the harsh feelings about summer people moved away. There was a period there when it was stronger because the summer people, they were changing. They weren't just summer people, they were people that came out and spent a week, or something like that. And the attitude toward, they still called them 'summer people,' but it was pretty heavy. Then that eased up, and it's gotten better and better over the years" (TH).

Not only did these families become more integrated into the community, interviewees note, but in some cases the descendants of the original Point Lookout families often became "middle class" over time themselves, and sometimes do not have the vastly disproportionate wealth of their ancestors. As such, they often have more in common with other Island residents, socially and economically, than in earlier times. As Tom Guglielmo notes,

> "[Point Lookout] was originally a sort of separate community, the houses…And I think…fairly affluent. People mainly from Boston and east coast primarily, from maybe as far as Washington, D.C. And I think that goes back maybe 150 years ago. It goes back a long time. But as probably more summer people moved in, middle class, and then descendants—descendants of those wealthy people were sort of middle class as well—we had a lot more in common with each other. And children, they blur those lines without much regard to any of that social status, especially my kids and the kids that they met there. And I think it happened during that generation. I think during that period of time. When I got here, there was still a sense of exclusivity. At least I felt it. But my kids didn't feel any of that. They were hanging out down there at the Point…and they had a wonderful time" (TG).

The effects of these changes have been diverse. Indeed, Ted Hoskins observes that even the church was able to fully consolidate services during the late 20th century, dispensing with the separate hymns too, after years of holding separate services for summer people and year-round residents – an important barometer of the community mood.

As noted elsewhere, conflict and engagement with the National Park Service also, somewhat ironically, helped to bring together these two communities through the second half of the 20th century. Again quoting Harold van Doren,

> "Historically, there used to be a certain amount of tension between the "summer people", particularly the Point Lookout members, and the resident Islanders. Over the years, a lot of this has lessened. In retrospect, I saw a shift when both groups joined forces against the National Park Service to achieve a mutually acceptable park management policy. Without this united front, a favorable outcome would have been very unlikely. From the combined effort, friendships and understanding had begun to develop" (van Doren 2006: 222).

Over time, too, it has become clear to both summer people and year-round residents are dependent on each other. There are specific contributions that each makes to the other. As Belvia MacDonald notes, "Summer people needed residents to protect and care for their house. Residents needed the tax dollars of the summer people to keep [services]" (BM). Yet, the value of these contributions is even greater, and broader, than these practical matters. As Bill Stevens observes,

> "The reality is that the year-round community is very dependent, extremely dependent, on the seasonal community, both for social and economic reasons, not just one [on the] other. They're intertwined" (BS).

The local community, he notes, not only experiences economic advantages, but gains from the rich social and intellectual contributions of the summer community to Island life.[143] In fact, a number of interviewees suggested that one of the most difficult aspects of hosting this sizeable summer community is the fact that their departure around Labor Day leaves such a noticeable gap in the social and economic life in the community.[144]

So too, the identity of "summer people" has changed. Beginning in the 1950s, and intensifying noticeably since the late 1960s, a growing number of largely middle-class families from the urban Northeast have also acquired second homes on the Island.[145] So too, many members of multigenerational Isle au Haut families and other former year-round residents have taken to moving off-Island during the harsh winter months, resulting in a kind of "summer people" with unique and longstanding ties to the Island. The summer community of today, then, is highly variegated, including members of multigenerational fishing families that come and go with the seasons, members of multigenerational Point Lookout families, who today exhibit greater social and economic diversity than their 19th century ancestors, as well as a range of subsequent arrivals such as families that have purchased second homes in the late 20th or early 21st centuries. As Bill Stevens observes,

> "As a group of seasonal people on Isle au Haut, there's a large spectrum in the seasonal community, from people who probably were not relatively any better off than I was. And they probably—because they represent descendants of year-round people that were here, and they had property and they maintained a piece of property and were able to hang onto it and come back—they are summer people, are seasonal people. And then there are more affluent people that bought property or had property for a hundred years that were early seasonal people on the Island. And then there were more recent affluent people, relatively speaking, that were able to purchase property, build homes, or renovate homes or buy homes on Isle au Haut. So there's a broad spectrum, I think, of economic levels represented in the seasonal community as well. There's a larger spectrum in the seasonal community than there is in the year-round community, I think, in terms of economic affluence" (BS).

So too, the residence patterns of the summer community have become increasingly diffuse and increasingly interwoven into Isle au Haut's larger social geography, moving well beyond Point Lookout to many other parts of the Island.

Differences in power and influence may still divide some summer and year-round residents - they are on the same side "75% of the time" according to one astute interviewee. Yet, there is a genuine affection for the summer people that one encounters among year-round residents. As fisherman Billy Barter asserts, they are practically family:

> "we've always gotten along well with the summer people. They're just like a summer family to Bernadine and I. I don't know about the rest of the people. If it weren't for them we…couldn't keep the place going" (B. Barter 1999: 68).

Many seasonal residents, in turn, clearly feel very close ties to the year-round community, and to those members of the summer community whose histories differ from their own. As seasonal resident Tom Guglielmo observes, for him, the appeal of the Isle au Haut *community* has come to surpass the appeal of the Island's beautiful landscape over the years:

> "I thought it was always the beauty of the place. You know, that's what drew me here first, the primitive quality of the beauty and the untouched quality of it. But it ends up being the people, and the friends I've made here" (TG).

In exchange for what they bring to the Island, summer residents are rewarded too – experiencing a degree of social cohesion, solitude, and freedom that is almost unimaginable in the urban Northeast, where most reside for the remainder of the year.[146]

Keeping People on the Island while Resisting Tourist Development

It is not always easy to make a living on Isle au Haut. The Island community is perpetually caught between the need to remain vital and grow, while also expressing an urgent desire to resist riveting change. As Linda Greenlaw has summarized it, "Through the years, Islanders have struggled to keep their lives simple, with fishing as the economy base, rather than making tourism the Island's mainstay" (Greenlaw 2002: 104). Interviewees almost universally noted that people on the Island have been seeking to strike a very difficult balance - keeping the Island community strong by developing employment opportunities while still wanting to keep intact what makes the Island

unique and avoiding those types of development that might forever change Island life.[147]

Many residents have perceived these issues for decades, as the fishing economy has changed and the Island's population has slowly declined. While groundfish catches have plummeted, lobster catches have increased dramatically, rising more or less steadily as a proportion of the total catch since the end of World War II.[148] As Billy Barter notes,

> "Lobsters so far have held pretty good, managed it pretty well. I think this might be a record year. Last year was a record year. This year might be. Shrimp, they're trying to put more restrictions. Last winter was a good shrimp season. They're going to put more restrictions on because they're afraid they're going to deplete the shrimp. Groundfish aren't coming back at all, cod fish and haddock, not in this area. [In past times] you could catch all you wanted with a handline" (BB).

While creating a short-term bonanza of a sort, this trend has led some to fear potential overdependence on lobster as the sole source of fishing income for many families. In addition to the gradual movement of the lobster industry to mainland ports, there are those who cite ecological challenges as well: "The whole ecology of the bottom has changed here…today we're farming lobsters" (KF). The high density of lobsters in certain areas results in arguably unprecedented geographical concentrations in lobster feeding patterns and disease – trends that further compound the risks of economic dependence on lobster. And, as Linda Greenlaw has ominously observed, "Seventy-five percent of the Island's year-round population relies on lobsters for a substantial portion of their annual incomes. Without lobsters, there would be no year-round community" (Greenlaw 2002: 177). Likewise, Virginia MacDonald has noted, "If it wasn't for the lobsters, Isle au Haut would die. It's the only business there now. If your son is not going to go lobstering, there's nothing there to hold the young people" (MacDonald 1998: 55).

Over the years, as mainland ports have continued to chip away at Isle au Haut's lobster economy, there have been various efforts to increase the profitability and sustainability of Island lobstering. One effort centered on the development of the Isle au Haut Lobstermen's Association: "the Association was a co-op of sorts, an outlet for the sale of lobsters and a purveyor of bait for the Island fisherman who were members" (Greenlaw 2002: 25). The co-op was able to retain live lobsters in a pound until market prices were favorable, allowing for well-timed sales, and kept bait for shared use on an islet on the Thorofare.[149] The community constructed the lobster pound with abundant assistance from volunteers including not only members of local lobstering families but also with members of the charitable religious organization, the Maine Seacoast Mission, aided by

a charitable donation of tideland from a local landowner.[150] Timed to beat the market, the pound operation was undermined by sudden downturns in the price of lobster that made it difficult for lobstermen to estimate or recoup costs.[151] Some resource sharing among Isle au Haut lobstermen, initiated as part of Association efforts, have persisted, but the practice of lobster pounding has come and gone over the years.

Today, as the local fishing economy struggles, there is a real anxiety about Isle au Haut being "a dying community." Residents now typically report the number of year-round residents as "less than forty," and sometimes quite a bit less than that. Winter sees the lowest numbers. Those who can afford to do so often leave the Island in winter – a phenomenon that seems to have accelerated in recent years. The "hardest winter" in recent memory saw a total permanent winter population of only 17 people, though winter numbers can range as high as 72 or more: as Belvia MacDonald notes, "everyone wants to leave in the winter, but they're needed" to keep social and economic life vital on the Island (BM). Residents suggest that considerable outmigration to Stonington took place once the bridge linked Deer Isle to the mainland, and this migration has continued slowly ever since (D. Barter 1999). So too, outmigration has carried former Isle au Haut residents to mainland locations throughout the Penobscot Bay region and beyond. Residents sometimes complain that Isle au Haut has lost some of its "sense of community" due to the outmigration of members of longtime families, the arrival of diverse and sometimes transient newcomers, and various other strains on the social fabric. The reasons for this outmigration do not only relate to the changing economic geography of the fishing industry; they also relate to the basic challenges of living on a small island. There are significant forces that pull away the Island population, especially the young and the very old, that residents seek to resist as they work to maintain a viable permanent community on the Island.

Health care on the Island, for example, is very limited. Indeed, before the advent of telephone and radio communications on the Island, residents formerly summoned doctors from the mainland by building signal fires on the hills above town.[152] Today it is said that people are neither born nor die on the Island.[153] This is because families that are about to have children typically go to the mainland to be close to hospitals. So too, older people often migrate away, seeking access to health care and conveniences that are hard to find on the Island. Truly elderly residents are rare, in part for this reason. As Deb Shrader notes,

> "It's remote, if you're aged, elderly, and in poor health, maybe this just isn't the place for you to live. That's just the way it is. And yeah, maybe we lose some older people because of that, from living out here" (DS).

Some have noted a tendency to the community to remedy the health care situation through various informal channels; as Margaret Dice notes, "Isle au Haut was always looking for doctors" to visit or retire here (M. Dice n.d.: 1).

Schooling is also a major challenge. The Island has a one-room schoolhouse that provides schooling from kindergarten through eighth grade, but for advanced grades students have little choice but to attend "mainland" schools in Stonington and beyond. To accommodate the logistical needs of schooling, many families must move away as their children enter high school. As Ted Hoskins notes,

> "there's no better place to be for a family with kids, when they're in grade school, than out on one of these Islands. They've got good teachers, and they get pretty good socialization skills and everything built in. But then the time comes, when they get into high school, the parents who've been on the mainland want to go back" (TH).

This is perhaps one of the most disruptive effects on the community: "The hardest time is when kids go to high school and their families leave" (BM). To accommodate schooling, people sometimes have moved back and forth between the Island and the mainland as they follow the fishing seasons and other employment opportunities. This has been happening for decades; Robin Bowen, for example, recalls that for a time in the late 1950s and early 1960s, he sometimes went to school on Isle au Haut until December each year, and then moved to Stonington and went to school there until April – his family following the fishing.

To be sure, schooling has become one the biggest challenges for the community. In 1878, there were four school districts on the Island with a combined enrollment of 82 students. Today, there is only a small fraction of that number. At certain points in the late 20th century there was only one. As Robin Bowen recalls, "there was one winter on the Island when I was the only student" in the early 1960s (RB). The Bangor newspaper caught wind of this fact and dispatched a reporter to the Island; the story became front-page news in Bangor and UPI began carrying the story more broadly. Teachers from around the country, apparently convinced that Robin must be lonely, began sending him letters: "I had my own mail bag for a month, my own separate U.S. mail bag!" (RB). The teacher at the Isle au Haut school insisted that Robin reply to all of these letters ("I later realized she probably didn't send [the replies]…it would have cost a fortune" (RB).) To avoid the busy work, young Robin began to intercept the mail and stashing the letters in a culvert in town. In winter, when a thaw came, all of the stashed letters washed into the harbor, some of them floating on the surface and sticking to the boats.

The community has worked diligently to keep a school open in spite of these numbers, for "when you start losing something like a school, you begin to lose the fabric of a

community" (RB). "Isle au Haut needs young people to keep it alive" (BM). There have been numerous efforts to encourage young families with children to relocate to the Island to help build its school-aged population and keep the Island's year-round population robust generally.[154] These efforts have included the development of the Isle au Haut Community Development Corporation (ICDC), which seeks to retain current families and recruit new ones through such initiatives as the construction of low-cost housing (MacDonald 1998: 56-57).

The cost of living is also said to prompt moves off-Island. Groceries and fuel are very expensive on Isle au Haut, shipping and storage costs being contributing factors. Residents also must pay ferry fares when traveling anywhere off-Island. With no car ferry, many families have to maintain two cars – one for use on the Island and one for use on the mainland. When staying off-Island, or unable to catch the last ferry of the day after errands, residents sometimes have to pay for a motel room on the mainland.[155] Meanwhile, everything has to be shipped to the Island – fuel, construction materials, groceries, and the like. As Ted Hoskins observes,

> "'Lug-a-ho,' as we call it, because you have to lug—it's a pain—because there's no car ferry. And if there was, you could just fill your car up , drive over here, and unload it. But you have to drive your car down to the boat, unload it, put it on the boat, take it off the boat, put it in your car and bring it to your house. And it is a pain! Especially when you're lugging fifty-pound, hundred-pound boxes, or you've got refrigerators you're bringing in, or material, and stuff like that. I just met this morning with the guy who's going to do our septic system. It's twice as much as it is on the mainland because everything has to be barged over" (TH).

The inflation of property values Island-wide as a result of the second home market is widely said to displace residents and further undermines the integrity of the community – elevating tax rates and barring the purchase of homes by young members of longstanding Island families. Often lacking the resources to compete in the real estate market of their own Island, residents note an inexorable transition of land ownership to outside and absentee interests. As Billy Barter notes,

> "I wish some of the Island people could [have] got some of the houses that came up for sale, which they couldn't afford to buy. Every house comes up, the summer people get it. They've got the money to buy it. That hurts a lot" (B. Barter 1999: 67).

If the residents of Isle au Haut share a sense that they have long been losing control over their community's fate due to the combined effects of mainland fishermen, NPS

management, and various other regional trends, this continued transition of private land ownership to outside interests has done little to allay their concerns.

And, while it is not necessarily a major motivating factor, it is important to recognize that there are also various social pressures that are more poignant within the context of island living. Any tendency a person might have toward dishonesty, abusiveness or other antisocial tendencies cannot go on for long unnoticed and – unlike in urban America - there is no such thing as giving offence anonymously.[156] In urban America, a person who is quarreling with a friend or colleague does not necessarily feel compelled to move away from home; this isn't always the case on a very small island. And the migration of people to and from the Island sometimes creates its own kind of friction – a sense of regret, of loss, of guilt, that can complicate what is already a complicated situation. The town has tried in various ways to make these transitions easier, sometimes with the involvement of community organizations and the Union Congregational Church Pastor, Ted Hoskins.[157]

There has been some local economic diversification over the years that have smoothed over the fiscal peaks and valleys of fishing life. Many residents, and a good many interviewees for this project, have worked at Point Lookout – assisting in construction, landscaping, maintenance, cleaning, and other tasks. Knitting has been mentioned as one activity done out of households to generate extra income (MacDonald 1998: 57). These kinds of options, underreported in formal economic data, are important to individual families, but do not necessarily represent the foundation of year-round employment for the Island. Meanwhile, many younger members of Isle au Haut's fishing families often choose to enter professions other than fishing, in such fields as technology and construction, often taking them to distant places. Members of these families sometimes must move away for work, but return intermittently or – for such families as the Greenlaws – have moved back as soon as they enter retirement.[158]

The effects of these changes on the year-round population and economy are profound. In the year 2000, only some 8% of full-time residents (3 of 38 census respondents) identified their principal occupation as fishing, forestry, or agriculture, though this understates the scale of the actual resource economy; a larger number of year-round residents clearly participate in fishing as a secondary source of income, and seasonal residents have a role in the fishing economy as well (U.S. Census n.d.). As Fred Eustis notes, "The dream of a traditional resource-based economy seems to have faded" (Eustis 2012).

In this context, the prospect of tourism is alluring for some people. As other sections of this document make clear, there has been tremendous opposition to the development of a tourist economy on the Island, but "now there are people who need tourists and that attitude is changing" (BM). By virtue of its very existence, the park is said to tip the economic scales inevitably in the direction of a tourist-based economy too. Responses to

the Island's few experiences with commercial tourist development have been mixed. Speaking of the conversion of the Robinson Point lighthouse into a bed and breakfast, Jeff Burke recalls,

> "Initially, we could feel [resistance from the community] very strongly. On the other hand there was a lot of welcoming…what we felt here is that some people were terrified of the inn coming, and other people welcomed it. And some of the people that welcomed it were some of the oldest old-timers on the Island. And some of the people that were among the most vociferously opposed to it were some of the newest people on the Island" (JB).

The park, he notes, remains the principal draw for the modest tourist economy. Burke also suggests that the guests at his Light House Inn have been "thrilled with the quiet…and the wilderness qualities" of the Island (JB). This kind of wilderness experience is a small niche market of Maine tourism, he notes, and increasingly tends to self-select for people who are respectful of the landscape and open to mild adversity. Moreover, so long as visitor numbers remain reasonably low, this has resulted in what he sees as a relatively benign form of tourism on the Island:

> "People that are willing to forego their car for a day, and get on the ferry, and come all the way out here—I mean, there are certain filters that funnel people. Sort of like the tide sorting out stones by their size and specific gravity and whatnot along the beaches. There's only certain people that are going to wash up on the shore out here. And they're also going to tend to be more alike because they're filtered out by these different forces… it creates a real nice scene' (JB).[159]

Among the economic benefits of park visitation mentioned by interviewees, in addition to hotel and other rental revenue, are the increased sales for the mail boat company, town store and chocolate shop, as well as restricted development and improved public access on certain portions of the Island.[160]

Yet, retaining the Island's character and integrity in the face of tourist development is, as Ted Hoskins notes, "a very delicate balance - not an easy one to keep" (TH). As Linda Greenlaw has summarized matters, "We all want to thrive on our resource-based economy and not cave in to tourism. Islanders love the Island just as it is" (Greenlaw 2002: 202).[161] Many residents still vehemently resist tourism's allure. Certainly, for generations, some residents have participated in caretaker roles relating to Point Lookout, providing repairs and maintenance to that community, especially in the winter. Yet, this has always been supplemental to the Isle au Haut economy rather than

a mainstay. Some express concern that the young people of Isle au Haut will have no choice but to convert to a "caretaker economy," looking after the houses of affluent visitors and summer people, while the old professions – more lucrative, dignified, and ennobling – fade from memory. Residents risk going "back to serfdom" within such an economy, and losing even the limited control that they have over their affairs today (RB). And there are other obstacles as well: those who seek to maintain some role in the fishing economy are often not available through the summertime, for example, as "most of the locals are busy making a living" (WB).

Island residents have often chosen to accept the challenges of Island life as it exists now, and even to perpetuate those challenges, because of their shared desire to resist tourist town status. They have, for example, resisted the development of state-sponsored ferry service in order to maintain control over tourist access to the Island:

> "the reason the town has a private ferry is they don't want the state coming in because then the state regulates the ferry service and they can say, 'We're going to put a car ferry here.' But we don't want the car ferry! And that was one of the issues. I could sit there and say, 'This is a ferry town. We need the state ferry here because we need the tourists to come out.' But that's not what we want. We don't want that level of congestion. We don't want to be a tourist town" (TH).

The formal planning efforts by Isle au Haut to restrict destructive development or abrupt community change stand out somewhat among the Island communities of the Maine coast (Caldwell 1981: 240). No doubt, the Island's early experiences with tourism, coupled with anxiety about the influences of the park, contributed to this early and organized attention to community growth issues.

Seeking that elusive balance between tourist development and continuity, more than one interviewee commented on the arrival of Black Dinah Chocolates – a small but bustling operation that manufactures and distributes gourmet chocolates, while also maintaining a seasonal café. These interviewees suggested that the operation is "the best thing that's happened to Isle au Haut" in many years and that its owners represent "the future of Isle au Haut." Though relative newcomers, the couple that owns Black Dinah Chocolates are involved in community life, and – as the author can attest – very kind and engaging. (While I stayed on the Island, they leant me phones, gave me welcome guidance, and let me use their café as de facto office space after hours, always with a smile.) But this alone does not completely explain the community's enthusiasm. Perhaps their importance is more symbolic, demonstrating that young people can make a go of it and succeed on this small Island, striking a balance between tourist-dependence and seasonal isolation. Their footprint on the Island is very light; they host tourists but they do not depend wholly on them for their persistence; and their

marketing invokes the Island's isolated, rustic character without necessarily inviting the tourist hordes to visit. Internet sales are a big part of the business. Their inputs are ingredients and their outputs are delicious chocolates, all carried by mailboat to and from the Island. With the advent of internet sales, and the proliferation of small-scale "footloose industries" such as these, Isle au Haut may yet experience an economic rebound that would have astonished the fishermen of a previous generation.

The Enduring Importance of Park Landscapes

There is no doubt that places within the park continue to be of deep personal significance to families living on the Island today. A number of families report driving a circuit through the park road regularly to visit places of personal importance to them. Jim and Martha Greenlaw, for example, drive around the Island regularly, passing by the old Hamilton homestead at Duck Harbor, where Jim's grandmother lived when he was a boy, and sometimes stopping at the Hamilton cemetery to pay respects and monitor conditions. Similar treks are taken periodically by a number of other Island residents, many of them having personal ties to the Hamilton homestead and other landmarks of significance to themselves and their families.

Families who have arrived more recently also have deep and abiding attachments to park landscapes. Their attachments may be somewhat different than those of longstanding families, but they are still consequential. Some find park landscapes to be sublime, uplifting, even "sacred" as untrammeled natural areas. Speaking of the park, John Blaisdell exclaimed "It's a gift! It's sacred land….we are forever grateful to the Bowditch family." It is fair to say, too, that some portion of these newcomers have become so thoroughly integrated into Isle au Haut community life after years living on the Island, that they share a sense of common history with longtime residents, and the old homesteads take on a kind of vicarious significance – as the homes of the ancestors of dear friends, neighbors, and members of their extended families or households. Drawn to these park landscapes, some permanent Island residents – especially these relative newcomers – have purchased their property specifically because it abuts, has views of, or allows easy access to the park: "we back right up to the park; we feel like we own it" (JO). (Members of multigenerational fishing families sometimes suggested recreational use of the landscape was not as frequent among their ranks, due to scheduling constraints and priorities that were different than those of late-20th century "settlers" on the Island.) [162] As noted elsewhere, some go so far as to suggest that they chose to live on the Island in some part because of the presence of these wild, scenic, and quiet park lands. As Jeff Burke summarizes,

> "The park, for the Island [residents], is, I think, an incredibly important resource because of its appeal. It's just an incredible, beautiful place. It's a

> national park. I mean, it's a resource that just gives. Anybody that comes to the Island, if they're homesteaders, or they're building summer homes…it's an incredible place. It's very, very important to everybody [on the Island]" (JB).

Nominally "recreational" use of the Island, including portions of the park, is therefore seen as an important part of community life by some portion of the Island's residents. These activities, especially hiking within landscapes of personal consequence, are sometimes said to be of great importance to Island residents – so much so that the term "recreation" may be a poor description of these contemplative journeys, and direct comparisons with visitors' recreational patterns of use may seem somewhat forced. Residents' journeys in the park have different rhythms and sometimes different objectives from those of most visitors. They also have different geographies. In many respects, the residents of Isle au Haut have maintained their own patterns of recreational land use that run parallel to, but often do not intersect with, those of park visitors from off-Island.[163] Some residents hike the park extensively, often seeking out lesser-known corners of the park where they might find solitude, or traveling at times that make encounters with visitors less likely. Residents reporting "hiking all over the park" in such places as Eli Creek, Duck Harbor Mountain, and Thunder Gulch, while avoiding Duck Harbor - except perhaps in the off season. Some residents utilize trails on largely undeveloped private lands seldom seen by park visitors.

Frequently, residents stressed that the remoteness of the Island was a large part of its appeal to them, and that their connections to the land depended to some extent on their ability to find relatively unoccupied places to be outdoors – very often within the park. Harold van Doren often spoke eloquently on this point:

> "I certainly use the park a lot. I go down to Thunder Gulch, I go out to Western Head. I really enjoy hiking that Western Head trail, and Black Dinah. And the Island certainly would have been a different place if it had been developed, as opposed to being a park. And I really appreciate the fact that it hasn't been developed. To me, it makes it a very attractive place to have this land be undeveloped. If I came down here and somebody had a castle on top of Champlain, it would NOT be the same Island at all - any more than it would be the same Island if they decided to run a ferry out here, a car ferry. If they did that, why, I'd immediately start thinking about, 'Well, I wonder how much it's going to cost to put up a for-sale sign?' I really would. Because that's another thing that would completely change the character of the Island, if you had total, unlimited access" (HV).

The remoteness of the Island was said to allow for both large tracts of protected land and restrictions on promotion and access. While residents will sometimes bemoan the specifics of NPS management relating to the park, support for the presence of large tracts of public land seems widespread among Island residents, permanent and seasonal. Such large tracts of public land are relatively rare on the Maine coast, some suggest, and the presence of these lands allows certain important landmarks to endure unsullied, and certain patterns of traditional use to continue in spite of development pressures that might eventually transform the Island.[164]

Enduring Issues and Opportunities

While it is very true that, in Jeffery Burke's words, there are as many opinions as there are people, there are certain recurring themes that emerge when Isle au Haut residents discuss past problems, and future opportunities, within park-community relations. As the park owns so much of the Island, and is the principal tourist attraction there, park management is sure to have a significant influence on community life for a very long time to come. For this reason, there are great incentives for park staff and community members to continue trying to understand and respond to one-another's concerns. The material that follows is presented to help facilitate that process. While it is clear that some of these issues may be sensitive on the short term, these issues are discussed openly here in the hope that this discussion will strengthen the long-term relationship between the park and the Isle au Haut community, and by extension, insure the well-being of both over the long term. What follows, then, is a presentation of the community's perceptions, views and understandings relating to the park. These things are discussed with little commentary or analysis, and their mention does not necessarily imply that they are being advocated here; each is seen as being important context to future conversations between the park and the Isle au Haut community regarding many issues of mutual concern.

In very general terms, it is clear that NPS acquisition of so much of the Island has had multiple consequences, inhibiting development of certain kinds and scales on the Island, for better or worse. Views on these effects vary within the community. Some suggest that the park effectively "saved" the Island from wrenching development pressures. Others bemoan how the economic fortunes of the Island were impaired by a lack of buildable land in some of its most scenic areas – transformative though these developments might be. As Sharen Wilson notes,

> "There are a lot of people that are very pleased that that whole area was saved, obviously, because it's incredible…There are people that have lived here a long time that are pleased. And other people…would want to see development" (SW).

Residents' attitudes toward the park tend to be revealed by which consequences they mention most prominently and frequently. Most residents consulted in the course of this study seem to acknowledge – some grudgingly – that the effects of park ownership have had both positive and negative effects on the continuity of community life on Isle au Haut.

Many residents express concerns about how NPS ownership has restricted the tax base of the Island. Bob Turner, for example, estimates that the community would receive roughly $150,000 in additional taxes each year if the park were in private ownership, but the NPS pays only a small fraction of that in lieu of taxes each year (BT). The loss of this part of the tax base is not offset by the park's financial contributions, some suggest, requiring private taxpayers on the Island to partially "subsidize" visitor's use of public roads and utilities in areas outside of the park. A formal analysis of this issue, and perhaps increased NPS financial support for these public services, would be greeted enthusiastically by many residents.

The park is also sometimes seen as being indirectly responsible for larger trends that complicate community life; the demand for recreational housing on the Island, for example, has resulted in climbing property values that now place homes beyond the reach of some resident families – a common problem in many parts of the New England coast. The ICDC has attempted to address this issue, as it has been an obstacle to both the retention of young resident families as well as the recruitment of new families who might wish to live on the Island. As a unique natural amenity that draws urban people to the Island, the park is seen as contributing to these challenges in ways that are hard to quantify, minimize or mitigate.

It is also clear that land acquisition for conservation purposes has become somewhat "stigmatized" by the Island's experiences with visitor impacts and the park boundary issue. To underscore this point, residents noted that the Maine Coast Heritage Trust has recently acquired a significant portion of the former Grant family lands from Head Harbor to the park boundary, including much of the shoreline in this area. Some speculate that the Trust has sought to downplay publicity of their recent acquisitions of lands near Head Harbor, hoping to avoid some of the stigma associated with historical park acquisitions. In partial response to this, the Trust decided not to pursue a larger acquisition including upland areas interior to the road, which were instead purchased for conservation purposes by a group of families from the Island (JO, SW, JW).[165] These perceptions are likely to persist in light of the sheer magnitude of the park's land holdings on the Island and the great influence of the NPS on community life, but may be attenuated somewhat as the more contentions dimensions of community-park interaction fade into history.

Visitor Numbers

There are other, more specific issues that were often mentioned by Island residents. While the park and the Isle au Haut community have reached agreements on the matter of visitor numbers, the issue of visitor pressures on the Island is still of great concern to the community. While recognizing that the park is "an incredible resource" to facilitate the Island's economic future, residents are eager to maintain the character of the

community, the "wilderness" qualities of Isle au Haut tourism, and the integrity of the Island's unique natural and cultural resources (JO).

Some residents express concern that the original maximum target of 50 visitors is sometimes exceeded, and work through such venues as the planning council to keep numbers at that level.[166] The mail boat was originally small enough that it provided a *de facto* cap on visitation, some note, but the boat was replaced with a larger vessel and can no longer be relied upon as a "bottleneck" to control visitor numbers. In this context, residents note that the park might someday opt to apply an entrance fee to the Isle au Haut portion of Acadia National Park as one mechanism for limiting access. Residents (and their mainland kin) suggest that they would require special dispensation and exemptions from such fees, though; there are many places of great importance to Island families, within the park boundaries, such as the Hamilton homestead and cemetery but, more fundamentally, "it's *our* Island!"(BM).

There is still general resistance to even the implication that park staff might somehow "promote" the Isle au Haut portion of the park. Some residents believe that the park does not do so, while others suggest that the NPS has occasionally proposed enhancing their promotion of Isle au Haut to take pressure off of the sometimes crowded park lands on Mount Desert Island. Yet even minor park decisions about visitor numbers and their movements on the Island, some note, can have significant effects on community life in this small and isolated setting. Head Harbor residents recall that certain rangers began to encourage visits to Eastern Head in the 1980s, and that this resulted in increased disturbances and a noticeable loss of privacy. Similarly, some residents note that they had understood the current location of the NPS Isle au Haut ranger station in the village to be temporary, and that these offices were to be ultimately relocated to Duck Harbor to concentrate visitor activities in that area – a proposal that at least some portion of Island residents still support.

Residents express concern about many of the same maintenance and resource management issues associated with visitation that are of concern to park managers. Trail erosion, especially near Duck Harbor, is a source of concern to many Island residents.[167] Visitor impacts on wildlife are also of concern to some: "Keep the numbers down so you can have a wild experience, so that animals aren't spooked" (JO). It is clear that these issues are not only of concern to residents and park managers, but are of concern to visitors as well.[168] Continued community dialogue on the issue of visitor numbers is sure to continue, and may be especially constructive if it highlights these issues of mutual concern.

In spite of concerns regarding visitor numbers, it is important to note that many residents, including those with no financial or personal stake in park-based tourism, express a genuine concern about the general safety and well-being of visitors. Residents expressed concern that many visitors seem ill-equipped to travel on the remote trails

and beaches of Isle au Haut, without proper clothing, safety skills, and the like.[169] Some observe that when visitors take risks, this puts residents and resident rangers at risk too, as these individuals must sometimes come to the aid of visitors in distress. Park efforts to encourage visitors to behave safely are much appreciated by many Island residents.

Fire Hazards

Among the issues mentioned by Isle au Haut residents, fire potential may be among the most pressing and widely-mentioned topic of concern today. As Harold van Doren notes,

> "The only thing that I would say might need some review, if we ever have a very, very dry year, would be the fire hazard because the park—because it *is* a park—doesn't do anything about controlling the amount of slash. They think that fire is a part of the natural process. And that's fine, but it's not fine if you get a fire going down there, and it comes sweeping up the whole length of the Island. So that's the only concern that I really have" (HV).

Fires clearly captivate the attention of residents, a fact that is rooted in a number of Island fires that have occurred historically. Various sources reference a very large fire in the 1870s, apparently started by blueberry pickers camping on the Island. Charles Pratt reported oral tradition on the issue in the early 1970s: "The first reported fire on the Island occurred in the 1870s; it was the one which was started by blueberry pickers, and it burned for two months until the snow came, denuding the top of the ridge" (Pratt 1974: 102). There is some suggestion that the community became especially wary of outside campers and berry pickers at this time, a sentiment that persisted for many years (Eustis 1952: 17-37). The fire was said to have largely deforested parts of the Island, and may have contributed to the expansion of the sheep industry and the elimination of a sizeable portion of the Island's wood supply. As Wayne Barter recalls, "in the [1870s or 1880s] there was a forest—quite a fire that burned over quite a bit of the Island. There was no real commercial logging, or anything like that, I don't think" (WB).

There were a number of other fires mentioned by interviewees. Gooden Grant spoke of an expansive forest fire on the southern part of the Island in 1894, described as being centered at Duck Harbor and probably damaging certain buildings of the period (Pratt 1974: 102). Another very large fire was reported to have occurred on the eastern Island especially, in the same year as the Bar Harbor fire. Billy Barter recalls,

Figure 28: A view of Long Pond today. Many of the younger, deciduous trees along the shoreline date from the time of the 1940s fire. D. Deur photo.

> "We've had a few fires that I know about. The worst one was down to the pond… When they had the bad Bar Harbor fire, you know, we had the fire at the same time. Same summer. I was about probably ten years old" (B. Barter 1999: 82).

A number of interviewees shared dramatic memories of this fire in august of 1949, Charlie Bowen in particular, and most indicate that the fire was started by Island visitors who disposed of cigarette butts improperly while swimming at Long Pond.[170] To be sure, the community's wariness about the potential for tourists igniting fires in the Island's forests has a firm, and well-remembered, historical basis.

In many residents' view, downed wood in the park is "just kindling. It's just a tinder box," and this might threaten the safety of the larger Island in the event of wildfires (BM). The park has been reluctant to allow the salvaging of downed wood, and opposed to Island residents' customary thinning or harvest of trees for firewood, for various reasons. This policy frustrates some residents, whose families have, in some cases, salvaged wood on these lands well before park ownership and have sometimes relied on that wood for heat and fuel. Places such as Duck Harbor and Eastern Head were mentioned in this context as once popular wood harvesting areas that are seen as

ripe for wood salvage but effectively off limits. A park-directed salvage of such wood, some note, would certainly be welcome not only for fire protection purposes, but also as a source of firewood on an Island with high winter fuel costs. The absence of thinning in the dense and relatively young spruce forests of the Island is also seen as an ecological problem, resulting in forests that are understood not only fire-prone, but also generally unhealthy and biologically simplified. As Fred Eustis prophesizes, "Someday the Park and community will have to face the problem of an unhealthy climax spruce forest' (Eustis 2012). Yet, the NPS's more recent "let it burn" policy toward wildfire management has also been a source of concern (BT). The park's more active interest in fire and forest management in recent times has been greeted with a degree of enthusiasm and relief. As Bob Turner noted of ongoing community efforts to promote meticulous fire prevention planning, "all of [these protections] may be selfish, but after all it's home!" (BT).

Roads, Access, and Other Park Management Issues

Isle au Haut residents also expressed considerable interest in park policy relating to road management. In the past, there has been significant concern about past (and mostly informal) discussion of the potential closure of the Island's loop road through the park. Some interviewees recall that such proposals have been contentious among Isle au Haut residents who continue to use the road for recreational drives, as well as to access places of historical importance to individuals, families, and the community as a whole. The road is also considered essential for emergency response services, such as fire protection on the densely forested southern Island and potential medical rescues of park visitors and resident fishermen alike along the southern and southwestern shore. The closure of the road to Western Head was bemoaned by a few residents, but this closure was not especially controversial – especially since the road is still accessible in the case of emergencies. Bob Turner and other Island residents have suggested that the NPS may not have the legal right to close the loop road, as the road's construction predates park ownership and, in some cases, Bowditch's ownership, so that customary use of this road by the community may be effectively "grandfathered in" as a road right-of-way (BT). (The distantly related issue of the community's shoreline access rights was also said to be of concern, but this was seldom mentioned as a central issue by interviewees.)[171]

There has also been concern about maintenance – most interviewees wanting the road to remain primitive but readily passable. As Harold van Doren notes,

> "There was, in the past, a lot of residents have gotten excited when the Loop Road around the Island hasn't been well maintained because they felt that that was part of the agreement. And there are a lot of people here

> who just simply like to be able to drive around the Island. And when it got to the point where they couldn't in a regular car, they got a little excited over that. But it seems to me that they [NPS] keep it up in pretty good shape. It's not maybe as good as it was when I was a kid, but that's all right. No road here's as good as when I was a kid, I don't think" (HV).

A number of residents speculate that the park has sometimes routed road maintenance resources intended for Isle au Haut to support the much more developed Mount Desert Island portion of the park, but would prefer to see slightly improved road maintenance at Isle au Haut in the future.

The Hamilton/Bowen Inholding

Among the issues that persist between the Isle au Haut community and the park, one of the most potentially divisive centers on the Hamilton family inholding on Duck Harbor. Now maintained by Hamilton descendent Robin Bowen, this small inholding sits on the north shore of the Harbor and is occupied by a small family cabin. A number of interviewees report that the park has sometimes sought to acquire this inholding as part of an effort to consolidate lands within the park's external boundary on the Island. Park interests are confounded somewhat by the unique private land title on this property, which extends ownership interests to a large number of Hamilton descendants, who are widespread both on Isle au Haut and on the adjacent mainland. As such, the fate of this one small cabin has the attention of a surprisingly large proportion of the resident population of Isle au Haut.

To understand this situation, it is important to first explain the cabin in its historical context. As noted elsewhere in this document, the prominent patriarch of Duck Harbor, Solomon Hamilton, originally held roughly 100 acres on the north shore of Duck Harbor. The homestead had been occupied by members of the Hamilton family, and later by Robinsons and Bowens who were part of that extended family. Charles Hamilton is reported to have been the last member of the family to own title on the expanded homestead, continuing to live on the property through the mid-20th century. When the Hamilton home burned to the ground, Charles remodeled a fish house on the old homestead waterfront, which became the final year-round Hamilton home on Duck Harbor.

Over time, both before and after Charles Hamilton's ownership of the homestead, the Hamilton family had been gradually transferring title of portions of their large land holdings to other parties (including the Town of Isle au Haut), and some portion of this land was incorporated into the Duck Harbor properties that later became part of the park. As a result of these changes, by the mid-20th century, the Hamilton holding had

been reduced to only a one-quarter acre plot for continued family use and access at the Hamilton homestead site. The family parted with the footprint of the old home, instead retaining only a small parcel centered on the cabin that Charlie Hamilton had fashioned from the family fish house. Robin Bowen explains that the access to the water was prized far more than the land by this fishing family, guiding their decision to retain only the small waterfront parcel: "they were fishermen and access to the ocean was most important to them…it was not happenstance [that he kept the waterfront parcel]" (RB).

In the years that followed the expansion of this cabin, Charles Hamilton and Charlie Bowen Sr. continued to fish out of Duck Harbor, using the cabin as their base of operations (though they also sometimes fished out of Head Harbor, Rich's Cove, and elsewhere along the Island's shore). Intensive use of the cabin for fishing access came to an end in the early 1970s, however, as Charles Hamilton's health declined and he moved away to Rockland. Charles Hamilton died in 1974, and the cabin passed to two of his heirs: Charlie Dalton Bowen, Sr.[172] and his son Robin Bowen. As per the terms of Charles Hamilton's will, Charlie Bowen and Robin Bowen retained use of the structure, while the land was deeded in equal shares to the "heirs of Solomon Hamilton." Charlie Bowen, Sr. continued to go to the cabin "for a week or two" each year to fish into the 1990s. He passed away in 1998, and Robin has continued to use, repair, and pay taxes on the structure ever since (RB).

The house has occasionally settled as the shoreline continues to erode; indeed, waves have sometimes washed under the house's floorboards in large storms. Over the decades, Charlie Bowen Sr. sometimes jacked the house up and placed stones underneath to shim the building and keep the structure level. Some of these stones remain on the site, though Robin Bowen has subsequently installed support posts to the structure that partially eliminate the need for these supporting stones.

Because of the unusual inheritance clause on this property, coupled with the vast scale of the Hamilton family, a surprisingly large number of people have a stake in the property. As interviewee, Charlie Bowen Jr., asserted, "250 people have an interest in Duck Harbor!" including a sizeable proportion of the Island's long-term population (CB). The home is said to be used occasionally for fishing – not only by Robin Bowen and his immediate family – but by members of the larger Hamilton family, who reside not only on the Island, but elsewhere in coastal Maine.

The cabin is clearly of great importance to certain members of the Bowen family. A number of Hamilton relatives described a sense of pride in the family's continued foothold on Duck Harbor, even if they did not personally use the cabin. Robin Bowen's connections are especially strong; he reports that he "grew up on the lawn of that cabin" (RB). Both of his parents' cremated remains were deposited at the base of the cabin, he notes, and other family members are buried in the cemetery nearby.

Still, interviewees report that the park has sometimes explored options for consolidating the Duck Harbor portion of the park by acquiring title to the Bowen inholding. The unusual nature of the land title, dividing the title between multiple descendants of a vast extended family, has contributed to the complexity of this situation; this, plus its interior placement within the park's external boundaries, has raised questions as to whether the moratorium on further NPS acquisition on the Island applies to this property. In the 1980s, the Bowen family reported feeling increasingly pressured by the NPS to relinquish title to this inholding. Robin Bowen reports verbal and written confrontations with past Superintendents on the matter, especially during that period. Bowen and other interviewees suggest that there has been mention by past park staff regarding the park's option of exercising powers of "eminent domain" to acquire the parcel. (NPS files reviewed in the course of this research, dating from the early 1980s, make it clear that the park has had an interest in acquiring this property, though direct references to eminent domain efforts were not encountered in the brief review of files relating to this parcel [NPS n.d.]). Bowen reports that he has also been approached by the NPS with a proposed "life tenancy" agreement, which would allow the park to acquire title after Bowen's death instead of transfer of title to his heirs; he rejected this proposal which was both unappealing to Bowen and potentially untenable in light of the multiple owners with interests in the parcel.

Concerned about the potential loss of the land, Bowen sought input in the 1980s from the American Land Rights Association (ALRA) – a national conservative activist organization that seeks to represent the interests of National Park inholders, and to challenge federal lands policy more generally. Bowen attests that the ALRA has had some direct communications with past park Superintendents about the family's inholding. He also reports some level of past communication on the issue with other private individuals who have been engaged in land disputes with Acadia National Park.

Despite an enduring sense that the park continues to pursue the property, Robin Bowen has redoubled his efforts to hold on to the land. He explains some of his motivations:

> "dad had devoted his life the last 10, 15 years to getting back to Isle au Haut…I decided to fight for it…It's kind of a spiritual thing…I'm the steward of it for this generation, and when I die my daughter will be the steward for the next…this is not just for us but for all the descendants… Solomon [Hamilton] had 15 children altogether – two died, two boys, 11 girls…they married into every family [on the Island]" (RB).

Many members of the Island community track Bowen's interactions with the park on this issue with much interest, and many seem sympathetic to his situation. Quoting one individual, not a Hamilton descendent, who spoke on condition of anonymity,

> "The family still has that little inholding down there. That's Robin [Bowen], though, and that's Charlie's younger brother... he's going to hold onto that place. He'll get the guns out if he has to: 'You come and take it!' He's a really nice guy. He just wants to have that little place. They used to have a lot more down there, I guess…The park's been pretty good. He said they still hassle him, you know, legally to try to get that. And he's not going to give in" (AN).

With a conciliatory tone, Bowen insists that, by retaining the family's foothold on the harbor, "we do more help than we do harm" to the park mission. He reports that his family has cared for the Duck Harbor in various ways and has, for example, given boat passage to park visitors who missed their mail boat ride back to the mainland and were otherwise stranded. He also suggests that the cabin contributes to the scenery of the harbor instead of detracting from it: "The cabin is part of the scenery and some people photograph it…it's not like it's a pristine place – there's a gigantic rusting dock right across from it!" (RB). (Certainly, former NPS rangers recall many questions from visitors about the structure, and apparently few concerns.) Bowen reports that he intentionally "keeps a low profile" to avoid compounding any friction with the park. In this setting, where the park has historically managed the landscape as a center of natural, rather than a cultural, resources, there is likely to still be cultural elements for some time to come.

Local Hiring

The process by which the NPS hires Isle au Haut rangers has continued to be an issue of considerable concern to Island residents. In the past, the park had the authority to hire locally and usually did so. As many interviewees note, the recruitment of rangers and other park staff from the Island helped facilitate considerable goodwill. Locally recruited rangers possess an understanding of the history and social conventions of the Island that are rare among outsiders, allowing these people to serve as effective intermediaries between the Island's small population and the NPS. This policy of local hiring also responded to a variety of practical concerns, such as housing; "the park has no housing available, so they basically have to hire someone from on the Island" (W. Barter 2000: 4). Residents were generally enthusiastic about this tradition within the park. However, in recent times, the park has not necessarily had the authorities to limit hires to a local labor pool. Island residents suggest that the hiring of rangers from the

larger nationwide labor pool has resulted in some modest friction with the community that sometimes complicates park-community relations more generally.

In this light, several interviewees stressed the importance of the park hiring rangers locally, and asked that the park continue working to secure the long-term authority for local hires. The rangers hired to these positions, they note, live in somewhat uniquely close juxtaposition with Island residents. If these people understand local conventions – both generally, and as they relate to the park's lands and resources – the relationship tends to work well. If individuals are brought to the Island without an appreciation of the place, seem aloof, or are perceived as inflexible or overzealous in enforcement, general community sentiment toward the park seems to be adversely affected. (The use of full NPS uniform and sidearm also stands out a bit incongruously in this little community, and sometimes draws negative comment.) As Belvia MacDonald notes, "We need rangers who have local ties and stick around…[who] adapt to the community mood" (BM).

So too, some interviewees noted that there is a need for the park to carry forward Isle au Haut rangers' institutional knowledge when new rangers are hired. They suggest that the people who are hired to the Isle au Haut station often arrive without much knowledge of prior relationships and institutional solutions that have fostered improved park-community relations over the years. The new rangers learn, but this often takes time and can create frictions in the interim. Some have suggested that rangers produce a notebook that is meant to convey some of this information between successive rangers when there are not opportunities for an extended verbal orientation. On a similar note, some interviewees also expressed regret that superintendents and other staff move around so much generally within the National Park Service, and at a pace that stands in stark contrast to Isle au Haut's multigenerational community; residents suggest that they build a relationship of mutual understanding with NPS leadership just in time for that person to move elsewhere, and must start building relationships again "from near zero." While no specific solutions were proposed, several interviewees noted the value of trying to somehow better "carry forward" institutional knowledge of Isle au Haut between successive park managers.

Communication

When asked to identify the one most important objective in park-community relations, many interviewees stressed the importance of communication. A number of interviewees suggest that communication was sometimes poor historically. As one interviewee notes,

> "you used to hear about activities affecting the Island 'through the grapevine'…we heard about things late in the process…usually after a decision was already made…and we would react" (BM).

This, some suggest, resulted in amplified community responses to certain park actions that would not have necessarily occurred in the context of earlier and more open communications. These interviewees note that some Island families are still distrustful of the park for reasons related to past communication challenges. The frequency of communication was said to have reached its peak during the negotiations involving Island representatives such as Fred Eustis and Jack MacDonald with the park. Still, some suggest that in years since, "there is very little communication between Acadia and Isle au Haut…this is their 'Achilles heel'" (BM).

Some interviewees also express the view that park management has often underestimated residents' intelligence and tenacity. Differences in education and class are said to have sometimes complicated relationships between past park staff and residents, as park staff without prior experience on the Island are sometimes said to treat residents "like yokels" (RB, BM). While frustrating for some residents, this also contributes to the desire to build lasting, meaningful rapport between residents and park staff, and to have local preferences in hiring: "people will cooperate if you meet them and treat them like an equal [with] respect and humility" (BM).

In spite of these observations, interviewees generally agree that there has been a significant improvement in communication in recent times: "there was such a bad feeling toward Acadia that I think it has kind of run over into now, but it seems like it is better lately" (BM). The park, they note, has been reaching out more to residents for their input, knowledge, and preferences relating to park management. Communication is generally more proactive, and increasingly residents have been consulted in advance of final decision-making by the park on matters affecting the Island – facts that are appreciated more than park staff may sometimes realize. Asked what park management might be told to succeed at Isle au Haut, one interviewee responded:

> "working with the community, the park could find solutions…We want to protect that Island as much as they do…It is sinful not to work together… the bottom line, really, is communication. That would solve a lot of problems. Communication! Even if [an issue] seems miniscule communication is important…communication should happen frequently and they should start communicating early in the process if the park is making decisions that affect the Island" (BM).

Admittedly, building rapport between any community and a large agency is not always easy. Even those residents who make impassioned calls for improved communication also recognize that the park has made some overtures that did not yield results; wintertime meetings with specific agendas might draw the core members of the community, for example, while more general or summertime meetings are sometimes poorly attended by locals. And there are matters of the content and timing of consultation – a number of residents indicate that they felt the park of today "wants to cooperate" but that it "doesn't know how [or when] to include us" (BM). To help shape those decisions, some interviewees suggest that it is important to have an Isle au Haut representative on the Acadia National Park Advisory Commission (and park staff consulted in this project agree that this is a priority). Such representation might help address a related concern, expressed by some residents and recent rangers alike, that visits from high-level park management tend to be brief and somewhat hasty by Isle au Haut standards. Indeed, at least one person suggested that a consultation model based on American Indian tribal consultation protocols might be warranted for the Island, in light of the longstanding and direct associations between Island families and particular lands and resources in NPS management.

Developing and Maintaining Cooperative Relationships

While relationships between the community of Isle au Haut and the National Park Service have sometimes been contentious, it is important to reiterate that, on a remarkable number of issues, residents share the concerns of park staff. Many Isle au Haut residents share with NPS staff a keen desire to preserve the landscape "unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations." Residents note signs of wear and tear on park trails in places such as Duck Harbor, for example, and many are eager to see erosion, vandalism or other damage to park lands corrected.[173] Sometimes they might hold NPS management responsible for these effects, but commonly they empathize with the challenges and objectives of park staff.

So too, a number of residents bemoan the huge quantities of trash and fishing debris that wash up on the south end of the Island. Some express support for the park's volunteer cleanup program (and at least one interview recommended that a paid seasonal position might be considered simply to clean the beaches). The park's buoy recovery program was also described as a minor success that helped both the park and the Island community meet shared goals. Through this program, visitors are encouraged to gather lobster traps and buoys that have washed ashore on the beaches of the park. Children who gather at least 10 buoys (including the author's two oldest children) and return them to the park headquarters are presented with an NPS pin and the ceremonious thanks of a park ranger. Gear that is in salvageable condition is then returned to its owners, if they can be identified on the Island. The program addresses the shared concern of litter on the beaches, while also making park visitors an asset of

sorts to the fishermen of the Island. However, only roughly 10% of the buoys found on the beaches are said to be from Isle au Haut fishermen; the remainder are from other fishing communities and in poor repair so often are relegated to the dump (DS).

If the NPS and Isle au Haut residents share mutual concerns about erosion and trash, there is also a great deal of community empathy with most park staff stationed on the Island generally. These park rangers are well-known and commonly accepted as part of the community, even if they did not originate there and sometimes stand out prominently in the social fabric of the community in their agency vehicles and uniforms. They are united in their shared isolation, hardships, celebrations, and society. While accounts vary, many interviewees asserted that they have had positive relationships with almost every park employee who they have met over the decades at Isle au Haut. Moreover, a remarkable number of the Island's residents, full time and seasonal, have had family members who have worked as park staff, seasonal or otherwise. Park employment in many cases has contributed to their incomes, education, and experiences in enduring ways.

The park sometimes has recognized that life on Isle au Haut has its own pace and its own customs, and that the character of the Isle au Haut rangers has the potential to affect the larger sweep of park-community relationships on the long term. Local people are sometimes hired not only because of the convenience, but because they make benign and effective intermediaries: "what they have done is hire local people to work for them" (BM). A number of people have moved in and out of NPS employment over the years, and some who first arrived to work for the park have chosen to stay on the Island or very nearby when they are no longer working for the park.

Not coincidentally, recent Isle au Haut rangers have suggested that park-community relations could be improved by all parties working to identify collaborative opportunities for park-community cooperation, as well as the park in particular continuing to develop local rapport and drawing from local knowledge. The park and the community might more fully and formally integrate the operations of NPS emergency management into the operations of the Isle au Haut fire department, they suggest. The NPS might provide educational outreach opportunities relating to the Island (perhaps through NPS interpretative staff) and improve communication with Island residents about opportunities for training, funding, and other collaborative ventures that would benefit the Island's fledgling historical society and other community organizations. Further documentation of the history, environment, and resources of this comparatively "forgotten" corner of the park is also needed, they suggest. Some suspicion of the park and its motives still persists in the community, some recent rangers note, and any silence on matters of policy do not ease these concerns. For the NPS, articulating the park's goals for Isle au Haut in the next General Management Plan might help to clearly codify past agreements between the park and community, while also reducing speculation in the community as to the park's future

motives. Speculation on park intentions is a perennial avocation among Isle au Haut residents, and communications from the park might help alleviate some of the more pressing community concerns.

Meanwhile, residents often praise Acadia National Park rangers for their unique contributions to the community. Park-community relations have been aided immeasurably when park staff have stepped in to use park resources in times of emergency, as during recent structural fires when NPS staff have aided in the response with trained rangers and the park fire truck. As Harold van Doren recalls,

> "Debra [Schrader, an NPS ranger] certainly saved the day a couple of years ago when this house over here burned. She brought in the pumper and portable water tank, and by golly, the town equipment wasn't functioning well, and she managed to get the park equipment there on the site and pumping water" (HV).

(It is clear that the NPS has helped in extinguishing past fires as well, at least one forest fire being extinguished in the late 1940s on private woodland [Eustis 1984: 7]). One interviewee praised how "they have given me firewood, pulled me out of ditches with their equipment" (JO). Some Isle au Haut rangers have been certified Emergency Medical Technicians (EMTs) as part of their professional training, and can provide support on a variety of emergencies – a rare and valuable commodity in such a very small and isolated community.[174] On such a small Island, all residents recognize that they are "in this together," and have no choice but to work side-by-side during difficult times; the park has become part of that community dynamic too, over the years. While such connections are hard to detect in the park's official record, they are a big part of what binds the community and the park together, fostering the rapport and interpersonal relationships that are a prerequisite for success when the park and community must engage one-another about management issues and other "official" business.

Interpretation

Interpretation on Isle au Haut has been relatively sparse compared with other parts of Acadia National Park, and this is not by accident. Residents often resisted interpretive opportunities in an effort to protect their privacy and to avoid the promotion of tourism on the Island. Park staff were often willing to let this lack of interpretation persist – a kind of 'benign neglect' developed in response to residents' concerns. Moreover, as park staff and Island residents noted, both park staff and park visitors have tended to view Isle au Haut's park lands as being largely devoid of cultural interest, but instead

as wild and natural areas, hinting at the landscapes of the pre-colonial past. As Deb Shrader noted,

> "if you're going to Gettysburg, you expect historical stuff, that's why you go there. It's not necessarily for the landscape. But if you're coming to the park [at Isle au Haut], it's for the landscape. You don't even think that, 'Oh, there's some historical-cultural significance to this land,'… the average person isn't into that" (DS).

When asked about interpretive matters, however, certain individuals expressed a sense that times had changed, and that the community may be interested in interpretive activities that was responsive to the mood and concerns of Isle au Haut residents. Explaining his thoughts on this slight shift, Harold van Doren noted,

> "I used to keep store down here back in the '60s and '70s, and there was a time when this Island was completely non-tourist oriented. We didn't even sell camera film in the store, you know? Now, things have shifted. With the advent of Linda Greenlaw's book… when Charlie Pratt wrote his book, why, we had an agreement that he wouldn't even mention the name Isle au Haut in it. So in that length of time between Charlie Pratt's book in 1974 and Linda's book in [2002], in that 28 years there's been a big shift in willingness to shield the Island from the public eye, I guess is what you'd say" (HV).

Similarly, when Bob Turner was asked whether there the community might be receptive to interpretation, he observed, "People used to oppose this, but a lot has changed…Linda Greenlaw's book, Pratt's book…it's all different" (BT).

In this light, some residents are comfortable with a modest amount of park interpretation, so long as the focus is principally on park lands and resources (as opposed to the larger Island) and helps to build an empathetic understanding for the history of the community. In turn, they suggest, this might help reduce the threat of vandalism in the park or disrespectful behavior anywhere on the Island. Those who advocate interpretation express the strong view that park staff would need to work with community residents in developing interpretive content. Residents' perspectives and stories might be a valuable source of content for such interpretation. Moreover, these individuals sometimes note that any interpretation of the Island would need to be developed so that it did not attract tourists to the Island who were not already destined to go there. On-site interpretation might be expanded at Isle au Haut, for example, but new interpretive displays on Mt. Desert Island would raise serious concerns about the prospect of elevating tourist numbers. Highly localized interpretation, such as local

presentations on fishing and fish houses, using Archie Hutchinson's popular cookstove as a mnemonic device for example, might yield more satisfactory results.

The community would benefit tremendously from park programs and events that bring value to residents, in place. The NPS has relatively vast resources, and many common interests with the community of Isle au Haut that could benefit the community in myriad ways. Interpretive programs that provide educational opportunities for the school were said to be something of great interest – on natural resources, cultural resources, or any number of other themes. Offering interpretive or curatorial training to local residents might aid in the preservation of historical documents and photos in support of the Island's fledgling historical society. Providing training and tools required to record fishing lore and local history would have similar effects. While NPS staff might benefit from entering into these associations judiciously, understanding the complexities of park-community history, it is quite likely that such collaborations would yield long-term benefits to the community of Isle au Haut and Acadia National Park alike.

Conclusions:
Living Together for Generations to Come

Rising somewhat higher than the islands in its vicinity, Isle au Haut is seldom seen at close range by most visitors to Acadia National Park. The island community would have it no other way. This little island is a unique place, with a rich history and fishing tradition that still lives on in spite of the odds, protected by community advocates and, in turn, by evolving park policy. There is a remarkable cohesion to the community of Isle au Haut, as well as remarkable cohesion to the shared oral traditions relating to this island. In spite of shifting economic fortunes, changing ownership of most of the Island's land base, and the arrival of successive waves of newcomers, the Island life in Isle au Haut has a continuity that has become rare in most parts of the United States. The families that arrived on the Island from other parts of New England over two centuries ago are still here; they continue to thrive, and it seems likely that members of these families will be on the Island for many more generations to come. Isle au Haut residents generally - and longstanding Island families in particular – arguably see this Island very differently than do visitors and park staff. For these families, the Island is a geographical locus of personal identities and family histories - a place that brought generations of ancestors a source of sustenance, income, and all the needs of daily life. There is continued pride in their shared and individual histories associated with this place. On lands now within the park, there are places of deep meaning to Island people.

On Isle au Haut, geography has been decisive. The Island's very remoteness protected it from some of the transformative impacts of the industrial age and gave residents a level of autonomy and access to natural resources that has often made residents the envy of mainlanders. And, for many, remoteness was part of the place's appeal. Even the summer people who first developed Point Lookout were drawn to the Island in part because of the Island's isolation, and worked to retain that isolation from the earliest periods of tourist development on the Island. Yet, as time progressed, this distance placed the small Island community at a disadvantage relative to booming mainland economies and the political and social forces rising in urban Maine and beyond. At each stage, Island residents have perceived that there were tremendous benefits and sometimes startling costs to living in this remote Island setting. One might say that these tradeoffs – the balance between the costs and benefits of Island living, and the alternatively privileged and disadvantaged position of Island residents relative to formidable outside interests – has always shaped Island life. These kinds of tradeoffs must have been readily apparent to the settlers of Isle au Haut from the day the first Barters stepped ashore on this Island in the late 18th century, just as such tradeoffs are echoed today in conversations shared over coffee at the Black Dinah Café, as residents discuss the Island's economic future and its relationship to the park.

The Island's park lands have been integral to this history, and have sometimes been a locus of change and conflict. In historical terms, it is perhaps fair to say that the residents of Isle au Haut have shared a generally declining sense of control over their own fate for more than a century, as their Island drew the attention of the Northeastern aristocracy, mainland fishermen, the National Park Service, and modern tourists in turn. There is a suggestion in some interviewees' comments that – here more than most places in the United States – outside interests have repeatedly reshaped the landscape while muting the influence of local people over land and resource use decisions. The sometimes awkward juxtaposition between the urban privilege of summer people with the pragmatism and austerity of their own, rural New England lifestyles has accentuated this point, even if the contrast between "insiders" and "outsiders" has lessened with time. So too, the fact that so much of the Island is owned by outsiders, makes these facts somewhat hard to ignore. Among Island families, one senses a persistent struggle to maintain autonomy and a reasonable degree of control over their own affairs.

In this light, it is fair to suggest that Island residents are uniquely attentive to the subtleties and changes in park management at Isle au Haut. Park business seems a perennial topic of informal community conversations, as even subtle changes in park maintenance practices or staffing are highly visible on this small Island and influence such a large proportion of it. Residents have a comprehension of park priorities that exceeds that found in many larger and more heterogeneous "gateway communities," as the NPS is such a major landowner and so influential within even small details of community life. The Island is not a typical gateway community, and will generally seek to run from, rather than toward, the allure of park-based tourism. Harold van Doren, with his usual philosophical manner, shares his insights on this phenomenon:

> "You frequently find…gateway communities, if you will, and peripheral communities springing up outside of the park, as concessionaires and that sort of thing. And you don't find that situation here…I'm not sure there's much interest in that, really. I think there's more interest here in… 'You do your thing and we do our thing.'…The most frequent problem I think we find out here is getting people to understand—on a state level or on a federal level, or whatever—that we're *different* out here. It's an Island, it has a different infrastructure in oh-so-many ways. And it's hard to get people to understand that a lot of times, you know? But maybe this is the start of a good way for the park to be able to understand that we are different, you know, through this sort of a study. That's what I would hope would come out, that there is an acknowledgment that yes, we are a different community. We aren't your traditional gateway community that needs concessioning and so forth. We have a different set of needs here, and a different set of interests" (HV).

Accordingly, the relationship between Isle and Haut and Acadia National Park has not always been an easy one, as the park and the community have tried to assess and correct the adverse effects of visitation, and there are issues that endure today. The potentials for fire loom large in community conversations. Concern about tourist numbers – and residents' desire for the diligent monitoring and restriction of those numbers – will probably persist into the distant future. And, among the issues most subtly rich in political ramifications may be the Robin Bowen inholding; admittedly, this is a small piece of land overseen by one man, but this small tract is also a symbolically charged foothold on Duck Harbor for a family network that includes many (and perhaps most) of the Island's longtime residents, as well as a vast constellation of off-Island families with deep roots on what are today park lands. Genealogical records make it clear that these families are descended from some of the earliest settlers of this harbor – most being descended not just one Duck Harbor family, but from almost all of the early families on that waterway. In the long view, it may be in the best interests of the NPS to consider somehow fostering a continuing and collaborative relationship with these families, and the Hamilton/Bowen inholding is sure to be part of that discussion.

Yet, these matters aside, the Acadia National Park experience at Isle au Haut provides an encouraging example of a case where challenging problems in park-community relations were significantly resolved by meaningful community intervention in the legislative and park planning process. The park and the Island community need only look at the successes in recent decades to see the value of regular communication and negotiated agreements on points of mutual interest. As Harold van Doren notes,

> "I feel that since we've gotten the agreements that we've made with the park, that the park has been a very good neighbor. They've kept up their end of the bargain, as far as I can see. They've controlled their visitation, they've looked after the campsites. Things are well-monitored, you know, the visitation is structured. We don't have people wandering up through town here and trying to make off with people's lobster traps like we did when it wasn't. And I think it's a good situation right now" (HV).

Though not without some initial friction, the community and the park identified mutual concerns, charted a mutually acceptable course, and made things right. This may not have always been an easy process, but it yielded tangible and lasting results that should protect the interests of the community and the park for some time to come. The effects of these negotiated decisions have been profound. Over the course of time, it may become increasingly clear that the actions of local organizers like Fred Eustis, Jack MacDonald and Bob Turner have left positive imprints on the landscape that warrant mention alongside the charitable accomplishments of Ernest Bowditch himself. Over

time, it will no doubt become increasingly clear too that there are profound advantages to having community leaders of their ilk speaking with the park regularly, sharing their thoughts and concerns proactively, and warding off future problems before they become especially big and menacing.

Residents and park staff alike recognize that there will continue to be many benefits to this kind of continued communication - open, frequent, involving people with some knowledge of the Island's history, and not strictly driven by the compliance needs of the park.[175] Even today, there is much talk in the community of the park being prepared to use eminent domain to acquire portions of the Island, from Mount Champlain to Head Harbor, to the Bowen family inholding on Duck Harbor. Regardless of the historical particulars, these perceptions still affect resident expectations and concerns regarding their relationship with the park. Continued efforts to bring finality and clarity to park intentions regarding these lands or the park's position on the potential exercise of eminent domain, for example, might aid relations with the community noticeably. To be sure, there will be needs for collaborative planning on matters such as the scale and character of visitor facilities for the foreseeable future. There are also ample opportunities for future collaboration. Some fishing families have impressive written records related to fishing areas, their catches, and other matters.[176] Local historians such as Harold van Doren and Fred Eustis have volumes' worth of knowledge to record, and residents such as Bill Stevens have a firsthand knowledge of early park activities on the Island that deserve more detailed recording. There may yet be opportunities for interpretive development that is significantly guided by local knowledge and local preferences about how, when, and where to share the Isle au Haut story with the outside world. As residents seek to support the small Island school, some interviewees suggest that the park might have access to educational resources that might help augment curriculum regarding such themes as maritime ecology, industries, and history that might both provide options for young people in Isle au Haut while drawing on the considerable local knowledge of its residents. The park has expertise in curation and archival skills, too, that would be of much use to the Island's historical society, and access to resources that might benefit organizations of this kind. There are many opportunities, and they may become apparent through open dialogue.

There are other tasks worth considering that might help the park to better protect what is left of the historical landscape within the park, and to share that information with Island families with ties to these lands. The park has tended to manage this part of the park principally as a "natural landscape," when it has been in many respects a "cultural landscape," occupied for generations by Island people, and still meaningful to them today. This challenge is common to many national parks, but also to many other conservation efforts in rural Maine, where there is both a natural richness and a historical depth that calls upon land managers to make difficult choices about which resources to prioritize. There are a number of examples in Maine where conservation efforts have been challenged by a fundamental tension between a desire to conserve the

natural environment and a desire to conserve the historically modified cultural landscapes (Judd 1988b). Clearly, the park lands of Isle au Haut are no exception. With this in mind, a cultural landscape study might be considered, focusing especially on Duck Harbor, but also other parts of the park that have long been occupied, so that the details of historical settlement might be better understood. The park has at various times proposed an effort to document historical features such as cellars on park lands in the field using GPS units; such an effort has not yet been thoroughly undertaken and might yield considerable data that would assist the park in resource management while also providing welcome details to Island residents about the histories of formerly settled parts of the Island. Additional historical research might also be considered to support the interests of park resource managers and community members alike. One can only accomplish so much in a report of this scope, and so many interesting and promising topics of value for resource management and interpretation have been given only cursory treatment. A number of these sources and themes might call for further investigation. Certainly, there is potential for a more detailed investigation of local fishermen's geographical and ecological knowledge, which is only briefly touched upon here. There is still significant knowledge regarding the whereabouts and significance of different underwater features, changes in fish presence, and other environmental sites and processes. Interviewees for the current study also made a variety of observations about broader environmental changes that were only addressed tangentially in the current report. Yet, with changes in commercial fishing, coupled with almost universal reliance on electronic equipment in the modern fishing industry, this type of knowledge is in rapid decline throughout the region. This is a rich topic, and potentially of broad interest to the Isle au Haut community. There are also a number of paintings and other artwork that feature Isle au Haut's park lands, by both amateur and professional artists, spanning over a century and a half of history. These works of art are revealing of early life on Isle au Haut, though none were included in this report because of uncertainties regarding permissions. A systematic effort to identify and obtain copies of these paintings would be of interest to the community and to NPS interpreters alike. The impressive personal archival collections of certain Isle au Haut families also deserves more attention for references they may contain to places now in the park.

The Island continues to change, and sometimes struggles to maintain the most basic elements of community life – schools, medical care, the ability to simply be born and die on the Island like generations of ancestors beforehand. What Pratt observed in the early 1970s is still true today:

> "More than anywhere else, the seat of the Island's soul is its year-round community… and the basic problem is the threat to its survival. This has been the basic problem for many years now as the population has diminished from its peak early in the [20th] century" (Pratt 1974: 173).

In many ways, and for many generations, Island families have sought to preserve those aspects of life that have made Isle au Haut so unique, the "stabilization of its present condition" as Pratt (1974: 173) put it. The park has sometimes undermined that stability - yet, in some ways, if approached with due diligence, the park might help maintain that stability too. In spite of these struggles, Isle au Haut's residents seem to be in agreement that the Island is deeply important to them, and eminently worth the challenges of island living. As Harold van Doren observes,

> "Maurice Barter had fallen into saying that Isle au Haut wasn't like it used to be anymore and he was some glad to be out of there…But, I also hear myself answering that although it's different, it is still interesting and beautiful, and I'm some glad to be here, even if nobody's home now in the little house up the road" (van Doren 2006: 157).

Gordon Bok (1970) seemed to be expressing the same basic sentiments when he wrote the widely-known folk tune, *The Hills of Isle au Haut*:

"Now the winters drive you crazy,
And the fishin's hard and slow,
You're a damn fool if you stay,
But there's no better place to go."

Though the community has been in transition for many years, many Isle au Haut families hold resolutely onto their island home and their island heritage. In all probability, there will be Hamiltons, Barters, Turners, and other multigenerational families living on Isle au Haut for at least another two centuries into the future, living side-by-side with the park. It seems essential that the community and the park might continue to maintain a positive, enduring and collaborative relationship in the intervening years. With continued communication, collaborative planning, and the development of agreements as necessary, the park and the community of Isle au Haut may continue to coexist on this small Island in a manner will insure the stability and survival of both parties into that shared and distant future.

Acknowledgements

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The staff of local museums also provided critical support. The staff of the Deer Island-Stonington Historical Staff, including Connie Wiberg, was very helpful in recovering records relating to Isle au Haut. Lisa Turner and others provided welcome access to Town of Isle au Haut historical records.

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Sources

Interviewees

Interviewees Quoted in the Text

Billy Barter
Dianne Barter
Wayne Barter
John Blaisdell
Charlie Bowen
Robin Bowen
Jeff Burke
Sherwood Carr
Fred Eustis*
Kathy Fiveash
Paula Greatorex
James Greenlaw
Tom Guglielmo
Ted Hoskins
Belvia MacDonald
Deb Schrader
Steve Shafer
Bill Stevens
Bob Turner
Harold van Doren
Jim Wilson
Sharen Wilson

* Interviewed principally by Dr. Chuck Smythe, NPS, with responses primarily submitted in writing.

Informal Interviewees and Other Helpful Isle au Haut residents

The following individuals provided information and perspectives that contributed significantly to the current report, but did not participate in formal interviews.

Josh Bennoch
Peter Burke
Brenda Clark
Dottie Dodge
Kate Gerteis
Albert Gordon
Martha Greenlaw
Virginia MacDonald

Ellard Taylor
Lisa Turner
Ruth van Doren
Grady Watts

Interviewee Codes

BB	-	Billy Barter
BM	-	Belvia MacDonald
BS	-	Bill Stevens
BT	-	Bob Turner
CB	-	Charlie Bowen
DB	-	Dianne Barter
DS	-	Deb Schrader
HV	-	Harold van Doren
JB	-	Jeff Burke
JG	-	James Greenlaw
JO	-	John Blaisdell
JW	-	Jim Wilson
KF	-	Kathy Fiveash
PG	-	Paula Greatorex
RB	-	Robin Bowen
SC	-	Sherwood Carr
SS	-	Steve Shafer
SW	-	Sharen Wilson
TG	-	Tom Guglielmo
TH	-	Ted Hoskins
WB	-	Wayne Barter

AN - Anonymous – used in those cases where interviewees have provided permission for quotations without direct attribution, or to otherwise protect the privacy of interviewees who may have provided potentially sensitive information in the course of formal interviews.

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Appendix:

Census Data for Isle a Haut, 1850-1930

Occupational Data by Household, Isle au Haut Census, 1870

HH=household # in HH = Household members in addition to head of HH

HH No.	Last Name	First Name	Head of HH	# in HH	Occupation/Industry
603		Violet	No		Domestic servant
626	Alexander	Avis	No		Domestic servant
575	Allen	Franklin	No		Fisherman
575	Allen	Henry	No		Fisherman
575	Allen	Samuel	Yes	6	Fisherman
575	Allen	Stephen	No		Fisherman
576	Allen	George	Yes	3	Fisherman
610	Appleton	William D.	Yes	1	Fisherman
589	Barber	Orin	No		Fisherman
589	Barber	Oscar	No		Fisherman
586	Barter	Stephen	Yes	4	Fisherman
587	Barter	Mary	Yes	2	Housekeeper
589	Barter	Levi	Yes	7	Fisherman
593	Barter	John	Yes	3	Fisherman
620	Barter	James D.	Yes	5	Fisherman
620	Barter	John E.	No		Fisherman
630	Barter	Albert	No		Seaman
630	Barter	Lydia	No		Lobster factory
630	Barter	Stephen B.	Yes	4	Fisherman
632	Barter	Amos	Yes	10	Fisherman
632	Barter	George	Yes		Fisherman
632	Barter	Samuel	Yes		Fisherman
634	Barter	Henry	Yes	9	Laborer
634	Barter	Wilbert	No		Fisherman
619	Billows	Benjamin	Yes	5	Fisherman
618	Brown	Stephen	Yes	1	None
625	Carlton	Daniel	Yes	5	Book agent
625	Carlton	David	No		Lobster factory
628	Carlton	Davis	Yes	4	Lobster factory
612	Chapin	Edwin	Yes	5	Fisherman
612	Chapin	Frederick	No		Fisherman
612	Chapin	George	No		Fisherman
612	Chapin	Sebeus	No		Fisherman
617	Chapin	Charles	Yes	4	Fisherman
580	Childs	James	Yes	6	Farmer
600	Colby	Mary	No		Housekeeper
600	Colby	Seth	Yes	5	Farmer
599	Conley	David	No		Fisherman
599	Conley	James	No		Fisherman

599	Conley	Lizzie	No		School teacher
599	Conley	Pattrick	Yes	10	Fisherman
599	Conley	William	No		Fisherman
594	Coombs	Francis	Yes	9	Farmer
638	Coombs	George N.	Yes	4	Fisherman
602	Davis	Grant	Yes	4	Fisherman
623	Done	John	Yes	4	Fisherman
584	Eaton	Samuel	Yes	5	Fisherman
598	Eaton	Ellwell	No		Fisherman
598	Eaton	Isaac	Yes	6	Fisherman
608	Eaton	Davis	No		Fisherman
577	Emerton	Daniel	Yes	1	Teamster
629	Gilbert	Hannah	No		Domestic servant
635	Gilbert	Courtney	Yes		Fisherman
635	Gilbert	Daniel	Yes	6	None
603	Grant	Elisha	Yes	3	Huckster merchant
616	Gross	John	Yes	3	Teamster
625	Hallowel	Jonas	No		Minister
607	Hamilton	Solomon	Yes	6	Fisherman
608	Hamilton	Solomon	Yes	2	Farmer
621	Hamilton	Abel	Yes	5	Fisherman
583	Harvey	Benjamin	Yes	6	Fisherman
585	Harvey	William	Yes	6	Fisherman
578	Holden	Samuel	Yes	3	Lighthouse Keeper
582	Hutchinson	Alonso	Yes	3	Fisherman
583	Hutchinson	Ellen	No		Housekeeper
583	Hutchinson	Tim	No		Seaman
611	Kelley	George	Yes	3	Fisherman
622	Kempton	Hannah	Yes	1	None
633	Lewis	George G.	Yes	1	Lobster factory
604	Merchant	Nathaniel	Yes	2	Fisherman
615	Merchant	John	Yes	6	Fisherman
616	Merchant	Marquette	No		Housekeeper
579	Montieth	Alexander	Yes	3	Seaman
605	Morse	Adam	Yes	2	Fisherman
606	Morse	James	Yes	2	Fisherman
633	Names of 24 boarders	"Geo. Lewis House"	No	24	Lobster factory
594	Pellett	John	No		Seaman
601	Phinney	John	No		Farmer
597	Rich	Charles	No		Fisherman
597	Rich	Edwin	No		Fisherman
597	Rich	Stilman	Yes	11	Farmer

626	Rich	Mary	Yes	2	None
627	Rich	Alfred	Yes	3	Fisherman
609	Richards	Thomas	Yes	8	Fisherman
588	Robbins	Hiram	Yes	3	Fisherman
636	Robbinson	James	Yes	4	Lobster factory
613	Robinson	William	Yes	4	Fisherman
614	Robinson	Alphonso	No		Fisherman
614	Robinson	Charles	No		Fisherman
614	Robinson	Rufus	No		Fisherman
614	Robinson	Spencer	Yes	6	Fisherman
590	Shoals	Nathaniel	Yes	5	Seaman
637	Simpson	Sylvester	Yes	3	Lobster factory
596	Small	Albert	No		Fisherman
596	Small	Frederick	No		Fisherman
596	Small	Hiram	Yes	7	Fisherman
596	Small	Ines	No		Housekeeper
601	Smith	George	Yes	5	Farmer
581	Thomas	Lyman	No		Seaman
581	Thomas	Pelev	Yes	6	Seaman
591	Turner	James	Yes	5	Huckster merchant
591	Turner	Wallace W.	No		Seaman
592	Turner	Ezra	Yes	4	Seaman
624	Turner	Frederick	No		Fisherman
624	Turner	James	Yes	4	Carpenter
629	Turner	Ezra	Yes	4	Boarding house
631	Turner	John	Yes	6	None
595	Walsh	James	Yes	7	Fisherman
589	Zerlang	Charles	No		Fisherman
63 HOUSEHOLDS				**316 RESIDENTS**	

Occupational Data by Household, Isle au Haut Census, 1880

HH=household # in HH = HH members in addition to head of HH

HH No.	Last Name	First Name	Head of HH	# in HH	Occupation/Industry
1	Barter	J.D.	Yes	4	Merchant
2	Barter	Amos	Yes	8	Lobster fisherman
2	Barter	Charles	No		Fisherman
2	Barter	John	No		Fisherman
2	Barter	William	No		Fisherman
29	Barter	John	Yes	3	Farmer & fisherman
30	Barter	Joshua	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
41	Barter	William	Yes	3	Fisherman

42	Barter	George	No		Fisherman
42	Barter	Henry	Yes	12	Fisherman
42	Barter	Paul	No		Fisherman
46	Barter	John	Yes	3	Fisherman
48	Barter	Albert	Yes		Fisherman
48	Barter	Elmer	Yes		Fisherman
48	Barter	Stephen	Yes	3	Fisherman
49	Barter	Edgar	No		Seaman
49	Barter	Noah	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
23	Bennett	Chester	No		Servant/laborer
10	Bowden	Sarah	No		Dressmaking
19	Bremerton	J.	Yes	1	Farm superintendent
6	Chapin	Edwin	Yes	2	Farmer
38	Chapin	Charlie	Yes	8	Lobster fisherman
45	Chapin	George	Yes	3	Fisherman
20	Clark	Charles	No		Farm laborer
20	Clark	George	No		Farm laborer
17	Cook	John	Yes	2	Fisherman
18	Cook	David	Yes	3	Fisherman
13	Coombs	Theodore	No		Stonecutter
28	Coombs	Francis	Yes	3	Farmer & fisherman
35	Coombs	Francis	Yes	3	Sea captain
40	Coombs	Charles	No		Fisherman
40	Coombs	George	Yes	5	Fisherman
40	Coombs	James	No		Fisherman
20	Dow	Percival	Yes	5	Farm gardener
22	Eaton	Nellie	No		Housekeeper
27	Eaton	Joseph	Yes	2	Fisherman
13	Freathey	James	No		Fisherman
34	Freathey	Reuben	No		Fisherman
14	Grant	David	Yes	6	Fisherman
22	Gross	George	No		Lobster fisherman
22	Gross	William	No		Seaman
3	Hamilton	Abel	Yes	8	Seaman
4	Hamilton	Chester	No		Fisherman
11	Hamilton	Soloman	Yes	1	Fisherman
12	Hamilton	Soloman	Yes	10	Fisherman
28	Hamilton	Julia	No		Servant
8	Harry	William	Yes	4	Lobster fisherman
9	Hutchinson	Alfonso	Yes	3	Lobster fisherman
23	Merchant	Nathaniel	No		Fisherman
21	Page	Byron	No		Farm laborer
21	Page	Noah	Yes	5	Farm laborer

21	Page	Winnie	No		Laborer
47	Pettee	Alfred	No		Fisherman
47	Pettee	Asa	Yes	8	Fisherman
47	Pettee	Edroin	No		Seaman
47	Pettee	George	No		Fisherman
25	Rich	Charles	No		Fisherman
25	Rich	George	No		Fisherman
25	Rich	John	No		Fisherman
25	Rich	Stillman	Yes	8	Fisherman
26	Rich	Edwin	Yes	3	Fisherman
4	Robinson	Saura	No		Tailor
4	Robinson	William	Yes	5	Fisherman
5	Robinson	Alfonso	No		Fisherman
5	Robinson	Charles	No		Farmer & fisherman
5	Robinson	Spencer	Yes	4	Farmer & fisherman
37	Robinson	Hannah	No		Tailor
37	Robinson	James	Yes	4	Fisherman
42	Robinson	Rufus	No		Fisherman
10	Sawyer	Joshua	Yes	3	Lobster fisherman
36	Simpson	Sylvester	Yes	3	Sea pilot
24	Small	Albert	Yes	5	Lobster fisherman
24	Small	Charles	No		Lobster fisherman
15	Smith	George	Yes	4	Farmer & fisherman
31	Staples	Ben	Yes	6	Fisherman
31	Staples	Charles	No		Lobster fisherman
16	Thomas	Henry	Yes	5	Fisherman
16	Thomas	James	No		Fisherman
23	Turner	Ezra	Yes	10	Seaman
32	Turner	Asa	No		Seaman
32	Turner	James	Yes	4	Farmer
33	Turner	William	Yes	3	Seaman
34	Turner	Addie	No		Dressmaking
34	Turner	Isaih	Yes	4	Fisherman
39	Turner	A.J.	No		Blacksmith
39	Turner	Clarence	No		Boatbuilder
39	Turner	John	No		Photographer/artist
39	Turner	John	Yes	9	Merchant, retired
39	Turner	William	No		Merchant
43	Turner	Ezra	Yes	3	Sea captain, retired
44	Turner	John	Yes	3	Merchant, retired (double counted)
50	Turner	James	Yes	1	Sea captain
13	Welch	Alfred	No		Fisherman

13	Welch	George	No		Fisherman
13	Welch	James	Yes	12	Fisherman
13	Welch	John	No		Fisherman
50 HOUSEHOLDS				**231 RESIDENTS**	

1890 Maine census records destroyed in fire

Occupational Data by Household, Isle au Haut Census, 1900

HH=household # in HH = HH members in addition to head of HH

HH No.	Last Name	First Name	Head of HH	# in HH	Occupation/Industry
7	Barter	Tilden	Yes	3	Fisherman
13	Barter	John K.	Yes	3	Fisherman
15	Barter	James	Yes	3	Merchant
31	Bennett	William	No		Fisherman
5	Bridges	Samuel	Yes	6	Farm laborer
12	Brooks	Arthur	Yes	2	Clergyman
22	Cain	Yetto [Yatts]	Yes	6	Seaman
33	Canning	James	Yes	1	Fisherman
3	Chapin	Jasper	Yes	2	Mail carrier
41	Childs	Elizabeth	Yes	2	Housekeeper
21	Clough	Elizabeth	Yes	3	Housekeeper
14	Collins	John	Yes	4	Day laborer
4	Conary	Levi	Yes	2	Seaman
38	Conley	James	Yes	6	Fisherman
39	Conley	Davis	Yes	1	Fisherman
6	Coombs	Herman	No		Fisherman
6	Coombs	Leona	No		Table work
21	Drew	Belle	No		Dressmaker
40	Dyer	James	No		Fisherman
21	Fox	Annie	No		Servant
35	Grant	David	Yes	3	Merchant
35	Grant	Gooden	No		Fisherman
37	Grant	Ulysses	Yes	2	Fisherman
27	Gross	Frank	No		Fisherman
36	Gross	Williard	Yes	5	Fisherman
10	Hamilton	Beatrice	No		Servant
16	Hamilton	Abel	Yes	1	Fisherman
19	Hamilton	Charles	No		Fisherman
19	Hamilton	James	No		Fisherman

19	Hamilton	Solomon	Yes	4	Fisherman
45	Hamilton	Lizzie	No		Servant
20	Hanson	Alexander	No		Farm laborer
5	Holland	M.	No		Servant
42	Holland	Mathias	Yes	5	Fisherman
44	Holland	James	Yes	1	Fisherman
2	Hopkins	Ethel	No		Servant
8	Hopkins	Ralph	No		Fisherman
30	Hopkins	Frank	Yes	4	Fisherman
32	Hopkins	Asa	Yes	5	Farmer
32	Hopkins	George	No		Fisherman
32	Hopkins	Justus	No		Fisherman
35	Keller	Sarah	No		Housekeeper
46	Kenny	Margaret	No		Servant
31	Mank	Lewis	Yes	3	Fisherman
15	Montieth	Abbie	No		Servant
23	Moore	Hezikiah	Yes	1	Fisherman
43	Parker	Charles	Yes	4	Fisherman
11	Pettee	Alfred	Yes	5	Seaman
20	Phinney	Prentess	No		Teamster
20	Phinney	Sylvester	Yes	5	Farmer
9	Prescott	Walter	Yes	7	Day laborer
25	Rich	Albert	No		Fisherman
25	Rich	Edwin	Yes	12	Fisherman
25	Rich	Samuel	No		Fisherman
25	Rich	William	No		Fisherman
26	Rich	Charles	Yes	5	Fisherman
27	Rich	George	Yes	4	Fisherman
49	Robertson	Hannah	Yes	2	Tailor
17	Robinson	Alfonso	Yes	4	Fisherman
18	Robinson	Charles	Yes	4	Fisherman
24	Small	Albert	Yes	4	Fisherman
45	Smith	Benjamin	Yes	4	Farmer
47	Thomas	Ellsworth	Yes	2	Fisherman
48	Thomas	James	Yes	3	Fisherman
1	Turner	A.J.H	No		Blacksmith
1	Turner	Hattie	No		School teacher
1	Turner	John	Yes	6	Carpenter
1	Turner	Mae G.	No		Servant
2	Turner	Clarence	Yes	4	Carpenter
28	Turner	Bessie	No		Housekeeper
28	Turner	Charles	No		Fisherman
28	Turner	Sarah	No		Housekeeper

29	Turner	George	Yes	2	Fisherman
49 HOUSEHOLDS				**182 RESIDENTS**	

Occupational Data by Household, Isle au Haut Census, 1910

HH=household # in HH = HH members in addition to head of HH

HH No.	Last Name	First Name	Head of HH	# in HH	Occupation/Industry
2	Coombs	Albert	No		Sailor, yachting
2	Coombs	Roy	No		Lobster fisherman
2	Coombs	Willis	No		Carpenter, house
3	Barter		Yes	4	Lobster fisherman
3	Barter	Joshua	No		Lobster fisherman
12	Barter		No		Laborer
12	Barter	John	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
19	Barton	Alonso	Yes	6	Lobster fisherman
33	Bennett	William	No		Lobster fisherman
13	Bowen	Charles	Yes	5	Lobster fisherman
6	Bridges	Sam	Yes	6	Farmer
7	Chapin	Jasper	Yes	6	Mail carrier
38	Chase	Henry	No		Lobster fisherman
23	Collins	James	No		Blacksmith, apprentice
23	Collins	John	Yes	4	Lobster fisherman
34	Conley	James	Yes	3	Lobster fisherman
35	Conley	Davis	Yes	1	Lobster fisherman
32	Coombs	George	Yes	3	Lobster fisherman
30	Dodge	Charles	No		Lobster fisherman
30	Dodge	Donald	No		Lobster fisherman
30	Dodge	James	Yes	8	Laborer
30	Dodge	Janice	No		Musician, at home
14	Dyer	James	Yes	5	Gardener
42	Grant	David	Yes	1	Lobster fisherman
43	Grant	Gooden	No		Lobster fisherman
43	Grant	Ulysses	Yes	5	Lobster fisherman
1	Gray		Yes	4	Lobster fisherman
43	Gray	Evelyn	No		Servant
36	Greenlaw	Fred	Yes	1	Lobster fisherman
4	Gross	[Willard?]	Yes	5	Lobster fisherman
21	Hamilton	James	Yes	4	Lobster fisherman
22	Hamilton	[Solomon ?]	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
18	Heald	Daniel	Yes	2	Farmer, dairy
17	Holbrook	Elmer	Yes	5	Lighthouse keeper
17	Holbrook	Sam	No		Lobster fisherman
4	Holland	James	No		Lobster fisherman

4	Holland	Mathias	No		Farmer
11	Hopkins	George	Yes	2	Teamster
45	Hopkins	Asa?	Yes	3	Farmer
46	Hopkins	Earl	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
37	Jacobson	Peter	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
41	Lemming	James	Yes	1	Lobster fisherman
8	Leufkin	Edwin	Yes	3	Laborer
31	Mank		Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
33	Mank	Lewis	Yes	5	Lobster fisherman
24	Rich	Albert	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
25	Rich	Edwin	Yes	10	Lobster fisherman
25	Rich	Lewis	No		Lobster fisherman
25	Rich	Sam	No		Lobster fisherman
26	Rich	William	Yes	3	Lobster fisherman
5	Robinson	Hannah	Yes	2	Dressmaker, at home
15	Robinson	Alphonso	Yes	4	Lobster fisherman
16	Robinson	Charles	Yes	4	Lobster fisherman
8	Rogers	George	No		Laborer
27	Small	Albert	No		Lobster fisherman
27	Small	Pearl	No		Lobster fisherman
20	Smith	Ben	Yes	2	Farmer
39	Thomas	Ellsworth	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
40	Thomas	Elmer	No		Lobster fisherman
40	Thomas	James	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
9	Turner	Clarence	Yes	3	Carpenter, house
9	Turner	Fannie	No		Assistant postmaster
9	Turner	Lewis	No		Merchant, groceries
10	Turner	Haskell	No		Blacksmith
10	Turner	Hattie	No		Store clerk
10	Turner	John	Yes	5	Photographer, in shop
10	Turner	Margery	No		School teacher
28	Turner	George	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
29	Turner	Charles	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
46 HOUSEHOLDS				**160 RESIDENTS**	

Occupational Data by Household, Isle au Haut Census, 1920

HH=household # in HH = HH members in addition to head of HH

HH No.	Last Name	First Name	Head of HH	# in HH	Occupation/Industry
9	Barter	John	Yes	1	Merchant, groceries
1	Bridges	Hattie	No		Storekeeper, confectionary
1	Bridges	Sam	Yes	5	Teamster, general farm

1	Bridges	Stephen	No		Fisherman, fishing boat
5	Chapin	Jasper	Yes	4	Lobster fisherman
3	Combs	Grover	Yes	5	Lobster fisherman
1	Conary	Levy	No		Boatman, private boat
24	Conley	James	Yes	2	Manager, fish?
25	Conley	Davis	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
2	Cousins	Fred	Yes	2	Machinist, machine shop
26	Dodge	James	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
8	Dodge	Charlie	No		Lobster fisherman
8	Dyer	James	Yes	4	Gardener, private families
32	Grant	Gooden	Yes	3	Lobster fisherman
33	Grant	Ulysses	Yes	3	Lobster fisherman
31	Gross	Rosco	Yes	4	Lobster fisherman
4	Hamilton	Charles	Yes	2	Mail carrier, mail boat
16	Holbrook	Elmer	Yes	2	Lighthouse keeper
28	Mank	Lewis	Yes	3	Farmer, general
27	Mitchell	Joseph	Yes	7	Lobster fisherman
33	Nevetter	Hollin	No		Lobster fisherman
17	Rich	William	Yes	5	Lobster fisherman
18	Rich	Albert	Yes	3	Lobster fisherman
19	Rich	Ana	No		Housekeeper, private families
19	Rich	Edwin	Yes	9	Lobster fisherman
19	Rich	Elizabeth	No		Assistant postmaster
19	Rich	Floyd	No		Electrician, Light & Power Co.
19	Rich	John	No		Weaver, woolen mill
19	Rich	Sam	No		Second mate, steam ship
19	Rich	Walter	No		Lobster fisherman
20	Rich	Lew	Yes	3	Lobster fisherman
11	Robinson	Willie	Yes	4	Lobster fisherman
14	Robinson	Charles	Yes	4	Lobster fisherman
14	Robinson	Everett	No		Engineer, boat
14	Robinson	Mattie	No		School teacher
13	Rogers	Addie	No		School teacher, elementary
13	Rogers	Owen	Yes	2	Carpenter, general
21	Small	Albert	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
10	Smith	Ben	Yes	1	Farmer, general
34	Stinson	Sydney	Yes	2	Farmer, general
29	Thomas	Ellsworth	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
30	Thomas	James	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
22	Turner	George	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
23	Turner	Charles	Yes	4	Lobster fisherman
6	Turner	Clarence	Yes	1	Contractor, house
7	Turner	John	Yes	3	Photographer, in shop

7	Turner	Mirium	No	School teacher, junior high
34 HOUSEHOLDS			**102 RESIDENTS**	

Occupational Data by Household, Isle au Haut Census, 1930

HH=household # in HH = HH members in addition to head of HH

HH No.	Last Name	First Name	Head of HH	# in HH	Occupation/Industry
12	Barter	Clara	Yes	6	None
12	Barter	Irville	No		Laborer, truck driver
19	Barter	John	Yes	1	Merchant, retail
24	Baston	Alonso	Yes	1	Lobster fisherman
13	Bridges	Hattie	Yes	3	Boarding house
13	Bridges	Stephen	No		Lobster fisherman
25	Chapin	Ralph	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
15	Chapin	Carol	Yes	3	Lobster fisherman
16	Chapin	Jasper	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
28	Conley	James	Yes	2	Merchant, retail
11	Coombs	Evelyn	No		School teacher
11	Coombs	George	Yes	6	Lobster fisherman
26	Cousins	Fred	Yes	3	Lobster fisherman
21	Dodge	Stanley	Yes	4	Mail carrier
21	Dyer	James	No		Lobster fisherman
7	Grant	Gooden	Yes	3	Lobster fisherman
8	Grant	Ulysses	Yes	3	Lobster fisherman
9	Grove	Ralph	Yes	1	Lobster fisherman
12	Jameson	Gardner	No		Laborer
13	Johnson	John	No		Lobster fisherman
17	Lufkin	Elmer	Yes	2	Caretaker, Look Out Club
20	MacDonald	Edith	Yes	2	None
20	MacDonald	Forest	No		Lobster fisherman
27	MacDonald	Ben	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
8	Newells	Hollis	No		Lobster fisherman
1	Rich	Sam	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
18	Rich	Elizabeth	Yes	1	Postmistress
2	Rich	Edwin	Yes	3	Retired
2	Rich	Walter	No		Lobster fisherman
3	Rich	Lew	Yes	3	Lobster fisherman
4	Rich	Albert	Yes	3	Lobster fisherman
6	Rich	Rosamund	No		School teacher
6	Rich	William	Yes	4	Lobster fisherman
22	Robinson	William	Yes	4	Lobster fisherman
23	Robinson	Charles	Yes	3	Lobster fisherman
5	Small	Albert	No		Lobster fisherman

5	Small	Inez	Yes	2	None
	Smith	Elliot	No		Deckhand
	Smith	Roland	No		Deckhand
29?	Smith	Harry	Yes	12	Lighthouse keeper
10	Thomas	Ellsworth	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
14	Turner	George	Yes	2	Lobster fisherman
17B	Turner	Lewis	Yes	2	Mechanic engine & cars
30 HOUSEHOLDS				**89 RESIDENTS**	

Notes

[1] As Linda Greenlaw notes of Isle au Haut, "We currently have forty-seven full-time residents, half of whom I am related to in one way or another. (Family trees in small-town Maine are often painted in the abstract. The Greenlaws' genealogy is best described in a phase I have heard others use: 'the family wreath.')" (Greenlaw 2002: 3).

[2] Linda Greenlaw is among those authors whose works have shined very public light on Isle au Haut, especially through her book *The Lobster Chronicles*. As she suggests in that book,

> "Friends fear the exploitation of our Island, and worry that any mention of its name will result in increased traffic to our precious and quiet rock. However, many travel articles in magazines and newspapers (not to mention television features) have run over the years, all touting the wonders of various aspects of life and events on Isle au Haut, and all this attention has thankfully failed to transform us into the dreaded Coney Island" (Greenlaw 2002: 2).

In the early 1970s, the community was said to have descended on author Charlie Pratt "like an angry god" to demand that he keep the Island's name and exact whereabouts anonymous in his book, *Here on the Island*; "he wasn't happy, but listened and eventually responded to us," never mentioning the Island's name in an otherwise quite detailed account of its residents and their shared history (BM).

[3] Burke (1997) provides numerous anecdotal, mostly humorous accounts of recreational visitors to Isle au Haut, along with historical information about the Robinson Point area and lighthouse. Van Doren, a local historian among other roles, shares anecdotes that reveal subtle nuances of Island life within their larger historical and social context.

[4] Linda Greenlaw has attempted some of the most condensed and colorful accounts of the sweep of Isle au Haut history. In *The Lobster Chronicles*, she compares the Island's history to the glacial geology that shaped its terrain:

> "In my very forced mental analogy, the ice age that shaped the population had several similar features. A wealthy summer colony emerged around what began as an exclusive bachelors' club, bringing with it regular ferry service to the mainland. The invention of the gasoline engine meant fishermen didn't need to live closer to their grounds, so many moved inland, off-Island. In the early 1900s, high school education became mandatory, forcing families with teenaged children to leave the Island for

> Deer Isle, where the nearest high school was located. In 1944, the secretary of the interior accepted, on behalf of the federal government, a gift of nearly 50 percent of the Island, which became Acadia National Park. This conglomerate of glacial activity certainly left the bedrock 'sharp and craggy.'
>
> "In my mind, the Island's most interesting features is the prominence of 'glacial erratics,' or 'boulders laid down willy-nilly as the glacier melts.' There is a certain percentage of the Island's population that I would consider simply deposited here or left behind" (Greenlaw 2002: 158).

[5] They even share occupations sometimes. For example, Harold van Doren, Debra Schrader, and Lisa Turner have all been in charge of the Isle au Haut store at different times (Dice n.d.: 13).

[6] Writing in 1885, Bates noted,

> "The harbor is named from a hunting memorable in the annals of the place, when, some half a century ago, the inhabitants took advantage of the moulting season which rendered the sea-ducks incapable of flight, and surrounding large flocks of the unlucky birds with boats, herded them like sheep into this cove, there to slaughter them at leisure. Great stories are told of the number of ducks secured, and, if the half be true, the souls of the Isle au Haut good-wives must have come to loathe the sight of a sea-duck as the wayward Israelites loathed the overabundant quails in the Wilderness" (Bates 1885: 652).

[7] Such practices are mentioned parenthetically in various local works, such as Caldwell (1981: 188): "In the 1930s and 1940s a few Indians still came to the Island from their mainland reservations to gather sweetgrass for basket-making."

The works of William Haviland, such as his 2009 book, *At the Place of the Lobsters and Crabs*, places this enduring pattern of use within a larger regional and historical context (Haviland 2009).

[8] Charlie Bowen was one of the fishermen who discuss the use of such landmarks to navigate his way to safety during major storms:

> "And Trial Point [adjacent to the Seal Trap, just north of Moore's Harbor]…I came up through there in a hurricane once. I come out Head

> Harbor and I was supposed to meet the wife and her grandmother. And the wind was off northeast. I thought, 'Great, I'll go up the Western way. I'll be on the lee.' I just had my boat docked, just took it out, it had no engine in it. And I had her all painted up inside and out…Well, I came out through here, and then I came around the Western Ear. And it was too late. Those seas were coming in just like chop. They were coming in so close I couldn't turn her around so we had to just keep our eye to it. And I came up past Duck Harbor. There were some guys in here hauling, of all places! And then I went south of Trial Point, and she went down. And there was a great big white rock over here, and there was a great big rock over here—and she just fit in the middle. Never touched anything. Course, my life jacket was up in the [cabin], and all I had was a short gaff so I couldn't get a life jacket. When I came up by Sand Island,…I had my big four-inch pump. I had the floor boards up and there was about that much water on the top of the floor boards. It was just about that far from the dipstick hole on the engine…that's where I almost tied out. I tied her up and I looked at her, and you could see every single plank…And she leaked like a sieve. And that boat, you could leave it on the mooring for a month, and there wouldn't even be a cupful of water in her…She wasn't much good after that. I had her hauled out" (CB).

[9] Isle au Haut oral traditions on this point have a considerable time-depth, and may relate in part to post-glacial isostatic rebound. As noted by Bates,

> "[there is a] tradition that the ledges about the Island are growing, although this may be said to have a certain left-handed scientific support. Old fishermen stoutly maintain that ledges which in their youth only showed in a low run of tides are now ordinarily visible; and there is at least a possible connection between this statement and the theory of Professor [Nathaniel Southgate] Shaler, that the entire coast of Maine,— and of New England, for that matter, — depressed by the enormous weight of the ice of the glacial period, is gradually rising again" (Bates 1885: 655).

[10] The Roaring Bull Ledge and spindle come up often in conversations about fishing the southern Island. For example, at other points in the interview, Billy Barter shared additional details:

> "The *Roaring Bull*, it had a big spindle on it but the Coast Guard blew it off with dynamite. There's nothing left of it, nothing that goes 'round and

> 'round. I don't know why they took it out. And they put a big red nun [a red unlit buoy with a pointed top] outside of it. But, I don't know why they couldn't leave that on there…didn't make sense. Took fourteen months to put that on there. Les Grant said it took him fourteen months to put that big steel [cap there] because you had to have low tide and real calm to drill a hole. He said it was fourteen months by the time he got the hole drilled. Nowadays you can't [get in there], it's a hard place" (BB).

Harold van Doren notes that there are conflicting accounts of the spindle's history, probably reflecting the fact that navigational devices have been added to the site both formally and informally over the years:

> "The iron spindle is reported existing in 1886 US Lighthouse Board Report. In December, 1901, it got carried away in a storm. It was replaced and existed in 1918, but I'm unsure when they cut it off. It was before 1973, I think perhaps in the 1960's. Quoting from Gooden Grant's interview in 1973: "Government boat blew the spindle off my mark, the roaring bull, right atop the ledge outside my harbor. I damned near ran atop of it after that. They just blowed it off, nearly broke every window in my house with the blast"… Acting independently, fishermen used to put up markers on hazards. I think it is very unlikely in this case, but perhaps some unknown Bowen or Les Grant back in the 1880's did manage to make a hole in the ledge with a hammer and rock chisel and stick a piece of iron in it temporarily, but it was the Coast Guard that mounted the spindle proper. And even that couldn't withstand the waves and the ice' (HV).

[11] Sources mention some evidence of settlement on "Little Isle au Haut" by the 1760s:

> "The first settler on Little Isle of Holt was Seth Webb, from Windham, who was the son of Samuel Webb, of Windham and Weymouth, Mass., in 1762. Webb was a famous hunter and had seen service in the French and Indian Wars. He lived there until his death in 1784, with the exception of a short time in 1777, when he was in what is now Hampden. He was killed by the accidental discharge of his gun in the winter of 1784. After his death his family and his father who lived with them, moved to Deer Isle, where his descendants now live. Samuel Webb, the father, died on Deer Isle, Feb. 15, 1785. His descendants are numerous in Weymouth, Mass., Portland, Gorham, Windham and other towns in Maine" (Bangor Historical Magazine 1887).

[12] Various sources provide thin but largely consistent biographical details on Peletiah Sr.:

> "The first settlers on Great Isle of Holt were Peletiah Barter, 1788, from Barter's Island in Saint Georges River. He was a native of Kittery and was a Revolutionary soldier. Several sons come with him" (Bangor Historical Magazine 1887).

[13] In the aggregate, as Harold van Doren notes, every small homestead was, by necessity, situated on the shoreline, immediately adjacent to the Island's few annual brooks, and in those rare places with natural accumulations of soil:

> "I would still say that…if you were going to live out here, you still need to be pretty close to some source of water, you still needed to have some place that was good enough to garden, and you had to be at least close enough to the water to get into a boat. So those are the basic givens as far as I'm concerned…And if they were fishing at all—and most of them were—they needed to have a safe anchorage for the boat. So that's why you find development in Rich's Cove, and Duck Harbor, and perhaps Merchant's Cove, certainly Head Harbor, and certainly here in the Thorofare. Those are your major areas for being able to protect a boat. And beyond that, like I said, you had to have something that would be good enough soil to garden on. And that's a hard commodity out here, it really is. There's not that much. The soil is very scanty. I know because I've tried to garden" (HV).

[14] This important step in the consolidation of Island settlement is mentioned parenthetically by many sources, such as Caldwell: "By 1801, fifty settlers petitioned the court of Massachusetts to sell and deed to them the land they had settled" (Caldwell 1981: 189).

[15] See Hosmer (1905) for a discussion of Kimball. Among other comments, Hosmer notes,

> "Mr. Kimball was a man who sustained a good reputation, and was active and enterprising. He did considerable business, owning vessels, and was in possession of an extensive property. Besides the Island he lived on [Kimball Island] he owned over thirteen hundred acres of land in one body on Isle au haut, lying westerly of the pong on that Island. He was, in

> 1826, representative from this town to the Legislature, and was for many years a justice of the peace" (Hosmer 1905: 186).

Of Kimball's four reported sons, three moved to California during the gold rush, and Hosmer suggests that they did not necessarily return to Maine; Kimball's daughters – six of them apparently – remained in Maine.

[16] Perhaps reflecting this local expertise, a number of interviewees mention a ship being built at Isle au Haut in the late 1840s or early 1850s that was used to carry some of its residents to the California gold fields. A significant number of people left during the California gold rush, some residents actually constructing a ship and sailing to San Francisco Bay around Cape Horn (HV, WB, Munch 1999; Caldwell 1981: 189).

[17] While large-scale commercial quarrying was not reported for the park portion of Isle au Haut, residents and various written sources alluded to granite quarrying on nearby Islands including Hurricane Island in the late 19th and 20th centuries.

[18] Also significant in the development of the town's various institutions, "Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer" later donated funds for the construction of the Revere Memorial Library, built in 1906 – a library that was critical to the development of the current report.

[19] Specifically, Drake noted,

> "Isle Haute (High Isle) as Champlain well named it, is considered the eastern limit of Penobscot Bay. It was attached to the township of Deer Isle until set off in 1874. The population is small, poor and decreasing… The shores rise up sharply from the water, like the tip of a half-submerged mountain. Some soil has collected in the hollows, the upland being fit only for pasturage. The inhabitants eke out a poor living by raising a few sheep, fishing a little, and farming a little, and by gathering blueberries, which grow plentifully on most of these Islands [Isle au Haut and Merchant's Row]. The Island catches the eye from all outer approaches to this bay" (Drake 1891: 288).

[20] Specifically, the Congressional statement of findings supporting appropriations for the Robinson Point Lighthouse explained,

> "Lower East Penobscot Bay and the water seaward for a distance of about 10 miles outside of Saddleback Ledge light-house are claimed by fishermen to be exceedingly good fishing grounds, and are frequented by

> fishing vessels ranging in size from 10 to 100 tons burden. Haddock are caught here from March till May; haddock, cod and hake from May till October, and cod from October till January. The most profitable fishing is during November and December, when northeast snowstorms are apt to prevail, and are often of great severity, rue trawls set by fishermen, which often contain several thousand hooks can not be suddenly left without material loss or disadvantage, and when storms or night approach the vessels often need to remain on the grounds till the last moment, when it is of the utmost importance that they be able, quickly and with certainty and safety, to make a secure harbor. Isle au Haut Harbor is the best harbor convenient to these fishing grounds, and Is so convenient in distance and has such good holding ground and is so well sheltered, especially from all the worst winds, northeasterly and easterly, from which shelter is most needed, it is highly valued and much frequented by fishermen" (Office of the Light-House Board 1904: 146).

Documentation of the Isle au Haut lighthouse and other navigational features in the vicinity of Isle au Haut is available in Record Group 26 of the National Archives and Records Administration, specifically within the records of the U.S. Coast Guard.

The Robinson family had a large tract of land on the western side of the Island. A portion of that land was sought by the U.S. government for the construction of the Isle au Haut lighthouse. In 1906, Charles Robinson transferred two acres to the U.S. government for a light station. Jeff Burke, current owner of the lighthouse, recounts some of the major historical developments associated with the lighthouse, some portion of which also appear in written records relating to the structure:

> "[The land] was bought from Charles Robinson in 1906…The congressional act was passed in 1906 to appropriate the money to buy the land and build the lighthouse station. And it was done by Christmas eve 1907. Really fast. [The first keeper] came from Saddleback Ledge. And that was [Elmer] Holbrook. Holbrook was the first one… There were only two light-keepers. And his daughter, who was eight years old, he picked her up to light the lantern on Christmas eve. And I talked with her, I met her. She was living in an old folk's home in Rockland. And she said she thought she'd died and gone to heaven because she lived out on Saddleback for the first eight years of her life. And this was a cushy assignment compared to that" (JB).

A man by the name of Harry Smith, whose descendants include members of the Barter family, was the second lighthouse keeper; the family had been stationed on Matinicus Rock lighthouse beforehand (D. Barter 1999). More than one interviewee noted that her mother (apparently Esther Holbrook) thought that Isle au Haut was "like paradise" after living alone on that remote, rocky islet.

The lighthouse was slated to become an "unmanned light" in 1933 as part of a Depression-era effort to reduce the costs associated with small navigational facilities, resulting in the furlough of lighthouse keeper, Harry Smith (Portland Press Herald 1933). Again, quoting Jeff Burke,

> "I think it was in 1934 that they auctioned off these seven lighthouses in Maine, came the Depression, to cut costs. And this was unusual because it was the only one of the seven that were auctioned off where they kept anything, namely, the tower. Although it was taken out of service because they didn't have the technology then to do anything. Later, they did try some acetylene torches and batteries and things like that. But it wasn't until the '60s where they started putting solar in. And that was like one of the first appropriate technology applications of solar, where it's like, 'Duh, this is perfect.'
>
> "[The other keeper was] Smith. And they married into a bunch of, like Helen Barter married [into this family]—one of the daughters, one of the Smith girls—married an Islander. And she became the postmistress for many years, after Miss Lizzie. So there were only two, and they each had ten children, I believe. That's what I heard, but I don't know if that's an accurate number or not" (JB).

The family of one of the lightkeepers bought the keeper's house when it was declared surplus. This house was eventually purchased by interviewee, Jeff Burke, who has continued to operate a bed and breakfast there until recently.

[21] Bates (1885) suggests that the large duck drives so widely mentioned in reference to Duck Harbor continued until roughly the 1830s.

[22] Of Leland's family, Hosmer notes

> "…we have knowledge of three sons and three daughters. The sons were: the late Mr. Ebenezer Leland, Jr., who died in this town some twenty-five years ago; Jesse Leland, a *non compos* person; and one who died when a young man One daughter was Ursula, the wife of a Mr. Higgins of Eden,

> and mother of Captain Eben L. Higgins, of that place, and afterward the wife of a Mr. Salisbury. Another, Nancy Leland, was never married; and another, Hannah, was first the wife of Mr. John Harvey, Jr., a soldier of the War of 1812, and afterward married a Mr. Daniel Getchell. She died, as was supposed, in consequence of violence at his hands, not far from 1868. Mr. Leland died many years ago; his wife died about the year 1837" (Hosmer 1905: 191-92).

Various postings by Harvey descendants on internet genealogy sites seem to confirm this family history, as well as the intermarriage of Lelands with members of other south Island families.

[23] Of John Harvey, Jr. of Duck Harbor, Hosmer reports the following:

> "John Harvey [Sr.] resided for some time upon an Island between Great Deer Isle and Isle au Haut, but whether he lived on Isle au Haut, or not, is not known to us. He was a Revolutionary soldier, a native of South Carolina, and was born in 1750. In the war he was in the Pennsylvania line under the command of a Colonel Brodhead. After the war he came to this State, and for several years resided in Northport, where he married a Miss Knowlton, in 1789, and afterward came here, but returned. In 1836, when very old and poor, he was chargeable to this town, and was removed-here with his wife. He was unable to procure a pension for his services, from the difficulty of proof, as all who were his comrades were probably dead, and he was unable to establish his claim. After his death in 1837, an agent succeeded in procuring it for his heirs; but, as was charged, he kept it himself. Whether the charge were true, or not, we have no knowledge. Mr. Harvey left two sons who have resided here, and one daughter. The sons were the late Mr. George Harvey, who lived on Russ Island, and Mr. John Harvey [Jr.], who lived at Duck Harbor, where he resided many years, but removed to the State of New York, and after some time returned and died here. Both were soldiers in the War of 1812. The daughter was first the wife of Mr. Daniel Hamilton; second, that of Elisha Grant, Esq., and third, that of Mr. Nathan W. Sawyer, of this town, and died, we believe, in 1879, at the age of seventy years" (Hosmer 1905: 201).

[24] Steve Morey is reported to have purchased the former home of William Harvey at some time in the late 19th century, and apparently used it as a base for fishing and clamming in the area (Noyes n.d.: 51).

[25] Specifically, Hosmer notes of Anthony Merchant,

> "Anthony Merchant who [came] from the town of York, Maine, was the first person who settled within the limits of the present town of Isle au Haut, and, as has been understood, he came the same year that his father-in-law did to Deer Island. It must have been in 1772, and the Island he settled upon has been ever since known as Merchant's Island. His wife was Miss Abigail Raynes, and was a daughter of Mr. John Raynes, Sr., the father of Messrs. John, Johnson, and William Raynes. Mr. Merchant was a master-mariner and made voyages to the West Indies. They had three sons and five daughters. The sons were: Nathaniel who, as has been stated, resided upon Camp Island; John who removed to Vinalhaven; and Anthony Merchant, Jr., who lived and died upon the Island settled by his father. Of the daughters one, Abigail, was the wife of Mr. Joseph Arey, of Vinalhaven. Another, Eleanor, was the wife of Mr. John Smith, of that town, who lived near what is known as Smith's Harbor, on the eastern side of the Island, and both her husband and herself lived to a good old age. Another, Miriam, was the wife of Mr. Henry Barter who will be noticed. Another, Martha, was the first wife of Captain Tristram Haskell, of this town, who has been noticed. One, Susan, died unmarried. Mrs. Haskell died not far from the year 1803, but the others, with the exception of Susan, lived to be very old. Mr. Merchant was a very quiet man and a good citizen. The year of his death is not known to us. His wife died not far from 1833, and was at the time considerably over eighty years of age" (Hosmer 1905: 182-83).

[26] Hosmer notes of Nathaniel Merchant, Sr.:

> "Nathaniel Merchant was the eldest son of the family. He married in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and had two sons and two or more daughters. The sons were the late Mr. Nathaniel Merchant who died, we believe, in 1879, on Isle au Haut, and Mr. Robert Merchant who resided, after the death of his father, on Camp Island, which was for many years the residence of the latter. In 1845 he sold it to the late Captain David Thurlow, and since that time he has been here only a part of the time, as his wife abandoned him. His present place of residence we do not know. One of the daughters of the family was the wife of Mr. John Gott, Jr., who formerly resided on Swan's Island. About the rest of the family we have no knowledge. Mr. Merchant, the subject of this notice, for his second wife, married the widow of Mr. John Pressey, Jr., the daughter of the Mr.

> Sheldon before referred to, who was drowned near Fog Island. For many years they resided on Camp Island, where he died not far from the year 1836, as before stated" (Hosmer 1905: 183-84).

After his death, Nathaniel Merchant Sr.'s widow married Captain Thomas Colby, who himself died in 1837; she then married Thomas Cooper of North Haven (Hosmer 1905).

[27] Some sources report that David Hamilton and perhaps other members of his family were among Scottish prisoners of war who were sent to America by Cromwell to work for their freedom (Mixer 1976; Hamilton 1912; Noyes n.d.).

[28] Hosmer documented a few details about the Knowlton side of the family, their later residence in Isle au Haut, and their connection to the Hamiltons:

> "Benjamin Knowlton was for many years a resident of Isle au Haut. He was a relative of those of that name in the town of Northport and in the county of Waldo, and, we believe, was a native of Massachusetts. When a young man he went to Nova Scotia, and there married a Miss Smith. He was there a part of the time, at least, if not all, of the Revolutionary period, and some time after his return took up his residence on Isle au Haut. His sons were the late Mr. Robert Knowlton, of this town, and Mr. Joseph Knowlton who removed to Islesborough. One daughter was the wife of a Mr. Hamilton. She was the mother of the present Mr. Solomon Hamilton, now nearly ninety years of age. Another was the wife of Mr. George Smith; another was the wife of Mr. Aaron Merithew, and we believe that there was another. Mr. Knowlton died many years ago, but the date is unknown to us; his wife died in 1843, at the age of eighty-nine years" (Hosmer 1905: 197-98).

[29] Vital Records at Belfast, ME list Solomon Sr. as being born in 1800; his grave stone lists Oct. 20, 1804. Family genealogist, Mary Mixer (1976) assumes the former is true, as Solomon would have been only 15 when daughter was born, if he was indeed born in 1804.

[30] Recorded dates of Sarah's birth vary. January 27, 1863 appears consistently in some portion of the written records, but is inconsistent with Sarah's age as reported in the U.S. census and certain other written records.

[31] Prior to his marriage to Sarah, Solomon Hamilton was briefly married to her mother, Anna (Buckminster) Harvey after Thomas Harvey's death, but Anna died prematurely

– apparently of consumption (Noyes n.d.: 83). Sources make it clear that Sarah was very young at the time of her marriage to Solomon: his"1st wife was Sarah's mother…She [Sarah] was not yet 13 years old when married" (Mixer 1976: 3).

[32] These last names are not exhaustive, as some of these women were married more than once. Marriages between the Duck Harbor Hamiltons and the other prominent families of Isle au Haut are mentioned throughout the Island's official records. Reviewing marriages in the ten year period from 1881 through 1891, one can see reference to women of the Hamilton family marrying men from the Rich, Welch, Coombs, Moore, Currier and Thomas families (Knox County n.d.).

[33] As Harold van Doren notes, "The Rich's ancestors had been among the earliest settlers on the Island and had farmed and fished from the cove for almost a hundred and fifty years" (van Doren 2006: 264). One focal point of the family's settlement, sitting well outside of the park, is Rich's Cove; this cove is little discussed in this document, but was an independent community of great historical importance on the Island. Among the many well-known members of the Rich family was "Miss Lizzie" Rich who was postmistress from 1927-1976. Miss Lizzie Rich had an ice cream parlor "which was a popular gathering place both for summer and year-round residents" (Revere Memorial Library 1959). On the history and genealogy of the Rich family, see Rich (1978).

[34] The Town of Isle au Haut's 1882 "Inventory of Polls and Estates Liable to be Taxed" on the Island shows Abel Hamilton occupying a parcel on some ¼ acre on Duck Harbor, with a separate 2 acre homestead adjoining the lands of John Turner; Solomon Hamilton Jr. also was reported to have a ¼ acre parcel there. James P. Welch occupied a 120 acre lot (No. 16) at Duck Harbor. A W.N. Ulmer owned 100 acres at the head of Duck Harbor, adjacent to the claim of James Welch. William Harvey is reported to occupy a 34 acre homestead "on south side of Moore's Harbor" by the western "Harvey Beach" rather than Duck Harbor; various accounts suggest that the family was indeed occupying other portions of the Island by then. Other families, such as William Barter and Henry Thomas, occupied lands nearby, but largely outside of the park (Isle au Haut 1882).

[35] For example, a variety of sources mention the 1836 wreck of the ship, "Royal Tar." This ship wrecked between Isle au Haut and Fox Island, en route from St. John's to Boston, with 350 passengers and a large circus caravan; many passengers and animals perished (Revere Memorial Library 1959; Chatto and Turner 1910).

As is true of coastal communities worldwide, Isle au Haut residents commonly scavenged wood, hardware, and other materials from abandoned shipwrecks along the coast – sometimes incorporating them into local construction (Munch 1999).

[36] Indeed, nautical sources usually depict Head Harbor as only being safe under certain conditions due to poor holding ground for anchors and the threat of southerly swells (e.g., Loomis 1939: 156).

[37] The Head Harbor and Duck Harbor families were linked in various ways. Duck Harbor patriarch Solomon Hamilton Junior's daughter Beatrice, for example, married Charles Bowen Sr. of Head Harbor, and together they founded the line of Isle au Haut Bowens who, among many other things, still own the inholding on Duck Harbor.

[38] On the Smith family, Hosmer notes,

> "Abiathar Smith went to Isle au Haut from the town of Thomaston, Maine, not far from the year 1800. He settled near what is now known as Head Harbor. He had three sons and one daughter, of whom we have had information. The sons were: Mr. George Smith, who will be noticed; Mr. Simon Smith, whom we have mentioned; and another, named Abiathar Smith, who removed from here, and of whom we have no knowledge. The daughter was the wife of Mr. Elisha Holbrook. The property of Mr. Smith is now that of Mr. George Smith, Jr., who is the present occupant. It is one of the most valuable places on the Island"(Hosmer 1905: 192).

[39] Hosmer reported on the family of George Smith Sr.:

> "George Smith, a son of Mr. Abiathar Smith, settled upon the lot north of that of Mr. Gilbert. He was born in 1780, and his wife was Miss Judith Knowlton, a daughter of Mr. Benjamin Knowlton. One of their sons was the present Mr. George Smith, of Head Harbor, who alone of the family now resides here. Another son was Abiathar Smith, and the other was Joseph Smith — both of whom removed from here many years ago. One daughter was the wife of Mr. George Curtis who went there from the town of Surrey, and afterward returned, where he lived the last we knew of him. Another was the wife of Mr. Samuel Coffin who came here from Kennebec County, or the eastern part of Oxford County, returning after a few years' residence on the Island. Another was the wife of Mr. Aaron Merithew, Jr., who went to Vinalhaven. Another was the wife of Mr. Benjamin Merithew, Jr., who removed to Searsport. The youngest was the wife of Mr. Isaac B. Eaton who resided upon the homestead of Mr. Smith. He is now dead, his wife dying before him. Mr. Smith died not far from

the year 1860, aged over eighty years, and his wife about ten years after" (Hosmer 1905: 194-95).

[40] Hosmer provided a brief biographical sketch of Elisha Grant:

> "Elisha Grant, Esq., removed to Isle au Haut not long after 1840, and resided at Head Harbor not far from thirty years. His death was caused by a cancer. For several years he was a deputy sheriff in the county of Penobscot, and was a man of intelligence and capacity. He was three times married, his last wife being Mrs. Nancy Hamilton. By his first marriage he had three sons. One was Mr. Hiram Grant, of Hampden. Another was the present Mr. David Grant, who resides on the premises occupied by his father [on Isle au Haut], and the other was Franklin Grant, who died a young man several years ago. He died about the year 1870, and his remains were by his request taken to Hampden and laid by the side of those of his first wife" (Hosmer 1905: 201-02).

[41] As Bill Stevens notes, "Gooden's reported to have, in one story, said that he was born at [Herrick's Camp]. And in another story that he helped build the camp up there" (BS).

[42] Most identified his wife as Antoinette or "Nettie" Grant, but other sources such as Chatto and Turner [1910] identify his wife as Mary [Hopkins] Grant.

[43] In 1910, Gooden Grant apparently lived in Thomaston for a time, while David and Ulysses Grant still lived in Head Harbor (Chatto and Turner 1910).

[44] Hosmer goes on to note of Captain Asa Turner,

> "His wife was Miss Abigail Smith, of Prospect, and they had a family of six sons and four daughters. The sons were the present John Turner, Esq., Ezra, James, 2d, and Isaiah B. Turner — all of whom, except Ezra, are now living on the Island. One son, Mr. Thomas Turner, was drowned several years ago near the mouth of Union River, and one died when young. The daughters were the wives of Mr. Jacob Wilson, who removed to Massachusetts; of Mr. Patrick Conley; of Mr. John K. Turner, and of Mr. John Doane, of the town of Newburg, Maine. Of the daughters but one, Mrs. Conley, now remains here. A few years ago Captain Turner removed to the western side of the Island near the Thoroughfare, and his property on the eastern side of the Island is now that of a Mr. Sprowl, formerly of

> Bucksport, who is now the owner of a large tract of land on that side of the Island, which is used for pasturage, and is also the owner of Fog Island. The house of Mr. Turner is now occupied by Mr. Noah Page, formerly of Bucksport, who is in the employ of Mr. Sprowl. In 1843 Mr. Turner represented this town in the Legislature" (Hosmer 1905: 192-93).

[45] Writing in 1889, Blanchard noted of their Maine operation:

> "Although the Maine crop is very large, very little is used in that State. Two-thirds of this crop is stored on the Kennebec River…The Knickerbocker Ice Company has the largest ice-houses in the State, at its pond in North Boothbay, whence it can make large winter shipments. The situation of the Kennebec is highly favorable to the formation of solid merchantable ice, and the sources of its water supply are such as to insure its purity. Its current is strong enough to keep it pure, and there are no large cities on its banks to pollute it with their sewerage" (Blanchard 1889: 6).

[46] While widely known to eastern Island dwellers and avid hikers, Herrick's Camp was not nearly as well known to many working men from other side of the Island. As prominent Isle au Haut fishermen Billy Barter observed, "I don't know what the purpose was way up in there. I think they did some stone wall, I think there's a little bit of a stone wall there probably. I was only up there once" (BB).

[47] Deed records show that Joseph and Job's interests in the land were not fully extinguished, however, so that they are listed as the owners immediately prior to Ernest Bowditch and his partners, Albert Otis and Alfred Chandler (NPS n.d.). David Grant may have continued to use this land after their departure, but it is unclear that he had clear title.

[48] Harold van Doren provides a thoughtful counterpoint perspective on this matter:

> "It is a debatable point, but I believe sheep alone do not cause a landscape to be bare of trees. Many sheep were kept for years on Fog Island, for example. They tended to clear out understory growth, such as blueberry, huckleberry and bayberry, but unlike goats or pigs, they would do very little damage to standing trees. In the 1950's, Leon Small had a herd of sheep on Fog Island. There was a herd of sheep kept there for at least 50 years, and the spruce forest has remained intact. I think it is far more plausible to believe that areas of the Island were barren because of several

> bad fires, and also because people used a lot of firewood. The average family probably must have burned at least 5-10 cords of wood each year, because they used it for cooking as well as heat. There were at least 50 households burning wood from the 1850's up until kerosene stoves became used on the Island, probably within the early decades of the 20th century. As an aside, within the last half-century, the poisonous (to sheep) sheep laurel plant has become widespread on the Island" (HV).

[49] Kathy Fiveash notes that when the land was largely cleared in the late 19th century by sheep farming and other agricultural efforts, small patches of dense, mature forest persisted in a few areas – especially in steep and higher-elevation parts of the Island. These patches provided a source of seeds that, in time, helped to recolonize the Island in conifer forest. Some of these older stands can still be seen in the park, such as along the Nat Merchant Trail. There is considerable evidence of past forests that were more diverse, and contained a larger proportion of deciduous trees, prior to the 19th century (KF).

[50] Elsewhere, Billy Barter noted,

> "Used to go up every June and shear sheep. I was good at running, when I was about twelve – fourteen [ca. 1949-1951] Russell MacDonald went too. Every spring we went. William Small had sheep on Hog Island, so my father, my uncle Maurice and I and my grandfather would go help him shear his, and we'd all go to Spoon Island…then he moved from Spoon Island to Merchant's Island. We had to take all the fencing down, take it up to Merchant's, run it all out up there" (B. Barter 1999: 12).

[51] Hosmer notes of this harbor,

> "Moore's Harbor, on the western side of the Island, was so named from Captain John Moore, one of the early settlers of the town of Castine, whose business in part was fishing in a small vessel in that vicinity and who frequently made that harbor an anchoring-place" (Hosmer 1905: 281-82).

Elsewhere he notes that Moore harbored there "during the time of the Revolution and afterward" (Hosmer 1905: 190).

[52] Of Samuel Turner, Hosmer noted,

> "Captain Samuel Turner was the occupant of the land lying southerly of that of Mr. Barter. He was the son of the wife of Mr. Charles Kempton by a

former marriage. He perished at sea in the year 1839, upon the wreck of a vessel of which he was master, which was engaged in the freighting business, an occupation he followed for many years. Of the crew but one, Mr. James Henderson, survived. He was very well and favorably known in this vicinity for many years, and at the time of his death was about fifty-five years of age. He left a widow and a family. The sons were the present Captain James Turner, John K. Turner, and Captain William G. Turner. Two of the daughters resided in Searsport, and one was the wife of the late Captain Ezra Turner, of Isle au Haut" (Hosmer 1905: 188-89).

[53] Harold van Doren refers to Seal Trap as "a narrow inlet, reputedly where Indians used to corral and slaughter herds of the sea mammals" (van Doren 2006: 164). In 1885, Bates reported of Seal Trap, "which the Islanders persistently call "Sile Trap," a rendering which has led some fanciful souls to fancy the term to be really "*Ciel Trap*" — is said to have been named from a great catch of seals once made there by the fixing of a seine across its narrow mouth" (Bates 1885: 652).

Interviewees made occasional reference to the historical salt works on Seal Trap. Wayne Barter, for example, recalls,

> "If you get outside of the park over here at The Seal Trap, there's a **salt works** over there, actually at one time, some [Island residents] had a salt works. I know the general area. I think it was this narrow spot right in here [where the trail goes through that narrows on one side, to Moore's Head]. You hear these names. I mean, my grandfather, my father always called it the Salt Works and then I did find out that there actually was a salt works in there at one time" (WB).

[54] Similarly, Billy Barter

> "There's a grave—you know where Shark Point Beach is? Going down the west side? You go down this steep hill, there's a little valley, and there's a brook there? Well, some little girl got drowned there years ago, and there's a little cemetery in the park down there. It's not a marked stone, but there's two foundations, and on the right-hand side there—Betty Wentworth was the name. So they named the brook Betty Wentworth Brook…There's no markings on it to tell there's a grave" (BB).

Elsewhere, he has observed,

> "She [Betty Wentworth] got drowned in the brook, my father always said. She's buried right down below where she got drown. Little girl, I guess, young girl" (B. Barter 1999: 29).

[55] Charles Pratt also commented on this phenomenon:

> "Moore's Harbor has always stayed ice-free because of a combination of tidal current and exposure to the southwest wind, but the road to it in the thirties was not passable in the winter, and so Harold [Turner], who was helping his father, would get up at four-thirty and drive from the east side to town, pick up the mail and any passengers and drive back to another cove on the eastern shore which, like Moore's Harbor, was almost always ice-fee and so used by the mailboat" (Pratt 1974: 86).

[56] Wayne Barter recalls, "If you go across Eli Creek, on this side, there's two foundations over there" (WB). Similarly, Deb Schrader observes

> "There's a couple of cellar holes across from Eli Creek Cabin, that turnoff there…And there's two, right by the road. There's like a pullout, it's like when you first come into the park, going this way, and there's a pullout on the right. And there's a trail that goes down across a little creek, down to the shore to the cabin. But across the road, right across the road from that, there's two cellar holes" (DS).

[57] Margaret Dice, whose family developed this cottage recounts that "My family, five generations of it, has been vacationing on Isle au Haut since 1906" (M. Dice n.d.: 1).

[58] Margaret Dice (n.d.: 11-12) provides a fine chronology of the development of summer cottages on the Moore's Harbor waterfront from 1906 forward.

[59] As J.W. Collins noted in a bulletin of the U.S. Fishery Commission in the early 1880s,

> "I have been told by several of the old residents of Isle au Haut that for many years previous to 1850, two distinct schools of large spawn-herring visited the shores of that Island with an almost undeviating regularity. One of these schools made its appearance about the middle of July, and remained one month; the other came in about two months later, staying about the same length of time. A remarkable circumstance, in this connection, was that these bodies of fish occupied different spawning grounds which were distant from each other about four or five miles. The summer fish visited the western part of the Island, and those which came later struck in at the eastern end. Since 1850 the appearance of these

herring has been very uncertain. Sometimes they would come in great abundance, but more frequently would not be seen at all, yet within the past ten years vessels have occasionally obtained full fares of these large spawn-herring at Head Harbor on the western part of the Island" (Collins 1883: 287).

[60] Elsewhere, Virginia MacDonald noted, "They had herring weirs in the Thoroughfare and Moore's Harbor. They don't have those anymore because there's no more herring" (MacDonald 1998: 50-51). Harold van Doren has also written about this weir (van Doren 2006: 173).

[61] Ted Hoskins recalls,

> "They had a [herring] weir in [Duck Harbor] for a while…And then they'd shut off down to Head Harbor, and then we had two weirs on the Thorofare. We had a weir over on York we used to shut off, the crew I went with. We didn't tend any weirs…we were just running twine. And we'd go off the east side, and shut off sometimes out at York and sometimes just off…where now the Island Inn is there [on Turner's Cove]. There was a little ledge, and we used to shut off both ends of that….we shut off Richs Cove, and we'd shut off Laundry Cove, and round off on the top by the point…Head Harbor, yes, but not Barred. Those [southern coves] aren't, they're not very good. The bottom and everything wasn't very good for shutting off, and the fish would tend to go into Head Harbor" (TH).

[62] Harold van Doren comments on the abnormal placement of the foundation, which is conspicuously close to tidewater:

> "Down at Merchant's Cove, on the shore there—and it's very close to the high water mark—there's a little bit of a foundation down there that they claim somebody lived in the thing. But by golly, they sure got a lot of spray on their windows if they did. It's right there, you know. I really wonder if anybody ever lived there for any length of time. But somebody must have lived there, or if they didn't live there, they had a building there at least because it is a very visible foundation, even today" (HV).

[63] Specifically, Wane Barter reports,

> "The only other cellar I know out in the Western Head area…is right where the Western Head trail goes in. There's a cellar hole, right there.

> And it's an old [one], I'll tell ya, it's an old cellar hole! As you go in the Western Head trail, you go in maybe 50 feet, it's right there on your left. It's kind of, it's not very noticeable" (WB).

[64] When asked about landmarks used in dead-reckoning by fishermen of the mid-20th century, Billy Barter identified several in the area, including landmarks on Isle au Haut and the mainland:

> "The church was one of them. Some of the Islands up the bay, you know, you gotta have a cross-map…compass and landmarks was about all we had those days. Blue Hill Mountain, I used a lot. And farther away, you know Camden way? There's a couple of mountains we used to use. Depends on what area you're fishing where you get your marks. But some of them travel quick, they're quick. You know, something like the church, you don't have to go too far one way or the other, for a ledge marker or something like that. You don't have to go very far to change…a mark" (BB).

[65] Documents at the Revere Memorial Library allude to hazardous travels through this area, with its complex ledges and currents. One account from the early 20th century is as follows:

> "In the 1900s, a little before World War I the Thoroughfare froze over before Bill Robinson and Charlie Dodge got their traps up, so they had to keep their boats at Moore's Harbor while they were taking up. One cold day they went out and each got a load of traps. Charlie finished getting his load first and as it was late went back to Moore's Harbor thinking that Bill was right behind him. When he got in Bill was nowhere to be seen so Charlie waited a half hour or so and as it was rapidly getting dark with sill no sign of Bill, he started out to look for him. Way down somewhere between Duck Harbor and Western Head he saw a flare that Bill had improvised (I think a torch made of oilskins or a rag in gasoline) when his engine had failed. The bay was full of drift ice and it took quite a while for Charlie to get in to where Bill was and take him in tow. It was nine o'clock or so, long since winter darkness had set it, and just as they got back to Moore's Harbor a party of three men, including Jimmy Dyer…arrived on foot from the village to see what had kept the two men" (Revere Memorial Library 1959).

[66] A charcoal image of Head Harbor was painted by Edward H. Barnard, mentioned as part of loaned exhibits of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in the 1880s (Wilmerding 1988).

[67] Much has been written about the works and career of Ernest Bowditch. See, for example, Murphy 1988.

[68] Nathaniel Bowditch's life was celebrated in biographical children's book, *Carry On, Mr. Bowditch* by Jean Lee Lathan, winner of the 1956 Newberry Medal for Children's literature.

[69] Later in life, Bowditch wrote a revealing first-hand account of his first visit to Isle au Haut, which has been reprinted occasionally, in whole or in part (e.g., Pratt 1974: 139-40). Other accounts, such as that of William Bowditch (1960) and Elizabeth Eustis (1952) also provide a glimpse of these first visits.

[70] Speaking of Ernest Bowditch, Fred Eustis notes, "He built the summer colony on Point Lookout, with a secondary area at Moore's Harbor, where he had a farm and provided land for the construction of two summer cottages" (Eustis 2012).

[71] One almost embarrassingly romantic description of the Island appeared in an 1885 issue of the *Outing* journal:

> "It is easy to say that it is an undulating land, with shores mostly bold and set about with bays and headlands; that it is mountainous enough to well deserve the title Sieur de Champlain bestowed upon it; that its beautiful pond lies set in birch-wooded slopes, like a dew-drop in a lupin leaf; that from the saddle-like ridge of the Island one sees the most enchanting views of sea and land, of distant hills and of nearer islets flocking together; but when all this and much more has been said, the secret of its charm has, after all, somehow eluded the endeavor to ensnare it in the mesh of words. The land, at first view, is much like many another on the Maine coast, save that it is more lofty and more wild, but there is a subtle spell about it which was well expressed by the discriminating visitor who looked about her at landing, and, with a prophetic sigh for the wrench of parting when she should leave, exclaimed, "Oh, dear, this is one of those dreadful places that you get so cruelly fond of!"…Doubtless the good wives of the Island, over their tea, or the captains, as they smoke through winter afternoons at the store, tell many another quaint legend of the supernatural. The place is too charming to be neglected by the races of the uncanny, and, even so lately as last summer, a lady, resting upon the slopes of Eastern Head, heard, rising from underground, a mysterious

> singing, that could come only from some buried city, some fairy palace underground, or some undiscovered cave of the jolly and busy gnomes" (Bates 1885: 651-55)

Certainly, these aesthetics are a bit at odds with local perspectives.

[72] Writing in 1910, the town directory suggested that

> "Within the last thirty years a large summer colony has been built up at Point Lookout. The summer colony is the result of the development of a club, known as the "Point Lookout Club." In the year 1880 Mr. Ernest Bowditch, the present president of the club, bought the tract of land in company with Mr. Albert Otis of Belfast and about a year later a club was formed…The club has grown rapidly so that now it has over fifty members, including all of the summer residents at Point Lookout. The club has the use of the President's yacht, "the Day Dream" which has been sailed for many years by Capt. C.R. Chapin" (Chatto and Turner 1910).

[73] Harlan Stone's son, Lauson Stone, recalled,

> "Shortly after their marriage in 1899, Mother and Father became fond of a small Island in the Penobscot Bay, Maine, Isle au Haut by name, which later became the family's summer retreat for many years. Father was also interested in visiting foreign countries, so he planned to alternate his summers between Isle au Haut and travel abroad. This led to trips to Europe for the whole family in 1909, 1911 and 1913. Both Father and Mother enjoyed the ten day sea voyage, necessary in those days, which provided a period of rest after the winter's activities… vacations were principally spent at Isle au Haut. I feel certain that his interest in foreign travel was never fully satisfied.
>
> "With more summers being spent at Isle au Haut, Mother and Father decided in 1916 to build a summer home there which they occupied for all or part of almost every summer until the 1940s. Isle au Haut was a rustic and unspoiled spot. There were only about 100 year-round inhabitants, mostly lobster fishermen and their families, whose homes were scattered along the single road, about 14 miles in length, which went around the Island.
>
> "There was no telephone, no electricity, no paved road, only a few early Model T Fords, and no inside plumbing except in some of the

summer homes. Meals were taken with one of the year round residents who operated a small boarding house for summer visitors. Old clothes and informality were the order of the day. The local citizens, many of whom were friends, could truly be described as "the salt of the earth"—industrious, honest and entirely unspoiled by the civilizing influences of urban life. Time was spent in hiking, boating, fishing, clambakes, evening rarebit parties and the like; simply enjoying the quiet and beauty of the Island was enough." (Stone 2008: 10).

[74] The full chronology of the Isle au Haut Land Company's purchases could be easily reconstructed from the files in the Eustis collection, or the deed records on file in the Acadia National Park headquarters (NPS n.d.).

[75] In particular, Eustis notes,

> "Certain external factors probably influenced his purchases of land on Isle au Haut:
>
> "First, the population and traditional economy, while large compared to those of today, had been in decline since at least the time of the Civil War. The lobster factory closed by the early 1870s. People wanted to leave. Landowners wanted to sell.
>
> "Second, a dollar price for land would have looked larger for a seller whose ideas were rooted in the traditional economy than to a buyer who was earning an increasingly good living in the increasingly prosperous metropolitan and industrial economy of post-Civil War America.
>
> "Third, in 1877, two years before Mr. Bowditch's first visit, a gigantic wildfire had burned much of the center and top of Isle au Haut. It raged uncontrolled for months and was finally extinguished only by the snows of winter. This must have destroyed much of the land's potential for traditional uses" (Eustis 2012).

[76] On this point, Fred Eustis notes,

> "there is a strong possibility, maybe a probability, that Mr. Bowditch's thoughts about Isle au Haut were influenced by his work as the landscape architect and engineer for Pierre Lorillard laying out Tuxedo Park, New York. This was a designed community that had a huge reserve for hunting. Mrs. Eustis, who has studied Mr. Bowditch's work as a

landscape architect, thinks this was the case, but we have no positive written evidence of which I am aware apart from the chronology.

"In my opinion, Ernest Bowditch's mature idea of Isle au Haut is best presented in his son Richard Bowditch's map of 1922. On the southern part of the Island the road and the trails are most prominent" (Eustis 2012' see R. Bowditch 1922).

To consider the Tuxedo Park experience as a precedent for Point Lookout on isle au Haut, see Rushmore (1957).

[77] Billy Barter speaks of this mountaintop ice cream stand:

> "[T]hey said there was a ice cream place up on that mountain, once. The old post office—they claimed they moved the old post office down the mountain— it used to be an ice cream parlor. My wife's got the ice cream scoop; my father's aunt gave it to her. She said it was the old ice cream scoop they used...Seems like an odd place to have an ice cream parlor, on the mountain…[That was around the] 1800s. Then there was a blacksmith shop there. The Turners had the blacksmith shop. I remember before they tore that down" (BB).

So too, Jeff Burke recalls stories to that effect:

> "[T]here used to be the ice cream parlor on top of the mountain or something, and people'd traipse over the top of the mountain to get over the other side. There was no perimeter road at that time" (JB).

[78] Harold van Doren provides a more detailed account of the arrival of horses:

> "They didn't even have horses down here, unlike a lot of places on the mainland. They didn't even have horses down here until the turn of the century…But apparently, oxen were better suited for it than horses. And probably for what they were used for, oxen were better anyway because they were only used to haul heavy loads around and stuff like that, which they were better suited for it than horses were… The horses were introduced primarily when the Point Lookouters came down here and they started using them to carry people around with buckboards and buggies, that's what they used, for the summer people, just to take them out for a ride. That's when horses showed up. And there was a stable up here in Kennedy's field, actually, where they used to keep one set of

horses. And they used to keep another set down at Moore's Harbor. So that's when the horses came in" (HV).

[79] As Fred Eustis notes,

> "Mr. Bowditch built the South Side Road from Duck Harbor to Head Harbor and most probably built, or at least improved, the West Side Road from Duck Harbor to Moore's Harbor" (Eustis 2012).

[80] Ted Hoskins shared many fond and detailed memories of these events on Isle au Haut. Some centered on the Barter trap shop:

> "there was one guy, Billy [Barter] on Isle au Haut who had a trap shop up away from the shore. But people gathered, I mean, they'd even had parties there…they'd have a little music at Billy's shop. It was for entertainment as well as, it might even be a Halloween party…They used to come there for dances years ago. And then it just got so, in my time, going down there that anything would be kind of informal. I'd get, I play fiddle a little bit…I did get up on the stage and played with Bernadine [Barter], played the accordion. She was a local there. Well, she was actually from Jonesport, but married a local there [in Isle au Haut]…and Dicky Turner - he played a pretty mean guitar. And of course, now most all the people are gone. Yeah, well. And then, the dances. And Burt used to call the dances some of the times, but usually it was…. Grandma Bridge's son, great big guy…he'd call the dances...And everybody'd do the dances, Lady of the Lake, which, we used to do quadrilles, and Lady of the Lakes, and stuff like that. And all local music and noise. And Bernie and all kinds of people'd play. And they put together the tunes, and just play, and people'd dance, polkas and waltzes, foxtrots. And that place, that town hall before, people all the way around. Of course, there were a lot of people on the Island then" (TH).

[81] Robin Bowen reports that the first television on Isle au haut arrived as early as 1953, as a gift from his father to his mother when she was pregnant with Robin: "When the Bangor station came on line, their home became the focal place of the Island…people all gathered there, wanting to watch different shows" (RB).

Isle au Haut residents established a power company in 1969. As Ted Hoskins notes, indoor plumbing soon followed: "we didn't get [indoor] water—you don't get

electricity, you get water and electricity at the same time, electricity allows you to have indoor plumbing. And so that was '71, maybe '70, '71, through there" (TH). Phone service was finally established between 1988 and 1989 (J. Dice n.d.). Phone service was not regular until the early 1990s, but by the mid-1990s, the Island had a microwave-based phone system that improved significantly on the earlier system in terms of reliability and clarity of signal.

Bill Stevens recalls many of these developments:

> "When"[W]hen I first came out here, they didn't have generally grid power, they had generators that putter-puttered. They might've had a few light bulbs, and a television set…that was kind of the reason they had generators was basically for electric lights and television sets. I can't think of much else that we relied on electricity for. And you know, you'd have a little putter-putter for a little while out there in the evening, and then you'd shut it off. So…1969 was when Pat Tully started, and a bunch of other local people…[to] develop the power company on the Island for generating and distributing power from a central location.
>
> "In those first couple years I was only here seasonally, but then in '71 I rented the house down below…and that winter I cut the line with Maurice Barter…He lived over here about a quarter mile from me. We cut the right-of-way along the road to the east side down as far as Pat's house to extend the line. The first leg of the line went to the top of the hill, I think, at Point Lookout, where the Point Lookout intersection, or maybe almost up there. And then in '74, that line got extended over to Pat's place…It took a little time. And then, the house down below that we bought in '73, the first year we had a generator, I remember, because…it had a pump-up system. You'd pump the water up, the generator, we'd start it up and if the control in the gravity tank up in the attic said that the pump needed to run, we'd start the generator and the pump would pump water up to the attic, and then we had gravity flow. And quite often I'd be taking a shower and run out of water, be all soaped up and naked, nude, and have to dry off and go out and start the generator to get any water. And then wait until the water heater would get it up to temperature. It was a royal pain…
>
> "So we hit it up with power in '74 down there, and I think that made a huge change in Isle au Haut, was the availability of grid power. And even though it was diesel-generated, in made a major, major…even though there was a lot of resistance to some extent in the seasonal community about it because it was changing the character of the Island. But I think most people realized that for there to be a year-round existence

> on the Island, they had to have some upgrades in their lifestyle. Or else it was going to perish, you know?" (BS).

Bill Stevens also spoke of the establishment of telephone service on the Island beginning in 1988:

> "[The Island got phone service in] like '88, maybe, or '89. And then Internet maybe early 2000s. I mean, you could get dial-up, but I don't think it was anything maybe until early 2000. We got DSL here about two years, three years ago.
>
> "In fact, the first phone I had was, actually, Pat Tully and I bought a microwave relay phone. I forget the term, it's like using a radio. But you could only speak, and then you couldn't hear the other person on the other end, they couldn't interrupt you. You could speak, and you didn't say 'over,' but, you know. But the funny thing about it, it was really quite expensive, and we had to have a base phone on the mainland…But the problem with it was…it was a federal FCC regulation, so you had to keep poking this code in every five minutes or else then you get a warning signal—beep beep—and if you got three beeps, then it would cancel your call and you would lose your contact…
>
> "But we only had that for a couple years, and then this very antiquated telephone company arrived, kind of an old system that came from western Maine that was a mechanical system that worked, but it wasn't great. And then it got bought out by TVS and then they got a lot of grant money and put in the microwave [in the mid-'90s]…It was fairly quick. Obviously they upgraded, added capacity and stuff" (BS).

82 Speaking of the frequent and large social events of the past, Ted Hoskins notes,

> "Well, television killed it. I mean, we used to visit all the time. It's what you did. You'd visit, and then you'd play cards, or else you'd just visit. And you'd just bring the family and stop by, and the kids'd play, and fall asleep pretty soon. And when it got to be late enough, you'd go home. But you just visited all the time. It was really good. Different world" (TH).

83 Pratt too commented on this phenomenon:

"The Islanders don't make a big thing of taking care of each other and the strangers in their midst; as a matter of fact, they'd just as soon nobody noticed they were paying any attention" (Pratt 1974: 33).

[84] Chocolatier Steve Shafer, who moved to Isle au Haut enthusiastically after living in "intentional communities" in California, provides some observations on this point and the relative appeal of Isle au Haut that are worthy of much more detailed consideration:

> "[I]n Maine the community is based on nature in the sense that, if you don't respond to your neighbor—and regardless of whether you're mad at them, don't like them—and even the fishing community is, if they get a mayday and this guy is known to cut your traps, they still go and help them. You know, you don't have that option [not to help]. It's the code because the weather and the circumstances demand that of you. It demands that no matter how you feel about somebody, you have to always call your humanity into the mix.
>
> "Whereas California, the living was easier. People were homeless because they wanted to be homeless, not because they couldn't afford a place. They just didn't feel like working hard to have a home. New England was founded on values. It was religious freedom. And in religious freedom, there's responsibilities. I think that in New England it's not this sense of freedom.
>
> "I worked at this organization…International Global Ethics. And one of the things that they came up with was they would go around the world asking, 'What are the five values, top values, that you want to see in society?' Everywhere they went, freedom, whenever it was included, had responsibility, except in America. And I thought that's really interesting. But that's why I felt like in New England was that people came here from freedom, but because they had a religious layer to it, they're saying you also have responsibilities. But California, the drive out West was about gold, it was about creating self-fulfillment, and the values were based upon society. And because your values are based upon a society, those rules are ever-changing…So it's a completely different mindset. And I was out there, and I was like, 'Boy, people are quick to be friendly, but they have no sense of community.' I couldn't develop relationships like I really had experienced back here on the East Coast. So after being out there I was like, I really wanted to move back here" (SS).

[85] Jim Greenlaw's mother was Mattie Bell Robinson, one of Lillian [Hamilton] Robinson's daughters.

[86] Duck Harbor is occasionally mentioned in popular accounts of the Island, such as the writings of Linda Greenlaw (2002: 145), one of the Hamilton's many modern descendants.

[87] There were three major herring weirs on the Island: one on the Thorofare, one on Moore's Harbor, and one in Duck Harbor (Pratt 1974: 134-37). The Chapin family is locally reported to have built the Moore Harbor weir, while Maurice Barter, Del Bowen, and Charlie Hamilton built the Duck Harbor weir (WB).

[88] In the course of another interview with Charlie Bowen, he recalled the same events, with a few additional details:

> "My old man had a weir there [at Duck Harbor]. And he came over one night, and he says, 'I'd like to go away for three or four days. Would you tend my weir for me?' I didn't know anything about tending a weir. 'Yeah, I'll go.' He says, 'I'll call Charles and [Maurice Barter's] father. So I said OK. So I went down there and we rolled out. I said, 'I see fish.' They said, 'No, we don't see that fish.' I says, 'I see fish. We're going to shut her off.' I didn't know the first damn thing about it. Well, we ran a leader over on this side, and then we came back, and then we ran out of leader. Come in on [the south] side. So we went down the right bank, down here. I said, 'I know there's some heading down there. We'll go down and cut off a jaunt.' And we'll come back up and piece it in. So we had many arguments about that but we got it done. It was a real good set. They took in…And I told the guy when he came in with the boat, I says, 'Hey, I don't know anything about this. I just shut the damn thing off and don't know how to get those fish out of there or anything.' And he says, 'Don't worry about it.' He says, 'You get in the dory with me,' and we went right around and put the pocket out. And he pulled by, went up out of his boat and put the pumper in. He got a boatload. I think I made $12 and something. That was my share. And evidently there was enough there for Dad to pay off what he owed up there at the store. So we all broke even on it" (CB).

[89] As Jim Greenlaw observes, "My grandparents lived in Duck Harbor and their parents, at least one of their parents, lived there too" (JG).

[90] Indeed, the Island seems to have had a sort of romantic reputation for this smuggling in the late 19th century. Quoting one 1880s publication that addressed the subject,

> "There have been times when the smuggling which goes on constantly along our sea-board has been so lively about Isle au Haut as to take on something of that picturesqueness which every story-reader knows belongs to it by right. There is a certain spot near the wharf where, soon after the war of 1812, a revenue officer, whose name tradition variously preserves as Lazarus and Lazaro, was shot by the promoters of the unlawful traffic. At that time the Island was a regular depot for contraband goods, and upon the occasion in question a quantity of merchandise had been discovered by the revenue officers, Lazaro being detailed to stand guard over the goods during the night. Tradition has it that the smugglers came to recover possession during the hours of darkness, and that Lazaro, hearing them, discharged his musket. Aiming by the flash of his gun, the smugglers shot him, and carrying his body out into the Thoroughfare they sank it. At low water the next day his powder-horn floated, and, being still attached by its cord, led to the discovery of the body. One narrator gravely adds that he remembers the blood stains which for more than a score of years remained upon the rocks on the beach, resisting the washing alike of rains and tides.
>
> "Of smuggling in later years there are equally minute if less bloody tales. It is related how one captain long pursued the unlawful calling with a boldness and address which distinguished him through all the country around, on one occasion actually scuttling his schooner to prevent capture by the revenue cutter. One fated day, however, the bold captain was seized and haled to the mainland for trial and for punishment.
>
> "They give him six months in jail," the narrator of this event said, —" six long, weary months in jail. An' thet," he added reflectively, looking out over the blue waters the smuggler's keel had plowed, "an' thet spiled his reputation; an' it just seemed to spile his principle too."
>
> "There are not wanting those who, in the envious security of Deer Isle, accuse the Isle au Haut mariners of still knowing more of the import trade than they do of the tariff; but this may be regarded as one of those imputations which it is easy to utter, not wholly impossible to believe, but difficult to establish, beside being, upon the whole, not our affair at all" (Bates 1885: 655-56).

A few Island residents were involved in smuggling, and the various coves on the Island were said to be used as hiding places for contraband (Munch 1999).

[91] For example, Greenlaw (2002: 227) discusses the "old maid" Alfried Thompson, who raised sheep on Head Harbor.

[92] Wayne Barter comments on the tradition of maintaining small, independent schools on various parts of the Island:

> "Well, you see back then there [were] three schools going at the same time on Isle au Haut: one in Head Harbor, one on what they call the East Side…and then there's the one in Thorofare where you have a parking lot there. Because of the transportation difficulties back then, each, like Head Harbor was sort of its own community…as time went on, they discontinued three schools and built the one that's there [on the Thorofare] now" (WB).

[93] Billy Barter recalls, "there were a couple apple trees there. I think they probably got smothered out by two other trees, I don't know. Used to be a little orchard there by the brook, where the brook runs down." (BB).

[94] As one interviewee noted,

> "[Gooden Grant was] was a scoundrel. He's got this romantic name about him but…the guy was, I don't know, but he's more than a scoundrel. I don't know what the word for him is. But he was a dominant force down there" (AN).

Interviewees mentioned Gooden fighting even with his own family. As Billy Barter recalls,

> "They were quite a group, those. Didn't get along too well, some of them. Course, Gooden's brother [Les] had a house first. Then Gooden built a house down on the water right in front of him, and he planted a tree so [Les] couldn't see his boat. So they didn't have too good a friendship after that. I think Les cut the tree. That was the end of the relationship. That's the story I heard anyway. I think it's probably true" (BB).

[95] A number of interviewees noted that "Eastern Head was in Coast Guard ownership before the NPS got it," though it is clear that portions of the headland were purchased directly by Bowditch and Otis in the 1880s (AN). "I know that the Coast Guard owned Eastern Head because that way there was thoughts of building, like, a rescue station out there" (WB).

[96] As one interviewee recalls,

> "Thunder Gulch…is a very popular spot with Island people. Boom Beach and Thunder Gulch are places people go to look at the surf…just thrill seeking. Thunder Gulch can be a fairly dangerous place" (AN).

Authors such as Pratt mention this spot prominently, inspired in part by the drama of the landscape and the force of the ocean:

> "On Eastern Head is a place called Thunder Gulch, where the sea roars into a long narrow indentation in the cliff and, under some sea and tide conditions, bounces up about fifty feet into your face as you stand at the edge of the pine forest" (Pratt 1974: 5).

[97] Charlie Bowen, for example, recalls the changes in Thunder Hole:

> "Must have been back in '50. Before that, why, when the seas were coming in, why, it was a real booming. The rock up above there, the water got behind it, [formed ice] and pull[ed] it out. It dropped down. [Before that,] the sea come in and, the way the rocks was, it boomed. But when [the rock] dropped down, why, it sort of nullified it…[When it thundered], you could feel it on the land, that tremor. The seas are powerful" (CB).

[98] One interviewee spoke at length about this piratical lobstering being undertaken by off-Island fishermen in contested waters:

> "A few years ago, like, within five or ten years, I wasn't doing that well hauling. And these guys were talking about how good they were doing. So I finally put these little, inconspicuous, twisty-tie wires without the plastic on them on the traps. And when you opened the door on the trap, you wouldn't feel it. And when I hauled my traps the next time, I could see it had been opened up. Well, over half my traps had been hauled.
>
> "And then I was fishing all the way from about through here, and over to Marsh Cove, and all down the shore into Moore's Harbor, and down to Duck Harbor, and all the way down to Ear. So I got pretty pissed off. And I got two other people and myself, all with video cameras—I talked to the wardens and everything—and we set up here and we set up there and we set up there. And the wardens told me, I said, "If I get somebody hauling my traps on videotape, will that hold up in court? Will you prosecute them?" And they said, "Yep, we'll be right behind you 110 percent." Well, spent a week. And I don't think this leaked out. I don't know if it was just a coincidence or what. Wasted a whole…week with

> two other people doing it. I was camping out here and there, you know. I'm not going to tell you I camped on the park but, sure, there's no sense in going back and forth. I've never seen so many honest fishermen. I expected to at least see somebody hauling somebody else's traps but I didn't. And after that week, I went and hauled my traps, and they were full of lobsters. Then after that, it started up again but not so bad. But it really upset me.
>
> "You know, I'm a pretty honest fisherman. I respect other people's traps. If I get wound up, tangled up with them, you know, I'll do my best to get it sorted out, and put theirs back the way it was, so at least they get the buoyed traps. You know, it might not be set right where it was but…A lot of people, they pull up a snarl of traps, and they figure out which one is theirs, and they get out the knife and just cut off the other ones. And they just drop. I don't know how many ghost traps there are on the bottom down there" (AN).

[99] Another, Isle au Haut interviewee, unrelated to Billy Barter, made almost identical observations:

> "One of the big reasons it's like this now is everybody's got these big fast boats. They get from Stonington down to there in 20 minutes. And the fishing can be better down there, so it's worth it. So the boat industry has really changed the fishing industry" (AN).

[100] Harold van Doren has reported this phenomenon in his writings, reflecting the observations of such prominent local fishermen as the late Maurice Barter:

> "When I was fishing with Maurice, he had seen his traditional fishing territory almost completely taken over by Stonington fishermen, "those dam' Deer Islanders", as he called them" (van Doren 2006: 111).

[101] As one interviewee observes under condition of anonymity,

> "I think what was happening was Isle au Haut was losing their territory very rapidly. And a lot of people from Isle au Haut were moving to Stonington. And their descendants still fish around Isle au Haut. And the families are still pretty close…because there are very few of the original fishing families on Isle au Haut still here" (AN).

[102] Again quoting Linda Greenlaw,

> "The one tiny piece of sacred lobster ground not fished by outsiders is bound on its southern end by an imaginary line drawn from the green navigational can-buoy between Robinson Point and Kimball Island (Sawyer Buoy) to the lighthouse. This water is fished exclusively by Islanders." (Greenlaw 2002: 101).

[103] As Harold van Doren notes,

> "There used to be, over here on Kimball's, there used to be a farmer who also ran an inn. It was Benjamin Smith, Seaside Farms. And that was before the bar out here was dredged and, at low water, he used to be able to bring a cart, with the oxen, across the bar over to the main Island and get hay or whatever he needed to get, and then take it back. Can't do that anymore because after 1956, I think it was, the bar was dredged, and so now it's a deep channel, you can't do that" (HV).

There were various efforts to dredge and otherwise improve the Thorofare channel in the 1930s and 1940s.

[104] As Harold van Doren observes,

> "[Merchant's Row] was also the township line, too. When Isle au Haut separated from Stonington, what was it, 1874, I think. That was what they used for a boundary. Everything south of Merchant's Row was Isle au Haut… For fishing, the situation is exactly reversed. Island fishermen can't fish in Head Harbor Bay, where before it used to be the other way around" (HV).

[105] Similarly, one of our anonymous interviewees reports,

> "I fish all the way from [the Thorofare], all the way down to right [off Western Ear]. If you go around that corner, they'll cut you off. That's the line right there. There's a line [on the eastern side] too, and I'm not sure where it is. I'm not sure if it's off the Eastern Ear or if it's off Eastern Head. But basically between here and there somewhere, there are very few fishermen, and they've got it locked up. They're all Stonington fishermen. And they don't let other Stonington fishermen fish in there either" (AN).

[106] Quoting one interviewee,

> "There's a line that goes from [from Western Ear] on down. That's an unwritten line. I don't think they even have a buoy there now. But, there's a line there, it's a loran line. I think it's a sixty six, but I can't remember. There's a line there. And when people set out for deeper water in the fall, you don't go over it. It goes out to the three-mile limit" (AN).

[107] Harold van Doren notes,

> "I was the last person living on the east side to fish the east side, right out of Rich's Cove. I was able to do it because I had "sterned" for Maurice Barter, and when he retired, I bought his boat and gear and just took up where he had left off. I fished basically the same territory as he had, from Burnt Island south to Eastern Ear. I was careful not to set too near to anyone's traps or cross any lines, just as Maurice had done. I had no trouble with any fisherman and never lost a trap. Looking back, I feel a little guilty, because I believe that if I had kept fishing, I might have been able to hold more territory for Island fisherman by virtue of my very presence" (HV).

[108] As one interviewee attests,

> "you're either pretty much an east side or a west side fisherman. Isle au Haut fishermen can fish up around here [the whole northern side]. But only some of us can… a couple of the younger guys have been trying to strike it down. The east side has had really good fishing some of the past few years" (AN).

[109]Linda Greenlaw specifically referenced lobster wars associated with this southern portion of the Island in *The Lobster Chronicles*:

> "Now was the time to 'cut him out of the water.' This was the method widely used, accepted, and understood. It is the method that keeps us from fishing Head Harbor and the entire south end of our own Island. (That's right. A family of mainlanders have maintained a large area for themselves, keeping all others out with a sharp knife. We are not allowed

> to fish the water we can spit into from our southern shores, because it has been and continues to be fought for and protected by a dozen men who commute quite a distance to do so. It's just the way the business works. So, to my thinking, it should have worked that way for us, too" (Greenlaw 2002: 102).

[110] As Billy Barter explains,

> "They fish the whole cove, about seven or eight Stonington guys… They got a big area, really…There's a big ledge they call The Boulder. That's the line for us… About as far as George's Cove's about as far as we go…[T]hey got Head Harbor. I don't know how far they're allowed up the shore there. 'Cause the east-side fishermen, you know, they meet here somewhere. Head Harbor guys on the east side, Stonington east-side guys. Stonington guys come down far, but I don't know how far they come. They go up as far as—there's a line there, too, somewhere" (BB).

[111] As one interview recalls, these proposals made life very tense for many Isle au Haut residents:

> "We were making noises about trying to get an exclusive zone for the Island a few years ago. Boy, that stirred things up…Isle au Haut fishermen are probably outnumbered, geez, I don't know, at least ten to one, I'd say" (AN).

[112] Pratt also noted this practice being widespread during his time on the Island in the early 1970s:

> "People from the Main and the nearby Islands coast along the deserted southern shore in the fall, shoot a deer and then land in a small boat to pick it up. The problem with this is that if the deer is merely wounded they can't get to it in time, and it crawls off to die somewhere. It is nearly impossible to enforce the law when the hunting is from the water and so the poaching is pretty brazen- brazen, that is, by the standards of the Maine coast (Pratt 1974: 12-13).

[113] Some also suggested that hunting prohibitions simplified enforcement considerably following park creation:

> "one reason why the town voted to have no hunting on any land…they closed it down completely because it would've been so difficult to enforce

> it, you know, not knowing clearly where the boundaries were or anything else" (HV).

[114] When asked what edibles people still gather in the park areas, summer resident Tom Guglielmo answered, "Lingonberries, huckleberries, blueberries—you know, the standard—cranberries, all those things."

[115] The Depression did have minor economic repercussions that intersect with the Island's history. The 1930s witnessed a dramatic contraction in the traditional ice industry, already long gone from Isle au Haut, as well as instigating the Maine coast sheep industry's long descent that would, in time, largely erase sheep herding from the landscape.

[116] Virginia MacDonald continues:

> "[the donation of lands to the park] was a done deal before we knew anything about it, to begin with. It was between Mrs. Eustis and the Park. I've always thought it was because taxes had got just so large, so many thousands of acres – and it just got to be too much. It wasn't the part of the Island that was settled easily, at all. Just a carriage road that went around the Island. I guess (Mrs. Eustis) had paid on it because her father owned it for so long. She got fed up with it. She gave it to the park. Without any thought for the Island.
>
> "We were so mad. Actually, none of our business. She owned it. She could do what she wanted to with it, but it was not good for the Island" (MacDonald 1998: 65).

[117] As Bill Stevens notes,

> "When I was younger, I probably drove out to Western Head more times than anyone else because I was working for the park and it was easy, if I was in a hurry. But to be honest, it doesn't affect me now. If I want to go to Western Head, I'd probably prefer to walk out there, actually. But as far as change, it was a pretty nice road out there back in the late '60s and early '70s" (BS).

[118] Fred Eustis notes that "An Island wide trail system was maintained for and used by less than 50 people per year" prior to World War II (Eustis 1984: 2). He goes on to note that "In the years since 1803 [the first survey] forests had been cut, burned, held down

by grazing, then re-grown. Where lands had reverted to wilderness and this was most of Isle au Haut) people had ceased to be very interested in or care where the ownership boundaries lay. Trails paid no attention to them. Taxes per wild acre were light" (Eustis 1984: 6).

[119] As a former NPS employee, responsible for early trail development, as well as a longstanding Isle au Haut resident, Bill Stevens is a wealth of information on the early years of NPS trails and should be contacted by anyone wishing to reconstruct these events. He notes of the historical pre-park trail network,

> "Some of these are still there. The Champlain Trail is—the one on the ridge—but Sawyer Notch Trail doesn't go through anymore. And there used to be a trail that, it goes partway, but it doesn't connect over to the road anymore, and doesn't really run down to town. People don't really use them—over on the side on the mountain, [the] trail that connected with Sawyer's Notch and went on through and connected with the Great Meadow, and so on. It's all been kind of re-internalized into whatever the park owns now. The park put a trail in, Long Pond Trail, and now it's something. But I'm not sure they had the Herrick Trail—which was really a way people got across the Island years ago—the Herrick Trail up through and across the Bowditch lands. The Herrick was up near our house at one time. So I think people took as short a route as they could to get somewhere before there were roads and vehicles and so on."
>
> "I think, I'm not sure, some of the trails may have been functional, more direct access, going from the village, over town, to Head Harbor, for instance. I wouldn't be surprised if some of the trails across the Herrick Trail might have been—because they went to the Herrick camp but also continued—I think there were some that were functional, quicker access. It's obvious that the shortest distance between two points is more or less a straight line. It's hard to find a straight line out here but it's better than walking all the way around the shore. I think some of them were like that. I think a lot of the trails were probably developed by the rusticators for the simple pleasure of hiking and seeing the vistas. But those were pretty well continually maintained, to some degree, up until I came along, anyways. A lot of trails were not easy to find and follow when I first came here working for the park. And I worked on the trails a lot because I worked for the park. Back then we weren't too concerned about respecting specific boundaries. So, not necessarily working for the park, but as an individual, I used to work on trails that weren't entirely off the park simply because I was interested in it. So were other people. I know a

> few people at Point Lookout, the Donaldsons, used to do a little bit of trail maintenance and so on, and other people as they had time or interest…
>
> "You couldn't really follow [Duck Harbor Mountain Trail] when I was here in the late '60s-70s. We, a friend of mine, a fraternity brother actually, that worked for the park service one summer…he and I brushed that trail out. We may have actually rerouted some of it because it was in such tough shape. It was hard to find points, but we did the best we could to find any markers and so on. It's a pretty interesting trail actually…they call it Duck Harbor Mountain Trail but we called it Duck Harbor Mountain Trail, only this piece here up to the pinnacle" (BS).

He notes that the "Goat Trail" was named because it was so rugged, while the Nat Merchant Trail is an old logging road.

[120] Bill Stevens recalls early efforts to mark park boundaries in the late 1960s and 1970s:

> "Most of the park boundaries had blue blazes on them. And some of the trails also are blue—surprisingly, a light blue shows up well in fog…At one point, I think I tried to go to orange paint on the blazes because there were so many park boundaries that you would intersect. Because at one point there were parcels of private land in between so you'd cross park boundaries frequently, and they would be blue, and if you had a blue trail marker, you would get confused. And when you hit the boundary, unless you really knew where the boundaries were, if you were just traveling the trail, you might wander off on the boundary. It wouldn't take too long to figure out it because the boundaries generally run pretty straight and the trails kind of meander" (BS).

[121] A landowner in that area "had to reroute the trail a little bit because the trail used to right from her house. Just because, we'll be down there and all of a sudden these people come traipsing right through" (AN).

[122] When asked how the Island has changed in the 40 years since she and Jim first came, Sharen Wilson said,

> "I'd say the changes are people—when we came out here, it was very loose, very, it seemed like nobody cared about boundary lines… There was just this sort of "whatever." And as the years have gone on, things have tightened up. You know where your land is"(SW).

Similarly, as Harold van Doren has written,

> "One thing never nailed up anywhere on the Island was the inhospitable black and white "No Trespassing" sign, because there was a long tradition of mutual respect for other people's land" but this has been changing (van Doren 2006: 185).

[123] The loss of access to hunting and other resource procurement was of concern to some residents, including both members of multigenerational families and recent arrivals. As Bill Stevens observes,

> "I liked hunting and so on, and one area that I frequently used to go duck hunting was Merchants Cove, which became absorbed by the park. And I didn't make any huge objection to it because it was kind of a selfish point of view. But no one else particularly from the town was particularly interested in waterfowl hunting, or they may have been at one time but didn't go to Merchant's Cove…There were only a few areas on the Island that were good duck hunting areas that were reachable by land. I mean, there were a lot of sea ducks offshore, there still are, but it's a different type of pursuit. So that was one area—because they talked about impact on local usages and stuff on areas that became park and so on—it was an area that I resented the loss of" (BS).

[124] Elsewhere, Harold van Doren has noted that the park has financial resources that the community does not, and even a better dock. Quoting from his book, *Lines Across the Water*: "as we pass the entrance to Duck Harbor, we see the prominent granite pier built by the Park. "I wish the Town had one like that. It would be a lot better than that old pile of sticks we've got now," I grumble" (van Doren 2006: 165).

[125] As one interviewee notes,

> "There used to be another [wharf], the old wooden wharf right next to the town landing. That used to belong to my [family] but they would allow another fisherman to use that bait shed. And it was leased, in this case it was leased to him for something like one legal lobster a year. Or something like that, I can't remember, but I think that was what it was. Course, they get a little bit more than that out of him" (AN).

[126] As Linda Greenlaw observed, "Although Archie was a Stonington and not an Island fisherman, he had never been a thru-fisherman" (Greenlaw 2002: 83).

Bill Stevens provided additional details about the Hutchinson family and the demolition of their fish house:

> "[M]y task when I was a fire control aid, first year or two that I was on the Island, was to go down and kind of clean up this place and prepare it for disassembling. It was fairly much gone to pieces anyway. The windows and doors and stuff were beat in. You know, it was just a mess, but nevertheless the people were friendly to me. And a fisherman from Stonington, he allowed that it was something he used from time to time. He's long gone now but it was Archie Hutchinson. And he had a son named Archie but he'd be junior, but he's also deceased. Probably Archie Hutchinson Sr. would be a hundred years old now, if he was alive, or more" (BS)

[127] Bill Stevens is a former NPS employee associated with this era of shoreline "cleanup," but remains today the local expert in the moving and restoration of old buildings on the Island. On the relocation of structures from Duck Harbor, he recalls:

> "I believe Rachel Harris's little camp on the lake there at the south end was formerly, that's within my time here back probably in the late '70s I think, Russ Devereaux moved that from Duck Harbor over to where it is at the south end of the pond. And then, I only learned last year that there's a what's used now as kind of a garage/storage, might have been a workshop or something previously, it's over near Point Lookout up near the clubhouse. The clubhouse is the big red rambling building and next to it is the cottage where the help stayed and then north of that is a long linear building that was moved from, I believe, Head Harbor someone told me last year. And moved up to Point Lookout. And I'm not sure what its function was at Head Harbor, probably the same or similar, you know, a storage or a workshop or something. But it's a fairly long building, it's not really wide but I was quite amazed that they moved it way up in there. You know it would have been quite a task because the roads in there are, it's in a difficult site to get to. But, you know, where there's a will there's a way" (BS).

[128] Similarly, Virginia MacDonald had noted,

> "[They were] letting all the campers off at the town dock, and they'd spread where ever they thought they wanted to go. Anybody's

lawn. We got fed up with it, to the point that we took the Park on. Bless Fred Eustis, he fought for the Island. He was the son of Mrs. Eustis. He fought. Right to Washington.

We had meeting after meeting. My daughter was on the committee along with Jack MacDonald, who was selectman. I used to go with them. Bobby Turner would go and whoever wanted to go. We'd meet down there and have dinner and go to this meeting" (MacDonald 1998: 65).

[129] As Virginia MacDonald recalls,

> "they had to start taking their people right to Duck Harbor. They built a dock down there, and built these Adirondack shelters, three of them. Five now. It used to be on the Island side…then they moved (the shelters) across the creek. The campers didn't like it. People (Isle au Haut residents and summer people) used to ride around the Island and after dark, motorcycles, cars, what-ever. Nothing else for people to do. They'd go for a ride around the Island, and that disturbed the campers. So they moved the campers all across the creek, and shut off that road to cars that went down to the cliffs, except for hikers" (MacDonald 1998: 66).

[130] There is evidence to suggest that, for a time, this land had belonged to the Harvey family of Isle au Haut (NPS n.d.).

[131] Some suggest that the Head Harbor community was not especially involved with the negotiations over park boundaries and impacts – in part because of its distance from visitor traffic and key land parcels addressed in those negotiations.

[132] Still, Virginia MacDonald adds that the continued success of the settlement depends on continued adherence to its core principals:

> "now that they don't leave them off mid-town everybody's happy about it. We do get a stipend from the Park every year on taxes in lieu of. Not much. Usually $2,000 or less. We're lucky to get anything…If they uphold the document that's been signed, they shouldn't have any problem. But if anyone decides to expand or move in or make changes, there'll be trouble" (MacDonald 1998: 68).

[133] Jack MacDonald, for example, is widely celebrated by the community for his role in this effort. As Linda Greenlaw summarized the community's view of his role,

> "Islanders first learned of Jack's tenacity in the 1970s. At that time, the National Park Service had set its sights on the Island with the intention of obtaining the entire rock for a national playground, relocating families of Island dwellers to the mainland, where the displaced fishermen could find work pumping gas or selling shoes. Jack had a different plan for the Island; he led a passionate fight against the federal government and won" (Greenlaw 2002: 104).

Jack MacDonald was revered for many other reasons, often serving as an organizer of community events and helping Islanders in need. As Harold van Doren recalled,

> "He gave me a job when I really needed one to keep living in a place that I loved, believing that if I stayed, I could contribute to his efforts to keep the community viable at a time when it was struggling to survive" (van Doren 2006: 123).

On the value of Fred Eustis's contributions, Virginia MacDonald notes

> "Finally, after two or three years – it was quite a long struggle – they did agree to boundaries…Fred Eustis was a peach on that. He fought hard for us…What didn't he do? He had a lawyer in Boston, he had a lawyer down in Washington representing us. The controversy with Acadia National Park could not have been finally settled if it hadn't been for the considerable input from Fred Eustis, the son of the woman who gave so many thousands of acres to the Park in the first place. He himself was the head of a committee talking with Park officials for a period of two or three years. There were many open public meetings on Isle au Haut with Park officials, both local, and from Washington. Trying to settle Isle au Haut's difference[s]. What finally resulted was a three part section that was approved, shepherded through Congress by Senators Mitchell and Cohen…I don't think little Isle au Haut could have accomplished all that without the guidance and contacts, legal advice, engendered by Fred Eustis" (MacDonald 1998: 67).

Jim Wilson also spoke highly of Fred Eustis's key role as the park underwent a "consolidation of lines":

> "The park had patches back on Mount Champlain and, I think, particularly in that area. And those were traded away for even holdings that existed within the current park…I thought people were fairly

satisfied with the outcome. And the process. I think Fred [Eustis] was a large part of these, this process when it happened. He cares a lot about the community on the Island. I think he really hung out there to make that process work" (JW).

[134] A number of other interviewees made similar points. One interviewee notes,

> "The town and park really have kind of worked pretty well together over the years to sort this all out. They've been wanting to clean up that boundary. The town would rather the park had that, you know, rather than these parcels around. Eastern Head is the only exception to that. The park's pretty well consolidated here" (AN).

[135] Writing in the 1880s, Arlo Bates marveled at an elderly maritime "mail-carrier," providing services to Isle au Haut:

> "an ancient mariner who has outlived the term of life scripturally allotted to mankind, yet who goes sturdily to and from Green's Landing, Deer Isle, in winter as in summer. During the past season he had a new "pea-pod" made, and so pleased was the old man with the new boat that he forthwith proceeded to row over to Deer Isle and back, six miles each way, to try his new craft. In winter he takes a sledge in his row-boat, pulls through the open water, sledges it over the ice-fields, and thus makes his journey in the fashion of a genuine Arctic explorer. Often the floes cover a large part of the distance to Green's Landing, the numerous Islands favoring the growth and detention of the ice. This picturesque feature of Isle au Haut life, however, will not long endure, as already there is talk of steam ferry to Rockland, which will make the old fisherman's services superfluous" (Bates 1885: 653-54).

[136] Fred Eustis has recounted much of this history in his Isle au Haut tourism "white paper":

> "Public transportation to Isle au Haut was provided by the Mail Boat which was moored in Isle au Haut Thorofare and ran to Stonington. During the late 1930s, 1940s, 50s, and 60s a succession of lobster boats of thirty feet or slightly more served as Mail Boat. The last of these had a capacity of 28 people. These boats faithfully served as the vital link for passengers and freight to a community extremely isolated in the ice and

> severe weather of winter and only somewhat less isolated in the pleasant weather of summer when other private boats were in the water. A small Town Dock was built on the Thorofare in the 1950s…In one way or another most of the Island community depended on the Mail Boat" (Eustis 1984: 3).

[137] This was perhaps a turning point in park-community relations and, rightly or not, the park was sometimes held accountable for these changes. At this time, "Everyone was dumped at the town landing and "day trippers," as they were called, spent the day wandering around the town looking for a place where they could eat and go to the bathroom. Naturally this led to friction and unhappiness on both sides" (M. Dice n.d.: 7).

[138] Eustis explains the context of this decision:

> "Throughout all this time, the mailboat was owned and operated by a most excellent waterman. But as the year-round community dwindled, there was less business for him serving it. Tourism became more economically important. His first wife died; he married again, a lady who lived in Stonington and who kept a motel and restaurant. The boat became a part of her tourist trade. They advertised up and down the East Coast to draw more numbers. Their customers were landed on Isle au Haut at the Town landing, which had no facilities of any kind and from where many wandered through the village looking at the picturesque locals. From the point of view of many residents and summer people, the Park, shown on the map in green, had become a kind of attractive nuisance, not through any particular action of its own.
>
> "We should note in passing that between the 1940s and 1970s America's transportation system had changed. While earlier people had traveled much by train, now roads, automobiles, and buses became leading factors and these, specifically including the Maine Turnpike, I think, tended to increase tourist pressure on Isle au Haut—which of course remained minuscule compared to that on Mount Desert.
> We might also note that the three donors, Richard Bowditch, Sarah Bowditch and Elizabeth Eustis, had died, and the only representative of the donor family still on Isle au Haut was myself.
>
> "In this general situation, the owner-operator of the mailboat found it time to retire because of age. (He had held the mail contracts from sometime in the 1930s until 1972.)" (Eustis 2012).

[139] As Eustis notes, "A Company was formed that acquired ownership of the Mail Boat. It immediately discontinued advertising in order not to stimulate further tourism" (Eustis 1984: 13).

[140] As Virginia MacDonald noted, "We're happiest that they (campers and day trippers) all go to Duck Harbor. Get them right out of town" (MacDonald 1998: 68). Ted Hoskins, too, notes,

> "they got the good landing down there, and that made it even better because then they could just take them straight down there and not even dump them off at the town landing. That was probably the best thing" (TH).

[141] Very similarly, van Doren had written of locals' reluctance to accept people who move into any community in this area as "local" even when these individuals have roots in communities not far away on the Maine coast (van Doren 2006: 111).

[142] Of this change, Hoskins notes,

> "That's when we eventually changed to one service. We used to have a service in the morning, church service in the evening. The morning one was for summer people, and the evening one was for Islanders. And, I mean, there'd be a little mixing, but not a great deal. And of course, this is true on all the Islands. They all have two hymnals, one for summer people and one for Islanders. You know, the good old, great, staunch, continental English hymn [for the summer people]. [And] the gospel hymns that the Islanders like to sing.
>
> "Then we tried to get them together, which worked fairly well, except we lost I think some of the Island population when we pulled them together. But… that's the way it happened. Nobody pays any attention to [denominational differences]…I mean, Jewish, atheist, whatever kind of people, Roman Catholic, Protestant, it doesn't make much difference" (TH).

[143] As Bill Steven s notes,

> "it occurred to me….once I remember having a discussion with friends of mine that were actually at the time year-round people here, and I was probably denigrating summer people for some reason. And they jumped to the defense, and said, 'Well, if it wasn't for those people here, we probably wouldn't want to be here,' because without them, the place

becomes less interesting. It's the social. What they were speaking to was more the social aspect. I was speaking about the economic difficulties. I mean, the seasonal people lend a lot of economic benefit to the Island, but it's also kind of traumatic that it's a brief period of time and then they disappear. I mean, there's a whole bunch of things relative to living on an Island that are difficult seasonally…the economics are different through the winter, and so on. And the social aspects are really, you're basically in a social vacuum. And then all of the sudden, Memorial Day, people show up. There's all kinds of activity. Not necessarily a huge economic storm blows in, but the social activity changes dramatically. And things pick up, everyone gets invigorated, and a little cash starts flowing because everyone's working, and stuff. And then, hit Labor Day, you know. So there's all these ups and downs, I guess, make Island living" (BS).

[144] Tom Guglielmo , for example, observes,

> "the influx of summer people here and that interaction, I think, is kind of wonderful for a lot of [fulltime residents]. It falls off after Labor Day, and I think it's not easy for a lot of people to have this big hoopla in the summer and then, boom, it's quiet again" (TG).

[145] Fred Eustis has noted that these relative newcomers also have deep and abiding ties to the Island:

> "Most of the summer people returned year after year. Some were the third generation of their families to summer at Isle au Haut. Others were comparative newcomers who arrived during the 1950s. But the depth of attachment of the children of some of the latter to the Island was fully as intense as that of the former" (Eustis 1984: 4).

[146] Again, quoting Tom Guglielmo ,

> "Here we are in summer and there's no distractions. You can't run out and go to dinner, or a movie, or this or that. So things happen in sort of a spontaneous way…I woke up today…I saw the sunrise was going to be special because there were clouds in the east, right? So I jumped out of bed, I got on my pajamas, and I went out. I don't walk around the neighborhood in my pajamas at home. But here, there's nobody around. So I walk up, I walk over there, and I watch this sunrise. And the clouds and the color in the sky, I mean, it's just breathtaking" (TG).

[147] Steve Shafer spoke of this very difficult balance, which he had to consider frequently both as a person active in civil life on the Island, as well as an entrepreneur who has introduced novel enterprises - a café and chocolate business - to the Island:

> "We're proud to be out here. We're proud of the community. We're proud of being here...So it's a very fine line, and hard line, to walk. Because we need jobs out here in order to attract people, you need to create jobs, and how do you do that? I mean, what are you going to do out here, what kind of industry? The fishing industry is either declining or it's as low as it's going to go. It may not come back, I mean, it's unreliable. Because let's say the fish do come back...Let's face it, we can't get people to do migrant labor, and fishing is not a very glamorous job. There's not people scrambling to enter that field… And it's one of the only industries, as far as I know, in which the sternman is paid a percentage of the takings. Usually everybody is paid, in this economy, on an hourly salary. And so it's really one of the last vestiges of an old way of doing business. Which I think is really interesting in and of itself. So it's hard, it's a hard line" (SS).

[148] Indeed, the number of lobstermen surged almost immediately at the end of the War, with men lured by the burgeoning industry. As Pratt noted,

> "At the end of the war, there was an enormous increase in the number of lobstermen, as the returning veterans bought boats and gear with G.I. loans and went hauling – many to drop out of full-time fishing when they found it was harder than they thought it would be" (Pratt 1974: 116).

[149] Speaking of the fishermen's cooperative on the Island, Sherwood Carr recalls,

> "When I was in my tenure on the boat, they got things together and did a co-op, a fishermen's co-op… there was a summer person there that said that, if they got things together they'd turn this Island over to them…near Kimball Island. There's a thoroughfare that makes up the harbor, goes right across the harbor. So they did, and they got the Island, and that's where they keep the bait, and anybody in the co-op can use that. And then they took a place where there's a bridge to another little Island, and it kind of makes a cove—on real high waters, the water goes over on one end of it—but there's a bridge there. It's a stoned up bridge, and they closed that off and they made a lobster pound out of it. So they could

> keep their lobsters until the price went up. And everybody got a bonus. I don't think that's something in the longer line to keep working in the summer, some kind of money [during the off season]. And we helped them what we could" (SC).

Linda Greenlaw described this cooperative association when it was still operational in *The Lobster Chronicles*:

> "The Island Lobster Association had been 'pounding' lobsters since the first of September. Every season after Labor Day the price of lobster drops significantly due to changes in demand. In the fall, Vacationland becomes less so. Fewer visitors to Maine means less demand for lobster. The supply, however, is steady during September and October; so, of course, the price dives accordingly. The price recovers prior to Christmas due to huge holiday demand and dwindling supply. Generally the supply reaches its lowest point in the months of February and March, and those dates see lobster at the highest prices. Fishermen who brave the winter elements are rewarded by receiving prices often in excess of $6 per pound, as opposed to $2.75 that I anticipated this day in October.
>
> "Pounding lobsters is the act of storing lobsters in a 'lobster pound' during the months when the price is low; you can then sell them for greater profit in late winter or early spring. On the Island, we are fortunate to have the use of a natural pond, a saltwater pond in which we have at times stored up to 40,000 pounds of lobster while waiting for prices to go up. The pound is equipped with an electric pump that aerates the water, protecting the lobsters from suffocation. There is some tidal flow in and out of the pound, keeping the water from stagnating. Pounded lobsters are fed bait and medicated feed to keep them healthy and free of disease while in storage. Once the price is declared 'as high as it will get,' which is guesswork by the Association's management, the work of taking lobsters out of the pound begins" (Greenlaw 2002: 209-210).

[150] Charitable religious organizations, such as the Maine Seacoast Mission, have aided the community at different times, sending a boat to aid with marine construction that might benefit the community – including the construction of the cooperative pond, or even carrying families to and from Island funerals. As mission volunteer, Sherwood Carr recalls, the Maine Seacoast Mission was involved in helping the local community with some of the construction:

> "I got a welding business, since '76 or so, since then…so I welded up a boom that went on an old International Carryall that had a wench on it, and they'd used that to pick the gates out when they took the gates out. I did a lot of welding [on that lobster pound]. We try to help out. We were getting paid anyway from the mission, so when… somebody's unloading the boat with traps or putting traps aboard, David, the captain, and I would go over and try to help out. And they would take him up to the house or somewhere. We'd jump on the back of the truck and ride up and help them out. Things like that" (SC).

Pratt notes that "The Main Seacoast Mission operates a vessel, the *Sunbeam*, which plies the coast on various errands of Christian comfort to the outlying Islands" (Pratt 1974: 84).

As Sherwood Carr, a member of the mission, recalls,

> "We used to do the funerals too. We'd have times when we just got in from our regular trip, and I looked in the obituary…I'd call up [the guy I worked with, David] and say, 'So and so died on Matinicus. And he'd say, 'Well, make sure the fuel truck is down there. Get the boat ready.' Because even before we had the official word from the mission house, we knew we'd be going, at some point, to a funeral or bringing the funeral party out or something" (SC).

[151] As Virginia MacDonald described this operation,

> "Now they have a lobster pound, which my husband said would never work…there were so few fishermen. In order to pay their gas bill and for bait, they were going to have to sell lobsters. So few, he said, unless you get some outside fishermen who want to pound lobsters just to get the bonus in winter, I don't see how it's ever going to work. But, it's been greatly successful. They pay out large bonuses. They take the lobsters out sometime this month (March)" (MacDonald 1998: 51).

[152] Dorothy Barter recalled, "In years long before my day they'd build a fire up on the mountain (of Isle au Haut) and people (in Stonington) could see there was trouble down there" (D. Barter 1999: 9).

[153] Linda Greenlaw has put this local truism in print: "people didn't even die on the Island anymore" (Greenlaw 2002: 88). Many people note that truly elderly people are a

rare commodity on the Island, in part because of this phenomenon. Mentioning Gladys Harjula, the oldest Isle au Haut resident in 2006, Harold van Doren referred to her as "one of the few who stayed behind, at her home" (van Doren 2006: 288).

[154] During the author's stays on the Island with his family, a number of Isle au Haut residents kindly and gently encouraged us to stay longer, have our kids visit the school, and perhaps even consider relocation. If our family and other ties to the Northwest coast were not so strong, this would have been a very tempting offer indeed.

[155] Prior to Fred Eustis' purchase of the mail boat, Island residents had only 20 to 90 minute stopovers on the mainland before the boat left Stonington again, prompting overnight stays – "try to find a medical or dental appointment in that amount of time!" (BM). Responding to these concerns, changes in schedule under Eustis' ownership have improved these circumstances, and the mail boat now charges a reduced rate for residents' ferry fares.

[156] As Harold van Doren notes, "There was a tradition of being honest. If you were anything else, word got around and you simply would not be able to stay" (van Doren 2006: 288).

[157] As Ted Hoskins observes,

> "these years are going to be rough. You know, the year I taught school out there, there was a point at which there was only about, I'd say, eleven or twelve people on the Island. And this was before we got electricity and all. It was the year we got electricity, as a matter of fact. But, you know, we've had down times before. And you just wonder how it's going to move ahead. I've been talking for a number of years, not only this Island, but the other offshore Islands that I worked with…and saying, 'You got to have a way to welcome people, and a way to let people go.' Because as it is now, they come and they stay, and then they feel guilty as hell at abandoning, when they need for economic or family reasons, to go back to shore. I said, 'You ought to help them do that,'…it's hard to move back and to keep the feelings alive. We had a great party for a family that left [for school] the end of summer. And everybody turned up. They had a big potluck supper just to say thanks, you know, and all that stuff. And it's that their kids were getting older, into high school, and they didn't want them to be alone because it's a different world out there. I mean, when we were growing up, all the kids, everybody had a relative inshore, and you'd go stay with them, go to high school with them. But now that's not the way it is. And the world for high school kids is different now than it was fifty years ago. It's a rugged world" (TH).

[158] Jim Greenlaw was an IT director in a number of large industrial firms prior to his retirement. After he retired, he spent roughly 10 years lobstering out of Isle au Haut. He stayed intermittently involved in fishing during his years away, and used to take his kids out fishing for bluefin tuna prior to retirement, which is where he thinks his daughter Linda, who famously serves as a swordfish boat captain, learned her love of this kind of fishing. Since his return, he has often worked as a lobsterman.

[159] Expanding on the context of that observation, Burke notes,

> "One thing I have heard people have wondered about the number of people that are allowed to come in [to the park] on a daily basis. And I don't think there's any real consensus that. But it's something that people do talk about and wonder about… I think the rangers do a pretty good job of keeping their eye on people. They seem to have their shtick down pretty good in terms of all that. Myself, I really love the idea of the wilderness experience, and sort of the framework for establishing how this part of the park is used. And so I don't really have any opinion on whether sixty people a day is the right number. Lots of days there's not even ten or twenty people in the park, and other days it probably pushes a hundred…[Our guests] were thrilled with the scarcity of hikers. They loved it…People that are willing to forgo their car for a day, and get on the ferry, and come all the way out here—I mean, there are certain filters that funnel people. Sort of like the tide sorting out stones by their size and specific gravity and whatnot along the beaches. There's only certain people that are going to wash up on the shore out here. And they're also going to tend to be more alike because they're filtered out by these different forces. So it creates a real nice scene. But it's just a teensy-weensy percentage of the people who find their way out here. Most people'd rather go to Atlantic City, I guess" (JB).

[160] As Wayne Barter observes,

> "economically there's a lot of hikers that do get into town and support the store and like that. There's no McDonalds or things like that. I think the biggest benefit to the Island itself, not the people, but the Island itself, is that we know at least half the Island will never be developed, staying natural.
>
> "I don't know if there's any big economic gain to the Island other than a few hikers come in. And the town has maybe a little bit of money

> from the park in lieu of taxes. It's very little actually. I forget what it is, but, a couple thousand dollars. But, of course, the park has been a big boon for the boat company based in Stonington. And Eustis had a lot to do with that" (WB).

[161] Her longer comments on this theme are illuminating:

> "I also worried that the Island, due mostly to everyone's uncertainty about the future stock of lobster, might begin to change at a quicker pace. If the Island should someday be inhabited only by caretakers of summer folks and summer folks themselves, the Island would surely suffer an identity crisis. Who would want to live here then? The two populations, summer and year-round, now enjoy a symbiotic relationship unlike any of which I have ever been aware. We do not refer to seasonal residents as 'summer complaints,' nor do they have derogatory terms for us. We are all Islanders when on the Island. Some of our summer population had been coming to the Island for generations before many permanent residents discovered life here. Although divided by a financial canyon, both populations are united in wanting the Island to remain unchanged. We all want to thrive on our resource-based economy and not cave in to tourism. Islanders love the Island just as it is" (Greenlaw 2002: 201-02).

[162] As Wayne Barter notes,

> "Before I started working for the park, there were places on Isle au Haut I'd never seen before. [Laughs] I don't know, most of the locals are busy making a living, you know, or trying to, and you don't get a chance to go hiking" (WB).

[163] Bill Stevens, for example, discussed a place called "Jacob's Ladder" on the eastern side of Jerusalem Mountain, which was among the recreational areas used by visitors: "[*Jacob's Ladder*] was an old name that was on the Bowditch map but it's about a mile from here, you know, as the crow flies. And there's some beautiful vistas on the east side you don't really see from the trail system, up on Champlain and the Ridge Trail. You kind of have to bushwhack and know where to go to get to them" (BS).

[164] Jeff Burke is especially vocal in celebrating the Island's abundance of public land:

> "The thing about Maine is that there's so much open space, but it's private space. There just is hardly any public land; it's like practically nothing. Baxter State Park and a few other small state parks, and some postage-stamp sized municipal parks, and places like that. But there's so much unfenced and unposted land that people are used to it, for hunting and walking beaches and everything else, people are just used to this unrestricted space. And so we're lucky, very, very lucky. But if you look like places like California or Oregon, California particularly, they were lucky because they got established there later, and there's all kind of national land and state land, and county and regional areas, and stuff. I mean, it's like half the state or more. And if it wasn't for that, that would be a godawful place. You know, it would be just horrible. Because if you look at the private land that's left, it's overdeveloped and outrageously priced, and that's the way the entire state would be, instead of just 50% of it. And in Maine, you know, we just don't have that perspective because the development has been so much less than other places. But who knows what's going to happen in the future. I think we, you know, it's important to try and establish these conservation areas and these parklands and stuff in any way we can because it ain't going to be that way forever. I think everybody really realizes that we're fortunate to have the park here. But you know, at the same time, you always got to have something kind of to worry about. I don't really see any down sides to the park. I mean, what's the alternative? It's parkland. It's not like you're going to go backwards with it and privatize it or something" (JB).

165 As Jim Wilson notes,

> "The Maine Coast Heritage Coast didn't want it. We, with these two other families, owned all of that land, for about five minutes. They sold a big valuable chunk to me because Heritage Trust, they didn't want the stuff north of the road. And I think they didn't want it because they didn't want to be seen gobbling up too much land" (JW).

166 Occasionally the interests relating to visitor numbers are reversed. Park staff note that there have been a few times when the community has sought to have events on the Island (such as a proposed marathon) but the park has denied permits because of the number of people who would flock to the Island.

167 As Virginia MacDonald notes,

> "Some of the trails, at some point during the years, have been closed off because they've been so over tracked. Just wearing them down. After a while, a heavy rain storm will just gully them out" (MacDonald 1998: 68).

[168] Recent research demonstrates that visitors care about the park, and have concerns about some of the same issues as residents – such as crowding, erosion and other effects of visitation on the park. The NPS has supported a very detailed survey on visitor perspectives on these matters that bears out this claim (Bacon et al. 2004).

[169] Sharen Wilson notes that residents experience a mixture of concern and frustration with unprepared visitors that is common to many remote tourist communities:

> "The people that come out to the park are [often unprepared]. I was walking from here over to Duck Harbor…you always see somebody coming off the boat with flip-flops and they're walking the trails…it just kills me not to say, You idiot, what are you doing up here?'…But this other woman and I, we stop them. We were just being a mother, 'Do you realize how dangerous this is?' These people! But…you can't do a thing about that. You wouldn't want to tell people, 'You can't come out unless you're dressed.' Because they say, 'We're just going to stay by the wharf'…I saw this guy, not only did he have flip-flops on, he had a broken wrist, and he was in a cast. Ok, go for it. He was going up the mountain" (SW).

[170] Charlie Bowen discussed these events in more than one interview. In one account, he recalls,

> "Three old ladies are down there at the pond on Arthur Tully's ramp. He had a ramp there that he used to park his seaplane on. They were down there swimming off that ramp, and when they came in, they lit up cigarettes and fired them off into the bushes. You got a mile of [open water] there. I was out there, and went aboard the boat. And Maurice Barter come running down there, and he had a Model A convertible… And he come down there screaming, 'The Island's on fire! The Island's on fire!' And his Model A wouldn't start, it was all heated over. So we came ashore, and when I got up there, almost to the ramp, it crowned and jumped the road. And I says, 'Oh boy.' Well, the *Sunbeam* came in. Come into the point…and their winch was broken. And it was about half tide. So a whole bunch of us got down there, and we picked that big [pump] out and we put it on the dock. And we unloaded all the hose and

> everything, and we back the truck up, and the hitch wouldn't fit. Take it out, put it in the back of the truck, packed hose all around it. And Sonny Grindle was driving it. And Elmer Gross and I were laying up on top, and we could look down in, and at no time did that truck ever go below fifty miles an hour. He went right down, and he backed down through the town field, and they unloaded it, and they ran a section out and hooked in a washtub. And they had a couple of Handy Billies that they scrounged from the navy. He'd just get going, and they'd quit. Yep. Got up there fighting fire. We had a bunch come down from Stonington. And the girls were up there in the barn in the town, and they were making sandwiches and doughnuts" (CB).

In another account, Charlie Bowen recalls,

> "We got up the next morning, the old man and I, we were gonna go out to haul. We were out there baiting up and Maurice Barter, he come running down in his Model-T. And he was hollering and screaming, "The Island's on fire!" It seemed like there was three old ladies that were at the seaplane ramp in the pond. And they were swimming off the ramp and then they were smoking, and they fired the cigarettes underneath the bushes. Well, Pat Tully, he had his plane there, it was a Seebee, [red?] engine job. And he had it taxied up on the ramp. It got hot enough so it melted the windows. He couldn't fly it back to Boston. He had to wait to until they sent windows, to put them in. But he had a house probably almost the size of this room here. But he had the aviation gas, and canoes, and outboard motors, and stuff like that. That all went up. And we came ashore, and we ran up the road in our vehicles. And just as I got about to the ramp, why, it crowned and jumped the road… We put it out. But, my God, the seas were running in about that high. We had people out there, had to be in the water. And they had somebody holding 'em. Two lines of people were passing buckets in. We put the fire out. So that night they put a fire watch on there…
>
> "The day before, they had a fire on the back shore. Somebody was over there traipsing around, and they threw their butts underneath the fir tree. That was, that was something else. Bucket brigade. And we're out there in water that deep in the surf, a whole bunch of us holding onto each other passing a bucket. Oh, God. Up here along the road, where ol' Doc Solly lived, he built that log cabin that Ted has now…You know, that fire, we took over a million gallons of water out of [Long Pond]. It dropped it that much [shows several inches with his hands]" (CB).

[171] One interviewee noted that, in the past, the park has asserted shoreline rights to the low tide line; this has raised concerns among some residents that the park might try to extinguish a number of both commercial and subsistence uses of the intertidal zone, such as clam digging, nearshore shrimping, and certain types of fishing. This interviewee reports that the park has indicated that there will be no prohibitions on these activities, but some still wish to have this put into writing.

[172] The relationship between the various Charles Bowens associated with the study area is difficult to track. To clarify, the Charles Bowen who lives on the Island today and served as an interviewee for the current study is Charles Dalton Bowen, Sr. His father (and that of interviewee Robin Bowen) was Charles Dalton Bowen, Sr. His father, in turn, was Charles L. Bowen (RB). All have sometimes been called "Charlie." Billy Barter also helped to clarify this point, noting that locals referred to Charles Dalton Bowen Sr. as "Del" to keep the Charlies straight:

> "Charlie Bowen was the father, senior. He had a son named Charles, Charles Dalton, so they called him Del. They called him by his middle name. You know the Charlie Bowen who's still living, he's Charlie the third." (BB)

[173] Erosion on the Duck Harbor trails has been a source of concern to some residents: ":"There was trail erosion on Duck Harbor once they routed [visitors] there…there was a change" (JO).

[174] Deb Shrader, a licensed Emergency Medical Technician who worked as a park ranger for many years at Isle au Haut, spoke of the value of this service:

> "[Park staff] are in a symbiotic relationship with [the community]. I'm an EMT. There's an EMT in town. We're on a 9-1-1 emergency system. We wear pagers. I mean, but we're limited trained. I mean, we're EMTs, we're not ALS for medics. But to have something like that out here, I mean, we don't get a lot of experience, so to keep something up like that for the one time you would need it, you know, it's hard. So I think it's just the way it is out here… as far as fire, you know, yeah, same thing. We have mutual aide, we respond, they respond, as best we all can. But we're not in the fire business on a regular basis, so when that one fire happens every five years, or whatever, we all do the best we can" (DS).

[175] Harold van Doren notes,

> "One of the things I think is very important is to have a strong relationship with the town. And I think, to that end, we really need to have an ongoing contact person with the park on this. Because it is important, if you are dealing with a powerful neighbor, it's very important to have a workable relationship with them, and a good workable one. And I think that's actually one of the things that's suggested in the upcoming comprehensive plan, to have a designated contact. I think it's a good idea, I really do" (HV).

[176] Charlie Bowen noted that he has seen and used old notes on navigation and fishing areas, for example:

> "I used to fish with the *Black Horse*. We'd start by the Eastern Ear, way out here. We'd take over the bait house on Thomas dock just out there at Thunder Head. Those marks are gone now. Hauled up there in south Portland. I met the guy across the street who worked for Portland Plate[?]. He come up one day and says, 'You want this?' It was a folder, and it gave all the marks of all the fishing grounds. And what time of year you could catch cod, and what time of year you could catch haddock. I still got it…The old man took me out there to Horse Ground. And we ran all the marks from Saddleback through Western Head" (CB).