Preservation On Island

How Historic Preservation Can Promote the Vitality of Maine's Island Communities

Christopher Brazee

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Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation Columbia University May 2007



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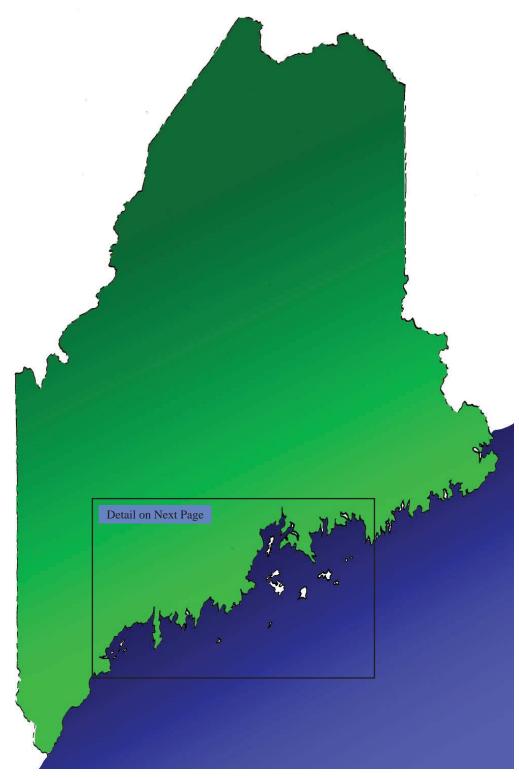
Introduction

This thesis seeks to explore how historic preservation can contribute to the vitality of Maine's 15 year-round island communities. On one level, this means determining how existing preservation planning tools—such as tax incentives—can protect the islands' historic resources while also providing financial benefit to island residents. On a deeper level I hope to demonstrate that the island communities survive in large part because people are willing to forego certain modern conveniences in order to live in a community that has a compelling and unique sense of place. It is my argument that preserving this sense of place is largely the province of the historic preservation discipline, and is fundamentally important if the islands are to remain vital communities.

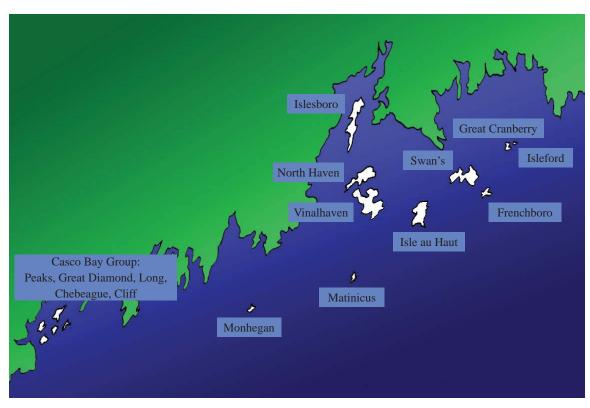
The first chapter introduces the general significance of Maine's island communities and lays out the planning issues that are most likely to confront preservation efforts on the islands. The second chapter outlines the most common preservation planning tools that are available in the State of Maine and briefly describes how these tools can be applied to Maine's island communities. The chapter has been organized according to who is most likely to implement the tool: legal actions at the federal, state, and local levels; then actions available to private and non-profit entities.

The remaining chapters explore how historic preservation can be implemented on three of the 15 remaining year-round island communities. These case studies are presented in geographical order, beginning from the south: Chebeague in bustling Casco Bay; Vinalhaven at the mouth of Penobscot Bay; and remote Frenchboro on the outer edge of Maine's archipelago. The discussion of each island includes a brief summary of the community's history—especially as it relates to the development of the island—and outlines the significant historic contexts and associated building types that characterize the

island's built environment. A summary of the preservation planning issues unique to the community is then presented, followed by an exploration of existing historic preservation efforts and suggestions for future work. Each case study ends with a summary of recommended actions for the local community and invested third parties.



1-1. Map of Maine.



1-2. Detail of the Maine coast showing the remaining year-round island communities.

Preservation On Island

The appearance of most of the islands reflects nearly four centuries of human occupation and alteration. In fact, the islands are some of the oldest continuously utilized pieces of landscape in eastern North America.

—Philip W. Conkling, *Islands in Time*

There were once over 300 island communities stretched across the length of Maine's coast. Many were very small and extremely remote, comprising a handful of hardy families trying to eke out a subsistence living through fishing and farming. Several were much larger and came to support thriving villages and vital industries. Most of these communities were founded in the late eighteenth century after the Treaty of Paris finally opened the Maine wilderness to permanent European settlement. The nineteenth century brought increasing prosperity to the islands. The peace between America and England after the War of 1812 ushered in an era of security along the coast, and the fishing industry continued to expand as the Gulf of Maine provided a seemingly boundless bounty of cod and mackerel.

The island communities continued to thrive throughout the middle of the nine-teenth century, but the 1860s brought a number of challenges that signaled the beginning of their decline. Inflation ran rampant during the Civil War and the cost of outfitting a fishing vessel rose accordingly. At the war's conclusion, the federal government suspended its subsidies to the fishing industry, further degrading the profitability of the islands' major occupation. The emergence of the nation's railroad network also hurt Maine's island communities. The oceans were no longer the primary transportation route and the islands were increasingly relegated to backwater status. Perhaps the final blow to the islands came at the end of the nineteenth century when the state mandated secondary education for all of its younger citizens, causing many families with school-aged children to move to the mainland where there was sufficient population to support a secondary school.

One by one Maine's island communities failed as families abandoned an increasingly difficult way of life. As island historian Charles McLean notes, "there came a time when the disadvantages of island living so far outweighed the advantages that removal could no longer be postponed." In the end, only 15 of the largest and most established communities remained. Some survived because their residents were able to create new opportunities for themselves, such as Chebeague, where traditional island families opened their houses for seasonal visitors wishing to experience the legendary Maine summer. Other communities endured largely through the stubbornness and tenacity of their leading citizens.

Regardless of the reason for their continued existence, the very fact that these 15 year-round island communities have endured makes them highly significant historic resources in themselves. Their survival is a happy rarity, one that allows contemporary residents of Maine to appreciate the vibrant history of the state's coast. The isolation and relatively precarious economic situation of the islands have also meant that few of these

communities have experienced any significant development over the course of the twentieth century. The built environment on these islands is therefore largely intact from the nineteenth century, offering an important look into the state's history.

While the islands' isolation has allowed many of these communities to retain their traditional way of life at a time when the rest of the state's coast is experiencing unprecedented growth, this isolation also poses a number of challenges to preservation planning efforts. Some of these challenges arise from the people who occupy the islands—such as the strong resistance by most islanders to any sort of governmental regulation—while others are imposed on the island communities from the outside world. The most pressing of these preservation planning issues are outlined below.

Spirit of Independence, Fractured Constituencies, and the Challenges of Regulation

Island residents tend to be independent-minded citizens who believe the best government is a small government. Those who were raised on the islands are accustomed to minimal outside intervention from state or federal government, while those who move onto the islands later in life are often attracted to the less unregulated lifestyle. The spirit of independence extends into the work place, where many of the islanders are self-employed—the lobster industry in particular remains largely composed of owner-operated vessels.

The desire for self determination has only grown in recent years. In 1979, at a time when the state was becoming much more active in land use policy, the residents of Long Island Plantation elected to incorporate as the Town of Frenchboro largely to avoid state oversight by the Land Use Regulation Commission (LURC). More recently, two of the Casco Bay islands have successfully petitioned the state legislature for their independence from the mainland municipalities to which they have belonged for centuries. Once these island communities have gained the right to govern themselves, they often elect to weaken or remove altogether the regulations that had previously been imposed upon them.

Because historic preservation remains largely a local issue—national and state law do not provide binding protection for most historic resources—preservation planning efforts on the islands must tackle the difficult task of encouraging residents to not only accept, but actually impose upon themselves regulations that control how they can use their property. This is not likely to be an easy or quick process, yet it is fundamental to the success of any historic preservation efforts on the islands.

The difficulties in establishing the political will to implement local historic preservation regulation are compounded by the fractured nature of the islands' constituencies. The relationship between island natives, year-round residents "from away," and "summer people" has always been complicated. The seasonal residents who first started visiting the islands at the end of the nineteenth century were a boon to the faltering economies of these fishing communities. In many cases the influx of summer residents allowed these island communities to survive at a time when many of their counterparts along the coast were disappearing as their citizens removed to the mainland. More recently, however, seasonal visitors have come to be associated with rising property values and increasing taxes. The once benevolent influx of capital has become problematic and native islanders are now having difficulties affording a house in the community in which they grew up. This has lead to wide spread resentment on the part of many life long islanders, making consensus-building difficult.

In addition to seasonal residents, there is also a significant number of people from away who have decided to settle on the islands year-round. These transplants often possess a very different political outlook than the natives, and their participation in town affairs can become quite problematic. Many come from urban or suburban environments where municipal government is professionalized and strong local regulation is accepted practice. Often the people from away attempt to steer the direction of island life by proposing new regulations designed to protect what they see as important to the community.

The participation of people from away in island politics can sometimes be unquestionably positive, such as when a recent transplant works to protect the island's natural environment by implementing a sound solid-waste disposal system. Island chronicler Virginia Thorndike notes that "newcomers sometimes can see threats to aspects of their new home that the person who has lived there all his life might not recognize." Yet this involvement is often looked upon with trepidation, if not down right disgust, by island natives whose spirit of independence is deeply ingrained. Historic preservation regulation is one of those issues likely to receive widely varying responses from the different sectors of island society. Significant effort will therefore be necessary to build consensus if historic preservation regulation is to be implemented on the islands.

The following chapters describe how historic preservation legislation and regulation would benefit the island communities, because they are the most effective tools for protecting significant historic resources. Every effort should therefore be made to implement these tools, knowing that the process will likely not be easy or quick. Because of the difficulty in enacting such regulations, however, every attempt has been made to also suggest non-regulatory and private actions that would encourage historic preservation on the Maine islands.

Rising Property Values and Affordable Housing

Another of the most pressing planning issues on the Maine islands is the growing dearth of affordable housing. "Starter" homes are becoming increasingly difficult to find as the desirability of the islands as summer retreats has driven up property values. This rise in local property assessment also affects established homeowners as property taxes increase accordingly. The lack of affordable housing especially impacts young adults just starting out their careers but even established homeowners are beginning to feel the pressure. As noted Maine author John Cole puts it:

As accelerating demand for coastal property continues to gather even more momentum, taxes on that land increase with skyrocketing market values. The relatively benign property taxes of the past become a potent force for social engineering, strong enough to replace one group of Maine residents with another. Hundreds of traditional fishing communities from Kittery to Machias, coastal towns that have been home to the same families for five or more generations, are facing or soon will, inevitable property tax increases that will force most of them from their family land.3

Chebeague's comprehensive plan is more direct, stating that "preserving the island community is primarily an issue of capping the island's property taxes."

There is little that the island communities can do about rising property values since the islands are not likely to lose their appeal to summer visitors willing to pay top dollar for a piece of the Maine coast. There are, however, several state-sponsored programs that promise to alleviate the burden of increasing property taxes. Happily, these programs also encourage the protection of significant historic, scenic, and natural resources. The State of Maine recently passed enabling legislation allowing municipalities to lower taxes on qualified historic or scenic properties, with appropriate caveats concerning maintenance and preservation. This Local Option Property Tax Incentive would help promote both affordable housing and historic preservation interests in the island communities, and would serve as an important source of good will amongst islanders for future preservation projects.

Most of the islands have also enacted or are exploring affordable housing developments, ranging in sophistication from simple renovations of existing properties, to large construction projects where multiple units are erected. These affordable housing developments can have significant impact on the architectural character of an island. Such projects are usually quite visible to islanders, both physically because they are often located in the heart of the island's village center, and psychologically because they provide a much-needed service to the community. Affordable housing developments therefore have the potential to influence historic preservation efforts by encouraging island com-

munities to explore the architectural character of their community. Most projects have to undergo a substantial permitting process in which the town planning board and other local agencies can provide input into the appearance and impact that these developments will have on the community's built environment. This process could be accompanied by a community discussion where proper historic preservation practices are articulated to islanders and sensitive design techniques are promoted.

This could eventually lead to the adoption of design guidelines or similar regulation that ensures that new construction on the island is in keeping with the general character of the community. Design review of new construction might in fact be a logical starting point for the island communities to begin thinking about issues of historic preservation. Beth Howe, head of the Land Use subcommittee on Chebeague, believes design review is perhaps the only historic preservation regulation that has a chance of being enacted on island, a sentiment that is borne out in a number of the islands' comprehensive plans.⁵

Nature Conservation, Historic Preservation, and the Case for Cultural Landscapes

The scenic value of Maine's islands is undeniable—a fact that is confirmed by the number of vacationers and seasonal residents who descend on the islands every summer. While the islands are certainly picturesque, their allure is also due in large part to their history and the traditional ways of life that are still practiced there. On Vinalhaven, for example, visitors travel to the island not just for the scenic vistas, but also to see abandoned quarries, to walk down the Victorian Main Streets, and to watch fishermen haul their traps.

It is unfortunate that many efforts to protect the coast of Maine all but ignore these historic and cultural resources, instead focusing on open space protection and nature conservation. While national and state law typically afford historic preservation similar importance as conservation, these laws do little to actually require action at the local

level (where the bulk of historic preservation work is actually accomplished). There are also a number of private organizations that promote historic preservation education and advocacy, but they provide only minimal funding and incentives and do not come close to rivaling the importance of the state's land trusts.

Land conservation is clearly a positive thing for the island communities. The natural beauty of the island is one of the most cherished aspects of each community and contributes significantly to the area's unique sense of place. The town and the private organizations operating therein should be applauded for the work they have done in protecting these important resources. They should also be encouraged, however, to increase the level of protection they afford historic resources so that accomplishing something positive—land conservation—doesn't directly lead to something negative—the neglect of significant architectural and archeological sites.

Land conservation and historic preservation are not by nature at odds with each other—and in fact have come to constitute the core of the emerging field of cultural land-scape preservation. Especially on the islands, where the sense of place derives equally from the natural and built environments, the need for cross-disciplinary action that seeks to preserve the holistic sense of community is absolutely imperative. Historic preservation efforts on Maine's island communities is therefore as much about retaining a high quality of place as it is about conserving historic architecture. Fortunately for the islands, there is growing recognition of the need to protect Maine's unique and valuable cultural landscapes.

In 2006, the Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program—a major national research and planning organization—released a report titled *Charting Maine's Future: An Action Plan for Promoting Sustainable Prosperity and Quality Places* in which they claimed that the state's distinctive "brand" of scenic natural areas and historic towns was Maine's greatest asset. This document has already had a major impact on the

state government in Augusta. Governor John Baldacci's successful reelection campaign in November 2006 was based in large part on the promise that he would implement the recommendations of the Institute. In the months since, he has created a Governors Council on Maine's Quality of Place. In the executive order establishing the Council, Baldacci claimed that "the State must protect and invest in the assets and amenities that comprise Maine's quality places—our diverse communities, our natural resources, our scenic land-scapes, the built-environment, the arts and culture, and the infrastructures that support them."

Private groups are also coming to recognize that it is not enough simply to protect an individual parcel of open land or a particularly beautiful old building. Many of the state's land trusts and historic preservation non-profit organizations are beginning to engage in projects aimed at conserving entire cultural landscapes. Usually these undertakings involve resources of recognized regional and even national significance, such as Sabbathday Lake, the last remaining active Shaker village in the United States.

Maine's island communities also possess such significance. As the epigraph to this chapter notes, "the islands are some of the oldest continuously utilized pieces of landscape in eastern North America." They are amongst the oldest permanent European settlements in the state and retain a sense of place that is virtually unparalleled in the rest of the country. Their preservation is therefore not only an issue of local importance, but of regional and national consequence.

Preservation Framework

National Law

In 1966 the federal government passed the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), which provides the legal basis on the national level for much of the historic preservation work that is undertaken in this country. Amongst its provisions, the Act created the National Register of the Historic Places to officially recognize significant historic resources, established the Section 106 review process to ensure federal compliance with historic preservation goals, and guided the creation of a tax credit program to encourage the appropriate use of significant buildings and structures. While the National Historic Preservation Act may appear to have minimal application in locations such as the Maine islands that see little federal involvement, several of the programs established by the Act could be effectively used to both protect historic resources on island and to promote the vitality of the island communities themselves.

National Register of Historic Places

The most visible program established by the National Historic Preservation Act is

the National Register of Historic Places. The major purpose of the National Register is to identify "districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture." Listing on the National Register is largely honorific rather than regulatory—resources so recognized receive only minimal legal protection in a limited number of circumstances—yet this identification of significant historic resources is fundamentally important to historic preservation practice and often serves as the first step in developing a preservation plan.

The National Register is administered primarily through the individual State Historic Preservation Offices. Most of the Maine's listings have been prepared by the Maine State Historic Preservation Commission. Often these nominations have been initiated at the request of the public, resulting in a somewhat random and arbitrary distribution of National Register Listings within the state.² The Commission's work has been informed by a series of architectural surveys, but comprehensive identification of significant historic resources remains one of the state's most pressing historic preservation needs.

On the Islands, the majority of the National Register designations are part of Thematic or Multiple Resource listings. Several of the island communities have lighthouses pertaining to the Light Stations of Maine Multiple Property Submission, while North Haven has a Thematic listing for its archeological resources. Little work has been done to identify individual properties that meet the criteria for the National Register, and those that have been identified are disproportionately located on the three larger Penobscot Bay islands of Vinalhaven, North Haven, and Islesboro.³

This lack of recognition for the islands' historic resources could be remedied by the creation of a National Register Multiple Property Listing that covers all of the Maine islands.⁴ The Multiple Property Listing "relies heavily on the development of historic contexts to establish significance," and "offers greater flexibility by creating an open-ended nomination process for related properties." The historic interconnection of the Maine

islands supports the consideration of the area for a such a listing. The development of the islands occurred in the same general time period, and most of the communities were subject to the same historical trends.⁶ This would easily allow for the creation of historic contexts that would encompass the range of historic resources on the island communities. The major benefit of the Multiple Property Listing is its flexibility, which would allow the creation of historic contexts that cover both general, inter-island property types as well as properties of more limited, local import.

The first step in creating a Multiple Property Listing is to "provide a written narrative of the historic contexts related to the multiple property submission." These historic contexts establish "a standardized means of describing and explaining the significance of a wide variety of properties" and should be based on three criteria; theme, geographic area, and chronological period. The next step is then to identify types of properties that pertain to these historic contexts. According to the National Park Service, a property type "is a grouping of individual properties characterized by common physical and/or associative attributes"

The initial work of establishing historic contexts and associated property types should be performed by the Maine Historic Preservation Commission or contracted out to a professional preservation consultant to ensure the work meets the state and national standards. Once this groundwork has been laid out, however, individual communities could take over the remaining work of identifying significant historic resources and adding individual properties to the listing within the established historic contexts and associated property types. This architectural survey could be completed either by the islands' historical societies, many of which have already begun such work, or by an individual hired through the Island Institute's Island Fellow program. To demonstrate how the process would work, the following chapters will identify potential historic contexts and associated property types for the three case study island communities.

A Multiple Property Listing for the Maine's Island Communities would accomplish a number of important goals. An in-depth survey of the islands' historic resources would provide a solid base for future preservation planning efforts. Individual communities could integrate the data into their municipal comprehensive plans, ensuring that their official stance on historic preservation responds to actual conditions. Creation of a Multiple Property Listing would also serve as an important education and advocacy tool for historic preservation efforts on the islands. The process of preparing nominations for individual sites would give islanders the chance to understand common historic preservation practices, including basic architectural survey techniques and how to argue for a building's significance.

Rehabilitation Tax Credit

The National Historic Preservation Act also authorized the creation of the Federal Historic Preservation Tax Incentive program. The current terms of the program offer a tax credit of up to twenty percent of the cost for certified rehabilitation projects undertaken on buildings of certified historic significance, or a credit of ten percent for rehabilitation work done on non-historic buildings built before 1936. This distinction between a significant and a non-historic building essentially rests on a property's eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, further reinforcing the need to survey and officially recognize the islands' historic resources.

Maine also offers a State Rehabilitation Tax Credit that piggybacks directly on the federal program. It offers a tax credit equal to its federal counterpart, but carries a maximum annual cap of \$100,000. While this may appear to be a substantial financial incentive for historic preservation in the state, the Brookings Institution notes that Maine ranks near the bottom of the country in terms of the number of certified rehabilitation projects. The Maine Historic Preservation Commission also acknowledges the limitations of the Rehabilitation Tax Credit programs: "Unfortunately, because the state credit directly

piggy-backs onto the federal credit, the limitations on the federal credit are directly transferred to use of the state credit as well...this has resulted in the state credit not proving to be a significant additional incentive."¹²

The limitations of the Rehabilitation Tax Credits are especially clear on the islands. The Credits apply only to income-producing properties, yet many of the island communities have few, if any, commercial establishments. Of the three case studies, Vinalhaven is the only one that has any potential to reap substantial economic benefits from the Rehabilitation Tax Credits. Its downtown retains several commercial ventures housed in significant historic buildings, a number of which are currently listed on the National Register. It is likely that at least a couple of these properties would qualify for the Tax Credits if their owners decided to undertake a substantial rehabilitation.

The Brookings Institution report offers a number of suggestions for improving the State Rehabilitation Tax Credit, which could substantially bolster the chances that someone on the islands would take advantage of the program if implemented. The Institute argues that the Credit should be made transferable, allowing developers without a state tax liability to sell this benefit to someone who could make use of it. This might entice out-of-state property owners on the islands—of which there are an increasing number—to explore the Credit. The report also recommends that the \$100,000 annual cap be removed, further incentivizing historic preservation projects. The Brookings Institution also notes that several other states, including Missouri, have extended their Rehabilitation Tax Credit to owner-occupied residences. While their report doesn't go so far as to recommend that course of action in Maine, lawmakers in Augusta should consider implementing such a strategy since it would greatly increase the reach of the Credit.

The Maine Historic Preservation Commission argues that "in addition to the economic benefits of rehabilitation projects...tax credit projects also serve an educational role in demonstrating recommended historic preservation techniques."¹³ The Island

Institute, which provides technical assistance to local businesses and community development groups through its Island Community Fund, could be instrumental in encouraging the Rehabilitation Tax Credit. These projects could then be promoted in the Institute's publications and would serve as a positive means of getting islanders to think seriously about the benefits of historic preservation. Especially in the tight-knit communities on the islands, where residents tend to be intensely aware of their neighbor's activities, a few well designed tax credit projects could go a long way in informing the local population of sound preservation principles.

The promotional value of a rehabilitation project would be further increased if it resulted in the creation of affordable housing, which is urgently needed on the islands. Several communities throughout the country have already successfully used the Federal Rehabilitation Tax Credit in conjunction with the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit. Because affordable housing is one of the most pressing issues on the islands, and any project that seeks to address this issue is likely to receive wide popular support from island residents.

State Law

In 1970, Maine passed legislation establishing the principle of municipal home rule—essentially delegating land use decisions to the individual towns. There are, however, a number of state laws that require municipalities to meet certain minimum standards in their local ordinances and historic preservation is often a key component of these standards.

Shoreland Zoning Act

In 1971, just after granting home rule to its municipalities, the State of Maine took its first active role in land use planning by enacting the Shoreland Zoning Act. It's primary purpose is to require municipalities to enact zoning regulations for lands within a

certain distance of bodies of water. The island communities, being surrounded by water, are obviously subject to this Act. Within a couple of years of its implementation, every town in Maine had a local zoning ordinance or a state-imposed regulation in place.¹⁴

The law contains a number of stated purposes, of which two are of particular interest. The first states that the law seeks to "conserve natural beauty and open space," while the second encourages the protection of "archaeological and historical resources." The Shoreland Zoning Act is bolstered by the Maine Department of Environmental Protection's (MDEP) "Guidelines for Municipal Shoreland Zoning Ordinances," which outlines the minimum performance standards that municipal ordinances much meet. Included in this document is the provision that:

Any proposed land use activity involving structural development or soil disturbance on or adjacent to sites listed on, or eligible to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places, as determined by the permitting authority, shall be submitted by the applicant to the Maine Historic Preservation Commission for review and comment, at least twenty (20) days prior to action being taken by the permitting authority. The permitting authority shall consider comments received from the Commission prior to rendering a decision on the application.¹⁶

Many municipalities in Maine, including most of the year-round island communities, have zoning ordinances that are derived in large part from the MDEP's guidelines. Vinal-haven, for example, has essentially adopted the guideline verbatim as their zoning ordinance—although the town decided to expand its applicability to the entire island, not just the shoreland zone.

The primary failing of the MDEP's guidelines is that many of the historic resources throughout the state, and especially on the islands, have not been listed on the National Register nor have they been identified as being eligible for such listing. For those resources that have been recognized, however, it does provide the chance for the SHPO to comment on proposed development that impacts known historic resources. This could be a powerful tool for historic preservation on the islands, provided that a comprehensive

architectural survey is undertaken and a Multiple Property Listing is initiated.

Comprehensive Planning and Land Use Act

The State of Maine attempted to bolster local land use planning in 1988 when it passed the Comprehensive Planning and Land Use Act. The Act required all towns with a zoning ordinance to create a municipal comprehensive plan in order to guide future land use policy. The act also established a series of 10 state goals, amongst which was the stipulation that towns should work "to preserve the state's historic and archeological resources." For many Maine towns, the creation of a comprehensive plan was the first time that local residents were introduced to historic preservation planning techniques. For this reason alone it remains an important piece of legislation in terms of promoting historic preservation in the state.

The actual effectiveness of the Comprehensive Planning and Land Use Act, however, remains questionable. The Brookings Institution, for example, claims that "the 10 state goals articulated in the state's main growth management act set out a desirable course for the state and remain broadly popular...[yet] Maine's current state growth management system remains generally weak." One of the major failings was that the state provided only minimal financial and technical assistance to towns during the drafting of their plan. Most Maine towns lack professional land use planners, and while local residents did their best to understand the intricacies of the various local and state regulations, many of the state's comprehensive plans remain woefully inadequate.

This inadequacy is seen in many of the island communities' comprehensive plan. The Act requires, for example, that towns undertake "an inventory and analysis section addressing state goals," yet most of the islands' plans contain only a very brief catalogue of historic resources—and it is clear that this limited survey would not provide any meaningful data on which to base a preservation plan. The Act also stipulates that towns "must include an implementation strategy that contains a timetable for the implementa-

tion program," a component of the plan that is almost always even less developed than the inventory of significant resources.¹⁹

The State could help alleviate many of these problems by offering real assistance, both financial and technical, to local communities in the process of refining their comprehensive plans. The Brookings Institution again offers sound advice, stating that "the state should support every phase of the planning and zoning process." The report also suggests that much of this work could be accomplished through the eleven regional planning associations, which at the moment have very few resources to offer and have had minimal impact on land use planning on the island communities. The state should expand their funding of the Maine Historic Preservation Commission. Their staff remains very small, and historic preservation effort throughout the state and on the islands would benefit greatly from an influx of desperately-needed expertise.²¹

In spite of their shortcomings, the islands' comprehensive plans offer valuable insight into the current state of the communities' view of historic preservation. They also have the potential to encourage the island communities' to clarify and strengthen their official stance on preservation planning. To this end, the following chapters will offer an in-depth review of each of the case studies' comprehensive plans and offer suggestions to improve the historic preservation component of these plans.

Local Option Property Tax Incentive

Unlike the federal and state Rehabilitation Tax Credits, the Local Option Property Tax Incentive has the potential to benefit a large number of island resident by offering tax breaks to private homeowners. The law states that "a municipality may raise or appropriate money to reimburse taxpayers for a portion of taxes paid" on properties of historic or scenic value, "if the property owner agrees to maintain the property in accordance with criteria that are adopted by ordinance." The Tax Incentive is a simple, one paragraph addition to Maine's statutory code. This simplicity allows the individual municipalities

a large degree of flexibility in implementing the program, and the tax incentive can be tailored to the unique circumstances of each of the Maine island communities.

The Maine Historic Preservation Commission has established four steps that municipalities should follow when exercising the Local Option Property Tax Incentive. Since the state does not provide financial assistance to the towns that enact the Tax Incentive, the first step is for the municipality to authorize funding for the program. Once the money for the incentive has been appropriated, the next step is to adopt an appropriate ordinance governing the program. This ordinance should, at a minimum, establish criteria for the designation and maintenance of significant historic or scenic properties. A historic property would qualify for the Incentive if it met these local designation criteria, or if it was listed on the National Register of Historic Places. A scenic resource would qualify if it meets local designation criteria or was identified by the State Planning Office. The adoption of this implementing ordinance should be done in accordance with the municipality's comprehensive plan, which should already address historic resources according to the state's Growth Management Act.

The third step in exercising the Local Option Property Tax Incentive is for the municipality to enter into a legal maintenance agreement with the property owner. For historic structures, this agreement should establish the scope of what is to be protected, what the minimum maintenance requirements are, and the amount of money to be reimbursed. The agreement could include the provision that all maintenance should meet the Secretary of the Interiors Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties, as recommended by the Maine Historic Preservation Commission. An agreement providing for the maintenance of a scenic resource should establish the minimum maintenance requirements and set out the rate of reimbursement. The final step is for the municipality to create a local review board to monitor and administer the program and to coordinate with other municipal bodies to provide for the reimbursement of property taxes.

To date, only one Maine community has taken advantage of the Local Option Property Tax Incentive.²⁴ The Tax Incentive would, however, be particularly applicable to the island communities since the value of island property has spiraled upward in the past few decades and property taxes have become overly burdensome to many islanders. While many island residents are wary of land use regulation and would normally shy away from a local historic preservation ordinance that would appear to dictate what they could or could not do with their property, the benefits offered by the Local Option Property Tax Incentive may make historic preservation a much more palatable option. Especially if property values continue to increase at their current pace and the tax situation becomes untenable, islanders may become increasingly willing to trade a degree of control in order to maintain their ability to live on the islands.

A major stumbling block in exercising the Tax Incentive on the islands is likely to arise from funding the program. The money used to reimburse owners of historic or scenic properties comes directly from the town itself, and some residents might see this reimbursement as "stealing from Peter to pay Paul." Further exacerbating the situation is that fact that on many of the islands a fair percentage of the historic and scenic properties that would be eligible for the program are owned by summer residents. Many of the year-round island residents view seasonal visitors as the primary source of the increase in property valuations, and would be resistant of any program that might give the summer people a break on their property taxes.

Exercise of the Local Option Property Tax Incentive on the Maine islands is therefore likely to be a delicate proposition. Homeowner eduction programs could help demonstrate that the tax incentive would benefit a wide range of island residents—both year-round and seasonal—but it is not something that is going to happen overnight. The state should help make the local option more palatable to island communities by funding at least a portion of the program. The Brookings Institution recommends the creation of

a Maine Community Enhancement Fund, paid for by a small increase in deed transaction fees. ²⁵ The purpose of this fund would be to encourage revitalization and redevelopment of Maine's historic towns. While the Institute does not explicitly recommend that this fund be used to reimburse towns for their implementation of the Local Option Property Tax Incentive, it is exactly the type of activity promoted in the report and should be explored in greater depth.

Local Law

The Maine islands represent the full range of possible forms of municipal government. Three of the Casco Bay islands are part of the City of Portland, the state's largest urban center, while two of the outer Penobscot Bay islands are minimally-organized plantations administered by the state's Land Use Regulation Commission. The remainder of the island communities are self-governing (or in the process of attaining self governance), with a mix of town meeting and town council style municipal governments. The preservation planning tools available to each of the island municipalities varies according to the specific circumstances on each island, but there are a number of tools that have universal applicability.

Historic Preservation Ordinance

The highest level of legal protection available to historic and archeological resources is through the implementation of a local historic preservation ordinance. Unlike National Register listing, local designation is often binding and can prevent property owners from altering or demolishing architecturally, culturally, and historically significant structures. Few Maine communities have chosen to enact such regulation, however, and there appears to be widespread apathy towards historic preservation throughout the state. Perhaps recognizing the futility of the situation, the Maine Historic Preservation Commission admits that "the commission does not proactively promote historic preservation

in individual municipalities," although it does offer technical assistance to towns interested in developing local regulations.²⁶

Only the three island communities within the City of Portland have a local historic preservation ordinance in place, and Fort McKinley on Great Diamond is the only historic resource that is protected under this regulation.²⁷ Given the prevailing property-rights sentiment that exists throughout the state and especially amongst the fishing communities along the coast, it is unlikely that the remaining island municipalities will enact any such ordinance without strong encouragement.

An informal preservation ethic already exists on many of the islands. A large number of island families have occupied their houses for generations and there is a loyalty to the community that is becoming increasingly rare in the rest of the state. An education program promoting the value of historic preservation would therefore likely receive a fair amount of interest on the islands and could be used to help demonstrate to islands residents that enacting a local preservation ordinance would not require them to do anything they don't already do as a matter of course.

The Local Option Property Tax Incentive described above is perhaps the best way of encouraging the island communities to enact local historic preservation ordinances. Property taxes have become one of the most pressing issues on the islands, and the situation may become dire enough that islanders eventually would be willing to give up a measure of control over their property if it meant a substantial savings on their property taxes.

Zoning Ordinance

Zoning is often the most important planning tool that local communities can use to control development and land use policies. Such regulation can control the necessary lot size for development, the size and bulk of any structures erected on the land, and even which uses are allowed to occupy the building. Zoning ordinances can offer both

direct protection for historic resources, as happens in historic district overlays, or indirect protection, as occurs when the regulations are fine tuned so that future development must match current development patterns (making it unlikely that a historic structure would be torn down simply because its owner wanted a larger structure).

All of the islands have some form of zoning in place, as required by the Shoreland Zoning Act. The majority of the islands have enacted their own regulations, although the two outer-Penobscot Bay islands do not have formal local government and remain under the jurisdiction of the State's Land Use Regulation Commission. Even on those islands that have enacted their own zoning ordinances, the regulations are often fairly simple and offer little or no protection for historic or archeological resources. None of the islands have enacted zoning regulations that directly require the preservation of historic structures, such as a historic district overlay. Such overlay districts have, however, been created for the protection of natural resources and it is possible that the island municipalities may at some point considering adopting such a measure for the protection of their historic resources.

The Maine Department of Environmental Protection's "Guidelines for Municipal Shoreland Zoning Ordinance" have effectively become the state's model zoning ordinance. Many of the state's municipalities, including several of the island communities, have adopted the guidelines verbatim for their own local ordinances. These guidelines were originally created in 1990 and are beginning to show their age. The protection of historic resources could be significantly bolstered by such a reexamination.

The Brookings Institution recommends that the state adopt a new model building ordinance that is much more progressive in terms of protecting the historic character of the state's towns and cities. Their report suggests that the state explore new trends in zoning theory, especially form-based zoning that "is less concerned with delineating allowable land and building uses, and more focused on how buildings, block, and street relate

to each other," which would help "keep the historic fabric of a town and village intact."²⁹ A new state model zoning ordinance that is sympathetic to historic fabric would be especially effective in Maine, since most of its towns typically follow the state-mandated guidelines quite literally.

Demolition Delay Ordinance

Another important tool that the island communities could put into place to control development and encouraging historic preservation is the demolition delay ordinance, which could require property owners to wait a period of time before tearing down an existing building. Demolition delay ordinances often are contained within the zoning ordinance, potentially making it a simple matter to amend such regulation into an existing law.

A demolition ordinance that requires property owners to publicly announce a tear down is likely to be an especially effective tool on the Maine islands because the social network in these communities is very tightly knit. In talking about regulating the lobster fishery, Colin Woodard notes that "most lobstermen live in the same town, send their kids to the same school, and rely on one another in emergencies," and therefore "social sanctions can be more effective than a dozen wardens." The same is likely to be true for the demolition of historic resources. The islanders are, by and large, very proud of their communities and would likely exert substantial pressure on anyone proposing to tear down a significant historic structure.

Many of the islands have already enacted demolition ordinances, although some of these regulations contain loopholes that reduce their current effectiveness. Those communities that do not have a demolition ordinance in place should be encouraged to do so, while a review of the existing regulations could reveal loopholes and offer suggestions correct these deficiencies. Technical assistance could be given by the Maine State Historic Preservation Commission, perhaps in conjunction with the Island Institute and the

regional planning offices. Encouraging strong, effective demolition delay ordinances may be one of the easiest, and most effective, means of supporting historic preservation efforts on the Maine islands, and is one of the primary short-term recommendations of this thesis.

Subdivion Ordinance

A subdivision ordinance is another potentially valuable planning tool available to municipalities in Maine.³¹ In fact, "in many suburban and rural areas, subdivision regulation rivals zoning in importance as a public control on land development or redevelopment."³² The primary focus of a subdivision ordinance is to control the division of plats of land. While subdivision ordinances are enacted primarily to control development and land use, such regulations "can be written to specifically require developers to give the same care in protecting historic resources and archeological sites as they do sensitive environmental features."³³ If properly implemented, a subdivision ordinance can provide a substantial boost to local historic preservation efforts. For towns with a standing historic preservation commission, the regulations can require developers to seek the comment of that administrative body. On the islands, most of which have not enacted historic preservation regulation and do not have a historic preservation commission, the subdivision ordinance can still encourage preservation interests by requiring consideration for historic resources in the ordinance's review criteria or performance standards.

The island communities are certainly vulnerable to development through subdivision, and such development is likely to have a negative impact on historic resources. Many of the islands were developed in the mid-eighteenth century as agrarian communities with farm houses spread out across the island. These houses were sited on large plots of land, many of which remain largely intact. With property values rising on the islands, there will be increasing pressure to subdivide these historic properties and sell off the parcels for development. A subdivision ordinance that requires developers to consider and

mitigate the impact of the proposed subdivision on historic resources would be a valuable tool in protecting many of the islands' significant structures.

Non-Regulatory Framework

In addition to the legal protections afforded to its natural and historic resources, the Maine coast also benefits from substantial interest from the private sector. There are a wide variety of non-profit organizations, ranging from the local to the national in scope, that have taken on conservation and preservation projects in the Island communities. These projects in turn range from donations of large sums of money or vast parcels of open land, to the simple offer of technical assistance and expertise to remote towns who oftentimes do not have a trained staff.

The Island Institute

The Island Institute is probably the most visible private group working on the Maine islands. It is also highly controversial amongst many islanders as it is based offisland in Rockland and can be seen as an outside influence in their communities. Virginia Thorndike notes, "the Island Institute is still met with suspicion...people know the Institute has an agenda—and whose is it?"³⁴ The Institute has taken steps in recent years to involve island locals in its activities in the hopes of bolstering its image. Much of the Institute's work is now performed through the Island Fellows program, which sends qualified college graduates to the island communities for a year to work on projects of the community's choosing.

The Island Institute currently does not have any formal interest in historic preservation, nor does it actively seek out such projects. They have, however, supported island historical societies and other related community groups, primarily through the Island Fellow program in which qualified interns are sent to the individual islands to provide services. The Institute also sponsored the Maine Lights Program, which helped find ap-

propriate owners for the state's historically significant lighthouses when the federal government decided to dispose of the properties. These actives demonstrate that the Island Institute is willing to engage in historic preservation work when the opportunity presents itself.

If given the proper encouragement, the Island Institute could significantly help historic preservation efforts on the Maine islands. Their Island Fellows program could be the perfect source of the labor needed to produce an in-depth survey of islands' historic and archeological resources. This work would benefit future preservation planning efforts by providing substantial data about the location, condition, and significance of the islands' historic resources. Such a survey would also provide immediate rewards since several of the state's land use laws offer (limited) protection for resources that have been officially recognized. To ensure the quality and consistency of an architectural survey, the fellow could be tutored by the non-profit group Maine Preservation, and the work itself could be monitored by the Maine Historic Preservation Commission to ensure that it conforms to their "Guidelines for Identification."

The Institute could also expand on its Maine Lights program by initiating a stewardship program for the islands' other public buildings, especially its churches and schoolhouses.³⁵ These building types inspire a similar level of public interest and involvement as the coast's picturesque light stations and are equally vulnerable if their original owners ever decide to divest themselves of their historic properties. The Island Institute should therefore actively involve itself if ensuring these buildings find appropriate new owners if they are ever sold.

The lighthouses divested under the Maine Lights Program were transferred with certain historic preservation covenants in their official deed of sale. According to these covenants, the Maine Historic Preservation Commission has the responsibility to regularly inspect the lighthouse properties in order to ensure that they are being properly main-

tained. If they are not, a reversionary clause can be triggered to transfer the properties to another party who may be better able to care for the light station. The Island Institute could accomplish similar protection for the islands' churches and schoolhouses by working with congregations and towns to receive first right of refusal should a historic property be put up for sale. The Institute could then resell the property to an eligible owner, and attach similar historic preservation covenants to the deed.³⁶

Island Historical Societies

Much of the historic preservation work that has occurred on the islands has been performed by the local historical societies. Those islands that mention historic preservation in their comprehensive plans usually do so because the historical society took an active role in writing that section. Unfortunately, many of these comprehensive plans indicate that the understanding of technical side of historic preservation planning remains incomplete at best.³⁷ There is clearly a great deal of enthusiasm amongst historical society members for their community's historic resources, but they often lack the formal understanding of the legal framework that would allow them to implement historic preservation initiatives.

The Island Institute, in conjunction with Maine Preservation and the Maine Historic Preservation Commission, should therefore support a training program to teach members of island historical societies basic preservation planning tools and techniques. The funds for such a program could come from the proposed Maine Community Enhancement Fund, whose primary function is to provide technical assistance to towns in developing land use plans.³⁸

A passionate, knowledgeable historical societies would be perhaps the greatest asset in encouraging sound historic preservation action on the Maine islands. They are likely to be the most vocal advocates for the islands' historic resources, and may have the political clout within the community to actually implement sound preservation planning

practices. Historical society members trained in sound preservation planning techniques could also work with the Maine Islands Coalition, which provides a forum for the 15 island communities to discuss issues of common interest, in order to further the discussion of historic preservation and perhaps help coalesce a unified official stance on how to proceed in implementing historic preservation on the islands.

In addition to advancing preservation advocacy and planning on the islands, the historical societies will also be fundamentally important in furthering research into the significance of the islands' historic resources. While few of the island communities have undertaken an in-depth inventory of their historic resources, most of historical societies have already performed some baseline documentation that could be useful in directing such a survey. The creation of a Multiple Property Listing for the Maine islands would logically begin with a survey of the material already collected by the historical societies. Land Trusts, Preservation Non-Profits, and the Preservation of Cultural Landscapes

The Maine Coast Heritage Trust (MCHT) is the most visible private land conservation group operating on the Maine coast. It coordinates much of the land and nature conservation efforts along the state's entire coastline, including the islands. MCHT solidified its status as regional coordinator when they established the Maine Land Trust Network in 1995. Several of the islands also benefit from the presence of local land trusts, which often partner with the MCHT in their work. Chebeague, for example, has the Cumberland Mainland and Islands Trust—which owns 81 acres of land and holds conservation easements on another 254 acres—while the Vinalhaven Land Trust is quite active in its community.

One of the primary means by which the land trusts ensure protection of natural resources is through conservation easements.³⁹ These devices allow property owners to continue to use and occupy their own land, but development rights are transferred to the land trust in order to limit future development. Land trusts may also own certain parcels

of land outright. The MCHT, for example, owns two plots of land on Vinalhaven around which it has created a model conservation program. By working with neighboring property owners the MCHT has used both easements and land ownership to preserve several important tracts of land. This level of sophistication demonstrates that the land trusts, and nature conservation in general, enjoys a high level of popular support along the Maine coast.

There are also a number of private entities in Maine devoted to promoting historic preservation, but they tend to be much smaller and enjoy much less public support than their counterparts in nature conservation. The non-profit Maine Preservation is the most established of these groups and is the largest holder of easements on historic properties in the state. Its holdings are much less extensive than the MCHT, however, and are not focused exclusively on the coast, meaning the group carries much less political sway on the islands. There are also several local and regional non-profit historic preservation organizations that might have an interest in Maine's island communities. Greater Portland is one of the oldest historic preservation groups in the state and oversees preservation interests in an area that encompasses Chebeague and the other Casco Bay islands, while Historic New England might also be induced to take an interest in the islands if their regional significance were demonstrated.

Funding for historic preservation remains limited. Whereas the land trusts have received substantial support from the state's Land for Maine's Future program, historic preservation groups have been all but ignored by the budget committees in Augusta. The primary function of the historic preservation groups has therefore been education and advocacy programs, rather than active involvement in protecting individual resources. Enacting historic preservation easements would be substantially bolstered if the state's relatively well-endowed land trusts were induced to work more closely with preservation groups.

For the moment, however, historic preservation and land conservation groups remain largely segregated from each other. Several historic properties have been protected through easements held by local conservation groups—a number of the historic farms on Vinalhaven, for example, are under MCHT easements that stipulate that the buildings cannot be altered or demolished. In most of these instances, however, the land trust made their decision to take on the easement because of the scenic and open space value of the land rather than the historic and cultural value of the building being protected.⁴⁰

These projects also remain limited in scope, generally involving an individual property with a single significant structure. Whitney Beals, director of Land Protection for the New England Forestry Foundation, summarized the prevailing attitude of land trusts towards preservation groups when she claimed, "out of necessity, historic preservation efforts usually focus on individual buildings or small sites and not on the larger context." Perhaps because of the persistence of sentiments such as this, little work has been done in the state to bring together the two disciplines in larger projects aimed at protecting entire cultural landscapes.

Fortunately, the traditionally chilly relationship between land trusts and historic preservation groups is starting to thaw. In January 2007, a wide consortium of land trusts and historic preservation non-profits announced the completion of a major campaign to protect the nation's last remaining active Shaker community at Sabbathday Lake in western Maine.⁴² The effort was spearheaded by the Trust for Public Land, while Maine Preservation and a regional land trust were called upon to hold the preservation and conservation easements. The State of Maine was also involved, providing a substantial amount of the needed funds through the Land for Maine's Future Program.

Just as significant as the cooperation between land trusts and historic preservation groups is the fact that the Sabbathday Lake project is being presented as an example of cultural landscape preservation. Tom Allen, one of Maine's Representatives to the United

States Congress, has praised the project for protecting "not only the land and the physical infrastructure, but also the community and way of life that are Sabbathday Lake." There is a growing awareness in the state that preservation efforts should focus not just on the physical environment, whether natural or man-made, but should also work to retain the distinctive culture and way of life that define Maine's sense of place.

This increased interest in cultural landscape preservation could greatly benefit Maine's island communities. Like Sabbathday Lake—whose clear regional and national importance induced such a wide array of conservation and preservation groups to become involved with its protection—Maine's islands have a special quality and sense of place that makes them places of wide-reaching significance. The scenic and natural value of the islands has already created substantial interest from the state's land trusts. Much of the islands' most valuable open space is already owned outright by these groups or held in trust through conservation easements. A number of significant historic buildings are similarly protected.

There remains, however, a great deal to be done to ensure the preservation of the cultural landscapes on Maine's islands. Fundamentally important to this process would be better coordination amongst the individual communities and the groups working thereon. The Maine Coast Heritage Trust, which already plays a major role in organizing nature conservation efforts along the state's coast, should take a leadership role in this venture and broaden its scope to encompass historic preservation and cultural landscape protection. The Trust of Public Land would be an obvious partner, since they have the expertise in organizing projects of this size and description.

Greater Chebeague

Chebeague, like most of coastal Maine, was not permanently settled until the middle of the eighteenth century. Before this, the island had been sold from one proprietor to another, and "for nearly one hundred years, people had been buying the Island for speculation, rather than for settlement." This changed in 1746, when Zachariah Chandler became the first permanent settler on Chebeague. He divided the island amongst his own family, and was soon joined by others families including that of Ambrose Hamilton—the man who came to dominate island dealings during the nineteenth century.

Chebeague's early resident were mostly self-sufficient farmers and fishermen, and "at the end of the War of 1812 Chebeague seems to have had a barely subsistent economy." There were a handful of islanders engaged in the marine contracting business, transporting ballast and other cargo to local destinations around Casco Bay, but the majority of the island's population was engaged in simple subsistence living. Because early island resident relied on both the land and sea for their survival, homesteads were dispersed across the entire length of the island and there was no discernible town center.

In the years following the War of 1812, the United States experienced a long period of relative peace and stability during which the formerly wild northern frontier of Maine was finally tamed by scores of migrants who made their way up the coast. Between 1820 and 1860 Maine's population more than doubled, increasing from under 300,000 citizens to over 625,000.³ Chebeague outpaced even this blistering pace by increasing its citizenry more than fourfold during the same period.⁴ This explosive growth lead to political upheaval in the region as Maine voted to seceded from Massachusetts, and the Town of Cumberland—including many of the Casco Bay islands—elected to separate from North Yarmouth (both of which occurred in 1821). The increase in population also lead to a building boom along the Maine coast, and many of Chebeague's historic buildings date from this period.

The economy of Maine also became inextricably linked in this period to the urban centers of the northeast. Granite proved to be the catalyst that brought many of the island communities into the national economy, and Chebeague was no exception as islanders took up positions as ship captains and sailors transporting ever larger quantities of the stone to Portland, Boston, and New York. The Chebeague stone sloop, which had been developed in the late eighteenth century to transport ballast to local shipyards, proved to be a particularly adept design for use by the granite industry. The island's economic fortunes remained bright throughout the middle of the nineteenth century as the granite industry continued to expand. Houses continued to be built throughout this period, leaving an indelible mark on the island's built fabric that endures to this day.

As Chebeague's maritime economy was reaching its maturity in the 1870s, another industry was steadily growing in importance on the island. Local histories cite 1872 as the date that summer tourism began on the island when Alfred Hamilton opened his home as a boarding house for seasonal guests. Steamboat service to the Casco Bay islands also began in the early 1870s, providing a reliable means for visitors to reach the island.⁶ Over

the next half century, Chebeague reinvented itself as a resort community. At first, guests found accommodations in private residences as locals converted their homes into boarding houses. By the turn of the century, purpose-built hotels and entertainment facilities were being erected to serve an expanding clientele. During this time the island's East End became the center of this seasonal community.⁷

Despite Chebeague's popularity as a seasonal destination, the island experienced a slow decline in population beginning in the 1890s and continuing throughout the beginning of the twentieth century. By 1920 there were fewer than 400 residents on Chebeague, down from about 700 three decades earlier. Many families who removed to the mainland subdivided their property and sold the lots to seasonal visitors who wanted a permanent foothold on the island. Summer cottages of varying styles and size sprang up across the island, ushering in a new period in Chebeague's development.

The Great Depression ended the tourist industry's golden age on Chebeague. In subsequent years, many of the great hotels were either demolished or destroyed by fire, and the boarding houses returned to single-family use. Many of the summer cottages were winterized for year-round occupation. The island community has since diversified its economy—island historian Donna Damon likens it to a three-legged stool, with a third of the population making a living in the traditional fishing industry, a third in on-island business, and a final third commuting to the mainland every day. Chebeague is now a semi-rural communities similar to many across the state. But the island's unique history is still represented by the numerous historic buildings that are spread across the island.

Historic Contexts and Associated Property Types

Growing Prosperity and Population on Chebeague (1830-1870)¹⁰

The period of prosperity and population growth that occurred in Maine between the end of the War of 1812 and the beginning of the Civil War left a substantial mark on the built fabric of Chebeague. It was during this period that island residents transitioned from self-sufficient, subsistence living to participation in the national economy. Maritime contracting—the transportation of goods by sailing ships—became the most important industry on island and brought a level of wealth previously unknown on Chebeague.

Numerous homesteads were erected across the length of the island during this period. Many of the earlier examples were built in the hugely popular Greek Revival style, while later examples often employed romantic styles such as the Italianate. There are also a number of houses that bridge the Greek Revival and Italianate styles—where the heavy entablature and corner pilasters characteristic of the former are combined with the bracketed door surround and window lintels typical of the latter. The distinction between the two is therefore somewhat arbitrary and individual buildings should not be disqualified from inclusion on the National Register simply because they are not a "pure" example of a style.

Unlike many of Maine's other island communities, where development clustered around the protected deep-water harbors, Chebeague remained largely agrarian through-



3-1. 1871 map of Chebeague, showing dispersed development pattern.

out the nineteenth century. Even after islanders entered the national economy with during the granite era, families continued to supplement their income through farming and related activities. A map from 1871 shows that by that time most of the island had been settled—including the interior—but that the houses were typically at a substantial distance from their neighbor and that there was still a considerable amount of open space in which to raise crops (see Figure 3-1).

Associated Property Type: Greek Revival Dwellings

The Greek Revival buildings on Chebeague are characterized primarily by the ornament applied to the building facade. In most cases, wide pilasters at the corner of the building support a heavy entablature that runs the length of houses just under the eaves. Equally distinctive is the substantial door surround, with full-length side lights flanking



3-2. Typical Chebeague Greek Revival house.

a recessed door—all set within a frame of wide pilasters and a substantial lintel. Many of these houses were designed as story-and-a-half, five-bay capes and employ the center chimney plan typical of that building type (see Figure 3-2). There are, however, a number of larger, gable-ended Greek Revival buildings on the island, as well as rambling farm complexes that defy easy description. While these buildings are less typical than the cape houses, they are still representative of the time period and are fully worthy of inclusion in the property type listing.

Associated Property Type: Romantic-Style Dwellings

The Greek Revival style remained popular on Chebeague into the 1860s. Its eventual decline was gradual, and many of the buildings erected at the end of this period display elements of both the Greek Revival and the romantic styles that followed (see Figure



3-3. Chebeague home showing comibnation of Greek Revival and Italianate elements.

3-3). It is possible that these buildings were originally built as Greek Revival style houses and were later altered to fit in with changing tastes, but the massing and floor plans of these "transitional" houses indicate that they were more likely constructed at a later date than the traditional capes of the Greek Revival period.

Of the romantic styles that came to be used on the island during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the Italianate was by far the most popular. The bracketed door hood is one of the most obvious characteristics of the style and is seen on buildings throughout the community. Many of these houses also share similar massing—with a two-story, two-bay, gable-ended main building adjoined by a story-and-a-half ell (see Figure 3-4).



3-4. Typical Chebeague Italianate house.

Summer Vacation Industry (1870-1930)¹¹

The late nineteenth century in America was a time of increasing wealth and the emergence of a middle class with considerable free time that they could devote to leisure activities. It was also a time of increasing transportation connections, allowing this new leisure class to travel easily and comfortably to locations that had previously been inaccessible. The coast of Maine was a particularly popular destination for summer tourists, and the island of Casco Bay were amongst the earliest in the state to be colonized by seasonal visitors.

In the early years of Maine's tourist boom, visitors typically found lodging with local residents who realized they could make a profit renting out spare rooms. As the masses of summer visitors continued to increase, impressive hotels were erected to provide more formal accommodations and ever more luxurious services. By the beginning of the twentieth century, many summer visitors had become completely enamored of the Maine coast and decided to establish a permanent presence in the state. On Chebeague, hundreds of cottages were erected by seasonal residents, leaving an indelible mark on the island's built environment.

Associated Property Type: Boarding Houses

The earliest summer visitors to Chebeague came as guests of the many boarding houses and hotels that sprang up to accommodate them. Beginning in 1871, with the arrival of the first steamboat service and the opening of Alfred Hamilton's boarding house, many existing homes were renovated for use by seasonal guests. Because many of the boarding houses were from built in earlier periods and were later altered for use by seasonal guests, there is no single style of building that typifies the boarding house property type. One of the defining characteristics of these structures is therefore the very fact that many of them have been altered for use in the tourist industry. Modifications that might otherwise disqualify a house from inclusion on the National Register under the Greek

Revival property type may actually be a source of significance under the boarding house property type. Later boarding houses, however, were often purpose-built to accommodate seasonal visitors as well as the family that operated it. These buildings were typically designed using the latest fashions, and several of them are quite ornate (see Figure 3-5). *Associated Property Type: Summer Hotels*

Summer visitors continued to increase over the course of the last decades of the nineteenth century. By the beginning of the twentieth century, large and impressive hotels that could accommodate up to two hundred guests were being purpose-built to house the masses of seasonal tourists (see Figure 3-6). Most of Chebeague's hotels have been lost—either to natural causes such as fire or through demolition—but the property type remains fundamentally important in understanding the evolution of the island's tourist economy.



3-5. Chebeague boarding house.

The single extant hotel on the island, the Hill Crest Hotel, was reconstructed in 1925 after the previous structure burned to the ground and still greets visitors to the island as they disembark from the ferry at Hamilton's Landing.

Associated Property Type: Summer Cottages

While many seasonal visitors to Chebeague were content to room in boarding houses and hotels, a large number desired to establish a permanent presence on the island. By the 1900s, people from away had begun to buy land and erect seasonal cottages en masse. These buildings ranged from impressive shingle-style mansions at ocean's edge, to humble cabins along the island's interior. Most of the summer cottages, however, fall somewhere between these extremes and represent a wide range of architectural styles popular at the time (see Figure 3-7).¹²



3-6. Hill Crest Hotel.

During the height of the summer tourist boom, more than a dozen new summer cottages were erected each year on Chebeague. Many were located on the island's East End, where many of the larger plots of land had been subdivided and parceled off after traditional Chebeague families had decided to remove to the mainland. The East End was also convenient to the island's hotels and the services they provided. The more impressive summer cottages tended to hug the island's coast, while the simplest seasonal residences are found further inland along the island's two major roads.



3-7. Chebeague summer cottage.

Preservation Planning Issues on Chebeague

Chebeague is one of five inhabited islands in Casco Bay, the most metropolitan grouping of island communities in Maine. Its proximity to Portland and the state's most populous urban center means that preservation planning on the Casco Bay islands must take into account certain issues not experienced on the more isolate island communities further Downeast. Chebeague is also in the middle of a transition to self-government, having successfully petitioned the state legislature for its independence from the mainland town of Cumberland.

Proximity to Portland

Chebeague and the islands of Casco Bay differ from their Downeast counterparts in that they are within close proximity to Maine's largest city and the state's largest job market. The community is served by two ferries making up to fifteen trips a day, allowing Chebeaguers to commute to the mainland for work. In fact, fifteen percent of island households depend on commuting for their principle source of income. The relative accessibility of Chebeague means that the island faces a number of development pressures that do not exist on the more remote island communities.

As Portland and the mainland communities continue to expand, rising property values have caused an increasing number of families to look to the Casco Bay islands for an affordable place to settle. Neighboring Peaks Island went through a major phase of redevelopment beginning in the 1980s during which the formerly intimate, insular character of the island was completely destroyed in favor of contemporary suburban conveniences. The islands down the bay are next in line to receive similar development—and Chebeague is especially susceptible since its ferry service trails only Peaks in terms of convenience and frequency of operation.

Historic preservation planning efforts on Chebeague will therefore need to consider not only the protection of individual historic resources, but should also be expanded

to look at ways of retaining the traditional way of life on the island. This will require a delicate balancing act, as planners seek to provide the conveniences necessary to retain a viable population while keeping the community isolated enough to discourage too much growth.

Transition to Self-Governance

On April 5th, 2006, residents from Chebeague Island successfully petitioned the State of Maine for their independence from the Town of Cumberland, the mainland municipality that has governed the island since the early nineteenth century.¹⁷ The island is set to achieve full autonomy on July 1, 2007, at which time it will have full autonomy in all local decision making—including decisions regarding land use ordinances that effect historic resources.

The push for secession was made initially out of fears that the island's elementary school was in danger of closing and that a self-governing Chebeague would be better able to control its educational system if it was independent, but it also benefitted from the sentiment that islanders were being excluded from the mainland political process. The Town of Cumberland's municipal government is managed by a town council that includes a single representative from the island.

This exclusion lead islanders to turn to non-profit entities to perform many of the tasks usually undertaken by local government—as the island's petition to the state legislature states, "what the mainland has been unable or unwilling to provide for Chebeague, Chebeague has provided for itself." In the 1990s, for example, island residents raised hundreds of thousands of dollars for a new recreation center and renovations to the library and historical society when Cumberland's budget committee declined to provide the necessary funding. The transition to self-governance will, however, involve the move to a town meeting style of municipal government that should allow individual islanders to take a much more active role in local government. 19

It remains unclear how this will effect historic preservation efforts on the island. It is possible that islanders will be more receptive to preservation efforts that are initiated through a non-profit group even after they have gained direct control over local government. On the other hand, it may happen that island residents chose to adopt—or at least consider—regulations that had previously been impractical when they were part of suburban Cumberland.

For the immediate future, all of Cumberland's existing laws will be transfered over to the island's new government without modification. Most of the laws that Chebeague is inheriting from Cumberland were designed for a more suburban context. "Currently, mainland Cumberland is dealing with issues of rapid growth, a mobile population, open space preservation, and many of the other problems a suburban communities face daily," and local ordinances have been designed to respond to these problems.²⁰ "Chebeague, on the other hand, is a stable, cohesive community," and its municipal government, once established, will be able to fine tune its own ordinances to respond to local conditions.²¹

When the transition is complete, the new Town of Chebeague will likely review many of these existing laws in order to make them more consistent with the island's vision for itself. This may mean that historic preservation interests will be able to find greater traction on Chebeague once the transition to self-governance is complete. Chebeague islanders, in their 2002 long-range plan, clearly state their desire to retain the rural character and strong sense of community that exists on Chebeague, and it should be demonstrated how historic preservation can help them attain these goals.²²

Affordable housing is a fundamentally important issue on Chebeague, as it is on all of Maine's island communities. The island's long-range plan clearly states, "if Chebeague is to continue to have a diverse population that includes fishermen, local business

Affordable Housing

people, summer people of diverse incomes, and retirees, maintaining the limited supply of affordable housing is essential."²³ Property assessments on the island have been steadily increasing since the 1980s, making it difficult for the younger generation of islanders to establish themselves on the island after they have left the family house.

While historic preservation cannot do anything to decrease property value, it can significantly aid in the development of affordable housing projects. Both the federal and state government offer tax credits on eligible projects involving the rehabilitation of historic structures, and these credits maybe combined with low-income housing tax breaks. These financial incentives can be substantial and may provide enough incentive to attract a private developer to the island who might otherwise stay away from the community.

The rise in property values has also lead to steady increases in property tax assessments. At times these property taxes have become overly burdensome for island residents, yet there are few options that are available to homeowners facing this dilemma. The state does allow property owners to put larger parcels of land in the Tree Growth or Open Space programs, which lower taxes in exchange for a guarantee that the property will be maintained for timber harvesting or nature conservation, respectively. There are a number of residents on Chebeague who have taken advantage of these programs, but it is not available or appropriate for many others.

Donna Damon, who was instrumental in Chebeague's bid for independence from Cumberland, has recently championed the campaign to create a Land Bank and Community Preservation Program that functions in a similar manner as the Tree Growth and Open Space programs, but would benefit ordinary homeowners. An initial draft of the state legislation that would implement this program states that it would "provide tax relief to property owners in the State who pledge to retain their residential property or maintain the use of their commercial property for at least 5 years."²⁴

The program does not explicitly promote strict historic preservation or offer direct

protection for significant historic resources, but the requirement that the property owner pledge to retain ownership for the course of the five years means that the property will not be sold to developers and torn down to make way for a new summer residence. The Land Bank and Community Preservation Program is still being developed and there is no guarantee that the state legislature will even pass it into law. There is still time, however, to fine tune the legislation and include greater protection for historic properties.

The Local Option Property Tax Incentive, already signed into law and available for implementation on the island, would be another way to encourage historic preservation while decreasing property tax burdens. The program would require the island to enact a local historic preservation ordinance, providing direct and binding protection for the island's historic resources. It would also require the town to redirect finances to make up for the loss of tax revenue from qualifying properties. This might make the program difficult to implement on the island, since owners of property not eligible for the incentive may feel that they are subsidizing their neighbor's taxes. While it may be controversial, the Local Option Property Tax Option should sill be encouraged on Chebeague since it would provide a high level of protection for the island's historic resources while also helping to relieve the increasingly burdensome property taxes.

To date, Chebeague has not undertaken an affordable housing development. It has, however, established a senior assisted living facility that is housed in one of the island's historically significant homesteads. This adaptive reuse should be promoted as an example of good historic preservation practice on the island, which would encourage future affordable housing projects to make sensitive use of existing significant buildings.

Preservation Toolkit for Chebeague

Little formal historic preservation work has been done on Chebeague to date.

There are no local ordinances that govern the treatment of historic properties, and there

are no properties listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Unlike many of the other island communities, little has been written about the history or architecture of Chebeague. There has been no "official" town history published by the town historian or historical society, nor is there a publication regarding any phase of the island's development as had been written for many of the other island communities. There have been two architectural surveys of the island, the first in the 1970s and another in the 1990s, but neither have lead to any concrete effort to identify and protect significant historic resources. Historic efforts on Chebeague will essentially start from scratch, building only on islanders' pride of place.

Comprehensive Planning

A long-range plan for Chebeague was adopted by the Town of Cumberland in 2002. It was written as an addition to Cumberland's existing comprehensive plan, and its authors operated under the assumption that Chebeague would remain under the jurisdiction of its mainland counterpart. One of the goals of Chebeague's plan is to "work to maintain Chebeague as a small community with rural characteristics," which includes maintaining "the visual, historical, and archeological character of the island as future development occurs." To accomplish these goals, the long-range plan sets out a number of concrete actions. The first action is to finalize the inventory of historic buildings that has already begun. Two surveys of the island's buildings have already been created but they remain largely ignored and unused. In addition, neither inventory conforms to the guidelines set out by the Maine Historic Preservation Commission for architectural survey, further limiting their potential usefulness.²⁸

The second recommended action is for the island to explore the implications of the Local Option Property Tax Option for scenic or historic properties. While this program would greatly benefit the island, which identifies rising property taxes as one of the gravest threats to its long-term viability, the Chebeague long-range plan expresses serious doubts as to whether the program should be implemented on island, noting "this program provides no reimbursement to the Town for the reduced tax collection."²⁹ The likelihood of Chebeague implementing the Local Option Property Tax Option would therefore be much greater if the town were reimbursed for a portion of the lost tax revenue through the proposed Maine Community Enhancement Fund (as recommended in Chapter 2).

Interestingly, a later section dealing with the practical, economic methods of maintaining Chebeague as "a community that is affordable and attractive to a diverse group of people" explicitly requests that "the Town use the option for a tax rebate on historic and scenic properties as authorized by the Constitutional Amendment in 1999."³⁰ This section also calls for the creation of a local historic preservation ordinance. The fact that this was recommended by the finance rather than land use committee demonstrates that on the islands, economics are perhaps the single best motivator for historic preservation efforts.

The long-range plan also recommends that the town should educate homeowners about historic preservation easement programs. The plan does not stipulate who would actually be performing this education campaign, nor does it list any potential easement holders. To clarify this issue, the newly created Town of Chebeague should contract with Maine Preservation to host a series of homeowner education sessions in which the benefits of preservation easements are promoted. Alternatively, the Island Institute could sponsor several members of the Chebeague Historical Society, along with their counterparts in the other island communities, to undergo a more rigorous training in preservation planning techniques, including the creation of historic preservation easements. These people could then return to their individual communities and host their own homeowner education sessions.

The fourth action recommended by the long-range plan is for the town to explore the option of enacting design review to regulate the appearance of new construction. As

described in the plan, this regulation would not be "strict historic preservation review," and would not offer any protection for existing historic resources.³¹ The plan also suggests that such review would be voluntary, at least initially. If implemented, design review would certainly help preserve the island's historic scale and development patterns. It would also ensure that the general sense of place on the island is as little affected by future development as possible. The plan should make it explicitly clear, howe, but it would offer little direct protection for the island's many historic buildings.

The Town of Chebeague, when drafting its new comprehensive plan, should take a much stronger stance on such regulation. The town should unequivocally advocate for design review regulations, and urge that it be mandatory for all new construction. The recent development that has occurred on Peaks Island should provide a stark enough warning of what might be to come if the town does not take a strong enough stance to protect their island's architectural character. If this is not enough to convince residents of Chebeague, the Town could also point to some of the new construction that has sprung up on their own island to convince islanders that design review would be an effective means of preserving the traditional qualities of their community.³²

Chebeague's long-rang plan demonstrates that island residents have at least begun to recognize the importance of their historic buildings and sites. They acknowledge the role that significant historic resources play in maintaining the island's unique sense of place, which is one of the most cherished values amongst islanders. At the same time, Chebeagueers remains conflicted in their views of historic preservation regulation. The plan does not unequivocally support historic preservation regulation, nor does it offer its full support of design review or other indirect methods of protecting historic resources.

The long-range plan also contradicts itself as to how the town should approach the Local Option Property Tax Incentive. The people who drafted the section on preservation of the visual—including architectural—character of the island did not endorse the pro-

gram whole-heartedly, while the group who wrote the section on maintaining the island as an affordable community gave their unequivocal support for a local historic preservation ordinance. When the island has achieved its independence and begins the process of updating its comprehensive plan and ordinances, the town should seize the opportunity to ensure that the community's position on historic preservation is clearly and consistently articulated.

Zoning Ordinance

When Chebeague gains its independence on July 2nd, it will simply adopt the existing zoning ordinance from the Town of Cumberland. The island's Transition Committee has no intention of making major revisions to local regulations until after the community has successfully assumed the day-to-day responsibilities of governing itself. In the zoning ordinance that Chebeague will inherit, there are two underlaying districts that cover the entire island. The distinction between Island Residential and Island Commercial, however is minimal. Both districts share similar lot standards and setback requirements, and differ only in the uses that are allowed on the property.

The Town of Cumberland's zoning ordinance offers little direct protection for historic resources aside from what is mandated by state in the Shoreland Zoning Act.

Borrowing the Maine Department of Environmental Protection's guidelines, the Town of Cumberland requires review by the Maine State Historic Preservation Commission for land use projects that affect property listed on or eligible for the National Register. As written into the Town of Cumberland's ordinance, this general performance standard is applicable only within the defined limits of the shoreland zone and does not cover any development that occurs away from water's edge, leaving most of the island's historic resources without even this minimal protection.

The effectiveness of this provision is further weakened by the fact that there are no properties on Chebeague that have been listed on the National Register of Historic

Places and it is unlikely that the permitting body, which has no formal training or vested interest in historic preservation, will spend much time in determining if an unrecognized historic structure would qualify as historically significant. This weakness in the zoning ordinance underscores the need to establish a Multiple Property Listing for the island communities on the National Register in order to formally recognize Chebeague's significant historic resources. Yet even if the historic resources were recognized and the permitting authority recognized that they may be adversely effected by a proposed land use activity within the shoreland zone, the comments offered by the Maine Historic Preservation Commission would merely be advisory and would have no binding influence over the activity.

Outside of the shoreland area, Chebeague's zoning ordinance is primarily enforced through a permitting process that requires approval by the Code Enforcement Officer for all new construction, change of use, or demolition.³⁴ In this process, little consideration need be given to historic resources. New construction adjacent to historic sites, alterations to significant buildings, or even demolition can all proceed without any consideration being given to the impact that these actions would have on historic resources.

In addition to the standard permitting process, the Town of Cumberland's current zoning ordinance requires Planning Board approval for most non-residential development. These approval standards and criteria stipulate that

If any portion of the site has been identified as containing historic or archaeological resources, the development must include appropriate measures for protecting these recourses, including but not limited to, modification of the proposed design of the site, timing of construction, and limiting the extent of excavation.³⁵

This provision, while certainly offering a degree of protection from the type of suburban non-residential development that is occurring in Cumberland, has limited applicability to Chebeague since there are few conceivable projects on island that would ever trigger this type of site review. In fact, the Island Business district designation, the only one on

island to allow non-residential uses, explicitly states that site plan review is not needed for almost all of the allowed uses within the district.

Other Local Ordinances

Demolition on Chebeague is regulated by the permitting process outlined in Cumberland's zoning ordinance. The ordinance simply requires that a public notice of the demolition be posted in the town office for ten days prior to issuance of the permit.³⁶ There is no review process before the permit is granted, and the potential significance of the building to be demolished is never formally considered by the town. Beth Howe believes that the ordinance should be amended to require anyone proposing a demolition on the island to post notice on the building itself for several weeks before a permit could be issued. This would allow the island community as a whole to be aware of the situation and work to convince the applicant that demolition could be avoided. A demolition ordinance that requires such public notice would be especially effective on the island, where the community is quite small and social sanctions often work better than governmental regulations.

Chebeague will also inherit a lengthy subdivision ordinance from the Town of Cumberland. This ordinance includes a number of general requirements that the Planning Board must consider when making a decision on a proposed subdivision. Of greatest interest to preservation planning is the stipulation that "the board shall require the developer to identify any historic buildings or sites and/or historic or pre-historic archaeological sites."³⁷

The ordinance does not provide an exact definition of a historic building or archaeological site, and does not outline an exact procedure that an applicant must follow when undertaking an inventory of these sites. The ordinance is also largely silent on what happens to these historic resources after they have been identified. Under the best of circumstances, the Planning Board reviewing the subdivision application will take a

substantial interest in the historic resources and will work to ensure their protection.

To ensure that this happens, the Town of Chebeague should revise the subdivision ordinance to clarify these issues. It should provide an explicit definition of what constitutes a historic resources, and should add the requirement that any adverse effect on such resources should be mitigated to the fullest degree possible. Peaks Island should stand as a warning that suburbanization is a real threat to Chebeague, and a finely-tuned subdivision ordinance is one of the most effective tools in preserving the rural character that Chebeaguer's have identified as one of the most important aspects of their community.

On July 1, 2000, the Town of Cumberland enacted a growth management ordinance that limited the number of building permits issued each year. The ordinance capped the number of new houses that could be erected on Chebeague at three per year, while mainland developers were allowed to construct 44 new buildings annually. The restrictions touched off a panic in which 23 building permits were issued for the island after the Town of Cumberland allowed unused permits from the mainland to be transfered to the island.³⁸ This transfer of permits has since been discontinued and the building cap appears to be working effectively. The island will likely review this ordinance once it has transitioned to self-rule, but for the moment it appears that new construction has been put in check.

Private Actions

Historic preservation efforts on Chebeague should be accomplished primarily through governmental regulation. The existing zoning, subdivision, and growth management ordinances should all be reviewed to ensure that maximum protection is given to historic resources. The Town of Chebeague should also implement a demolition delay ordinance to discourage demolitions, and work to create the political will for a historic preservation ordinance that would provide binding protection of the island's significant buildings.

While the Town of Chebeague is ultimately responsible for enacting these measures, the private and non-profit groups that work with the island community should be given the charge of creating public support for historic preservation. Chebeague's historical society is especially well positioned to lead this push. It has already demonstrated its interest in historic preservation, having recently renovated one of the island's schoolhouses for its new museum and office space. Its members also carry a great deal of weight within the community—the society's president, Donna Damon, has been the island's representative to Cumberland's Town Council and was also instrumental in organizing the secession movement. The Island Institute should help bolster interest in historic preservation amongst the members of Chebeague's historical society by sponsoring an inter-island training session in order to educate islanders in sound preservation planning techniques.

In addition to building the political will to implement historic preservation regulations, private groups should also work to protect the most significant buildings and culturally important sites on the island. Maine Preservation should partner with the Cumberland Mainland and Island Trust to identify the most promising conservation projects. The highest priority should be to secure historic preservation easements on the community's distinctive Greek Revival houses, which more than any other building type define the character of the island community and are fundamentally important in preserving Chebeague's sense of place.

Vinalhaven

VINALHAVEN did not experience permanent settlement until the cessation of hostilities between the French and English in 1763, when the Treaty of Paris effectively ended the former's claims in the New World. Growth was stead over the following decades and by 1800 there were a total of 860 settlers living on both North and South Fox Islands. In 1789, island residents elected to incorporate as a town. The name Vinalhaven was given to the new municipality in recognition of John Vinal, who presented the settlers' claim before the Massachusetts General Court—even though he had never actually set foot on either island.

During the late eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth, Vinalhaven was principally a fishing community. The island had several large and protected harbors that provided safe mooring for the town's fleet of fishing vessels, and much of the development was clustered around the ports on the island's south end. There were a number of saltwater farms scattered across the breadth of the island, but as the town became more populated, settlement began to cluster around the Carvers Harbor area.

Fishing remained the island's most important industry throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1820s, however, the value of another important natural resource was being discovered by the residents of Vinalhaven. Granite—which underlies many of the islands in Penobscot Bay—was at this time coming into greater use in the urban centers of the northeast, and it was soon recognized that the Vinalhaven stone was both plentiful and readily accessible. The open seas were still the most convenient means of transporting goods during this era and the island's coastal location made it ideal for exploitation. The first recorded commercial use of Vinalhaven granite occurred in 1826 when an entrepreneur from New Hampshire hauled a boatload of the stone to Massachusetts to be used in the construction of a new prison.² Over the course of the following two decades, quarrying operations were small and intermittent, but by the middle of the nineteenth century the granite industry had begun in earnest.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the granite industry spurred the transformation of Vinalhaven from a rural fishing port to an urbanized company town. By 1880, there were over 3,000 year-round residents on the island.³ There were also countless numbers of transient workers brought over from Europe to work in the quarries. The rapid rise in the island's population lead to substantial building boom. A bustling Main Street was created at the head of Carvers Harbor and was soon lined with impressive commercial and social buildings. Officers of the Bodwell Granite Company built their opulent mansions on nearby Atlantic Avenue, while the working class created entire neighborhoods of small company houses on either side of the harbor. Within the span of two decades, an entire Victorian town had sprung up at the southern tip of Vinalhaven island.

The granite industry went into decline at the beginning of the twentieth century as changing tastes in architecture and the introduction of new building materials such as steel and concrete lessened the demand for the durable stone. Small quarrying operations—mostly the production of paving stones—continued into the 1930s, but Vinal-

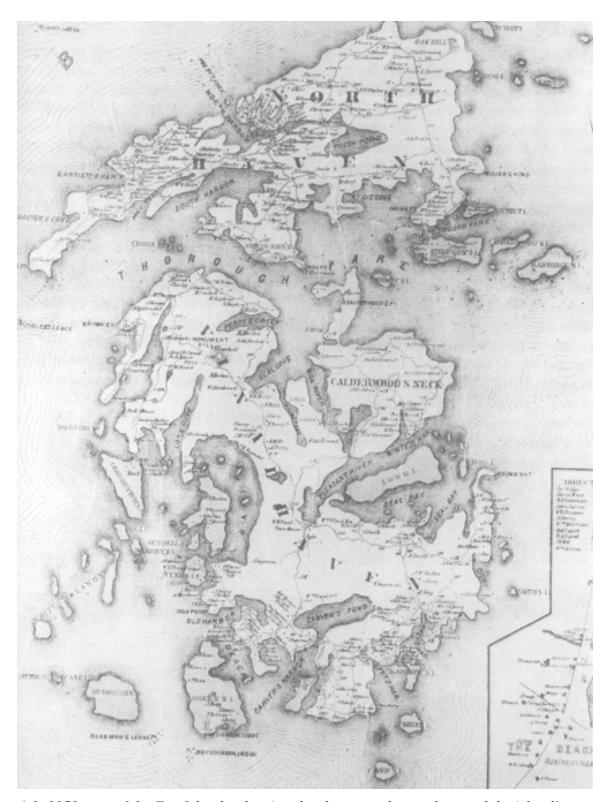
haven was clearly returning to its roots as an isolated outpost on the Maine coast. Fishing, which had remained an important occupation on the island even during the granite boom, regained its dominant role in the island economy. Many of the traditional fisheries, however, had dwindled in the intervening years and cod, haddock, and other species were no longer as plentiful as they once had been. Lobster, on the other hand, had become a profitable business and is largely the reason that Vinalhaven's community continues to survive today.⁴

Historic Contexts and Associated Building Types

Early Settlement (1760s-1850s)

The earliest settlers on Vinalhaven were subsistent farmers and fishermen who's livelihood came directly from land and sea. The agrarian nature of the early settlement meant that homesteads were spread out on large parcels of land along the coast of the island. There were a few concentrations of houses around the harbors to the south, but for the most part development was sparse. The houses erected during this period were correspondingly humble. The story-and-a-half cape predominated, at first with little ornamentation and then often in the Greek Revival style.

A 1859 map of the Fox Islands shows that much of the development on Vinalhaven was by that time concentrated around the island's southern harbors (see Figure 4-1).⁵ Fishing and granite, the two pillars of the community's economic life, both required easy access to the safe anchorages offered by Carvers, Roberts, Ayers, and Old Harbors. As these industries continued to expand during the subsequent decades, the old houses of the first and second generation of settlers were torn down and replaced by larger and more numerous structures. The traditional family farms along the eastern and northern edges of the island, on the other hand, were often left intact. Today they remain the best reminders of the island's earliest period of settlement.



4-1. 1859 map of the Fox Islands, showing development clustered around the island's southern harbors and along the eastern coast.

Associated Property Type: Saltwater Farms⁶

Nearly all of the extant farm buildings are story-and-a-half capes, often with attached wings or ells (see Figure 4-2). The earliest examples are quite astute and have little applied ornament while later examples show the obvious influence of the Greek Revival style that was popular throughout the state beginning in the late 1830s. Regardless of exterior treatment, most of these farm buildings were built in a similar manner and employed similar floor plans. Heavy timber framing predominated on Vinalhaven throughout the early settlement period and all of the farm houses and associated structures were built in this manner. These farm houses were almost universally designed according to the central chimney plan, with a staircase rising in three runs directly behind the front door and two main rooms to either side. A third room typically spanned the rear of the house.

Faming activities on the island occurred within a limited geographical area.



4-2. Typical Vinalhaven saltwater farm.

Vinalhaven had distinct farm family "neighborhoods," which were spread out along the Thoroughfare and around the eastern edge of the island.⁷ These farms were often located on parcels of land that sloped down to the ocean—the "saltwater yielded salt grasses for bedding and feed, rock weed for fertilization and food for sheep," and the sea was by far the most efficient means of transporting necessary goods.⁸

Granite Era (1870-1900)

Vinalhaven experienced its greatest expansion during the granite boom of the late eighteenth century. Between 1870 and 1890, the island developed a true commercial downtown, an impressive row of mansions, and a number of suburban worker's neighborhoods. The granite industry subsequently evaporated during the first quarter of the twentieth century, leaving island residents to fall back on fishing and other traditional ways of life. The island's population declined with its major industry, falling from a high of over 3,000 residents in 1880 to just over 1,000 today. The housing stock built up during the granite era has therefore been more than sufficient for subsequent needs and most of the historic resources from that time are remarkably intact.

Associated Property Type: Downtstreet: Commercial and Social Buildings

The vast majority of Vinalhaven's commercial and social buildings, and most of those that are architecturally significant, are located along Main Street at the head of Carvers Harbor. The population growth that occurred during the granite boom brought new wealth and new customers to the island. As late as the 1870s, there was only a small foot bridge crossing the mill stream between Carvers Pond and the harbor. By the end of the decade, however, the bridge had been substantially enlarged and commercial structures had appeared on the eastern end.

The commercial growth on the island continued through the 1880s, and by the end of the decade Main Street sported several impressive mansard-roofed social halls and the company store, as well as a score of two- to three-story, gable-ended commercial estab-

lishments (see Figure 4-3). While the former are clearly significant individually based on their architectural merit—and at least one is already listed on the National Register—the majority of the buildings derive their importance through their contribution to the commercial district as a whole.

Associated Property Type: High-Style Officers Mansions

The officers of the granite company established their preeminence in the community by building a series of large, ornate mansions in the heart of the Carvers Harbor village. There is a distinct hierarchy in the design of these houses, as the owners of the granite companies erected sprawling, mansard-roofed buildings with elaborate turrets and other Queen Anne elements while lesser officers constructed houses with simpler ornamentation and less complicated massing (see Figure 4-4). This hierarchy also informs the siting of these mansions. The most opulent are located along Atlantic Avenue, to south of



4-3. Star of Hope Lodge, Downstreet Vinalhaven.

Main Street on the eastern side of Carvers Harbor, while the slightly more humble buildings are just the up hill, around the town green. All are within a clearly delimited district and therefore are meritorious both individually and as an ensemble.

Associated Property Type: Vernacular Company Houses

Much of the building stock on Vinalhaven was erected in the late nineteenth century to house the workers from the island's booming granite industry. Most of these structures share a similar design, with a story-and-a-half, gable ended main section adjoining an ell with a sharply peaked dormer (see Figure 4-5). They were often designed and erected by their original owner, perhaps according to published plans that were readily available at this time. Often the main building and ell were actually separate dwelling spaces and two families would have occupied what on first glance appears to be a single house.



4-4. Vinalhaven granite company officers mansion.

The greatest concentration of these houses occur on either side of Carvers Harbor, although there are examples scattered throughout the island. The neighborhoods situated on the two hills overlooking the harbor are particularly intact and significant because they speak to the population density that the island achieved during the granite era—a density that is nearly impossible to truly comprehend except through the reminders of the built environment. There is also a concentration of larger houses along the southern end of Atlantic Avenue that fall somewhere between the officer's mansion and the worker's houses and should also be considered an important granite era residential district.

Seasonal Visitors (1900-1930)

Summer visitors to Vinalhaven did not have the same level of impact on the built environment as they did on many of the other island in Maine. Geography played a part in limiting seasonal tourists, since Vinalhaven is just that much farther Downeast and



4-5. Vinalhaven granite company workers house.

therefore that much more removed from the urban centers to the south. It was also a thriving center of the granite industry, which was by all accounts a noisy, dusty, relatively unpleasant undertaking. The summer visitors who did decided to make a seasonal residence on the island therefore tended to cluster along the Thoroughfare at the northern end of the island. This location had the added benefit of being within hailing distance of the famous colony at Pulpit's Harbor on North Haven.

Associated Property Type: Summer Cottages

Most of Vinalhaven's significant summer cottages were built along the Fox Island Thoroughfare at the northern end of the island. These residences share a similar pedigree with the summer cottages on North Haven, rather than with the bustling industrial town around Carvers Harbor. Author Robert G. Reed has already engaged in an in-depth survey of the Thoroughfare's summer cottages, and notes that:

Rusticators were drawn to the Island not only by a shared appreciation for the beauty of its natural landscape, but also by a shared respect for the character of its indigenous settlements. Hence those who built seasonal residence on [the Thoroughfare] were doubly motivated to fit in rather than stand out, and this no doubt explains why many of the summer cottages adhere, in material and detail, to local vernacular traditions. as well as why some of the largest and most interesting among them are actually assemblages incorporating pre-existing farmhouses, fishhouses, or wharf buildings.¹⁰

The most recognizable type of summer cottage is the shingle-style mansion, with weathered gray shingles tightly wrapped around a dynamically massed building, often with a turret or two facing the sea. There were also a number of cottages built in one of the more eclectic styles that were popular at the turn of the century.

Associated Property Type: Public Buildings¹¹

While the summer cottages are the most prevalent building type associated with the rise of Vinalhaven's tourist industry, several of the most important structures erected in this period where built for the public and are located closer to the village center at Carvers Harbor. The shingle-style Union Church, built in 1899-1900, is one of Vinal-

haven's most celebrated buildings (see Figure 4-6). It's architect, John Calvin Stevens, is widely regarded as one of the most accomplished designers associated with the architecture of the state's coast. 12 The Town Library is another particularly noteworthy example public architecture from the peak of the summers tourist industry. It's significance is enhanced by the fact that it is one of the few buildings on the island to be built of local granite.



4-6. Union Church, Vinalhaven.

Preservation Planning Issues on Vinalhaven

Vinalhaven's relative size and population make the historic preservation planning process considerably different than on Chebeague or Frenchboro. With 1,235 residents, Vinalhaven is the most populous of all of Maine's island communities.¹³ It is also the largest of the offshore islands, encompassing 15,112 acres.¹⁴ There are over a thousand residences and numerous commercial and industrial structures on the island, many of them historic.¹⁵ The number of potentially significant historic resources requiring the attention preservation planning efforts is therefore much higher on Vinalhaven, and identification of these resources must take on an even more important role in the preservation planning process.

Downstreet and the "High Style" Granite Era Buildings

Vinalhaven is one of the few island communities, and the only one of the three case studies, that has a large enough population to support a commercial Main Street. Many of the structures along "Downstreet" were erected during the granite era and are clearly historically significant. Several were designed by trained architects and are of exceptional architectural merit. The quality, both architectural and historical, of the buildings along Downstreet means that these structures should be privileged in the preservation planning process. Nowhere else along the coast of Maine is the mark of the granite industry seen as indelibly as in the company stores and officer's mansions that make up the built fabric of Downstreet. It is a singular reminder of an important part of the state's history and deserves particular attention.

One event in particular underscores the need to protect both the individual landmarks along Downstreet as well as the general character of Vinalhaven's commercial core. In the 1970s, the Memorial Hall building was demolished and the wonderfully distinctive, mansard-roofed hall was replaced with a very plain, single story corrugated metal structure that now houses the island's grocery store. While this new use is of vital importance to the island community, it is housed in one of the least attractive buildings on the island. In a single act of demolition, one of the most distinctive and characteristic structures along Downstreet was replaced by one of the least, and the island's unique sense of place has suffered as a result.

The loss of Memorial Hall served as a wake up call to island residents. It is now unlikely that another Downstreet building would be demolished without substantial public outcry. In addition, several of the more impressive structures have been listed on the National Register of Historic Places—which according to the local zoning ordinance means that any land use activity effecting these buildings would be sent to the Maine Historic Preservation Commission for their comment. In spite of increased awareness of the value of the Downstreet buildings, the town has been reluctant to consider—let alone enact—binding regulation that would protect these structures.

Vinalhaven's draft comprehensive plan also freely admits that "little has been done to impress upon us all the degree to which proportion and scale, proximity to the street, and materials can make new structures compatible with old." In addition to the grocery store, several other new buildings have been erected along the island's Main Street that substantially disrupt the visual integrity of the neighborhood. While a historic preservation ordinance would protect the individual buildings along Downstreet, a design review process for new construction should also be enacted to ensure that new development does not diminish the district's visual integrity and significance.

Company Housing and the Vernacular Granite Era Buildings

The dwellings erected to house the granite companies' workers have never received the same level of attention or respect that has been given to Vinalhaven's commercial buildings and ornate mansions. Vinalhaven's draft comprehensive plan from 2004 notes that "the company houses have no protection and most are unaware of their significance." The lack of awareness of the significance of these buildings has lead to a certain

amount of neglect on the part of island homeowners. Some of this can be attributed to economics, as "many Islanders whose income tended to be lower than the State average, were experiencing difficulty making necessary repairs to their homes." ¹⁸

In addition to lack of maintenance, many of these buildings have also suffered from insensitive alterations. A large percentage of the houses have had their open porches—which contribute greatly to the overall character of the building type—enclosed or removed altogether. Vinyl siding and aluminum windows have both been popular modifications, detracting both from the historic integrity of the buildings as well as the general aesthetic appreciation of the historic workers' neighborhoods.

Many of these alterations are reversible and have not permanently damaged the building's material integrity. There are a number of company houses, however, that may not retain the material integrity required for listing on the National Register of Historic Places or for local designation. Education programs that convince local homeowners of the significance of their buildings are therefore especially important and could be easily implemented by the local historical society, perhaps in partnership with the Island Institute or Maine Preservation.

The company houses also face the potential threat of demolition as town policies increasingly channel development into the existing neighborhoods surrounding Carver's Harbor. Vinalhaven has become increasingly aware of the need to protect its natural resources and its rural character. Land conservation efforts have lead to the permanent protection of over ten percent of the island, with the Vinalhaven Land Trust and the Maine Coast Heritage Trust leading charge.¹⁹

The presence of town services in the Carver's Harbor area, and the desire to conserve the large tracts of open land on the rest of the island, make the island's downtown an obvious location for future growth. Further development of the Carver's Harbor area, however, will likely put pressure on the island's historic resources. The town's

draft comprehensive plans notes that "only 9% of all parcels in [the downtown region] remain undeveloped" and "any additional growth will be adding apartments to existing buildings." While Vinalhaven's zoning ordinance stipulates that conversion of existing buildings intro multi-family dwellings shall limit exterior alterations to "those required to comply with applicable health, building and fire safety codes and shall not substantially alter the appearance of the building," the zoning ordinance, and especially the subdivision provisions, should be carefully studied to ensure that they discourage the demolition of significant historic buildings. ²¹

Affordable Housing

Like Chebeague and the rest of the Maine island communities, affordable housing remains one of the town's most pressing planning issues. The island's comprehensive plan states, "few issues are as critical to the survival of the year-round population on Vinalhaven as the availability of decent affordable housing." In 2003, the island contracted a professional planning firm to analyze the island's housing needs. The firm came to the conclusion that there was substantial need for affordable units, and that "any housing created to meet these needs should be adaptable for mixed age groups and provide a mixture of owner and rental units."

Several projects involving affordable housing development have already been constructed on Vinalhaven, These projects, however, have unfortunately given little concern to issues of historic preservation. The Harborside Homes and the John Carver Apartments, both built as affordable housing units under the United States Department of Agriculture's Rural Development Program, are multi-unit buildings erected at the western end Vinalhaven's Downstreet. The architecture of the two complexes show little sensitivity towards the existing architectural character of the island or the exceptional quality of the buildings along Downstreet (see Figure 14).

While affordable housing development on Vinalhaven has so far shown little

concern for the island's architectural character, future projects should be designed so that they enhance, rather than detract from the community's valuable sense of place. The island's Affordable Housing Committee should actively pursue an affordable housing debelopment that make use of both the Affordable Housing Tax Credit and the Rehabilitation Credit. Such a project would substantially benefit the island and would serve as a wonderful promotion for historic preservation efforts, both on Vinalhaven and on the island communities in general.

Preservation Toolkit for Vinalhaven

Vinalhaven has not benefited from extensive historic preservation activity. There are a number of properties listed on the National Register of Historic Places, although this process seems to have been haphazard and unfocused. There are certainly many more properties on the island that warrant such designation but there is no formal structure in place to identify these properties nor to initiate the designation process. Local land use regulation is limited to the town's zoning ordinance—although it does provide limited protection for identified historic resources.

Comprehensive Planning

Vinalhaven's existing comprehensive plan was adopted by the town in 1988.

One of it's stated goals is "to preserve unique and exemplary natural, scenic, historic and archeological features for future generations." It further claims that "it is the policy of the Town of Vinalhaven to...protect from incompatible development in or adjacent to significant historic and archeological sites, to the extent feasible." ²⁶

Vinalhaven's comprehensive plan lists three concrete actions that the town should take in order to protect its historic resources. The first would require all applications for subdivisions or major developments to submit a detailed environmental impact statement that includes an assessment of the impact on historic resources. The second stipulates that

the town should work with appropriate agencies in identifying significant historic and archeological sites. The third states that future land use activity that occurs on or adjacent to identified historic or archeological resources must minimize any adverse affects on these resources. The review of Vinalhaven's zoning ordinance later in this chapter demonstrates that these actions have been thoughtfully implemented in the local regulations.

In 2004, the Town of Vinalhaven drafted a new comprehensive plan. It contained many updates and was significantly expanded in scope. The first chapter of the draft plan presented an brief inventory of the island's archaeological and historical resources, including a brief description of the island's history and how its architecture relates to that history. The chapter also set out a number of building contexts, mostly related to the structure's use rather than history, and provides a very brief inventory of the more notable buildings pertaining to these contexts. The draft plan then lists a number of recommended actions that various municipal bodies and town groups should take to promote historic preservation interests on the island.

While this new draft plan indicates an increasing awareness of the island's historic resources and a greater enthusiasm for their protection, it also demonstrates that there remains a serious need to offer training in basic preservation planning techniques to local residents interested in historic preservation. Several times the draft plan claims that protection is given to historic resources by their inclusion on the National Register. While such listing does provide a measure of consideration from governmental undertakings, and local zoning does stipulate that land use activity on or around designated sites should receive comment from the Maine Historic Preservation Commission, it does not impose a binding obligation on private homeowners that would prevent them from altering or even demolishing their historic properties. The technical aspects of preservation planning are quite complex and it is obvious that the islands need some outside help in understanding the possible courses of action they can take in preserving their historic resources.

As was recommended for Chebeague, the Island Institute should sponsor a series of training sessions for members of Vinalhaven's historical society, many of whom were actively involved in drafting the town's revised comprehensive plan and would likely be very interested in furthering their knowledge of historic preservation planning techniques. The island's comprehensive plan should then be revised so that it provides true guidance for the town in making future land use policies that are sensitive to historic resources. *Zoning Ordinance*

Like Chebeague, much of Vinalhaven's zoning ordinance derives directly from the Maine Department of Environmental Protection's "Guidelines for Municipal Shoreland Zoning Ordinances." Unlike Chebeague, however, these guidelines have been applied to the entire island, not just those lands within the limited definition of shoreland zone. The consideration offered to historic resources by the MDEP's guidelines is also therefore extended to all of the island's historic structures. As evidence of this expanded commitment to its built heritage, one of the explicit purposes of Vinalhaven's zoning regulation is "to protect archaeological and historic resources."

The primary method by which Vinalhaven's zoning ordinance actually accomplishes its goal of protecting historic and archaeological resources is the stipulation that "proposed land use activity" effecting sites listed on, or eligible for the National Register should be reviewed by the Maine Historic Preservation Commission. ²⁸ This requirement does not guarantee that a historic property will be protected, as the MHPC's comments are purely advisory in nature and the Planning Board is free to heed or ignore the comments as it sees fits. The requirement does, however, provide a chance for historic preservation concerns to be aired before such action is undertaken.

Another obstacle preventing this requirement from being a truly effective historic preservation planning tool is the fact that most of the significant historic resources on Vinalhaven have not yet been identified. There are only ten properties currently listed

on the National Register, and it is unclear if the Planning Board would make an effort to determine if an unlisted property was eligible for such designation. The creation of an state-wide Islands Multiple Property Listing would help solve this problem and make Vinalhaven's zoning ordinance a potentially powerful tool for historic preservation.

The island's zoning ordinance also offers a certain degree of indirect protection for historic resources by encouraging development that is generally in keeping with the character of the island's existing structures. The boundaries of the zones appear to be well tuned to the existing development patterns on the island, and the lot size and similar requirements are generally in keeping with the existing structures within these zones. Vinalhaven's zoning ordinance also includes several districts designed to protect natural and ecological resources, demonstrating that the town is willing to regulate development in order to preserve resources of recognized significance.

Other Local Ordinances

Subdivision on Vinalhaven is regulated by a subsection of the town's zoning ordinance. For a subdivision to be approved, the local Planning Board must certify that the proposal meets certain review criteria. In addition, the applicant must also prove that certain performance standards are meet. Amongst these review criteria is the stipulation that "the proposed subdivision will not have an undue adverse effect on...historic sites." Since there is no standing historic preservation commission on the island, it is up to the town's Planning Board to determine the impact of a proposed subdivision on historic resources.

There is also no definition as to what constitutes a "historic site," and it is is possible that the Planning Board would take the limited view that it means simply those properties listed on the National Register. This would ignore the numerous historic buildings and structures that warrant protection but have not yet been identified as significant. Any revision to the subdivision section of the town's zoning ordinance should therefore

expand the definition of a historic site so that any lot containing a building of a certain age would trigger a more in-depth review by the Planning Board. The creation of a Multiple Property Listing for the islands would also help alleviate this shortcoming, since it would greatly expand the number of officially recognized historic sites.

The performance standards also allow the Planning Board to "require that the proposed subdivision include a landscape plan that will show how scenic, historic or environmentally sensitive areas will be preserved." This stipulation could be used to encourage the applicant to review their proposal and perhaps make changes that would protect any significant historic resources. This would require active interest in historic preservation on the part of the Planning Board, something that could be encourage through a training program similar to what was recommended for the island's historical society.

Vinalhaven's subdivision regulation meets most of the recommendations outlines in the National Parks Service's bulletin on "Subdivision Regulations and Historic Preservation." The lack of a dedicated historic preservation commission perhaps weakens the effectiveness of the protection given to historic resources in the subdivision regulation, and this deficiency should be remedied by developing a training program that would encourage members of the Planing Board to adopt historic preservation as one of their primary values.

Vinalhaven should also enact a demolition delay ordinance similar to the one proposed for Chebeague. While Vinalhaven's population is larger and less cohesive than most of its counterparts along the Maine coast, social sanctions are still powerful and could be leveraged to help protect historic resources. Public notice of proposed demolitions would give islanders a chance to speak against the loss of significant buildings, helping to ensure that the reactionary responses of the past—including the tardy outcry denouncing the demolition of Memorial Hall—are transformed into proactive efforts to retain the island's historic fabric.

Private Actions

Vinalhaven would be a perfect candidate for a historic preservation ordinance. It has a clearly significant village center composed of highly distinctive commercial buildings surrounded by historic neighborhoods filled with charming officers' mansions and workers' houses. Governmental regulation would provide binding protection for these resources, ensuring their survival into the future. Yet there remains hesitation amongst the island population in enacting such laws. Public interest in the island's architectural heritage needs to be galvanized before a historic preservation ordinance or similar regulation is put into place.

The work of building the political will to implement historic preservation should primarily be the responsibility of the many private and non-profit groups that work with Maine's island communities. The Island Institute above all needs to officially recognize that the long-term viability of the islands depends upon the holistic preservation of the islands' quality of place, including protection of both the natural and built environment. The Institute's official mission statement claims that their "perspective is fundamentally ecological," and most of their activities have revolved around nature conservation.³²

There is, however, a growing recognition in the state that nature conservation by itself is not enough. The Brookings Institution report released in 2006 argued that "land conservation measures are valuable and important, but they are only half the equation."³³ They claim that all future conservation efforts in the state should look at places holistically, rather than focusing just on nature conservation or historic preservation. The announcement of the completion of the Sabbathday Lake preservation efforts also indicates that the state's land trusts and historic preservation group are becoming more willing to work together towards the common goal of cultural landscape protection. This major project was a major victory in cultural landscape preservation, and hopefully will encourage other groups to attempt similar undertakings.

On Vinalhaven, a number of concrete projects would especially galvanize the public's interest in cultural landscape preservation on island. The Island Institute should work to organize a partnership between the Maine Coast Heritage Trust, the Vinalhaven Land Trust, and Maine Preservation. The main goal of this coalition should be the creation of a comprehensive plan aimed at protecting the island's unique quality of place, whether it be superlative natural areas or particularly significant buildings. The existing holdings of the MCHT and the Vinalhaven Land Trust, which are substantial, would provide a solid base on which to build future cultural landscape preservation efforts.

The first action of this coalition should be to purchase historic preservation easements on the most superlative Downstreet commercial buildings and officers mansions. This would involve less than ten buildings, but would provide a highly visible way to promote historic preservation on the island and would ensure the continuing protection of the community's most important buildings. The coalition should then work on identifying culturally significant sites on the island. An architectural survey of Vinalhaven's buildings would be a fundamental component of this process, but it should be augmented by other methodologies designed to recognize other places important to the local community.³⁴

Historic preservation efforts on Vinalhaven cannot be limited simply to the protection of individual structures. The built environment is an important characteristic of the island, but can only be understood and appreciated in the greater context of the community's holistic sense of place. Private actions should therefore break out of their conventional focus on nature conservation or architectural preservation and embrace methods of identifying and protecting sites of cultural significance. There is growing support for this type of work in the State of Maine, and Vinalhaven's quality of place would make it a perfect candidate for cutting-edge cultural landscape preservation efforts.

Frenchboro

Frenchboro is located further Downeast and is much more remote from the mainland than either Chebeague or Vinalhaven. Its isolation likely accounts for the fact that it was not settled until much later than many of the islands to the south. While fishermen and timber harvesters appear to have used the island seasonally beginning in the 1790s, residents did not establish permanent homesteads on the island until around 1820. In 1822, two of the community's most famous citizens moved onto Outer Long Island. Israel and Amos Lunt, like Ambrose Hamilton on Chebeague, came to dominate island dealings throughout the nineteenth century. Soon after they moved onto the island, the Lunt brothers married daughters of established island families and brought a number of relatives to live on Outer Long Island, cementing the year-round island community.

In addition to fathering a large portion of the island's population and being indirectly responsible of the arrival of many of the rest, Israel B. Lunt also helped establish the foundations of the island's economy. He established an island store that brought much-needed provisions to island residents and consolidated much of the island's fishing

and timber harvesting business. Most island residents in the middle of the nineteenth century in fact bought and sold the majority of their goods through Israel Lunt. Since the soil on Outer Long Island was poor, agriculture never played a major role in the life of island residents. Nor were there deposits of granite or other mineral resources to support extensive quarrying or related industries. The island was—and remains—a tight-knit, isolated fishing port.

The community on Outer Long Island was well enough established by the 1840s that island residents elected to become Long Island Plantation. A school was organized in 1842, and a Baptist congregation was formed a year later. During this time the island's population reached 150 residents, a level that would be maintained throughout the nine-



5-1. 1850 map of Frenchboro, showing development clustered around Lunts Harbor.

teenth century. Because the primary industry on the island was fishing, most of the island residents built their homesteads along the mouth of Lunts Harbor (see Figure 5-1).

Outer Long Island was not a wealthy community to begin with, but the 1860s brought a series of challenges that threatened the island's economic viability. In 1861, the island lost its patriarch and primary employer when Israel Lunt passed away. At the same time the Civil War ignited a significant period of inflation in which the price of goods needed in the fishery more than doubled.³ After the cession of hostilities, the federal government decided to discontinue the bounties it had previously offered to cod-fishing boats. This loss of income, coupled with the rising coast of outfitting an offshore fishing vessel, lead many Outer Long Islanders to turn to the inland fishery.

During the following decades, Outer Long Islanders managed to scrape together a living chasing whatever fish could provide enough income. Lobster, which had previously been viewed as a nuisance fish, slowly grew in importance along the Maine coast as other species failed. But even in 1880, only eight of Outer Long Island's forty one fishermen were considered lobsterers. It would take well into the twentieth century for the lobster industry to become the foundation of Outer Long Island's economy. During the intervening years, Long Island residents went about their business relatively unaffected by the changes that were occurring along most of the rest of the Maine coast. Unlike Chebeague and Vinalhaven—which saw massive influxes of summer visitors and quarrymen, respectively—Long Island remained a self-contained and isolated community. As the island's official historian notes, "basically, Long Island was on its own."

In spite of the relatively weak economic conditions during this period, Long Island retained a stable community and actually reached its peak population in 1910 when 197 citizens lived on island.⁶ Island residents also undertook a series of civic projects that stand today as testaments to the pride they held for their community. A church building was erected in 1890 to serve the island's newly founded Congregationalist flock, and a

large and sturdy new schoolhouse was raised next door in 1907. Along with the parish house that stands adjacent, the three white buildings at the head of the harbor constitute a clear civic center on the island.

Fishing remains the dominant industry on Frenchboro. The island's fleet of boats now chase lobster rather than cod or mackerel as they did in the nineteenth century, but otherwise relatively little has changed since the first settlers decided to put down roots on Frenchboro. New houses are erected every once in a while, often to house the child of an established island family, but on the whole development has progressed at the same rate that it always has.

Historic Contexts and Associated Property Types

Vernacular Dwellings

Frenchboro has always been an isolated fishing village. There has only been intermittent commercial activity on the island, and much of that was sequestered on piers jutting into Lunts Harbor. The built fabric on the island therefore consists almost exclusively of private dwellings. The isolation of the island and the lack of other economic opportunities outside of the fishery also meant that there was never a substantial influx of in-migrants, nor was there ever a distinct building boom. The houses that have been constructed on Frenchboro therefore span the entire history of the island and are more representative of the general way of life on the island than of any particular historic moment. *Associated Property Type: Vernacular Dwelling*

Frenchboro's historic dwellings are mostly anonymous, plain buildings that barely reveal their age or significance. Many have been highly altered or have been moved to new locations, making identification of historic resources difficult. The most characteristic building type on the island is the simple, story-and-a-half gable-ended box (see Figure 5-2). Most of these have no applied ornament or other decoration that would indicate the

time period in which it was erected. There are a number of charming houses built in the romantic styles popular in the second half of the nineteenth century, but even these are relatively unassuming.

There are, however, a number of vernacular dwellings on Frenchboro that are closely associated with figures important in the history of the island community. These houses often have suffered the same alterations and modifications as the rest of the island's historic building stock, but their historic associations have imbued them with a meaning that transcend their sometimes questionable material integrity. A community like Frenchboro has a long memory and many of these dwellings are still referred to by their original owner's name. The oldest building on the island, for example, is still known as the Isreal B. Lunt home, after Frenchboro's principle patriarch. While these associations only have local significance, it is clear that these associations run deep on Frenchboro.



5-2. Typical Frenchboro vernacular house.

Civic Core

Like the island's vernacular houses, Frenchboro's civic buildings were erected over the course of many decades and do not represent a single historic moment. Instead they stand as testament to the continuing struggle of a handful of people to make a living on the edge of the Maine coast.

Associated Property Type: Public Building

The significant historic public buildings on Frenchboro are easily identified and enumerated. The perviously mentioned triumvirate of white civic buildings at the head of Lunts harbor make up the first group, while the two offshore lighthouses make up the second (see Figure 5-3).⁷ The buildings pertaining to this context date from as early as 1830, when the light station on Mount Dessert Rock was established, to 1907 when the school house was erected.



5-3. Frenchboro's civic core.

Preservation Issues on Frenchboro

Frenchboro is the least populous of Maine's island communities, and it is also one of the most remote—it is certainly much more isolated than either Chebeague or Vinalhaven. Its ferry service runs only three times a week, compared to the multiple daily trips that the islands further south enjoy. Electricity service was established only in the 1950s and telephone service did not arrive on island until the 1980s. Independence is highly prized on Frenchboro—as author Virginia Thorndike notes, "the majority of Frenchboro voters have consistently taken the position that no one is going to tell them what to do." Frenchboro's small size also means that there simply aren't that many historic buildings on the island, and those that do exist often have been heavily altered would probably not qualify for protection from traditional historic preservation regulation. Preservation planning efforts that focus on incentives and education programs, rather than regulatory control, will therefore be much more effective.

Independence and Small Government

In 1979, the residents of Long Island Plantation elected to organize into the Town of Frenchboro. This was done not out of any feeling of civic pride, but "largely to escape oversight by the [State's] Land-use Regulation Commission" since "islanders basically did not want LURC dictating what to build or where." Land use decisions are now made directly by island residents during the annual town meeting, in which any eligible voter can (and usually does) participate.

While the residents of Frenchboro have stepped out from under LURC control,
State law still dictates several important aspects of land use policy on Frenchboro. The
Shoreland Zoning Act, for example, requires towns to adopt a zoning ordinance for lands
within a defined shoreland zone. This has had significant effect on land use policy on
Frenchboro since most of the development on the island has occured near the island's
harbor, well within the limits of the shoreland zone. While these state mandates have

forced Frenchboro citizens to enact certain land use regulations, an analysis of the town's local ordinances later in this chapter will demonstrate that the Town of Frenchboro has essentially adopted the state's minimum standards and has chosen to leave all other land use decisions to individual property owners.

Compounding the issue is the apparent lack of awareness and enforcement of the town's ordinances. The Town of Frenchboro has no full-time staff members, and membership on the community's Board of Selectmen and other important organizations changes from year to year, depending on who gets pressed into service at the annual town meeting. Even those who have served in official capacities are often unaware that the town even has a local zoning ordinance. As long as a new construction project does not meet the disproval of ones' neighbors, infractions are generally overlooked on Frenchboro, confirming that informal agreements almost always trump formal regulation on the island.

Vernacular Architecture and Cultural Landscapes

From the moment of it's permanent settlement in 1820, Frenchboro has always been a remote fishing port. It is truly isolated from the general trends of the mainland, and it's built fabric is particularly emblematic of this isolation. There are few architect-designed buildings within the town limits and nearly all of the surviving historic structures on the island are simple wood-framed houses with little architectural distinction. There are none of the stylized details that characterize the building stock on many of the other island communities. Instead, Frenchboro's architectural tradition derives more from practical constraints than popular fashion.

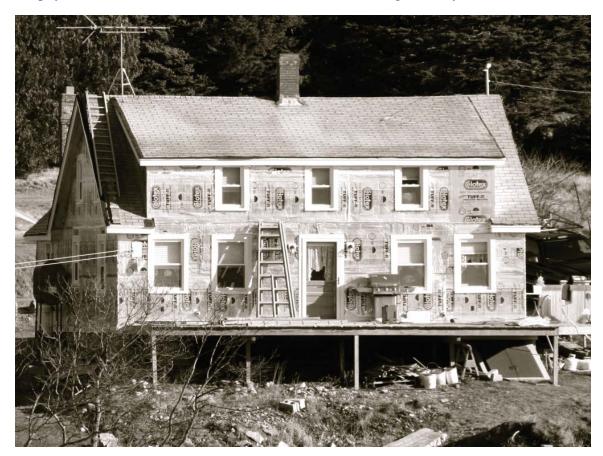
The practical nature of island homeowners has also meant that many of the historic buildings on Frenchboro have been heavily modified over the years. As local historian Dean Lunt notes,

Islanders, by necessity, were a thrifty lot, including when they built

homes. At times they tore down old houses for the lumber and used it for new houses. In some cases, they tore off a section and moved it for a new houses. And sometimes they moved entire houses to new locations.¹¹

While the modification of historic buildings has been a long-standing tradition on Frenchboro and contributes to the unique sense of place on the island, many historic preservationists would take exception to the practice since these alterations seemingly diminish the integrity of the structures.

According to the National Parks Service, integrity is defined as "a property's historic identity evidenced by the survival of physical characteristics from the property's historic or pre-historic period." Many of these modifications have significantly altered the physical characteristics of Frenchboro's historic buildings. Nearly all of the historic



5-4. The Israel B. Lunt house.

houses on the island, for example, have been re-clad at some point. A number have been sheathed in vinyl siding, leaving the original clapboarding in place. These buildings have the potential to be restored to their original condition. Others, however, have had their original siding removed completely and restoration would not be possible.

The Israel B. Lunt house is perhaps the most interesting historic house on Frenchboro. The alterations it has suffered include a second-story addition that included a new roof line, a new foundation, and completely new sheathing (see Figure 5-4). From the exterior, there is very little evidence of its age or history. The interior has been similarly modified, with new partitions and flooring covering every visible surface of the building. In spite of these changes, the house is still referred to by the name of its first owner—who happens to have been the town's original patriarch and remains the island's most distinguished historic figure. On an island that is still dominated by the Lunt family, the associative value of the house is quite significant even if its material integrity has been lessened over the years.



5-5. Lunts Harbor, circa 1880.

While the official definition of integrity stresses "physical characteristics" and original material, the NPS has in fact identified seven components of integrity: "location, setting, feeling, association, design, workmanship and materials." While the historic buildings on Frenchboro clearly fail to meet several of these criteria—the alterations have essentially negated the structures' integrity of location, design, workmanship, and materials—the fact that Frenchboro as a community has remain largely the same since the early nineteenth century indicates that its historic buildings retain a significant degree of integrity of setting, feeling, and association. Since these three criteria relate more to the landscape of the island rather than the fabric of the buildings themselves, it is perhaps more useful to look at Frenchboro as a holistic cultural landscape rather than a collection of individual historic buildings.

The National Parks Service again helps shed light onto how Frenchboro can be



5-6. Lunts Harbor, 2007.

treated as a cultural landscape. Its "Preservation Bulletin 36: Protecting Cultural Landscapes" distinguishes between two types of cultural landscapes, "historic designed landscapes" and "historic vernacular landscapes." Frenchboro most closely resembles the latter, which the NPS defines as "a landscape that evolved through use by the people whose activities or occupancy shaped that landscape." The NPS also notes that "function plays a significant role in vernacular landscapes." For vernacular landscapes, the official standards outlined by the NPS apparently allow for a certain evolution of the built environment so long as these changes occur during the normal functions of the community.

Frenchboro meets both of these requirements—its built fabric has evolved entirely through the activities and occupation of its local inhabitants, even while the basic function of the community has remained the same since its founding in 1820. Comparing a historic photograph of the neighborhood surrounding the Israel B. Lunt house with a contemporary photograph shows that all of the historic structures seen in the former have either been heavily modified or have been town down altogether (see Figures 5-5 and 5-6). Even with these substantial changes, however, the general feeling and sense of the neighborhood remains much the same—in large part because the new or modified structures serve the same basic functions as the historic ones.

Considering Frenchboro as a holistic vernacular landscapes rather than as a collection of individual buildings does not remove the need to assess the integrity of the historic resource being examined. The NPS's "Preservation Brief 36" insists that any preservation planning efforts concerning cultural landscapes should begin with an evaluation of the landscape's significance and integrity, and claims that "in order for the landscape to have integrity, [its] character-defining features or qualities that contribute to its significance must be present." The historic significance of Frenchboro and the other Maine island communities can be easily argued, especially given that they are rare surviving examples of a way of life that was once common along the state's coast. The integrity of

the vernacular landscapes on these islands, and Frenchboro in particular, is perhaps more difficult to establish since the built environment has undergone fairly continual modification throughout the histories of these communities.

The fundamental question is therefore what exactly constitutes a "character-defining feature," the component of integrity that the NPS seems to privilege above all else when considering cultural landscapes. It would be easy to simply equate character-defining features with historic structures that retain a substantial percentage of their original material. Such a position would, however, seemingly preclude Frenchboro from receiving the benefit of preservation efforts. If, on the other hand, the definition of character-defining features were allowed to encompass structures and sites that possessed a continuity of use as well as a continuity of materials, much of Frenchboro's landscape would become eligible for protection by preservation interests.

Even if Frenchboro is deemed to be a vernacular landscape with sufficient significance and integrity (on account of its continuity of use), it would be difficult to envision a course of action that would actually ensure the protection of the islands character defining features. Frenchboro has evolved fairly continually throughout its history, mostly without outside intervention. It is possible that attempts to preserve Frenchboro's vernacular landscape could actually end up stifling the very processes that keep the culture of the island functioning.¹⁷

The character-defining features on Frenchboro are mainly associated with the island's fishing industry—the piers and sheds that ring the harbor, and the humble houses that spread up the hills around them. If preservation efforts seek to conserve these structures in the current state (or attempt to restore them to a previous, historic condition) the fishing industry may suffer as a result—maybe only through minor inconvenience at first, but perhaps more seriously in the future when changes in technology or practice require a different use of the island's working waterfront. Because the character-defining features

of Frenchboro are all associated with the use, rather than the form, of the island's historic landscape, preservation efforts should be largely limited to finding compatible occupants should the original owners ever decide to sell their property.

Affordable Housing

Unlike the existing affordable housing development projects on Vinalhaven, the buildings erected by the Frenchboro Future Development Corporation relate rather favorably to the island's traditional architectural forms and settlement patterns. The seven houses that form the core of Frenchboro's affordable housing program were designed in a style very similar to the existing structures on the island. They are simple, story-and-a-half, gable ended houses that resemble closely the dominant building type in the community. They are also located in an much more inconspicuous location than their Vinalaven counterparts, being tucked away in the woods some distance from Lunt's Harbor.

Preservation Toolkit for Frenchboro

Because there are few individual properties that posses the material integrity required for protection by traditional historic preservation regulation, preservation efforts on Frenchboro need to be more creative and flexible than on either Chebeague or Vinalhaven. Municipal government on Frenchboro is also quite small—as befits a rural island community with only thirty seven eligible voters—and local regulations generally do little more than fulfill the state's minimum requirements.

Comprehensive Planning

When the residents of Long Island Plantation voted to become the Town of Frenchboro, the newly formed municipal government was required by the state to enact a comprehensive plan and a zoning ordinance in accordance with the Shoreland Zoning Act. The town's plan was later amended in early 1990s after the state passed the Comprehensive Planning and Land Use Regulation Act.

Frenchboro's comprehensive plan from the early 1990s has adopted verbatim the goals and objectives outlined in the state's Planning and Land Use Regulation Act, including the goal "to preserve historic and archaeological resources." Like most of the state mandates that Frenchboro has adopted, the inclusion of this provision on the island's plan seems to be designed more to please lawmakers in Augusta than to provide any actual protection historic or archeological resources. The island's comprehensive plan also recommends that "those islands rated by the State as natural areas or areas of unique historical or archaeological significance should be protected from development." It does not provide an inventory of islands or sites so designated, nor does if offer any suggestions as to the means by which this directive may be accomplished.

Frenchboro's comprehensive plan is a bare-bones document that provides only superficial consideration of the island's historic resources. Nowhere does it demonstrate that an inventory of historic resources has even been considered, let alone undertaken. It's recommendations concerning the protection of historic resources are also apparently limited to the outer islands, and have nothing to say about preservation on Long Island itself. In short, it is clear that the Frenchboro comprehensive plan attempted to meet the minimum requirements of the state without committing the town to enact any regulation or undertake any action that it did not have to.

Zoning and Other Local Ordinances

Frenchboro's zoning ordinance is not readily available for analysis, and it appears that most of the islanders are unaware that one even exists. ¹⁹ It seems likely that land use regulation on the island is simply governed by the state's Shoreland Zoning Act and the standards established by the Maine Department of Environmental Protection, which would require comment form the Maine Historic Preservation Commission on any project involving a property listed on or eligible for the National Register. The process is purely advisory, and the local permitting body has full latitude to ignore the Commission's recommendations.

The protection offered by this provision is also only in effect within the shoreland zone, defined as "250 feet of great ponds, rivers, freshwater and costal wetlands, including all tidal waters; and within 75 feet of streams." Much of Frenchboro's development has occurred in close proximity to Lunts Harbor and is therefore within this area, but there are number of historic houses that lay outside of the boundaries and would not qualify for comment by the Maine Historic Preservation Commission even if they were officially recognized as significant historic structures. The effectiveness of this provision is further limited by the fact that only two structures within Frenchboro's boundaries are listed on the National Register. Because of the vernacular nature and perceived lack of material integrity of most of the island's buildings, it is likely that none of the other historic buildings on Frenchboro would ever be identified as eligible for listing and would therefore never receive any sort of protection under Frenchboro's state-mandated zoning ordinance.

While Frenchboro's zoning regulations are rather limited and do not effectively provide direct protection for the island's individual historic resources, they do provide a measure of indirect protection by ensuring that future development occurs along traditional patterns. The minimum lot size and set back requirements codified in the MDEP's guidelines should be analyzed in greater detail and adjusted to ensure that the town's zoning ordinance is completely compatible with existing conditions. The zoning ordinance should also be expanded to apply to the entire breadth of the island, instead of just the shoreland zone. This would further prevent incompatible development from surrounding and overwhelming the existing buildings along harbor's edge.

It does not appear that Frenchboro has enacted a demolition delay ordinance, and its subdivision ordinance is likely to only meet the state's minimum standards outlined in the Subdivision Act—which requires municipalities to review any proposed subdivision before a permit can be issued but does not include any provisions for the protection

of historic or archeological resources.²¹ The lack of awareness of the local ordinances by even the more active members of the island community does not bode well for their enforcement or implementation, further degrading the effectiveness of the already minimal regulations.

Because of the vernacular nature of Frenchboro's building stock, it is highly unlikely that direct regulation of historic resources would ever be implemented on the island. Such regulation may in fact be counterproductive and divert resources better spent elsewhere. Municipal efforts should instead focus on preserving the island's historic character—especially the size and shape of buildings and their relation to each other. Fine tuning the zoning ordinance and making it applicable to the entire island should be the first priority. The town, with technical assistance from the State Planning Office or the regional planning association, should also explore the possibilities of form-based zoning, which might prove even more effective in maintaining the visual character of the community.

Private Actions

Historic preservation efforts on Frenchboro should begin with a thorough survey of the island's significant cultural sites. This may include a traditional architectural inventory performed according to the Maine Historic Preservation Commission's guidelines, since there are a number of buildings on the island that appear to retain much of their historic integrity but whose significance has not yet been established. This survey of cultural sites should also seek to identify sites of local importance that might be overlooked during the typical preservation planning activity. The Orton Family Foundation, an organization dedicated to advancing the study of significant places, explains the process as the "exploration and identification of [a community's] special economic, natural, physical and human attributes, values, and aspirations."²²

The Town of Frenchboro should therefore request that the Island Institute sponsor

an Island Fellow to complete this survey. The selected candidate should receive training from the Orton Family Foundation or a similar organization to ensure that the work complies with the latest techniques of identifying sites important to the local community. The Island Fellow would then spend up to a year living on Frenchboro recording islanders stories, mapping their experience of their community, and determining the important aspects of their home that they would like to protect.

This survey should then form the basis for a comprehensive conservation plan created by a coalition of the Island Institute, the Maine Coast Heritage Trust, and Maine Preservation. The plan should emphasize protection of the island's unique sense of place, including preservation of the natural and built environments, as well as the traditional ways of life that have persisted on Frenchboro since its inception.

The community has already taken a lead in open space conservation efforts.

Acadia National Park has 250 acres of land under conservation easement, and an additional 900 acres were placed under permanent protection in 1999 when the Maine Coast Heritage Trust—in partnership with the Island Institute and the Maine Sea Coast Mission—raised \$3 million to purchase a large tract of land that had been put up of for sale by a prominent summer resident.

The island itself comprises just over 1,500 acres, so less than a third of the area remains open for development. Most of that is concentrated around Lunts Harbor where the existing village stands. Future conservation efforts should concentrate on this area, so that the historic village is retained along with the island's natural areas. The coalition's first priority should be to purchase historic preservation easements on the town's church, parsonage, and schoolhouse, the buildings that contribute most to Frenchboro's sense of place.

The town's other significant public buildings, the light stations on Great Duck and Mount Desert Rock, have already been protected through covenants attached to the

properties' deeds when they were divested under the Maine Lights Program.²³ These covenants also stipulated that should the original owner fail to properly maintain the buildings, as determined by the Maine Historic Preservation Commission, the property would revert to the Commission's care until a new owner could be found. Similar covenants should be attached to the deeds of the church, parsonage, and schoolhouse to ensure that these buildings are always put to appropriate use and retain their importance in the life of the community.

The coalition should also create a revolving fund to help island homeowners rehabilitate their houses. Neglect is one of the most pressing threats to the island's building stock, and such a program would greatly mitigate loss of historic fabric due to the inability of islanders to maintain their homes. This activity could be further bolstered if it were to receive support from the proposed Maine Community Enhancement Fund.

More than anything else, however, Frenchboro is defined by the continuity of use of its harbor. Perhaps the most important preservation project would be to ensure that the island's working waterfront remains accessible for the community's lobster fishers. Almost all of the distinctive piers jutting into Lunts Harbor are privately owned, and could closed to working activities if their owners ever so chose—as has already happened along much of the state's coast.

The Island Institute has already helped to establish a Working Waterfront Coalition designed to ensure that cultural landscapes such as Frenchboro's harbor retain their most important character defining feature: the boats, piers, and ephemera that make up the state's widest recognized symbol. The Institute's planning tools focus on two major avenues, the reduction of taxes and the purchase of development and use rights on waterfront property. This activity should be given the full support of the other non-profits working on the islands, whether they be primarily interested in nature conservation, historic preservation, or community development. The continuing use of the waterfront as

a fishing port should be the primary goal of anyone interested in preserving Frenchboro's quality of place.

Conclusion

Perhaps no other human landscape on the globe produces people more fully possessed of a sense of place than the fifteen surviving year-round island communities of Maine.

—Philip W. Conkling, *Islands in Time*

This is the perfect time to institute progressive and far-reaching preservation efforts on the Maine islands. There is a growing movement in the state to recognize locations that possess special qualities of place. New methodologies for identifying and protecting culural resources are being implemented at the state and local levels, and private and non-profit groups are increasingly becoming active in multi-disciplinary activities that honor and protect holistic landscapes. The Maine Historic Preservation Commission notes that, "presently, preservation efforts in Maine continue to diversify as awareness of our cultural resources broaden." It also claims that "the recognition of traditional rural landscapes as intrinsic to Maine's heritage resource base" is one of the most important courses for

future preservation work in the state.¹

The emerging field of cultural landscape preservation has also been bolstered by the Brookings Institution's influential report, Charting Maine's Future: An Action Plan for Promoting Sustainable Prosperity and Quality of Place. This document is especially favorable to historic preservation, stating that "especially in a state such as Maine that has a large inventory of historic buildings, [historic preservation] is an important tool for revitalization." The report also recommended that nature conservation and historic preservation groups work together more closely in order to protect the state's quality places—those locations whose value derives from both the natural and built environments. Maine's year-round island communities certainly meet the Brookings Institution's definition of a quality place. They are amongst the state's most important cultural resources—representing some of the oldest surviving European settlements in Maine and possessing a remarkable sense of place based on their abundant natural beauty, significant architecture, and continuity of culture. The Brookings Institution also asserts that preserving quality places is fundamental to maintaining the vitality of the state as a whole. Its report claims that "economic success and quality places matter equally—are, in fact, linked inextricably." The belief in the interconnection between vitality and quality of place is shared by The Orton Family Foundation, a progressive non-profit dedicated to identifying and protecting the country's significant places. Their mission statement claims that a "community's heart and soul—those things they hold dear and indeed connect them to one another and to the community as a whole...is necessary to building a vibrant and sustainable community."⁴

For most islanders, however, there are currently only two components to vitality: a stable year-round population and a reasonably secure economy. This way of thinking has been informed by the ever-present fear that the 15 remaining year-round enclaves will fall to the same fate as the hundreds of other island villages that once dotted the state's

coast. Most community planning efforts on the islands have therefore focused on ways of growing the islands' economies and minimizing the inconveniences of island life. Yet even in the best years, when the lobsters are running and the local economy is strong, island living presents formidable challenges. What keeps residents on the island is not the opportunity to get rich or live in the lap of luxury, but rather the unique sense of place and feeling of community that makes a remote bit of land in the middle of the Atlantic ocean feel like "home." The surest way to retain population, and therefore one of the fundamental components of the island communities' vitality, is to preserve this quality of place.

The tools required to ensure the protection of the island communities' quality of place vary according to the particular circumstances of the community. Chebeague and Vinalhaven are both fairly typical preservation planning scenarios, where the historic resources are easily defined and their significance has easily been established. While these communities have been reluctant to enact local legislation that would protect their historic resources, it is clear that regulation could easily be implemented and that it would provide substantive protection for these resources. The primary problem is therefore that of establishing the political will to implement such regulation.

Frenchboro, on the other hand, presents several challenges to established methods of historic preservation. The island has few historic structures that qualify for protection under traditional historic preservation regulations. Yet while the individual sites on Frenchboro may not measure up to traditional definitions of historical or architectural significance, the island community taken as a whole definitely does. The current residents are both the literal and figurative descendants of the earliest island settlers, and there has been a continuity of community on Frenchboro that is rare in the rest of the country. The major focus of preservation planning efforts on Frenchboro should therefore be the protection of the island's holistic cultural landscape.

There is already substantial interest in promoting the vitality of Maine's year-

round island communities. Many non-profit groups and individual citizens have devoted considerable amounts of time and energy to ensure that these unique places do not disappear. These efforts have focused on issues of economic stability and the inconveniences of island life, helping to secure at least the short term survival of these communities. Yet there is a deeper, more profound source of vitality that these endeavors have not yet addressed. The underlying reason that any of the island communities have continued to exist is the indelible sense of place that islanders possess. It will therefore be through cultural landscape preservation efforts that the island communities will achieve an enduring vitality—one that address the holistic sense of place, today and into the future.

Endnotes

Chapter 1: Preservation On Island

- 1 Charles B. McLean, *Islands of the Mid-Maine Coast: Mount Desert to Machias Bay*, (The Kennebec River Press inc.: Falmouth, ME, 1989) 16.
- 2 Virginia L. Thorndike, *Islanders: Real Life on the Maine Islands*, (Down East Books: Camden, ME, 2005) 33.
- 3 John Cole, "Forecaster," quoted in Town of Cumberland, "Chebeague Island Long Range Plan," May 2002, 40.
- 4 Town of Cumberland, "Chebeague Island Long Range Plan," May 2002, 40.
- 5 Interview with Beth Howe, January 5, 2007.
- 6 "Maine possesses a globally know 'brand' built on images of livable communities, stunning scenery, and great recreational opportuities." Brookings Institution Metropolitan Program, *Charting Maine's Future: An Action Plan for Promoting Sustainable Prosperity and Quality Places*, 2006, 14.
- 7 State of Maine, Governor John Baldacci, "An Order Establishing the Governor's Council on Maine's Quality of Place," Executive Order, March 13, 2007.
- 8 Philip W. Conkling, *islands in Time: A Natural and Cultural History of the Islands of the Gulf of Maine*, rev. ed. (Down East Books: Camden, ME, 1999), 13.

Chapter 2: Preservation Framework

- 1 National Parks Service, "About the National Register of Historic Places," available online: http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/about.htm, accessed March 2007.
- 2 Maine Historic Preservation Commission, "A Heritage for the Future," 2005, 21.
- 3 The three case studies demonstrate this pattern, as Chebeague has no National Register listed properties, while Frenchboro has two lighthouses. Vinalhaven has ten designations: three lighthouses, a transportation object, and six individual buildings.
- 4 To date, Maine has five Multiple Property Listings for above-ground resources and five for archeological resources. Maine Historic Preservation Commission, "A Heritage for the Future," 21.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 The granite quarried on Vinalhaven, for example, was often shipped by mariners from Chebeague.
- 7 Antoinette J. Lee and Linda F. McClelland, "How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form," rev. ed., 1999, 11.

8 Ibid.

- 9 Ibid, 14.
- 10 National Parks Service, "Preservation Tax Incentives for Historic Buildings," 2004, 5.
- 11 Only 19 projects took advantage of the Tax Credit between 2000 and 2005, ranking Maine 42nd out of 50 states. Brookings, 93.
- 12 Maine Historic Preservation Commission, "A Heritage for the Future," 35.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Maine Department of Environmental Protection, "Maine Shoreland Zoning: A Handbook for Shoreland Owners," 1998, 2.
- 15 Ibid, 4.
- 16 Maine Department of Environmental Protection, "Guidelines for Municipal Shoreland Zoning Ordinances," rev. ed., 2006, 39.
- 17 State of Maine, "Planning Act," MRSA §4312, 1989.
- 18 Brookings, 95.
- 19 State of Maine, "Planning Act."
- 20 Brookings, 126.
- 21 The Commission does review comprehensive plans for consistency with the state's goals, but it is clear that this process is much more perfunctory than it should to be in order for the program to be effective.
- 22 State of Maine, "Historic and Scenic Preservation Local Option Property Tax Reimbursement," MRSA §5730, 2000.
- 23 Maine Historic Preservation Commission, "Historic and Scenic Preservation Local Option Property Tax Reimbursement," available online: www.state.me.us/mhpc/preservation_planning/local_planning/local_option_tax_reimb.html, accessed January 2007.
- 24 York enacted a local historic preservation ordinance in July 2005.
- 25 Brookings, 126.
- 26 Maine Historic Preservation Commission, "Local Preservation Planing," available online: http://www.maine.gov/mhpc/preservation_planning/local_planning/index.html, accessed February 2007.
- 27 Fort McKinley was rehabilitated in the 1990s as condominiums. The project has been highly controversial amongst islanders and should serve as a warning that historic preservation efforts should work with the community.
- 28 Matinicus and Monhegan are both regulated by the LURC.
- 29 Brookings, 123. See Form-Based Codes Institute for a full description of form-based zoning techniques, available online: http://www.formbasedcodes.org, accessed March 2007.
- 30 Colin Woodard, *The Lobster Coast: Rebels, Rusticators, and the Struggle for a Forgotten Frontier*, (Viking Press: New York, 2004), 269.

- 31 See Maine State Planning Office, "Maine's Subdivision Law and Home Rule," 2001.
- 32 Stephen A. Morris, "Subdivision Regulations and Historic Preservation," National Parks Service, 1998, 1.
- 33 Ibid, 8.
- 34 Thorndike, 315.
- 35 See the Island Institute, "Maine Lights Report" 1997, for a full description of the program.
- 36 The Maine Lights Program was originally designed to work in this way, with the Island Institute making the initial purchase before reselling to a qualified third party.
- 37 The Vinalhaven Comprehensive Plan, for example, claims that historic resources receive substantial protection by being listed on the National Register.
- 38 Brookings, 126.
- 39 See Maine Coast Heritage Trust, "Conservation Options: A Guide for Maine Landowners," 1994, and "Conservation Easements: An Introduction for Maine Landowners," 2002.
- 40 Interview with Lucy McCarthy, Vinalhaven Land Trust, January 9, 2007.
- 41 Trust for Public Land, "Shaker Village Preservation Effort Completed," January 31, 2007.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid.

Chapter 3: Greater Chebeague

- 1 Donna L. Miller, "History of Chebeague: The Island of Many Springs," *Cumberland, Maine in Four Centuries*, Phyllis Sturdivant Sweetser, ed., (The Town of Cumberland: Cumberland, ME, 1976), 87.
- 2 Ibid, 98.
- 3 Denis Peter Myers, *The Historic Architecture of Maine: The Maine Catalog of the Historic American Building Survey*, (The Maine State Museum: Augusta, ME, 1974), 95.
- 4 Miller, 104.
- 5 The ships' single mast kept the deck open for safe handling of granite, while the boats' wide beam and shallow draft allowed them to work comfortably and close to shore. Lincoln P. Paine, *Down East: A Maritime History of Maine*, (Tilbury House: Gardiner, ME. 2000), 98.
- 6 The Chebeague Island Wharf Company was formed in 1873 to establish a deep water pier for steamboats, and Casco Bay Steamboat Company—the predecessor of modern-day Casco Bay Lines ferry service—began year-round service to the islands in 1878.
- 7 The island's annual "Field Day" was the highlight of the summer's social schedule, drawing both locals and visitors alike to the East End to celebrate.
- 8 Chebeague Island Historical Society, "Creating Community: 250 Years of the Hamiltons on Chebeague," 2006.

- 9 Thorndike, 276.
- 10 The historic contexts outlined in this and following chapters were created according to the National Parks Service's bulletin, "How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form," which states that historic contexts should be organized according to by theme, geographical area, and chronological period. It is the intent that these could eventually be enlarged as part of a Multiple Property Listing on the National Register of Historic Places.
- 11 Earle G. Shettleworth, Jr., director of the Maine Historic Preservation Commission, has authored a book regarding the architecture of summer cottages on Isleboro, which he hopes will "develop a model that can be applied to documenting other resort communities in the future," including, perhaps, the other Maine islands. *The Summer Cottages of Isleboro: 1890-1930*, (Isleboro Historical Society: Isleboro, ME, 1989), 17.
- 12 Shettleworth, in his survey of summer cottage architecture on Isleboro, notes that "these four decades in American architecture were characterized by a wide range of style," including the Shingle-Style, the Colonial Revival, and a number of European-inspired styles.
- 13 Chebeague Historical Society.
- 14 There was a plan in the 1900s to subdivide the far eastern point of the island into 106 individual lots. While this did not happen, much of the area was redeveloped as a summer colony.
- 15 Town of Cumberland, "Chebeague Island Long Range Plan," 42.
- 16 The ferry landing lost its historic cobblestone in favor of smooth concrete, and "baby boomers who've done very well for themselves have come and remodeled rundown cottages into million-dollar monstrosities." Thorndike, 280.
- 17 The separation of Chebeague Island was signed into law as LD 1735: "An Act to Authorize Chebeague Island to Secede from the Town of Cumberland."
- 18 Chebeague Island Community Association, "Report of the Secession Committee," October 2006, 2
- 19 Beth Howe, the head of the Land Use subcommittee, claims that Chebeague is the perfect size for town meetings. Interview, January 5th, 2007.
- 20 Chebeague Island Community Association, 2.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Town of Cumberland, "Chebeague Island Long Range Plan," 9
- 23 Ibid 30.
- 24 State of Maine, "An Act to Establish the Maine Land Bank and Community Preservation Program: Concept Draft Summary," LD 786, March 2007.
- 25 Something that happens with alarming regularity along the Maine coast.
- 26 The 1970s inventory is housed at the Chebeague Historical Society. It appears to have been complied from homeowner responses and includes more anecdotal documentation than concrete data. The 1990s survey apparently resides at the Cumberland Town Office, and is not immediately available to the public. The long-range plan recommends that it's data be entered into a GIS system, but at the moment it is unclear what will happen to this survey once Chebeague has achieved independence.

- 27 Town of Cumberland, "Chebeague Island Long Range Plan," 28.
- 28 Maine Historic Preservation Commission, "Guidelines for Identification: Architecture and Cultural Landscapes," February 2006.
- 29 Town of Cumberland, "Chebeague Island Long Range Plan," 29.
- 30 Ibid, 41.
- 31 Ibid, 29.
- 32 The most egregious new construction project on Chebeague has been dubbed "Disneyland" by many islanders, who clearly do not appreciate either the scale or fantastic architectural style of the building.
- 33 Town of Cumberland, "Zoning Ordinance," rev. ed. September 2002, 142.
- 34 Ibid, 171.
- 35 Ibid, 83.
- 36 Ibid, 172.
- 37 Town of Cumberland, "Subdivision Ordinance," rev. ed. February 2002, 22.
- 38 Town of Cumberland, "Chebeague Island Long Range Plan," 25.

Chapter 4: Vinalhaven

- 1 Vinalhaven Historical Society, Images of America: Vinalhaven Island, (Arcadia: Charleston, SC, 1997), 7.
- 2 O.P. Lyons, "A Brief Historical Sketch of the Town of Vinalhaven From Its Earliest Known Settlement," reprint from 1900 original, (Vinalhaven Historical Society: Vinalhaven, ME, 1986), 71.
- 3 Bill Caldwell, *Islands of Maine: Where America Really Began*, (Down East Books: Camden, ME, 1981), 157.
- 4 Vinalhaven's official centennial history, written in 1889, specifically calls out lobstering as "an important branch of that [the fishing] industry, as it furnishes employment for many of our people." Lyons, 70.
- 5 McLean, 137.
- 6 A survey of the island's farms and barns has already been complete by Jeannette Lasansky. Her findings were published in 2006 as *Island Saltwater Farms: Farming on Vinalhaven 1820-1960*, (Vinalhaven Historical Society: Vinalhaven, ME, 2006). Ms. Lasansky's work should prove to be invaluable in identifying individual properties for listing within a Multiple Property Listing on the National Register.
- 7 Lasansky, 7.
- 8 Lasansky, 25.
- 9 Vinalhaven Historic Society, Exhibit, 2000.

- 10 Roger G. Reed, *Summering on the Thoroughfare: The Architecture of North Haven*, (Maine Citizens for Historic Preservation: Portland, ME, 1993), 6.
- 11 Several of these buildings are already listed on the National Register, but should also be considered as contributing members of the Multiple Property Listing.
- 12 See Shettleworth, "Turn-of-the-Century Architecture: from about 1880-1920," *Maine Forms of American Architecture* ed. Deborah Thompson, (Downeast Magazine: Camden, ME, 1976).
- 13 Population as of the 2000 census.
- 14 Town of Vinalhaven, "2004 Draft Comprehensive Plan," 2004, 74.
- 15 Ibid 74.
- 16 Ibid, 13.
- 17 Ibid, 12.
- 18 Town of Vinalhaven, "1988 Comprehensive Plan," 1988, 3-16.
- 19 Town of Vinalhaven, "2004 Draft Comprehensive Plan," 71.
- 20 Ibid, 72.
- 21 Town of Vinalhaven, "Zoning Ordinance," rev. ed. May 2005, 31.
- 22 Town of Vinalhaven, "1988 Comprehensive Plan."
- 23 Frank O'Hara of Planning Decisions, Inc. prepared the final report.
- 24 Town of Vinalhaven, "2004 Draft Comprehensive Plan," 83.
- 25 Town of Vinalhaven, "1988 Comprehensive Plan," 2.1.
- 26 Ibid, 2.2-2.3.
- 27 Town of Vinalhaven, "Zoning Ordinance," 1.
- 28 Ibid, 23.
- 29 Ibid, 45.
- 30 Ibid, 53.
- 31 Morris, 8.
- 32 Island Institute, available online: http://www.islandinstitute.org/aboutus.asp?section=whatwedo, accessed February 2007.
- 33 Brookings, 92.
- 34 See Orton Family Foundation for a summary of techniques for identifying a community's unique places—what they term the "heart-and-soul" of local culture.

Chapter 5: Frenchboro

- 1 The 1820 census, the first to record anyone on Outer Long Island, listed three households. Dean Lawrence Lunt, *Hauling by Hand; The Life and Times of a Maine Island*, (Islandport Press Inc.: Frenchboro, ME, 1999), 30.
- 2 The island was originally referred to at "Outer Long Island" to distinguish it from several other Long Islands in Maine. The community came to be known as Frenchboro after the local post office was named after E. Webster French in 1854.
- 3 Lunt, 153.
- 4 Lunt, 157.
- 5 Lunt, 257.
- 6 McLean, 446.
- 7 The two lighthouses are already listed on the National Register as part of the Light Stations of Maine Multiple Property Listing.
- 8 Thorndike, 199.
- 9 Lunt, 293-294.
- 10 Interview with Rob Stuart, January 17th, 2007.
- 11 Lunt, 392.
- 12 National Park Service, "Preservation Briefs 36: Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning. Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes," available online: http://www.cr.nps.gov/hps/tps/briefs/brief36.htm, accessed February 2007.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Arnold R. Alanen note how "some forms of preservation treatment may compromise the authenticity and utility of vernacular landscapes that continue to function as working environments." He apparently offers no suggestions as to how to avoid this. "Considering the Ordinary: Vernacular Landscapes in Small Towns and Rural Areas," *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, ed. Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick, (New York: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000), 140.
- 18 Town of Frenchboro, "Comprehensive Plan," 1990, 88.
- 19 A town selectman active in local government was unaware of a local zoning ordinance, even through the comprehensive plan clearly states that one has been enacted.
- 20 Maine Department of Environmental Protection, "Guidelines for Municipal Shoreland Zoning Ordinances," i.

- 21 State of Maine, "Comprehensive Planning and Growth Management Act," MRSA §4301. A subdivision is defined as "the division of a parcel of land into three or more lots within a five year period."
- 22 Orton Family Foundation, "Mission Statement," available online: http://www.orton.org/index. cfm?fuseaction=Page.viewPage&pageId=543&parentID=472&nodeID=1, accessed April 2007.
- 23 The College of the Atlantic purchased both properties, which are now used as field stations for students and researchers.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

- 1 Maine Historic Preservation Commission, "A Heritage for the Future," 16.
- 2 Brookings, 93.
- 3 Brookings, 16.
- 4 Orton Family Foundation.

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Chebeague

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