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**MAKING VACATIONLAND: THE MODERN AUTOMOBILITY  
AND TOURISM BORDERLANDS OF MAINE  
AND NEW BRUNSWICK, 1875-1939**

By

Sean Cox

B.A. University of Maine, 2015

A THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

(in History)

The Graduate School

The University of Maine

August 2020

Advisory Committee:

Mark McLaughlin, Assistant Professor of History and Canadian Studies, Advisor

Anne Knowles, McBride Professor of History

Micah Pawling, Associate Professor of History and Native American Studies

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Thesis Advisor: Dr. Mark McLaughlin

An Abstract of the Thesis Presented  
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Modernizing nineteenth and twentieth century mobility reshaped and re-commodified the predominantly rural environments of Maine and New Brunswick. Landscapes like these can be better understood through the tripartite intersection of environmental commodification as “picturesque,” a democratizing tourism culture, and the development of modern individual mobility. The intersection of these forces produced a unique tourism borderland comprised of primarily second nature landscapes, which rapidly adapted to motor-tourism. All three themes are products of modernity, and their combination in Maine and New Brunswick produced a “tourism borderland” and “mobility borderland” between automotive spaces and the unprepared environments of pre-auto “Vacationland.” Before the twentieth century, vacationing culture, modern mobility, and economic dependence on tourism all existed in Maine and New Brunswick. However, the automobile revolution brought greater independence and accessibility to the experience. While westward expansion drew naturalist attention to wonders beyond the Mississippi River, the “pleasure periphery” of New England and the Maritimes became a testing ground for automotive vacationing. Urban centers on the East coast increasingly utilized places like Maine and New Brunswick as accessible wildernesses

and seaside retreats as vacationing transitioned from an elite privilege to a possibility for the middle class. Early twentieth century affluent urbanites established anti-modern escapes that depended on automobiling technology, confronting local resistance to their new hobby that transformed the landscape into Vacationland for the autoists yet to come. Road construction and improvement carved the region into visually consumable routes and vistas, shaping regional identities, and helping to produce the modern North American model of tourism by the 1930s. The tourism borderlands of Maine and New Brunswick became a mobility borderland of automotive confrontation, resistance, and adaptation in the early twentieth century, existing in a “middle landscape” between urbanity and wilderness.

## **DEDICATION**

For Katie, and the many scenic miles (or kilometers) ahead of us.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## DEFINED TERMS

**Fashionable Frontier** – The cultural “rediscovery” of landscapes for the purpose of artistic inspiration and leisure, advanced by vacationing classes, carried by new technologies, and subsequently advertised and popularized by published guidebooks.

**Landscape** – When used in this study, “landscape” describes commodified regions increasingly marketed as tourism space. While these spaces also are homelands for Wabanaki communities and resident European-Americans, “landscape” is intentionally used from a marketing and tourism perspective.

**Leisure Landscapes** – Environments that have transitioned to incorporate tourism as a significant source of income and developed landscapes to accommodate vacationing populations.

**Leisure Language** – Marketing phraseology employed to commodify landscapes for the purposes of attracting tourists to destinations, often with grandiose scope, such as “the Nation’s Playground,” or “the Unspoiled Province.”

**Mobility Borderlands** – Urban-proximal environments experiencing waves of new mobility technologies, while making legal and cultural adjustments to resist or adapt to the new forms of movement.

**Modern/Anti-Modern** – This study utilizes the dynamic between modernity and anti-modernism to describe the co-existence and tension between several ideas: resident populations and urban residents seeking a comparatively natural landscape, horse-drawn technology vs. automobility, and industrialized environments compared with adjacent rural space.

**Tourism Borderlands** – Regions experiencing a transition from antecedent economic and identity models to an increasingly commodified landscape for tourism purposes. The similarly rural regions of Maine and New Brunswick shared a growing economic incentive to market their landscapes as a visually consumable commodity.

**Vacationland** – The marketing ideology and regional identity of an environment as primarily a tourism landscape for economic income, in this case describing the Northeast landscapes of Maine and New Brunswick. While used to describe the parallel developments and environmentally similar landscapes of Maine and New Brunswick, the slogan was also officially adopted (however contentiously) by the state of Maine in the mid-1930s. Lower-case “v” vacationland is used when occasionally describing tourism landscapes in general, not specifically those of Maine and New Brunswick.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION: TOURING THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL LANDSCAPE

Boldly touted in brochures, accompanying romanticized scenic photography, and even enshrined on license plates, early twentieth century promotional groups rebranded Maine and New Brunswick as a vacationer's paradise. Utilizing "leisure language," the popular lexicon of romantic hyperbole used in tourism marketing, the borderland environment was recommodified as a modern "Vacationland," fit for a new generation of automotive tourists. While the Northeast had long been a fashionable destination for the urban elite, the spread of automobiles in North America rapidly reshaped this international tourism borderland into visually consumable environments for a "democratizing"<sup>1</sup> vacationer-class. Through rebranding, romanticized landscapes of the Northeast attracted waves of new motoring tourists, which complicated traditional mobility and cultural patterns for local residents. This new Vacationland was both an ideological concept and a local lived experience, which subsequently became a regional identity, to a large extent, an economically-manufactured one. Operating mechanical marvels, directed by commercialized maps, and enticed by government promotional bureaus, the new North American tourism model fully emerged in the interwar period, introducing popular facets of "modernity" to the comparatively rural landscapes of Maine

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<sup>1</sup> For the purposes of this study, democratizing is defined as the process of increasing access to leisure time and automobile ownership through transformations in labor for the growing working class in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

and New Brunswick.<sup>2</sup> Though both regions remained economically marginalized in the new industrial era, this cross-border environment benefited from becoming synonymous with vacationing in the age of the automobile.

This study examines the dynamic intersections of modernizing leisure mobility and democratizing tourism in the rural environments of Maine and New Brunswick from the late nineteenth century to the Second World War. Many state and provincial economies increasingly depend on motor-tourism for local revenue, which create landscapes between urban space and “wilderness.” These spaces can be considered a “tourism borderland.” The historical significance of automobiles and vacationing are crucial for understanding present-day pressures and environmental priorities for this tourism borderland. Derived from the European Grand Tour’s transference to America, fashionable tourism mutated to fit new North American environments. North America could not replicate the vaunted marvels of Western antiquity, and yet romanticized ideals of nature developed alongside industrialization in growing cities. As modernism and technology separated more North Americans from their pastoral predecessors, fashionable touring of comparatively undeveloped or near-wilderness landscapes provided a nostalgic outlet, ironically facilitated by intrusively modern methods of transportation.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Modernity is defined as relating to the revolutionary development of new technologies and rapid capitalistic expansion characteristic of the early twentieth century. This study adopts much from Ben Bradley’s definition of mobility and modernity, describing the automobile as both subject and object in advancing consumerism, capitalism, democracy, and modernity. See Ben Bradley, *British Columbia by the Road: Car Culture and the Making of a Modern Landscape* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2018).

<sup>3</sup> On the European Grand Tour, see W. Edward Mead, *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914) and James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to “Culture,” 1800–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

North American vacation culture became inextricably tied to the evolution of technological mobility. Steam power carried new economically-empowered populations of upper class tourists into numerous anti-modernist escape destinations throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> By the early twentieth century, however, automobiling challenged and eventually eclipsed leisure rail travel, propelling tourists into unprepared communities along old rural roads. Liberated from the railway network, vacationers' independent exploration introduced new regions to mechanical modernity. Driven by economic opportunity through tourism dollars, communities, natural features, and places became visually consumable experiences and vistas for these tourists.<sup>5</sup> As the reliability and accessibility of automotive ownership and travel increased, Maine and New Brunswick residents were incentivized to adapt and restructure landscapes to suit the new vacationing class of autoists. And yet, resistance to automobility on the coast of Maine and to New Brunswick's change in traffic flow direction law demonstrate that motoring inspired controversy and was not a straightforward and inevitable process of technological adoption.

Through an analysis of auto road guide literature, ephemeral tourism publications, and travel maps, we can gain a clearer understanding of how automobiling revolutionized naturalist escapism and reestablished Maine and New Brunswick as a premier tourism borderland for the new century. Arguably, the first guidebook on an American landscape was created in 1822 by Gideon Davison, for tourists to explore New England and

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<sup>4</sup> Maine and New Brunswick were certainly not the only Northeastern tourism destination, as neighboring regions such as the Adirondack and White Mountains drew visitors for decades. For more on nineteenth century destinations and travel, see Thomas A. Chambers, *Memories of War: Visiting Battlefields and Bonefields in the Early American Republic*, 1st ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), and Thomas A. Chambers, *Drinking the Waters: Creating an American Leisure Class at Nineteenth-Century Mineral Springs* (Washington [D.C.]: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002).

<sup>5</sup> "Visual consumption" is used to describe an act of tourism and the connected reinforcement of commodification in leisure landscapes.



Canadian attractions. As an early attempt to mass market these natural spaces for tourists, *The Fashionable Tour* was a significant piece of travel promotion in North America.<sup>6</sup> Davison's guidebook points out the boundary between a so-called civilized and recognizable existence and perceived natural space, full of emotionally sublime experiences. Though the Northeast had been inhabited and shaped for thousands of years by Indigenous peoples, and more recently settled and farmed by Euro-North Americans, the imagery of "wilderness" still attracted visitors to Maine and New Brunswick.<sup>7</sup> As the development of steam-powered transportation carried tourists further into the Northeast, the region became accessible for artistic expression and "fashionable touring," as prescribed by guides such as Davison's. Simultaneously indulging natural or rural fascinations with modern innovation in steam travel, the rails transported visitors to experience these romanticized landscapes, and local communities became increasingly dependent on seasonal visitation. Within this landscape of romanticized nature, Maine and New Brunswick's cultural economy transitioned from natural resources to *nature as the resource*.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Gideon Miner Davison, *The Fashionable Tour: A Guide to Travellers Visiting The Middle And Northern States, And The Provinces Of Canada*, 4th ed. (Saratoga Springs: G.M. Davison, 1830). See digitally available editions of the *Fashionable Tour* from 1822 onward at <https://www.hathitrust.org/>.

<sup>7</sup> The term "wilderness" continues to be debated within the field of environmental history, as cultural values and ecosystems frequently conflict and defy clear and universal definition for historical analysis. As a subjective descriptor in most cases, "wilderness" for this study is defined as natural or "second nature" spaces with commodified value for early twentieth century antimodernist tourism. For further discussion, see Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967) and William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," *Environmental History* 1 (1996): 7-28.

<sup>8</sup> Connected to the contemporaneous cultural perception of a "closed frontier" (see Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* [New York: H. Holt and company, 1926]) and finite unclaimed or "unspoiled" natural spaces, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century featured innumerable wilderness advocates lobbying for local and federal protections for select regions. The creation of parks and governmental institutions to maintain them certainly advanced nature *as* a resource, though often a contentious decision. Early U.S. national parks were limited to lands without significant valuable extractive resources, setting the stage for extensive debate between naturalists and extraction industry leaders. Restricting land usage in the name of preservation or conservation continues to draw criticism today, yet park visitation frequently contributes significant revenue to the surrounding local areas, making "natural"

As western expansion by both the United States and Canada exposed natural vistas unfamiliar to eastern settlement, the established spaces of Maine and New Brunswick were comparatively worn or spoiled in the eyes of some naturalists. John Muir, one of the most prominent advocates for preservation, bluntly stated that “most of the wild plant wealth of the East has vanished, -- gone into dusty history.”<sup>9</sup> Despite the grim pronouncement of environmental ruin, regions like the Northeast retained areas still frequented by gentleman hunters and resort-seekers. The woods of Maine and New Brunswick allowed for the sportsmen to explore streams and mountains, while coastal developments at Bar Harbor, Maine, and St. Andrews, New Brunswick, became seasonal resorts alongside and within fishing communities, with palatial summer cottages and grand hotels. Annual summer visitors continued to invest social value in perceived virgin wildernesses and refined coastal retreats of Maine and New Brunswick. Despite the allure of western scenery, the accessibility and convenient proximity ensured that northeastern leisure spaces remained premier and fashionable escapes.

As environmental history evolved to include complex relationships between human technology and the environment, evaluation of automotive nature tourism in the Northeastern borderlands has remained largely absent.<sup>10</sup> Just as western environments drew the imaginations of nineteenth century tourists, many twentieth and twenty-first

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spaces like parks a highly valuable non-extractive and renewable resource. For early development of U.S. National Parks, see Kathy S. Mason, *Natural Museums: U. S. National Parks, 1872-1916* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004). For early Canadian National Parks, with a focus on Atlantic Canada, see Alan MacEachern, *Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada, 1935-1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

<sup>9</sup> John Muir, *Our National Parks* (Boston and New York: Houghton and Mifflin Company, 1909), 6.

<sup>10</sup> While the Northeastern borderlands of Maine and New Brunswick have been mostly overlooked in automotive tourism literature, historians such as Blake Harrison have analyzed neighboring leisure landscapes in Vermont. This study examines similar dynamics as Harrison's dissertation; Blake Andrew Harrison, "Tourism and the Reworking of Rural Vermont, 1880s-1970s." The University of Wisconsin - Madison, 2003, and later text, Blake A. Harrison, *The View from Vermont: Tourism and the Making of an American Rural Landscape* (Hanover; Burlington, Vt.: University of Vermont Press, 2006).

century environmental and tourism historians have remained focused on landscapes west of the Mississippi River. As some of the original leisure landscapes of North America, Maine and New Brunswick demonstrate dynamic changes in transportation technology's modernizing influence and regional evolution to accommodate new tourism trends. Long before North Americans could motor west to "get your kicks on Route 66," automobiling for pleasure arrived in Maine and New Brunswick, generating significant regional change and forging new regional identities.<sup>11</sup>

This study combines environmental history, mobility and tourism studies, and borderlands approaches to identify the Vacationland identity of Maine and New Brunswick in the early twentieth century. In combining these three subfields, ideologies of wilderness intersect with democratizing tourism and technology, while complicating imposed political boundaries and local tradition. Though certainly not a comprehensive examination of all historical agents at work in the tourism borderlands of Maine and New Brunswick, this study does assert that automobility inspired resistance and change in an economically-marginalized region, which resulted in a new geographical understanding and identity.<sup>12</sup>

Broadly, the field of environmental history grants and evaluates the agency of nature in historical analysis and examines the dynamic relationship between human activity and the natural environment. A comparatively new discipline, environmental history gained a foothold in the heightened environmental awareness of the 1960s and

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<sup>11</sup> Bobby Troup's iconic song "Route 66" has been covered by numerous artists but was popularized by the Nat King Cole Trio in 1946 and captured the spirit of automobiling culture in the post-war U.S. West. Established in the mid-1920s, U.S. Route 66 connected eight states and hundreds of communities "from Chicago to L.A" as one of the original U.S. highway systems.

<sup>12</sup> For more on the dynamic of regional identity and tourism, see: Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk : Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-century Nova Scotia* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014) Accessed August 7, 2020, ProQuest Ebook Central.

1970s, founded by historians such as Roderick Nash.<sup>13</sup> Environmental history provides a broader framework to understand the development and rapid change of leisure landscapes like Maine and New Brunswick, as the environment was both recommodified and physically reshaped in the automotive revolution in the early twentieth century. Perceived concepts of wilderness, physical alteration of landscapes, and economic dependence on “natural” tourism are all important components to this study, and therefore the framework of environmental history is critical in forming an analysis.

As a significant piece of mid-century conceptual history, Leo Marx’s work *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* traced evolving meanings of the American “pastoral ideal,” and examines the corollary creation of a “middle landscape” between development and wilderness.<sup>14</sup> The contribution of this term and recognition of the interplay between developed landscapes and nostalgic, pre-industrial environments provide much of the ideological foreground for examining the surge and significance of rural tourism in Maine and New Brunswick. As a leisure space for the elite and romantic artists of the nineteenth century which transitioned to a more affordable and accessible tourism environment in the early twentieth century, the urban-adjacent regions of the Northeast seemingly experienced the middle landscape phenomenon. Agreeing with Howard Segal’s critique of this middle landscape, tourism space represented “a mediation between primitivism, or nature, and civilization,” and

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<sup>13</sup> See the cornerstone text Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), and contemporary works like Carolyn Merchant, *Major Problems in American Environmental History: Documents and Essays* (Belmont: Wadsworth, 2012). On the field of environmental history in Canada, see Alan MacEachern and William J. Turkel, *Method and Meaning in Canadian Environmental History* (Nashville: Nelson Education, 2009).

<sup>14</sup> Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 1964).

travel to the country offered “a temporary, not a permanent, relief from the city.”<sup>15</sup>

Temporary and fashionable escapism to Maine and New Brunswick clearly became increasingly promoted by local governments and exacerbated by automobility.

Richard Judd’s concept of “second nature” describes landscapes with a history of use or alteration, yet possessing culturally commodified value as re-naturalized space.<sup>16</sup> Though emphasis on “virgin wilderness” dominated much of the late nineteenth and twentieth century environmental dialogue, the discussion largely ignored multi-millennia habitation and environmental change through Indigenous usage, and dismissed the existence of a “second nature” eastern North America. Honoring environmental history’s core tenet to think beyond human-imposed political boundaries, this study extends Judd’s second nature across the Canada-United States border to analyze a tourism borderland and unified Vacationland of Maine and New Brunswick. From the interconnected Indigenous history of land use and re-use throughout this region, to the colonial patterns of riverine settlement and the industrial logging of forests, the two political jurisdictions have many environmental, economic, and social commonalities.

Far from idealistically virgin landscapes, Maine and New Brunswick followed similar patterns of scattered settlement and natural resource extraction. However, as industrialism and population growth developed in regions to the south and west, diminishing economic relevance made tourism an attractive economic alternative. Despite long histories of landscape alteration, these regions of second nature still remained comparatively untouched to the expanding built and harvested landscapes in

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<sup>15</sup> Howard P. Segal, “Leo Marx’s ‘Middle Landscape’: A Critique, a Revision, and an Appreciation,” *Reviews in American History* 5, no. 1 (1977): 138.

<sup>16</sup> Richard Judd, *Second Nature: An Environmental History of New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2014).

nearby urban centers. This study perhaps can also serve as a prequel to works by Alan MacEachern.<sup>17</sup> Canada's eastern national parks demonstrate the late interwar movement for conservation in the Atlantic Provinces, which ultimately was partially made possible by the expansion of automotive touring and adaptation occurring in the 1910s and 1920s. Reimagining the value of natural or second nature spaces in the east brought about creation of protected spaces like Acadia National Park in Maine and Fundy National Park in New Brunswick. While the development of national parks in the United States predated Canadian parks, eastern regions of both nations faced the same environmental problem of multi-century patterns of use and reuse in comparison to the more dramatic and "undeveloped" landscapes of the western continental region. Needing to balance logging and forestry interests with the economic decline of the province and problematic choices for park lands, New Brunswick's development of Fundy National Park, for example, offered a new economic path to stability through tourism and the selling of scenery.

In addition to Judd's influential work in Maine, Dona Brown writes convincingly of the intersection between romanticized wilderness and the intrusion of commodification. As she notes, "the business of scenery was *capitalism*, pure and simple. Indeed, it was the cutting edge of capitalism, marketed with the most advanced techniques."<sup>18</sup> The ideological and cultural "cult of scenery," as termed in Dona Brown's *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century*, qualifies tourism in the Northeast, describing the advance of technology and economic interest in a region increasingly known for its natural environment. Brown's cult of scenery could be

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<sup>17</sup> MacEachern, *Natural Selections*.

<sup>18</sup> Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998), 5.

satisfied even in the second nature spaces in Maine and New Brunswick, especially when marketed as both an auto-friendly landscape and a renowned Vacationland. Conceptually, Brown's work is a clear progenitor of this study, as the "cult of scenery" drew automobilists to the region and forced adaptation. Regional identity built upon the collaborative relationship between tourists and entrepreneurs dominates much of Brown's analysis, and therefore the "invention of New England" and the "making of Vacationland" share similar frameworks and assertions.

Brown's work contributes significantly to environmental analysis of the Northeast while additionally advancing discourse in mobility and tourism studies. Here too, this study mirrors Brown's connections. The field of mobility and tourism history is inseparable from Maine and New Brunswick's development, and is crucial in understanding environmental commodification in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As a growing sub-field, tourism and mobility history analyzes cultural motivations for movement and incorporates the history of transportation technology. Though many tourism and mobility historians focus on national parks, particularly in western states and provinces, this study attempts to adopt many of the same principals and simply move them back east and into a borderland region.

As automotive travel became accessible and more reliable, North American car culture expanded from the urban centers into the perceived virgin landscapes and second natures of the continent, inspiring conservationist movements. Paul Sutter's work *Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* explores the interwar origins of the Wilderness Society and the changing relationship

between conservationists and the development of automotive transportation for tourism.<sup>19</sup> As an indication of advancing waves of tourists and the creation of interstate highways as critical threats to environmental protection, Sutter's work establishes a broader national stage for the movement but omits the Northeast. Importantly, Sutter's analysis asserts the intrusion of automobiles as a catalyst for resistance in rural spaces. This study builds upon similar situations when considering the automobile entering an environment already developed as a leisure space.

Another significant mobility and tourism history, Christopher Wells' *Car Country: An Environmental History*, presents an extensive picture of the United States' automotive culture, heavily influenced by William Cronon's environmental-economics.<sup>20</sup> In this ambitious and national-scale historical evaluation, the Northeast is largely absent in the narrative, and leaves out the complexities of international borderland mobility. In analyzing the "dawn of the motor age" in his second chapter, Wells examines the intersection between troublesome environmental conditions and the technical innovations needed to adapt automobility to the United States' rough roads. As automobiling fever gradually took hold in North America, rural people living in range of urban spaces experienced the environmental and cultural clash with motorists. This phenomenon is exactly what makes the urban-proximal and predominantly second nature environments of Maine and New Brunswick such a rich environment for early twentieth century techno-historical analysis, yet little has been written on the borderlands region.

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<sup>19</sup> Paul S. Sutter, *Driven Wild: How the Fight Against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2009).

<sup>20</sup> Christopher W. Wells, *Car Country: An Environmental History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012).



Moving north across the border and west to the Pacific, Ben Bradley's *British Columbia by the Road: Car Culture and the Making of a Modern Landscape*, focuses on landscape commodification and the perception that "network[s] of roads came to be widely interpreted as a barometer of [state or provincial] modernity."<sup>21</sup> This study adopts much of Bradley's analytical framework, as the arrival of automobiles in Maine and New Brunswick introduced new motivations to modernize mobility and invest in the recommodification of landscapes in the Northeast. By promoting the region's accessibility through improved roads, the tourism borderlands purportedly offered a modernist's anti-modern escape, while still offering modern infrastructural support. The second nature environments of the Northeast were not pristine "wildernesses," yet Maine and New Brunswick's proximity to urban centers attracted those looking for a wilderness escape to an artificially romanticized nature in modern machinery.

Bradley's work resists sweepingly national narratives of environmental-automobility change, yet is another analysis focusing on western landscapes, far from many of the major urban centers of the continent. While road construction and improvement of the interwar period certainly supports the conclusion that they were "province-building devices in the cultural sense," the phenomenon of changing the rule of the road is not featured in his analysis.<sup>22</sup> Additionally, one of the few pieces addressing automobility in the Maritime region is David Frank's piece "The 1920s: Class and

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<sup>21</sup> Bradley, *British Columbia by the Road*, 3.

<sup>22</sup> Bradley, *British Columbia by the Road*, 231. British Columbia and the Maritime Provinces were the only Canadian provinces that operated by the drive-to-the-left tradition of the British Empire. Newfoundland also followed this tradition, but did not become part of Canada until 1949. British Columbia began the transition to drive on the right by 1920; see Peter Kincaid, *The Rule of the Road: An International Guide to History and Practice* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986).

Region, Resistance and Accommodation.”<sup>23</sup> Frank briefly includes discussion of the provincial switch from driving on the left to the right. As part of a much broader conversation about the early century disparity between provinces, the inclusion of automobility as an agent of change is only briefly mentioned. Here, study of New Brunswick’s legislative debate to switch from left to right driving can provide an eastern counterpoint to Bradley’s work. This study expands on Frank’s narrative of the province, adds to the argument of roads as “province-building,” and reveals local and political pressures to conform to the United States and Central Canadian driving norms.

Similarly, the edited collection *Moving Natures: Mobility and the Environment in Canadian History* by Ben Bradley, Jay Young, and Colin M. Coates significantly advances the dialogue on Canadian environmental adaptation to modern mobility.<sup>24</sup> The collection was developed with an awareness that environmental history and mobility studies “had much in common, yet were not in close communication,” and persuasively combines the two fields.<sup>25</sup> Contributing authors like Elizabeth L. Jewett, Elsa Lam, and Maude Emmanuelle-Lambert analyze late nineteenth to early twentieth century tourism and leisure development in a variety of Canadian landscapes, though the Maritimes are conspicuously absent from the collaborative anthology. Lambert’s article in particular, “Automobile Tourism in Quebec and Ontario: Development, Promotion, and Representations, 1920-1945,” significantly influenced this study by its approach to automotive modernity, road development, and promotional material in a regionally

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<sup>23</sup> E.R. Forbes and D.A. Muise, eds, *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 233-271.

<sup>24</sup> Ben Bradley, Jay Young, and Colin M. Coates, eds., *Moving Natures: Mobility and the Environment in Canadian History* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2016).

<sup>25</sup> Bradley, Young, and Coates, *Moving Natures*, xiii.

comparative structure.<sup>26</sup> Lambert's focus on Quebec and Ontario was convincingly justified by their greater rate of urbanization and adaptation to modern mobility than other provinces, and therefore provides useful insight into regions that more easily welcomed the dramatic changes of the early twentieth century. This study asserts that an analysis of mobility in New Brunswick can reveal equally valuable information about the complex transformations in more rural Canadian landscapes.

The experiences of New Brunswickers or Mainers provide new historical insight into the turbulent years of rapid automotive change. However, this study also employs a borderlands approach to better demonstrate unifying similarities between the two, creating an international region of focus. Borderlands history, while more traditionally applied to political spheres of interaction or analysis of frontier dynamics, easily overlaps with environmental history and mobility studies.<sup>27</sup> For the purposes of this study, there are a variety of borders and borderlands to acknowledge: the territorial borderlands of Indigenous Nations repurposed by generations of colonialism for private ownership and leisure space; the international border established between the United States and Canada; the developmental borderland between urban space and the comparatively rural spaces of Vacationland; and the mobility borderland between established automotive spaces and the unprepared environments of pre-auto Vacationland. New automotive travel facilitated

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<sup>26</sup> Maude Emmanuelle-Lambert, "Automobile Tourism in Quebec and Ontario: Development, Promotion, and Representations, 1920-1945," in Ben Bradley, Jay Young, and Colin M. Coates, eds., *Moving Natures: Mobility and the Environment in Canadian History* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2016), 299-322.

<sup>27</sup> The concept of historical "borderlands" has existed in North America for nearly a century. See Herbert Eugene Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921). While a limited concept for many decades, the current field of borderlands history has become increasingly vast. Historians continue to redefine "border," "borderland," and "bordered land" to analyze the fluid and dynamic space between powers or influences; see Pekka Hämäläinen and Samuel Truett, "On Borderlands," *The Journal of American History* 98, no. 2 (2011): 338-61. Borderlands history often provides a method to deconstruct the singular narrative of assumed control of a region or generalized experience of a people.

greater independent mobility, and the continental nature of modern tourism culture demonstrates the porousness of borders at all levels, including the international one. Treating Maine and New Brunswick as a tourism borderland reflects the reality that many of the tourists in New Brunswick came from the United States vacationing through Maine, and perhaps less frequently, touring in the reverse, but that many also came from the west, from provinces like Ontario. By utilizing the borderlands framework in addition to environmental and mobility approaches, the interwar-era idealistic vision and physical manifestation of Vacationland demonstrates more similarities than differences between Maine and New Brunswick, but still allows for the expression of differences in historical analysis when present.

The edited collection *New England and the Maritime Provinces: Connections and Comparisons* represents the best overall comparison of northern New England and the Maritimes, topically linking economic interests, environment, and identities, yet only occasionally addressing regional tourism.<sup>28</sup> Richard Judd and Bill Parenteau's joint piece on sporting ideology examines in detail the policies of game management between Maine and New Brunswick, but only briefly addresses tourist mobility.<sup>29</sup> Largely absent in the existing historical literature, the changes in mobility for this northeastern borderland is a prominent component of this study. By examining the shift from steam and cycling as recreational transportation to automobile tourism in Maine and New Brunswick, this study begins to fill in the technological, environmental, and mobility studies gap left open by the leading edited book on the Northeast borderlands.

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<sup>28</sup> Stephen J. Hornsby and John G. Reid, eds., *New England and the Maritime Provinces: Connections and Comparisons* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

<sup>29</sup> Bill Parenteau, and Richard W. Judd, "More Buck for the Bang: Sporting and the Ideology of Fish and Game Management in Northern New England and the Maritime Provinces, 1870-1900" in *New England and the Maritime Provinces*, 232-251.

In combining the three historical subfields of environmental, mobility and tourism, and borderlands, this study asserts that Maine and New Brunswick constitute a “middle landscape” of predominantly “second nature.” Near the major urban centers on the East Coast, the two political jurisdictions experienced elite tourism in the nineteenth century. Advancement in mobility technology and the democratization of the “cult of scenery,” promoted adaptation to attract and serve the waves of modern motorists. In efforts to attract these tourists, the “province [or state] building” act of road construction and improvement, along with the establishment of government-run tourism bureaus, further sculpted the landscape as accessible and fashionable, while adapting to new local and legal realities. The intersection of these forces produced a tourism borderland comprised of second nature landscapes that rapidly adapted to motor-tourism.

In the following chapters, evidence from contemporary guide material, maps, newspapers, and government documents support a narrative of evolving leisure mobility as a primary driver for regional and environmental change in the Northeast. While not the only sources available to discuss this rapid period of change, it is an attempt to balance the projected and idealized vision of the region marketed abroad with the lived experiences of those struggling to adopt or resist the recommodification and alteration of landscape and culture as a visually consumable commodity for motoring tourists. Attention is also paid to the stereotype of Wabanaki communities to embody “wilderness,” as the cultural nostalgia for experiencing a so-called savage, natural environment frequently invoked and abused the image of a tragic and vanishing Indian. Though Indigenous communities did find unique and innovative ways to profit from the waves of curious tourists, the repetition of a “vanishing race” narrative in tourism

certainly contributed to the public perception of a diminishing Wabanaki presence. As just one example of the power of what we today would call eco-tourism marketing, both landscape and the people that called it home were viable target commodities to attract tourists. Thus far in historical analysis, the dynamic relationship between visitors and Indigenous communities as part of automotive tourism's coercive influence of recommodification in Maine and New Brunswick has generally been overlooked. This study includes tourism and guide materials featuring the European-American and Canadian cultural perceptions of Wabanaki communities. To advance a dialogue of reconciliation and decolonization in the academy, a critique of these ephemeral materials deconstructs the fictitious narrative of Indigenous diminishment in leisure landscapes, but it is only the beginning of a much larger and needed analysis ripe for future study.

Chapter two analyzes the tourism landscapes of Victorian-era Maine and New Brunswick, demonstrating the marketed opportunities, logistics of travel, and the leisure pursuits available in the pre-auto environment. As urban-adjacent landscapes containing both established resort cultures and romanticized "wildernesses," Maine and New Brunswick attracted regular seasonal visitation. Arriving in relative comfort and luxury, passengers traveling along railway lines or aboard steamships enjoyed and perpetuated the cultural perception of a rustic environment. To escape the industrialism of their home cities, tourists utilized and inspired further industrial development in these pleasure-grounds, as railways continued to expand and connect rural communities. Local businesses became entangled in the new seasonal economy of tourism, and Wabanaki families profited from tourism's fascination of cultural otherness; however, both were simultaneously objectified and stereotyped to perpetuate an attractive regional identity. In

addition, individualized modern mobility arrived in traditional tourism spaces with the bicycle. This invention exacerbated an ongoing extension of tourism space into rural and unprepared communities, while also creating an enthusiastic base of support for making improvements in road conditions. The forces of modern environmental tourism certainly developed a regional presence in the late nineteenth century Northeast, driven by a cultural fascination of pre-industrial nostalgia and carried by steam and eventually by cyclists, but the introduction of automobiles would dramatically alter economic and environmental realities for both Maine and New Brunswick.

Chapter three is dedicated to the turbulence of the early twentieth century struggle with modern mobility: to adopt or reject the new waves of motoring visitors in unprepared environments, while reconciling fears of modernism, decades of elite privilege, and new economic opportunities. The transition from the age of steam to a new automotive reality was an uneasy and unclear path for locals and governments. By resisting the contraptions and their drivers, resorts and communities could preserve the image of pre-industrial rusticism and maintain the goodwill of their wealthy summer residents and patrons, but risked ignoring opportunities for growth. Local resistance against welcoming these motorists set the stage for regional enthusiast groups to mount a countermovement in resorts like Bar Harbor, Maine. Debates were waged in newsprint and on the floors of legislatures, pitting local safety and aesthetic concerns against infrastructural development and auto enthusiasts. However, global conflict accelerated the adoption and evolution of automobiles, and in the wake of the First World War, the auto had seemingly come to stay. While resort regions of Maine had slowly succumbed to autos despite protest, New Brunswick's provincial tradition of "turn-to-the-left"

driving was challenged by locals wanting to conform to the neighboring U.S. “turn-to-the-right” standard. Similar resistance movements and heated legislative debates pitted pro-tourism border counties against rural and agricultural regions. The early automotive era posed slightly different challenges for Maine and New Brunswick, yet both jurisdictions responded in similar ways.

Chapter four demonstrates the adoption of automobility in vacationing and the rebranding that evolved into a modern regional identity for Maine and New Brunswick. As autos became nearly unavoidable in the resorts and to access sporting space, tourist associations were eclipsed by state-run efforts at marketing the environment as a “tourist’s playground,” an autoing paradise, and ultimately “Vacationland.” Guidebooks increasingly served autoists, advertising their improved roadways as attractive features, equally important as the seaside vistas and wooded drives. As both locals and tourists adopted the new technology, improved roads connected more of the state and province to the widening automotive world and incentivized local businesses to cater to the new waves of tourists. Challenged by the economic realities of the Great Depression, tourism remained a crucial part of regional income for Vacationland. By the late 1930s, the Northeast had been extensively marketed as a premier escape destination. As a trans-border region of tourism-based landscapes, the modern North American experience of auto-tourism had fundamentally reshaped Maine and New Brunswick into Vacationland, widely perceived as a leisure landscape, and locally transformed to accommodate the new technology.



While Maine and New Brunswick residents experienced the advance of the fashionable frontier of automobiling somewhat differently, the northeastern trans-border region collectively became a local “middle landscape” destination in an urbanizing North America with similar processes of debate and adaptation. In analyzing the printed promotional materials available to tourists of the day, we can detect the rapid emergence of the regionally-adapted economy and language of modern tourism in the early twentieth century, driven by technological expansion and debated by locals and legislatures alike. Complex environmental and social change due to automotive intrusion in the tourism borderlands of Maine and New Brunswick demonstrate that modernity arrived in the passenger seat of a tourist’s automobile.

## CHAPTER 2

### VACATION FEVER: NORTHEASTERN ROMANTIC TOURISM

#### BEFORE THE AUTO AGE, 1875-1905

By 1875, Boston lithographer and destination promoter John Bachelder had already produced three editions of his *Popular Resorts & How to Reach Them*, featuring leisure spaces and the railway lines to tour their romantic vistas. Bachelder's work was self-described as "not, and *does* not claim to be, a *Guide-Book*. It is rather a GAZETTEER OF PLEASURE TRAVEL."<sup>1</sup> The several hundred page "gazetteer" highlighted resort landscapes predominantly east of the Mississippi River, with many located in the Northeast. Publishers like Bachelder wrote for the growing North American audience, transfixed by the allure of summer "vacationing":

Each year adds to the popularity of summer travel. The *vacation fever* returns annually with "the season," and custom demands that every well-to-do family prepare for it. No class of society is exempt. The mechanic and the merchant, the banker and the clerk, the student and the professional man, are alike by its seductive influences, and, in the pleasure it brings, seek that respite from the cares of life which exhausted nature requires.<sup>2</sup>

The social calendar of well-connected families had featured "summering" at eastern resorts for generations, yet the late nineteenth century opened fashionable touring to new populations guided by authors like Bachelder. The final quarter of the nineteenth century featured a gradual democratization of leisure travel in the "middle landscape" of Maine

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<sup>1</sup> John Badger Bachelder, *Popular Resorts, And How To Reach Them: Combining A Brief Description Of The Principal Summer Retreats In The United States, And The Routes Of Travel Leading To Them* (Boston: J.B. Bachelder, 1875), 4, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015021323871>.

<sup>2</sup> Bachelder, *Popular resorts*, 3.

and New Brunswick.<sup>3</sup> An emerging middle class gained access to expendable income, railway technology had spread extensively from urban centers into rural landscapes, and the cultural fascination with “vacation fever” had supposedly reached every class of society – or at least this is what Bachelder claimed.

For those outside elite circles, the regional proximity of places like Maine and New Brunswick to major population centers offered cost-effective touring opportunities for those in search of an antimodernist retreat. While the term “antimodernism” only became popular for historical analysis in the late 1970s and 1980s with authors like T.J. Jackson Lears, these coastal retreats were havens for those with expendable wealth to purchase a private sanctuary, looking to build away from the ultramodern expansions of urban environments.<sup>4</sup> If choosing to avoid the traditional resort landscapes, tourists could engage in increasingly popular masculine sport hunting, thought of as restorative for personal health and a way to indulge in anti-modern escapism. Vacation fever swept through North America in the late nineteenth century, a highly transmissible movement spread through print media and social contact, commodifying landscapes and cultures, while transported by the latest technologies. The pre-automobile landscapes of Maine and New Brunswick were already popular for elite escapism, which would then become partially democratized through automobility and growth of a middle class. Additionally, modern tourism advanced from urban or established centers by waves of cycling enthusiasts, outward into the unprepared countryside, which placed greater pressure on regional governments to improve their poorly maintained roads. From roughly 1875 to the beginning of the automobile age of the early twentieth century, the popular

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<sup>3</sup> For discussion of Leo Marx’s “middle landscape,” see Chapter One of this thesis.

<sup>4</sup> T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), xiii-xvii.

romanticism of natural landscapes and democratizing access to modern mobility meant the leisure landscapes of Maine and New Brunswick were gradually opening to new classes of visitor, advised by popular guidebooks, or gazetteers, as some would insist on terming them.

### **Vacationing's Vital Forces: Motivating and Marketing the Leisure Movement**

The traditional summering class of North America had firmly-established estates and pleasure grounds by the 1870s, yet growing populations and industrialized accessibility to landscapes of romantic rusticism greatly expanded the market for touring. “Well-to-do” families and professionals, as described by Bachelder, had access to guide material promoting healthful benefits, curiosities, and masculine exploits available through pleasure travel. Seeking convalescence, proof and restoration of their own “vitality,” or regional novelty, late nineteenth century tourists were assured by print media that it could be found at places like the northeastern coastline or dense woods, all for reasonable prices. Tourists came to leisure spaces like Maine and New Brunswick, beckoned by the tempting visions of romantic landscapes, printed in the growing market of travel writers and invested companies.

Sufferers of Victorian-Era medical maladies often traveled to the seaside or to mineral springs to restore their “vitality.” Major population centers of the East Coast industrialized rapidly following the American Civil War. As development in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston increased, the need to escape crowded and modernizing cityscapes became not only fashionable but a perceived necessity for wellbeing. The total Canadian population remained under 6 million until roughly the turn of the twentieth

century, primarily concentrated in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario along the St. Lawrence corridor, while the continental United States contained over 50 million by 1880.<sup>5</sup> By the early 1880s, over a quarter of a million people combined lived in the cities of Montreal, Toronto, and Quebec City, and over 2.3 million urban residents in New York City, Philadelphia, and Boston combined.<sup>6</sup> The northeastern corner of the continent was becoming increasingly urbanized and crowded. Fortunately for these millions of city-dwellers, the comparatively rural and underdeveloped spaces of Maine and New Brunswick were increasingly within comfortable reach for leisure travel, and railways had significant incentive to provide and promote tourism. According to historian Ken Cruikshank, railway managers of Canada's Intercolonial line needed to financially compensate for summer transport competition from steamships and turned to leisure passenger service to provide new income. By investing in the promotion of tourism and offering passage on luxury cars, Canadians and Americans could tour the eastern provinces in style while accessing "the convenience of the Maritime wilderness."<sup>7</sup> Cities only continued to become more densely inhabited as the nineteenth century progressed, and with more residents came increased health risks. By escaping the sweltering summer cityscapes, urbanites found the picturesque landscapes of Maine and New Brunswick

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<sup>5</sup> Statistics Canada, "Archived - Historical statistics, urban and rural population" date range from 1881 to 1971, accessed May 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/cv.action?pid=1710006801#timeframe>, and United States Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics of the United States 1789-1945, A Supplement to the Statistical Abstract of the United States* (United States Department of Commerce, 1949), accessed May 19<sup>th</sup>, 2020, <https://www2.census.gov/prod2/statcomp/documents/HistoricalStatisticsoftheUnitedStates1789-1945.pdf>.

<sup>6</sup> Government of Canada, *Census of Canada, 1880-81*, vol. I, (Ottawa: 1882.), and United States Census Bureau, "Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places: 1880," accessed May 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020, <https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027/tab11.txt>.

<sup>7</sup> Ken Cruikshank, "Forest, Stream and . . . Snowstorms?" in *Moving Natures: Mobility and the Environment in Canadian History*, ed. Ben Bradley, Jay Young, and Colin M. Coates (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2016), 64.

crucial for restoring their “vitality,” worn from exposure to the sights and sounds of modernity.

In the late-Victorian Era, one’s vitality was a serious and essential medical concern. Cindy Aron, author of *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States*, has acutely summarized the state of late nineteenth century medical knowledge, writing that “physicians understood ill health to result from an imbalance – either an excess or deficiency – of various bodily fluids. Seeing the body as a closed system with a finite reserve of energy, doctors also posited that people possessed an essential but limited amount of ‘vital force.’”<sup>8</sup> Ailing travelers could retreat to northern climates in the summer, providing healing opportunities to escape cities while drinking scientifically-inspected spring water from places like Scarborough, Maine.<sup>9</sup> Advertised in another resort guide from 1881, the Scarborough proprietor A.M. Sylvester, extolled the virtues of his spring water, claiming that it could cure or alleviate everything from gout and jaundice to sterility and supposed female weakness: “The waters of this Spring have been known to contain powerful medical properties for more than eighty years past[.] Persons fifty years ago, and more, would come on foot from Portland once, and some of them twice, a year, to drink from this Spring, and all said that it gave them new life.”<sup>10</sup>

Bachelor’s publications also included numerous springs and health-giving places for the summer tourist to visit along their travels. Physical healing was not the only motivation for vacationing, as Bachelor explained: “each season adds to the number of those who

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<sup>8</sup> Cindy S. Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 2001), 18.

<sup>9</sup> For more on the mineral spring craze, see Thomas A. Chambers, *Drinking the Waters: Creating an American Leisure Class at Nineteenth-Century Mineral Springs*. (Washington [D.C.]: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002)

<sup>10</sup> Edward Henry Elwell, *Portland And Vicinity: With A Sketch Of Old Orchard Beach And Other Maine Resorts*, ([Rev. ed.] Portland: Loring, Short & Harmon, 1881), 8, accessed April 17<sup>th</sup>, 2020, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433081783288>.

leave their daily cares behind, and seek rest and recuperation for mind and body among the hills and deep green woods of the country, or at the sea-shore, bathing in surf or sunlight and cooled by the invigorating breezes of the sea.”<sup>11</sup>

As the act of vacationing gradually democratized through growing access to affordable transportation for the developing middle class, cheaper destinations appealed to these newly-vacationing populations. Published guides for these new vacationers had frequently described the popular southern New England landscapes for decades, while Maine and the Canadian Maritimes gradually gained prominence near the end of the nineteenth century. Resorts on Mount Desert Island and in St. Andrews-by-the-Sea attracted small populations of wealthy summering families as exclusive escapes.

Constructed by tycoons of industry, grandiose “summer cottages” dotted the coastlines while harbors filled seasonally with their pleasure craft, and the adventurous could summit rounded mountains for romantic vistas. The appeal of these resorts began to spread, as Aron has noted: “By the 1870s the *New York Times* was editorializing about the myriad inexpensive possibilities for people looking for summer retreats[,] from Mount Desert on the coast of Maine to Old Point in Virginia[.]”<sup>12</sup> Expanding social popularity and print exposure were just as much a “vital force” in creating vacationing landscapes as cost, health benefits, or ocean breezes.

Just across the international border from Maine, St. Andrews-by-the-Sea quickly transitioned from a little-known escape to a resort extolled by Sir John A. Macdonald and developed by the “American Syndicate” investors by the late 1880s. Referred to locally as “the boom” according to Andrew Sackett, a rush of land purchasing and development

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<sup>11</sup> Bachelder, *Popular resorts*, 13.

<sup>12</sup> Aron, *Working at Play*, 46.

by wealthy Bostonians created an environment fit for elite tourism. Those that became enamored with the coastal town constructed elegant homes as private summer residences, effectively gentrifying landscapes to create elite space for treating “neurasthenia... the physical manifestation of an intellectual movement circulating among the educated and affluent members of North American society in the closing years of the nineteenth century.”<sup>13</sup> To cure neurasthenia in industrializing North America, a prescribed retreat to rustic environments would restore one’s depleted vitality.

Not all visitors to the Northeast were cottage-owning “robber barons” content to relax at the shoreline. Frequently, men were in search of novel and masculine activities deep in the “primeval” woods. Parallel construction at Rangeley Lakes and Moosehead Lake’s Mt. Kineo house, expanded the popularity and convenience of sporting tourism in Maine.<sup>14</sup> Romanticized “virgin” forests could be accessed a few hours from fashionable coastlines, creating an idealized landscape of vacationing and leisure. An 1887 travel publication, *Down East Latch Strings*, described the Maine wilderness: “this unbounded forest in every direction forms, indeed, the dominant and memorable feature of the view. As the breadth of the ocean held our gaze on Mount Desert, so here we are held by the expanse of woods.”<sup>15</sup> Similarly, New Brunswick’s rich northern forests became an increasingly popular sporting destination.<sup>16</sup> As Richard Judd and Bill Parenteau’s

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<sup>13</sup> Andrew Sackett, "Inhaling the Salubrious Air: Health and Development in St. Andrews, N.B., 1880-1910," *Acadiensis* XXV, no. 1 (Autumn 1995): 54-81; quote from 68.

<sup>14</sup> Stephen J. Hornsby and Dale E. Potts, “Hunting and Fishing in the Maine Woods,” in Stephen J. Hornsby, Richard William Judd, eds., *Historical Atlas of Maine* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 2015), Plate 60.

<sup>15</sup> Ernest Ingersoll, *Down East Latch Strings; Or, Seashore, Lakes And Mountains By The Boston & Maine Railroad. Descriptive Of The Tourist Region Of New England* (Boston: Passenger Dept. Boston & Maine Railroad, 1887), 83, Accessed on January 14<sup>th</sup>, 2020, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b3254821>.

<sup>16</sup> While definitive numbers are difficult to determine, Richard Judd and Bill Parenteau qualitatively describe the influx of “thousands of American ‘sportsmen’ to the Maritime Provinces...” in Chapter 15, “More Buck for the Bang: Sporting and the Ideology of Fish and Game Management in Northern New



analysis of northeastern sporting concluded, “travel writers treated northern New England and the Maritime provinces as a continuous region abounding with fish and game and populated by friendly, uncomplicated folk who were only too willing to serve the world-weary urban visitor.”<sup>17</sup> The northern woods provided visitors a nostalgia for pre-industrial rustic life, a restoration of masculine vital forces, and romanticized Indigenous imagery.

The novelty of employing an “Indian guide” was part of the appeal for sportsmen entering the Maine and New Brunswick wildernesses. Commodified vistas and Indigenous caricatures filled sporting ephemera. As a region with a long history of sustained interactions between Wabanaki people and European powers, the region’s Native peoples experienced centuries of colonialism. The Abenaki, Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Mi’kmaq, and Maliseet formed the Wabanaki Confederacy in the Northeast.<sup>18</sup> By the late nineteenth century, the Wabanaki had experienced population decline, armed conflicts, and abusive state policies, yet retained residence on both sides of the imposed international boundary between the United States and Canada.<sup>19</sup> Though many Wabanaki communities actively maintained visible and successful relationships in Maine and New Brunswick, including profitable guiding services, portrayals in tourism literature were less than optimistic or historically accurate.

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England and the Maritime Provinces, 1870–1900” in Stephen J. Hornsby and John G. Reid, *New England and the Maritime Provinces: Connections and Comparisons* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2005) 232-251.

<sup>17</sup> Judd and Parenteau, “More Buck for the Bang,” 233.

<sup>18</sup> For an interpretation on the Wabanaki Confederacy, see Willard Walker, “The Wabanaki Confederacy,” *Maine History* vol.37, no.3 (winter 1998): 110-139.

<sup>19</sup> For more extensive analysis of the colonial process and ethnohistory in the Northeast region, see John G. Reid and Thomas Peace, “Colonies of Settlement and Settler Colonialism in Northeastern North America, 1450-1850,” in *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, ed. Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini (Philadelphia: Routledge, 2016), 79-94.

While the United States government waged territorial wars with Native peoples in the West, North American guidebooks romantically portrayed surviving Indigenous communities of the Northeast as an attractive tourism feature. The 1874 *New Brunswick and its Scenery – A Tourist and Angler’s Guide* emphasized the natural resources and scenery available to visitors, while interpreting regional history through a colonial lens. Guide author J.R. Hamilton’s prose led readers to:

Turn our thoughts backward through the flight of ages to the time when the aboriginees stalked in lordly grandeur ‘Within the solemn woods of ash deep-crimsoned And silver beech, and maple yellow-leaved,’ back to the time when, undisturbed by the presence of his “pale face brother” from o’er the sea, and untainted by the vices which have since become his ruin, the Indian could lay just claim to the lofty title of Onkwe honwe, or *real men*.<sup>20</sup>

Typical of guide literature at the time, Hamilton’s tale of diminishment classified Maliseet and Mi’Kmaq people as belonging to a “ruined” culture, emasculated and poisoned by destructive behavior. Those that remained in the landscape, despite the perceived cultural tragedy, could be employed as desirable and knowledgeable wilderness traveling companions. In essence, readers were led to believe the remnants of a “savage” culture were advertised as worth seeing and experiencing before their inevitable extinction.

Over twenty years after Hamilton’s guide, tourism literature had gradually shifted away from individual publications to centralized organizations. Independent travel writers and small publishing companies specializing in tourism literature dominated much of the nineteenth century literature. Nearing the twentieth century, larger groups such as the Fredericton Tourist Association published the 1898 text *The Celestial City*:

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<sup>20</sup> John R. Hamilton, *New Brunswick and Its Scenery: a Tourists and Anglers Guide to the Province of New Brunswick* (Saint John.: J. & A. McMillan, Printers, 1874), 71-72, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433081709234>,

*Fredericton, New Brunswick, and the St. John for the Tourist and Sportsman*. Guide author Frank Risteen depicted Native presence and imagery as critical to the tourist experience. Writing about river travel around Fredericton, Risteen asserted that “He who, with birch canoe and brawny Milicete polesmen, has ascended its pure, translucent waters to Long Lake or Trowsers Lake... will have secured a wealth of picturesque experience that will remain with him in reminiscent form as long as life shall last.”<sup>21</sup> Beyond canoeing for romantic vistas, hunting for moose and caribou were some of the most attractive and publicized opportunities for sportsmen.

For a successful trip, Risteen prescribed that “the sportsman may leave Fredericton in the morning with his Indian guides and pitch his tent at sunset on the hunting grounds[.]”<sup>22</sup> Suggesting “Indian guides,” Risteen also included compensation rates, qualifying that a “first-class guide” would be able to call moose and navigate the landscape, and therefore “he will expect to receive from two dollars to three dollars and a half per day, according to circumstances.”<sup>23</sup> He advised a sporting vacation budget of \$150 to \$200 for a several-week excursion, though Risteen noted that “the sportsman is at liberty to make it cost as much more as he pleases.”<sup>24</sup> By the late nineteenth century, New Brunswick catered to wealthy sporting enthusiasts willing to purchase an “authentic” outing (see Figure 1), complete with “Indian guide” in birchbark canoes.

Tourism’s commodification of Maliseet images and services was not contained to the hunting grounds of New Brunswick but was also common in Maine. Seasonal Wabanaki presence along the coast of Maine was equally as important for attracting

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<sup>21</sup> Frank Risteen, *The Celestial City: Fredericton, New Brunswick, and the St. John River, For the Tourist and Sportsman* (Fredericton: Fredericton Tourist Association, 1898), 25.

<sup>22</sup> Risteen, *The Celestial City*, 41.

<sup>23</sup> Risteen, *The Celestial City*, 4.

<sup>24</sup> Risteen, *The Celestial City*, 4.

travelers. The Wabanaki encampment in Bar Harbor on Mount Desert Island (see Figure 2) was a seasonal village that explicitly marketed Indigenous hand-made baskets, wood items, and guides-for-hire, since the 1860s. In addition to purchasing baskets, tourists could hire a Wabanaki guide for roughly \$1.50-2.50 a day, and for the watersport enthusiast, it would cost “35 cents an hour to hire a canoe—extra for a guide.”<sup>25</sup> Despite the cultural attraction, the Bar Harbor Village Improvement Association (VIA) gradually pushed Wabanakis further away from the shoreline and off valuable real estate throughout the 1890s. As the region transformed from a relatively minor escapist destination to a major resort, the VIA’s interest in creating an idyllic leisure landscape did not include encampments occupying the increasingly valuable shorefront property. Having been forced from conveniently-visible and profitable locations near the pier to distant fields, the Wabanaki struggled to maintain as successful an economic presence. By the 1920s, relocations and changing economic interests of the Wabanaki and Bar Harbor communities led to disbanding the local encampments. Many Wabanaki found more stable agricultural work elsewhere in the state, and tourists took advantage of other new attractions. While only one example of displacement, twentieth-century tourism’s relationship with Wabanaki families indicate a fictitious perpetuation of diminishment narratives in leisure landscapes.<sup>26</sup>

While perceptions of diminishment were recounted for white tourists in romanticized narrative, Hamilton and other guide publishers benefited from marketing

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<sup>25</sup> Bunny McBride and Harald E.L. Prins, *Indians in Eden: Wabanakis and Rusticators on Maine's Mt. Desert Island* (Camden: Down East Books, 2009), 74.

<sup>26</sup> Harald E. L., Prins, and Bunny McBride. *Asticou's Island Domain: Wabanaki Peoples at Mount Desert Island, 1500-2000: Acadia National Park Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, vol. 1 (Northeast Region Ethnography Program, National Park Service, 2007), 334.

Indigenous place names in New Brunswick, even advocating for their permanence at times:

Indian names, when readily pronounceable, are preferable to any others, being as a rule suggestive of some characteristic feature, as well as pleasing to the ear. Some of these are objectionable on account of their length, as for instance, Quatawamkedg-wick, Guadamagouchoui, and Auganquapsoiegan Rivers; or Petteiguaggua-mak, and Wittequerguagwam Lakes. These names, although somewhat suggestive of a toothache, are preferable to such mixed designations as Grog, or Brandy Brook.<sup>27</sup>

Travel guide writers enamored with Wabanaki place names maintained the cultural curiosity for white audiences as strange or “savage” imagery of landscape and nature, even as local governing bodies increasingly diminished the original cultures. Through economic strangulation and local legal manipulation, tourism’s relationship with Wabanaki culture fractured as vacationers came to expect the images of Indigenous culture more than the physical presence of the people. In similar style, the *Portland Transcript* newspaper in Maine reportedly crafted a pamphlet entitled “Facts About Northern Maine,” capitalizing on Wabanaki place names for the sake of asserting unique regional tourism features;

The Indians have left traces of their existence in the polysyllabic names of these lakes. The mastery of these names is enough to give one a chronic lameness of the jaws. The unhappy explorer who would penetrate through the lake region to the head-waters of the Allegash and St. Francis must submit to a previous nomenclature. He must make his way through Millinocket and Moleseniok, across Noleseemack and Ambijijis to Katopskenegan and Pauquankamus... jesting aside, it is the great natural reservoirs which give the State its inexhaustible water power, sufficient to move all the machinery of the world.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Hamilton, *New Brunswick and Its Scenery*, 138-139.

<sup>28</sup> "Something New.: Poland Springs House. Mount Kineo." *Zion's Herald*, (1868-1910), (Boston, Mass.) Jul 17, 1889, 228, <https://library.umaine.edu/auth/EZproxy/test/auth/ej.asp?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/127458015?accountid=14583>. (Accessed on June 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2020).

The portrayal of Wabanaki languages as only inconvenient and incomprehensible names for waterways continued a pattern of the fictive “vanished race” narrative in popular publications, while also presenting traditional names for a reader’s historical imagination.<sup>29</sup>



Figure 1- Maliseet men building a birch bark canoe at St. Mary’s Reserve (Sitansisk) on east side of Saint John River, ca. 1890s. Man on far right is Edward Paul. Hiring skilled Indigenous guides from their nearby communities such as St. Mary’s was not only convenient, but highly recommended by numerous guide authors. Travel would likely feature traditional transportation like the birch bark canoe featured here. Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Item P5- 381.

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<sup>29</sup> For more images of Wabanaki in New Brunswick, see Richard Vroom and Arthur T. Doyle. *Old New Brunswick: A Victorian Portrait* (New York; Toronto; Oxford University Press. 1978) and Karen Perley, et al, *Wolastoqiyik: Portrait of a People: Exhibition Catalogue*. (Culture and Sport Secretariat, Archaeological Services, Secrétariat à La Culture Et Au Sport, Services D’archéologie, 2000). For more on the fictive “vanishing” of Indigenous peoples in New England, see Jean M. O’Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2010).



Figure 2- Wabanaki guides with birch bark canoes ready to guide sport hunters and sightseers at the Bar Harbor shore, 1881. Courtesy of Abbe Museum.

By the end of the nineteenth century, travel writers and local proto-tourism agencies worked to convince the middle-class citizens to exercise their developing social impulse to vacation. Justifying leisure travel as a healthful venture, a chance to develop social connections at resorts, or to personally discover a “primitive” and vanishing culture, growing waves of tourists made vacationing a seasonal priority.<sup>30</sup> Vacation fever had taken hold in North American populations, drawing thousands along gleaming rail lines and aboard steamships to the relative wilderness in Maine and New Brunswick. For affordable tickets and a few hotel rooms, tourists could experience a taste of previously

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<sup>30</sup> For more on the dynamic relationship between Indigenous visibility and published literature, see Jean M. O’Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

exclusive travel experiences, helpfully guided by the growing cacophony of expert tourism writers. The problem for prospective tourists by the end of the century was choosing from the expanding variety of destinations and fashionable methods of travel now available.

### **Seaside and Sport: Leisure's Changing Landscapes**

Once convinced of the attractive benefits of touring the Northeast, visitors arrived in seasonal waves, and reshaped the economic and local landscapes of their destinations. While artists and poets had arranged to live with locals or rent homes in the 1840s and 1850s, half a century later wealthier tourists had little interest in rough or rustic accommodations. The growing hotel industry in places such as Bar Harbor catered to travelers seeking a more modern and comfortable stay. However, as emotional attachment to the coastal communities grew, the drive for private property ownership dramatically changed the nature of tourism from a temporary presence on the landscape to a fixed seasonal claim to the region. Clearly articulated by historical geographer Stephen Hornsby, the summering culture created “an extensive North American pleasure periphery, with seasonal resorts that dramatically reshaped local economies and landscapes.”<sup>31</sup> While year-round residents were effectively displaced by the wealthier estate-building class, the service industry that grew to accommodate the summering families provided many coastal communities with a new source of income. By 1901, the Bar Harbor Board of Trade published a tourism booklet recording that “the latest census gives the town of Eden a population of 4,379 souls. Of these, at least three thousand

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<sup>31</sup> Stephen J. Hornsby, "The Gilded Age and the Making of Bar Harbor," *The Geographical Review* 83, no. 4 (1993), 455-468.



reside in Bar Harbor; and the chief business of the... population is to work for, cater to, and entertain the summer visitors.”<sup>32</sup> While fishing, farming, and other industrial work contributed significantly to the local economy, the published vision of the region indicates an increasingly tourism-centered lived experience for locals.

Gradually developed before the American Civil War, the hotel industry in Bar Harbor attracted the summering populations, and according to local publications began the age of the island as a pleasure space. According to the 1901 Bar Harbor guide by Alec J. Grant: “In 1855, the first summer hotel, the old Agamont House was built on Main street Bar Harbor by Tobias Roberts; and probably in that year the first *bona fide* summer tourists appeared on the scene.”<sup>33</sup> Departing from ports like Boston, steamers brought urbanites to the coastal retreats and hotels, allowing time away from the cities, but also transplanting fashionable social circles to a picturesque location. The 1901 Bar Harbor guide effectively described the transition from the hotelier landscape to the “summer cottage” era of the island:

[G]radually the shore line on either side of the growing village was adorned with handsome structures of various size and every style of architecture, from the snug, comfortable, cottage of the well-to-do business man to the palatial home of the multimillionaire. As shore lots became scarcer the buyers went further afield; and ere long fantastic towers and painted gables rose above the tree tops on the wooded foothills that bordered the village plateau. And thus Bar Harbor, from a little fishing village in a practically unknown corner of the State of Maine became, by means of its own natural charms and the enterprise of its people; the Mecca of tourists, and the universally acknowledged Queen of American Summer Resorts.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Alec J. Grant, "A Guide to Bar Harbor, Mount Desert Island, Maine," *Maine History Documents* 100, (1901), 9-11, <https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/mainehistory/100>.

<sup>33</sup> Grant, "A Guide to Bar Harbor," 7.

<sup>34</sup> Grant, "A Guide to Bar Harbor," 7.

Although a bold claim of resort supremacy, the guide accurately depicts the transformation from a quiet and picturesque landscape to the highly developed and stratified summering community that came to dominate the local economy. Between trips on sailboats in Frenchman's Bay, walking and hiking paths to the summits of bald granite mountains, and the occasional visit to the horse-track or golf links, the elite found an array of leisure opportunities at their disposal.

Just across the international border, St. Andrews-by-the-Sea represented another growing resort space, filled with seasonal visitors looking to take in the sea air and escape urban environments. Recorded in another early twentieth century guide, produced by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, the landscape was equally romanticized:

Of all countries bordering on the Atlantic coast of the American continent, there is none more grandly favored by nature than the Canadian Province of New Brunswick... in no portion of this magnificent summer domain is there a more delightful spot than St. Andrews-by-the-Sea, where ideal conditions exist in beauty of environment, salubrity of climate and healthfulness of locality. With pure salt sea air, the life-giving breath of the pine, wondrous scenic splendor, and every facility for the comfortable housing of visitors — it is an incomparable resting-place and retreat from the cares of business and the heat and dust of the city.<sup>35</sup>

Just as visitors to Mount Desert would enjoy the established hotels of Bar Harbor, the Algonquin Hotel, opened in 1889, represented the same attempt to bring social sophistication and comfort to the picturesque retreat. Though a large facility, the Algonquin was not enough for some wealthy vacationers, and the same process of private ownership arrived in St. Andrews:

The summer population of St. Andrews-by-the-Sea is singularly free from the boisterous element that sometimes invades resorts near large centres. It is not, however, a purely aristocratic gathering, though society is well

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<sup>35</sup> Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *St. Andrews by-the-Sea, New Brunswick: Reached by the Canadian Pacific Railway* (Canadian Pacific Railway, 1900), 2, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/acu.ark:/13960/t9v129v02>.

represented... They come from all parts of America... and other Canadian cities and towns; and some of them, enamoured of the beauties of the region, have erected handsome cottages in which they spend their vacation days.<sup>36</sup>

With popularity of resort space growing and available real-estate diminishing, the solidification of a resort atmosphere could keep out the “boisterous element,” and artificially preserve quaint landscapes. The economic royalty of North America effectively re-colonized these spaces and dictated local policy to town councils fearful of losing their tax dollars.

Not only seaside retreats experienced the expansion of popularity and infrastructure. The previously “savage” northern wilderness of Maine and New Brunswick were also broken by opulent hunting resorts and sporting camps. Destinations like the Rangeley Lakes and Moosehead Lake in Maine were particular favorites for the well-to-do sportsman. Established at the base of Mt. Kineo on Moosehead Lake, the Mt. Kineo House attracted hundreds of sporting travelers each year and had grown into a developed resort within the “middle landscape” in the late nineteenth century.<sup>37</sup>

Described by *Portland Transcript* editor Edward Ellwell, arriving at the fashionable house by steamer was an enchanting experience:

Issuing from the passage between these islands the steamer enters the broadest part of the lake, and Mount Kineo, hitherto concealed by the wooded islands, bursts upon our view. Beneath its frowning wall of rock lies the hotel, its red roof blazing in the sunlight... one is surprised to find in this wilderness region so large a house, so well appointed and so well kept.<sup>38</sup>

Ellwell and his companions spent several days taking full advantage of the available sporting and leisure opportunities: “we rest, sleep, read, write, climb Mt. Kineo, sit and

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<sup>36</sup> Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *St. Andrews by-the-Sea*, 20.

<sup>37</sup> Hornsby and Potts, *Historical Atlas of Maine*, Plate 60.

<sup>38</sup> "SOMETHING NEW," *Zion's Herald*, July 17, 1889, 1.

chat on the piazzas, visit Pebbly Beach, take steamer excursions on the lake, fish... and have, all in all, a royal good time.”<sup>39</sup> The developed infrastructure of these camp and sporting house locations provided convenient access to rural or wilderness space, which was a popular topic for writers like Ellwell and a welcome column in print publications.

Construction of grandiose hotels, cottages, and camps made touring the northeastern wilderness or rural landscapes an artificially constructed experience, changing the environment to suit visitor expectations and comfort. Serene harbors captured by Romantic-era artists now bustled with pleasure yachts and large passenger steamers. Secluded mountaintop scenery enjoyed by adventurous hikers could now be accessed by buckboard road or even railway.<sup>40</sup> Elite hunting trips to the North Woods of Maine became increasingly centered around the luxurious hotels and social environment, perhaps more than the act of sport hunting.<sup>41</sup> These artificial landscapes served as staging grounds for visitors to relax in an antimodernist environment and enjoy modern comforts, in between trips to the wildernesses of hunting grounds or hiking trails.

Though private estates would claim significant acreage and dominate waterfront access, hotel businesses also maintained steady business playing host to those without extensive family fortunes. Both estate owners and the growing population of hotel visitors contributed to the recommodification of local landscapes into seasonal service economies. While the balance of power in determining or preserving resort environments

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<sup>39</sup> "Something New," *Zion's Herald*, (Boston, Mass.) Jul 17, 1889, 1.

<sup>40</sup> The summit of Green Mountain (now Cadillac Mountain) is the highest summit on Mount Desert Island, and eventually was accessed by rough-cut roads for horse drawn carriages and even a cog railway in the late nineteenth century. Though hiking paths continued to be a popular recreational option, industrialism and infrastructure provided new and intrusive methods of accessing “natural” spaces on the island. See Peter Dow Bachelder, *Steam to the Summit: The Green Mountain Railway, Bar Harbor's Remarkable Cog Railroad* (Ellsworth, Me.: Breakwater Press, 2005), for discussion on the entrepreneurial effort of the mountain railway system.

<sup>41</sup> See popular descriptions of the lavish accommodations and facilities at Mt. Kineo in the *Maine Farmer* periodical, “Article 6—No Title,” *Maine Farmer*, August 16, 1888, 2.

resided with the elite for the remainder of the nineteenth century, the dawn of the twentieth century brought greater agency to the development of the middle-class populations and would fundamentally change the experience of modern vacationing in these landscapes.

### **Moving Beyond Steam: Transformations in Modern Touring Technology**

For affluent urbanites, overland travel to fashionable destinations in the Northeast was a challenging and uncomfortable ordeal through much of the nineteenth century, as the few existing roads through Maine and New Brunswick were often in poor condition. To access the purported benefits of northeastern touring, many turned to the growing network of railways to speed their arrival more efficiently than the aging canal systems or rough horse and cart roads. Railway travel as a standard of modern mobility changed the relationship between tourists and the leisure landscapes. Complicated travel networks in the 1820s had made “The Fashionable Tour” a novel experience and elite privilege, but fifty years of industrialized transportation development now allowed access to many of the same exclusive destinations by purchasing railway tickets. As steam power connected urban residences and rural escapism by rail or sea, new engines shortened travel time and distance ratios between points, and vacationing could now be completed with relative ease and for shorter convenient excursions. While steam remained a dominant force in mass transportation, individual modes of modern transportation offered new opportunities for enthusiasts willing to brave the rough condition of roads beyond the urban center. The cultural phenomenon of cycling would usher in a new age of leisure mobility and would ultimately demand environmental change to suit the new technology.

Settlement patterns in Maine and New Brunswick created environmental and logistical problems for overland transportation to evolve. As Canadian historian Ronald Rees indicates in his book *New Brunswick's Early Roads*:

With a premium on river frontage, the lots were narrow, running back from the banks. Throughout the colonies, a leading principal of land allocation was that land did not extend in length along navigable waterway...the system effectively prevented the growth of compact or nucleated villages... and produced a widely scattered rural population difficult to service with roads.<sup>42</sup>

Maine experienced similar transportation restrictions, as “poorly maintained town roads gave travelers limited access to and from the vast areas that lay between the larger cities and towns... a 1905 survey of the state found it contained nearly 22,000 miles of roads, only ten percent of which had been improved from dirt to a gravel surface[.]”<sup>43</sup> Short roads to provide access to lots without river frontage were more common, but communities were still hugging the rivers as their primary highways for rural travel.

Sharing a northern Atlantic climate, Maine and New Brunswick also experienced seasonal and climate obstacles to maintaining roads. Roads became muddy and impassible in spring, and deeply rutted in summer and fall. Only in winter were they more practical to use, filling in ruts with snow and ice, paving and freezing new roadways for sleds in addition to the frozen rivers like the Saint John. The rough experience was notable enough that transportation historian G. P. Glazebrook concluded, “probably every traveler who came to Canada in the first half of the nineteenth century

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<sup>42</sup> Ronald, Rees, *New Brunswick's Early Roads: The Routes That Shaped the Province* (Halifax: Nimbus Pub., 2012), 31.

<sup>43</sup> John H. Clark, “State Highways,” in Stephen J. Hornsby, Richard William Judd, eds., *Historical Atlas of Maine* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 2015), Plate 64.

talked or wrote of the curious kinds of roads he found and the acute discomfort of traveling on most of them. Only in winter... could land travel be comfortable.”<sup>44</sup>

Expanding from urban centers like Boston, rail gradually connected the Northeast to the industrial network of nineteenth century mobility. By 1842, long-distance locomotives had connected Portland with Boston, opening the doors for increased freight transportation and, eventually, waves of leisure-seekers.<sup>45</sup> John A. Poor, a lawyer from Portland, Maine, ultimately forged the modern steam connection between Maine and New Brunswick, enthusiastically campaigning for an interconnected Atlantic maritime region. Poor sought to elevate Portland as the north Atlantic winter port, eventually creating the first U.S.-Canadian international railway.<sup>46</sup> By 1853, the Atlantic-St. Lawrence Railroad connected eastern Canada with a viable winter port, bringing goods and materials to market in a faster and more reliable way, but also opening the floodgates for tourists to incorporate the region into their manifest. Through the Atlantic-St. Lawrence, the Grand Trunk Railway leased lines which unified the region for decades.<sup>47</sup>

Canada was encouraged by English railway promoters to develop a line between Halifax and the St. Lawrence. Initially called the “Intercolonial,” the name would survive through the Confederation of Canada, finally culminating in an open line by 1876.<sup>48</sup> Though the collection of Canadian railway lines would later become nationalized as the Canadian National Railways in the early twentieth century due to massive debt, their

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<sup>44</sup> G.P. de T. Glazebrook, *A History of Transportation in Canada*, vol. 1 (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1938), 118.

<sup>45</sup> John H. Clark and Stephen J. Hornsby, “Railroads” in Stephen J. Hornsby, Richard W. Judd eds., *Historical Atlas of Maine* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 2015), Plate 43.

<sup>46</sup> Glazebrook, *A History of Transportation in Canada*, 162.

<sup>47</sup> For more on the historical geography of United States rail development, see James E. Vance, *The North American Railroad: Its Origin, Evolution, and Geography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

<sup>48</sup> Cruikshank, “Forest, Stream,” 58.

power to inspire and influence construction shaped many visions of Canada's future.<sup>49</sup> Ultimately designed to connect the nation as the American transcontinental had done to the south, the late nineteenth century Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) was "one of the most powerful private entities in Canada... actively shap[ing] not only the perceptions of the region, but also the physical reality of the mountains by constructing the railway, and later, other mobility networks (e.g., hiking trails and highways)."<sup>50</sup> While the marketing strategy of the CPR was primarily constructed around western features, the connection by rail allowed eastward "rediscovery" of natural spaces, and the growth of a Maritime tourist economy. By connecting New Brunswick to Maine and the western provinces of Canada, the economic viability of the province was modernized, and allowed for railway marketing to entice tourists.

Fashionable travel on railways had allowed tourists to travel significant distance in relative comfort, but once in the destination landscape, individual mobility had experienced significant change. Replacing horses with mechanical mounts, early bicycle enthusiasts rode these new marvels on the same rough roads that still plagued the province. Ronald Rees paints a convincing historical picture of the New Brunswick roads at this time, writing, "the spring thaws and rains, and the melting snows of the early fall turned many of the roads into quagmires. The first heavy frosts froze the pitted and rutted surfaces, and the hot, dry spells of summer turned some of these into miniature dust

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<sup>49</sup> For details on the history of Canadian railway, see G.R. Stevens, *History of the Canadian National Railways* (New York and London: Macmillan, 1973).

<sup>50</sup> Elsa Lam, "Rails, Trails, Roads, and Lodgings: Networks of Mobility and the Touristic Development of "The Canadian Pacific Rockies. 1885-1930" in *Moving Natures*, 276.



bowls.”<sup>51</sup> While bicycles were certainly novel, they were also a decidedly uncomfortable mode of modern transportation under these circumstances.

Glen Norcliffe’s text *Ride to Modernity: The Bicycle in Canada, 1869-1900* narrates the development of the bicycle craze in Canada, and asserts a significant change in spatial thinking when considering the new horse-less mobility trend:

The bicycle subtly changed that state by making the countryside more accessible to the urbanite - here a bicyclist has taken a train into the country, from which point he will set out on a ride. The bicycle changed the meaning of the place called “countryside,” producing a new space that included out-of-town hotels where cyclists could spend the night on a weekend ride, and tearooms for refreshment on shorter rides.<sup>52</sup>

The “countryside” as a space for visitation was not a novel concept by this time, as tourism to rural Canadian landscapes had already existed for nearly a century. What is significant, however, is the mechanical individualism of cycling for urbanites, and the resulting cyclist groups that advocated for infrastructural change.

Bicycles brought modern mobility to leisure space as “wheelmen” (and women, though the enthusiast clubs were predominantly male, see Figure 3) explored roadways with the new technology, and catalyzed change for the improvement of road conditions. As yet another democratizing factor of emerging mobility culture, women also gradually gained socially acceptable access to bicycling, greatly broadening their individual sphere of independence.<sup>53</sup> As new waves of men and women went cycling through the urban and surrounding rural landscapes, a stark contrast between the more frequently manicured city roads and country lanes emerged. Without the comfort of modern suspension or the

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<sup>51</sup> Rees, *New Brunswick’s Early Roads*, 131.

<sup>52</sup> G. B. Norcliffe, *The Ride to Modernity: The Bicycle in Canada, 1869-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 19.

<sup>53</sup> For more extensive analysis on women and the bicycling craze of the late nineteenth century, see Phillip Gordon Mackintosh and Glen Norcliffe, “Flânerie on Bicycles: Acquiescence to Women in Public in the 1890s,” *The Canadian Geographer* 50 (2006): 17-37.

safety of reliable brakes, bicycles made many of these enthusiasts acutely aware of poor road conditions. As urban roads were improved to address growing populations and environmental issues like waste, runoff, and dust, the wheelmen advocated for similar improvements in rural locations.<sup>54</sup> The novelty of bicycling added a new population of visitors to the pleasure peripheries of East Coast population centers and united enthusiasts into groups like the League of American Wheelmen (LAW). In order to guide members and advocate for improvement, handbooks of recommended roads were developed, modeled on earlier steam guides, but clearly the predecessor of auto-guides yet to come.



Figure 3- Bicycle tour on Regent Street, Fredericton, 1886. Likely the Elwell Bluenose Tour of 1886. Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Item P37-487-1.

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<sup>54</sup> For a more comprehensive history of bicycling in the United States, see Robert J. Turpin, *First Taste of Freedom: A Cultural History of Bicycle Marketing in the United States* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2018), and articles such as James Akerman "American Promotional Road Mapping in the Twentieth Century," *Cartography and Geographic Information Science*, 29 no.3, (2002): 175-192.

Cyclists formed groups, not only to ride together, but to advocate for better travel conditions, specifically for “good roads.” As vacation fever took hold of cyclists, attention to the surface quality of the roads became an important part of marketing destinations. Between state and provincial groups, regional and unified lobbying to improve trouble spots began to yield favorable results with legislators. Inspired by innovations like the early “asphalte” roads of Washington ,D.C. by the early 1880s, cyclist associations pressed for improvements and aspired to place road planning, building, and maintenance into governmental hands with federal funding.<sup>55</sup> Through lobbying, this early “Good Roads Association” gradually achieved governmental oversight and increased centralized authority for road improvements. A 1904 New Brunswick Highways Act was a direct response to the requests, and placed oversight power with the chief commissioner of public works.<sup>56</sup> The debate between urban and rural space over allocation of supervisory power, perceived bias toward maintaining major roads to the detriment of rural routes, and the system of labor and taxation to maintain them, would all be contested in the early twentieth century.

In Maine, the 1887 LAW *Hand-Book and Road-Book* (see Figure 4) contained a system of grading and abbreviation facilitated an accessible read. Roads were graded with the following designations. Many of the Maine roads listed by the guide were accompanied with hilly grades of 3 to 4, with surface conditions ranging from A1 in Skowhegan through A4 in Bucksfield.<sup>57</sup> Having quantified and described poor

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<sup>55</sup> Carlton Reid, *Roads Were Not Built for Cars: How Cyclists Were the First to Push for Good Roads and Became the Pioneers of Motoring* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2015).

<sup>56</sup> Rees, *New Brunswick's Early Roads*, 145.

<sup>57</sup> A. B. Barkman and League of American Wheelmen-New York State Division, *League of American Wheelmen: Hand-book and Road-book of New York, containing also the principal through routes of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania,*

conditions, the LAW effectively lobbied for state road investments, improving the surfacing and grading to benefit the new machines and locals alike.

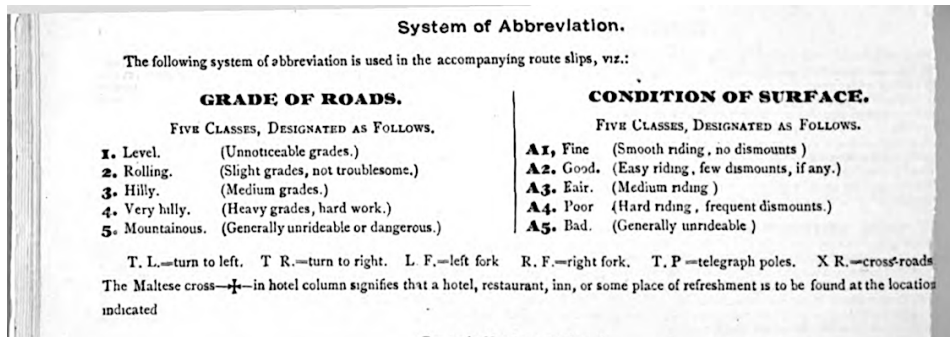


Figure 4- League of American Wheelmen guide with systems of road evaluation and abbreviation to inform riders of conditions. A. B. Barkman and League of American Wheelmen-New York State Division. League of American Wheelmen, 1887, 43.

Much like the movements in the United States, Canadian wheelmen were just as actively involved in the lobbying of local government. The LAW’s northern counterpart, the Canadian Wheelmen’s Association (CWA), produced similar guiding material. The 1898 *Maritime Provinces Road Book* similarly narrated route conditions, yet did not adopt the numerical grading system of the LAW, opting instead for simple “hilly,” “poor,” or “fair” descriptors.<sup>58</sup> For touring places like St. Andrews-by-the-Sea, the 1900 Canadian Pacific Railway sponsored guide proclaimed: “The good roads rob bicycling of all its discomforts. Visitors are advised to bring their own wheels, which, if from the United States, can be entered free of duty by presenting their LAW certificates at the custom house.”<sup>59</sup>

*Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and Ohio* (Philadelphia: Hart, 1887), 43, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101066152156>.

<sup>58</sup> J. M. Barnes and Canadian Wheelmen's Association, *Maritime provinces road book* (Saint John: 1898), <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/aeu.ark:/13960/t0ks72g4p>.

<sup>59</sup> Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *St. Andrews by-the-Sea*, 7.

The cultural fascination for bicycling was certainly not shared by all, or at least caused some safety concerns. As historian Robert Turpin has noted, “Cycling was so popular in the United States by 1896 that Representative Thomas Reed of Maine proclaimed that learning ‘how to dodge a bicycle’ was the most important problem confronting Americans.”<sup>60</sup> The individual mobility of bicycling granted the freedom of independent modern mobility to men and women, yet the intrusive and abundant presence of cyclists clearly caused concern. The two-wheeled novelty inspired “something close to a mania for bicycles and bicycling in 1896 and 1897,”<sup>61</sup> but was not to last. Norcliffe states, “it quite suddenly came to an end, as the trendsetters of Canadian society shifted their interest to new pastimes and the next wave of consumer luxuries.”<sup>62</sup> Rees agrees, writing that the Good Roads movements “need[ed] a new source of energy... [and] it came from the owners not of a self-propelled vehicle, but a motorized one.”<sup>63</sup>

By the early twentieth century, established patterns of elite tourism had been heavily dependent on rail routes and steamer connections, depositing travelers at set locations by schedules determined by corporations. These destination landscapes gradually changed to suit the new economies of seasonal residence and visitation, though the growth of a new middle class began to challenge the elite hold on resorts. Tourist interaction with local landscapes was largely predictable throughout the nineteenth century, predominantly contained to community nodes along set transportation corridors and extending into the “wilderness” only as far as guides, horses, or bicycles would

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<sup>60</sup> Turpin, *First Taste of Freedom*, 1.

<sup>61</sup> Norcliffe, *The Ride to Modernity*, 5.

<sup>62</sup> Norcliffe, *The Ride to Modernity*, 5.

<sup>63</sup> Rees, *New Brunswick's Early Roads*, 148.

reasonably allow. The excitement of independent mechanical mobility, found first through the cycling craze of the late nineteenth century, sparked a new enthusiasm for traveling by road. Rough conditions of rural lanes limited cycling, but organizations dedicated to the mobility craze pushed for construction and consistent maintenance of troublesome areas. Inspired by the lobbying of cyclists for better conditions, the Good Roads movements pressured regional governments to invest in road surfacing fit for the new technology. Steam and cycling provided new forms of leisure mobility for a gradually democratizing vacationer class throughout the nineteenth century. In this formerly elite “middle landscape,” tourism would dramatically change with the arrival of a new technology in the twentieth century, bouncing, roaring, and coughing down the newly improved rural roads of Maine and New Brunswick.

**CHAPTER 3**

**THE AUTO TERROR: MECHANICAL MODERNITY'S INVASION  
OF THE TOURISM BORDERLANDS, 1905-1922**

The age of automobiles came to the Northeast slowly at first, arriving with autoing pioneers like Arthur Jerome Eddy and Thomas Wilby. Despite a clear passion for motoring, Eddy sympathized with the New England communities he drove through in 1902: “One can readily understand why owners and drivers of horses should feel and even exhibit a marked aversion towards the automobile, since, from their standpoint, it is an unmitigated nuisance[.]”<sup>1</sup> While navigating more industrial and developed landscapes around Boston, Eddy observed:

No man with the slightest consideration for the comfort and pleasure of others would care to keep and use a machine in places where so many women and children are riding and driving [horses]... One automobile may terrorize the entire little community; in fact, one machine will spread terror where many would not... In a year or two all will be changed; the people owning summer homes will themselves own and use auto mobiles; the horses will see so many that little notice will be taken, but the pioneers of the sport will have an unenviable time.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly prophetic, early pioneer in trans-Canadian autoing Thomas Wilby wrote about his 1912 expedition to drive from Halifax to Vancouver (see Figure 5):

It must be confessed that on the Canadian road the car is not yet a welcome dictator. It has not yet transformed the life of the countryside nor shown potency to change regions primitive and somnolent into things cosmopolitan and wide awake. It has not yet transformed the village

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<sup>1</sup> A. Jerome Eddy, *Two Thousand Miles On An Automobile: Being A Desultory Narrative Of A Trip Through New England, New York, Canada, And The West* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1902), 14-15, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433081803938>.

<sup>2</sup> Eddy, *Two thousand miles on an automobile*, 186-187.

blacksmith's into a garage and repair shop, nor turned the rural grocery store into a motor-fuel emporium.<sup>3</sup>

Eddy and Wilby both had an “unenviable time” introducing the new machines to unprepared environments, yet their confidence in automobiling’s destiny to dramatically reshape communities and environment is striking. At the time, significant cultural and legal challenges stood in the way of their utopian motoring future, and residents of the Northeast borderlands did not universally accept or welcome this dictator.



Figure 5 -Thomas Wilby (in foreground with long traveling coat and driving gloves) on his Halifax-to-Vancouver journey, stopped in Saint John, NB, 1912. Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Item P210-1214.

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<sup>3</sup> William T. Wilby, *A motor tour through Canada* (London: John Lane, 1913), X, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89067588061>.



Adoption of an automotive lifestyle may seem like an inevitability when observed from the highway and motor-centric twenty-first century, yet at the beginning of the nineteenth century motoring's permanence was unclear and contentious. The unproven and temperamental technology faced environmental challenges in traversing North American terrain, and without established auto-friendly infrastructure, early autoists needed to be resourceful when navigating landscapes that had never seen such contraptions. From roughly 1905 through the early 1920s, automobiles transitioned from a rare curiosity and frivolous plaything to an emerging cultural and industry standard. As just one of many new technological facets of encroaching modernity, the Northeast borderlands experienced rapid change when autoists arrived to vacation in comparatively rural landscapes, and some regions resisted their arrival. Resort environments like Bar Harbor on the Maine coast directly challenged the new mobility fad with legal exclusions, while entire provinces like New Brunswick struggled to balance regional identity and mobility traditions with the economic opportunities of motoring tourism. The tourism borderlands of Maine and New Brunswick became a landscape of confrontation, resistance, and adaptation in the early twentieth century, existing in a "middle landscape" between urbanity and wilderness, a mobility borderland of uncertainty and change.<sup>4</sup>

### **Pistons, Petrol, and Progress: Evolutions in Automobility**

While autos were certainly new to the Northeast borderlands in the early twentieth century, the technology had been in existence and evolving for decades in Europe. Generations of steam and bicycle-inspired tinkerers were determined to wed industrial

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<sup>4</sup> See the introduction of this thesis for discussion of Leo Marx's term "middle landscape."

machinery to the carriage platform for independent modern mobility. Throughout the mid-nineteenth century, inventors in numerous nations experienced success with creating individual propulsion technologies but struggled to develop efficient power-to-weight ratios, durable designs, and optimized fuel sources. Definitively naming a “father” of such a revolutionary machine is a complicated and subjective judgement. However, as described in *The Automobile Revolution*, “the trail that actually led to the motor car began in Germany... early in 1886 Karl Benz fitted a [single-cylinder] four-stroke gasoline engine of his own design to a large tricycle and drove it successfully... usually considered the world’s first gasoline automobile.”<sup>5</sup> Benz receives much of the historical attention for this landmark moment, but other contemporaneous figures such as Nicholas Otto, George Brayton, Gottlieb Daimler, and Wilhelm Maybach, to name a few, are justifiably credited with equally significant developments to create the gasoline vehicles recognizable today.

As fascination with the developing machines grew, cultural grappling with the phenomenon permeated print media. From technical manuals, works of art, and travel narratives, the world for early autoists emerges as an uncertain and challenging experience. Even naming the new devices was a contested issue, as the 1902 treatise *Self-propelled vehicles* described:

Automobile, Locomobile, or Motor Carriage? — The wide spread interest in the subject of horseless vehicles propelled by motors seems to have determined that the word, automobile, shall be permanently adopted into the English language... To be exact, however, the word is not properly derived[.] The best authorities assert that all the elements in a compound word should properly be derived from the same language, if it be composed of words other than English. According to this rule, the word,

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<sup>5</sup> Jean-Pierre Bardou, Jean-Jacques Chanaron, Patrick Fridenson, and James M. Laux, *The Automobile Revolution: The Impact of an Industry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 5.

"locomobile," from the word's locus, place, and, mobilis, moving, both Latin, is undoubtedly a more correct term.<sup>6</sup>

While official nomenclature had eventually settled on "automobile," cultural interpretations of automobiling began to appear in expressive media. Writing in 1904, Flemish poet Maurice Maeterlinck described one of his autoing trips in France:

I am many miles from a station, far from garage or repairers. And at first, I am conscious of a vague uneasiness, that is not without its charm. I am at the mercy of this mysterious force, that is yet more logical than I... But the monster, I say to myself, has no secrets that I have not learned. Before placing myself in its power, I took it to pieces, and examined its organs. And, now that it snorts at my feet, I can recall its physiology... I have had its heart and soul laid bare, I have looked into the profound circulation of its life. Its soul is the electric spark, which, seven or eight hundred times to the minute, sends fiery breath through its veins.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to his powerfully romanticized narrative, Maeterlinck's adventures with the "fairy horse," or "dreadful hippogriff," as he also termed the automobile, provide insight into the complex relationship between driver, vehicle, and environment.<sup>8</sup> For successful autoists, Maeterlinck's disassembly, examination, and reconstruction were far more than acts of simple curiosity. His discomfort at straying too far from garage assistance was certainly a reasonable feeling. Often zoomorphized, the "beasts" were characterized as having their own antagonistic stubbornness, as Eddy also described: "It is impossible to write coolly, calmly, logically, and coherently about the automobile; it is not a cool, calm, logical, or coherent beast, the exact reverse being true."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> James Edward Homans, *Self-propelled vehicles: a practical treatise on the theory, construction, operation, care and management of all forms of automobiles* (New York: T. Audel & Co., 1902), 1, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89090514506>.

<sup>7</sup> Maurice Maeterlinck, *The Double Garden*, trans. Alexander Teixeira De Mattos (London: G. Allen, 1904), 141, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015004652254>.

<sup>8</sup> Maeterlinck, *The Double Garden*, 140 and 146.

<sup>9</sup> Eddy, *Two thousand miles on an automobile*, 7.

Battling the incomprehensible whims of their obstinate mechanical mounts, North American auto inventors and drivers faced significantly different terrain than their European counterparts. Puttering around on rougher roads with heavy and under-powered engines in fragile chassis, North Americans needed to adapt the machines to survive the drive. Charles and Frank Duryea of Massachusetts are typically credited for building the first successful American automobile in 1893, spurred by competitive progress reported in Germany and France.<sup>10</sup> American domestic production of autos remained limited and unsupported by large financiers until the early twentieth century, leaving European inventors and producers with clear control of the market for many years. The few North American motorists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century undertook pioneering journeys to discover the suitability of the machines to the environment and notating road conditions while enjoying the picturesque scenery. As individual craftsmen and small companies debated and tested designs, a clear separation between European and North American models became evident early in the twentieth century:

However “stunning” they [French designs] look on asphalt and macadam with their low, rakish bodies, resplendent in red and polished brass, on country roads they are very frequently failures. A thirty horse-power foreign machine costing ten or twelve thousand dollars, accompanied by one or more expert mechanics, may make a brilliant showing for a week or so; but when the time is up, the ordinary, cheap, country-looking, American automobile will be found a close second at the finish: not that it is a finer piece of machinery, for it is not; but it has been developed under the adverse conditions prevailing in this country and is built to surmount them.<sup>11</sup>

Rough terrain demanded rugged and repairable machines, but the adverse conditions also reinvigorated the movement of enthusiasts lobbying for improvement and expansion of “good roads.” Cyclists had advocated for better surface conditions and maintenance for

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<sup>10</sup> Bardou, et al, *The Automobile Revolution*, 13.

<sup>11</sup> Eddy, *Two thousand miles on an automobile*, 22.

years, long before the first fragile autos bounced along the rough roads, but their calls were amplified and rejuvenated by the autoing crowd.

Though difficult to imagine today, the four-wheeled gasoline vehicle was far from a certain outcome at the turn of the century. Rough rural conditions, as documented in the League of American Wheelmen and the Canadian Wheelmen's Association road guides, and a general distrust of petroleum's stability led many like Charles Duryea and Arthur Eddy to predict a far different future. Charles Duryea's name carried significant weight in the early years of automotive design, and his particular vision of automotive evolution, while reasonable at the time, describes an unfulfilled evolutionary path:

In a letter to the "Horseless Age," Mr. Charles E. Duryea, of the Duryea Power Co., says; "The writer is free to predict that the future popular two-passenger carriage will be a three-wheeler, because of the many advantages which only need to be known to be appreciated... the three-wheeler steers more easily, requires less power to propel, starts and stops more quickly, is simpler, lighter, very much better in mud and appreciably better everywhere else... On this account a three-wheeled construction is much longer lived and will undoubtedly prevail in the end."<sup>12</sup>

Duryea's concerns over chassis durability would prove to be a major determining factor in the growth, development, and adaptation of the motorist and vacationing culture on the continent. Eddy's travel narrative also commented on the debate raging within the technical communities about the most effective fuel source, proclaiming: "ANY woman can drive an electric automobile, any man can drive a steam, but neither man nor woman can drive a gasoline; it follows its own odorous will, and goes or goes not as it feels disposed. For this very willfulness the gasoline motor is the most fascinating machine of all. It possesses the subtle attraction of caprice[.]"<sup>13</sup> Duryea and Eddy's expectation of three-wheeled steam or electric vehicles dominating the mobility market was not to be,

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<sup>12</sup> Homans, *Self-propelled vehicles*, 73-79.

<sup>13</sup> Eddy, *Two thousand miles on an automobile*, 9-10.

eventually giving way to the startlingly loud and pungent four-wheeled capricious petrol machines.

Just as fashionable cycle touring united enthusiasts, motoring gained an equally dedicated following in the early years. Groups that would eventually become the American Automotive Association (AAA) and its Canadian counterpart, the Canadian Automotive Association, were based on regional club support and lobbying. Homans also mused on the growing interest and enthusiasm for the hobby:

Scarcely three years ago it was a comparatively rare occurrence in this country to see a self-propelled vehicle, or "auto mobile," of any description. To-day they are among the most familiar sights; hundreds of firms are engaged in their manufacture — many of them scarcely able to keep abreast of the demand for machines — while in the popular mind there is a constantly increasing interest in the subject.<sup>14</sup>

Each year, new companies created new versions to fill growing demand and changing conditions. Much like the wheelmen of the late nineteenth century, “autoists” or “motorists” found navigating post roads and country lanes part of the attractive challenge and began writing guides inspired by the cyclist books. Momentum for improvement resulted in a new Good Roads Association formed in 1913 and lobbying for governmental intervention was renewed (see Figure 6).<sup>15</sup> Improving road conditions allowed for contraptions, like Arthur Jerome Eddy’s and Thomas Wilby’s, to travel more reliably to more places, at faster speeds, all the while becoming increasingly controversial.

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<sup>14</sup> Homans, *Self-Propelled Vehicles*, iii.

<sup>15</sup> Ronald Rees, *New Brunswick’s Early Roads: The Routes That Shaped the Province* (Halifax: Nimbus Pub. 2012), 153.



Figure 6- “Good Road Day,” seasonal reconstruction and repair on Shediac Road - June 26, 1913. Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Item P75-16.

Decades of tourism had already commodified landscapes and seascapes in Maine and New Brunswick as restorative and picturesque destinations, but the automotive associations and local governmental bureaus began to reimagine modern tourism and publish guides. By 1914, the Provincial Department of Public Works in Fredericton issued the “New Brunswick Auto Guide,” complete with a small ink graphic on the cover.<sup>16</sup> Beneath the title of the guide, two bundled figures seated in an automobile drive directly toward the reader, with broad wings extending from the front tires. Although a small illustration, it notably depicts the steering wheel on the right-hand-side and an open

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<sup>16</sup> E. Huchison and the Provincial Department of Public Works, *New Brunswick Auto Guide* (Fredericton:1914), Item MC80/1195.1, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

roadster-style car.<sup>17</sup> Early auto guidebooks provided rudimentary maps and highly detailed descriptions of distance, landmarks, and improved roads, but left the scenery for drivers to discover.<sup>18</sup> As metropolitan centers along the East Coast accepted autos on their roads, escapist regions like the Northeast tourism borderlands were next forced to adapt.

Eddy's prediction of quick one-or-two-year transformations proved to be optimistic, especially for regions that had been recolonized as fashionable anti-modernist escape destinations. The mobility borderlands of Maine and New Brunswick were being actively re-discovered by those astride "fairy horses" or "dreadful hippogriffs," and residents (both local and seasonal) had mixed opinions on allowing the snorting beasts to intrude. Early single-cylinder American models were certainly disruptive for unprepared communities. With no soundproofing and limited muffling of the combustion engine,<sup>19</sup> the machines were doubtlessly heard long before they could be seen. Plumes of dust and noxious exhaust followed them, lingering long after they had passed. Roads that were seasonally solidified by horse and cart traffic packing the surface tight, now were bounced loose by the high speeds of rubber tires. Horses could be frightened or injured by reckless driving if not accustomed to their presence, and gasoline fuel sources inspired fears of explosion and death. There was plenty to dislike about the technology and those that drove them into beloved environments of relative tranquility. By 1914, autos were still an increasingly popular hobbyist's plaything and remained a polarizing sight and

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<sup>17</sup> Right-hand drive was common on many early autos, until the popularity and mass production of left-hand drive Ford Model Ts essentially standardized the position.

<sup>18</sup> For more detailed discussion and mapping of the automobiling routes in Maine and New Brunswick, see Chapter Three of this thesis.

<sup>19</sup> Son of famous Maine-born inventor Hiram Stevens Maxim, Hiram Percy Maxim invented the first muffler for internal combustion engines in the late nineteenth century.



sound for many forced to live alongside them. It would take a modern war to test and reinvent the automobile as a necessary tool, rather than simply an obnoxious frivolity.

The outbreak of World War I in Europe played a significant role in improving autoing technology. As part of the British Empire, Canadian involvement in the conflict was politically tied to Britain's declaration of war in 1914, while The United States would not commit until three years later. Introduction of automobiles to military service contributed to the new shape of modern warfare, though horses remained a common form of ground transportation in many difficult and devastated landscapes. North America's automotive industry clearly benefitted from the foreign conflict, as European manufacturing was dramatically reduced and waves of American cars entered the continent.<sup>20</sup> Unique circumstances, brought on by major armed conflict in a distant hemisphere, produced a "bonanza" for American auto companies, as Bardou, et al. explain:

[I]t not only removed their major competitors from the market, but it also created an economic boom that spurred the automobile industry... In 1914 America produced 548,139 passenger cars: in 1917 the figure was 1,745,792. Ford, naturally, profited most of all from this windfall... even strengthen[ing] its domination of the market by cutting the price of the Model T without any reduction of quality.<sup>21</sup>

Notably, terminology surrounding automobiles changed during the war, shifting from "pleasure" autos to "passenger" autos in an attempt to convince governmental war boards to classify production as an essential industry. Thought of as a pleasurable luxury for nearly two decades, the war transformed automobiles into effective and economical investments for a variety of uses, reinvented and battle tested in European landscapes.

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<sup>20</sup> Bardou, et al, *The Automobile Revolution*, 79-80.

<sup>21</sup> Bardou, et al, *The Automobile Revolution*, 84.

The United States was not alone in the wartime and post-war windfalls, as Canada grew to meet global demands as well. Bardou, et al. have noted: “in Canada, auto production enjoyed a boom parallel to that in the United States, stimulated by rising purchasing power and by military orders. Such orders came not only from the Canadian government, but from everywhere in the British Empire. From 1914 to 1918, Canada ranked second in the world in automobile production[.]”<sup>22</sup> The dominance of North American manufacturing launched companies like Ford into global markets, but also set in motion an evolutionary process of automotive adoption in North American business and social settings, which would further transform the landscape at home and in vacation spaces.

### **“You Ought to Auto”: The Motorist Controversy on Mount Desert Island**

Known as the “Auto Wars” to local Mount Desert Islanders, the early years of motoring represented a turning point in the state’s history and for vacationing in the modern era.<sup>23</sup> Copies of a popular Boston-printed postcard “TOOT ‘N’ BE DARNED,” circulated throughout New England, encapsulated much of the anti-autoist sentiment found in regions like Mount Desert Island, and at least one copy remains with the Southwest Harbor Library with a poignant local message (see Figure 7). The impatient autoists are delayed by the stubbornly unconcerned cart driver, expressing the “TOOT ‘N’ BE DARNED” message by refusing to give way. Images like this bluntly pit age, tradition, and umbrellaed practicality against youth, modernity, and open-air leisure. The handwritten caption associated with the postcard preserved in Southwest Harbor asks,

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<sup>22</sup> Bardou, et al, *The Automobile Revolution*, 87.

<sup>23</sup> R. A. Savage, “The Bar Harbor auto war.” in *Down East Magazine*, 22 (1975):66-69.

“This is bad enough, but what would happen if the team were going in the opposite direction?” The metaphorical and literal collision of technologies would further divide populations in the coming years.



Figure 7-Anti-autoist postcard with local message caption. Courtesy of Southwest Harbor Public Library Digital Archives, Item 5903.

Before the technological and cultural reinvention of automobiles during the First World War, residents of resort landscapes like Mount Desert Island were among the most vocal and successful in resisting the new machines. Vacationing cottage-owners invested significant time and money in establishing an anti-modern sphere of escape, and many were fearful that their privatized sanctuary would be interrupted by noisy and obtrusive machines. Maine’s landscape had previously been recommodified by the artist and steam-age tourist, and the elite were reticent to relinquish the aristocratic domination of

privatized leisure space, forcing the issue by threatening to withhold their needed tax-dollars. The “Auto Wars” of Mount Desert Island demonstrated a clear class divide and evolving tourism ideologies: exclusionary summering aristocrats pitted against the relatively democratizing influences of automobility and popularizing tourism.

Debate over town and motorist rights began in the early 1900s, resulting in a legislative confrontation. In the 1903 Maine House of Representatives, Mr. Morrison, representing Eden (Bar Harbor), brought forth an act to prohibit autos from major Mount Desert Island roads.<sup>24</sup> For such a dramatic issue, the House afternoon session on March 26<sup>th</sup>, 1903 remarkably allowed for the suspension of the rules (for bills deemed uncontroversial) and quickly passed the act without significant debate. Too late and lacking support, Mr. Potter of Brunswick asked for a reconsideration of the Eden act.<sup>25</sup> Failing to secure the legislative review, Potter’s own pro-auto stance was dealt a heavy blow. With the town of Eden able to restrict autos from certain roads, the possibility that other Maine locations would follow suit could endanger the emerging economy of automobilism. Setting a low threshold for local towns to quickly restrict autos, the brief Eden legislation stated:

The town of Eden in the county of Hancock, at any legal meeting of the voters thereof may close to the use of automobiles the following streets within its limits... Any street so closed shall be marked at the entrance thereof by sign boards in large letters "No automobiles allowed on this road."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Eden, East Eden, and Bar Harbor were all used somewhat interchangeably through the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, though the post office address for the town was officially changed from East Eden to Bar Harbor on July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1873. By the early 1920s, the town was more frequently referred to as Bar Harbor.

<sup>25</sup> State of Maine, *The State of Maine Legislative Record for 1903, House of Representatives, March 26<sup>th</sup>*, 632.

<sup>26</sup> *Private and Special Laws of the State of Maine, 1903*, Chapter 420, section 1, 734.

The following day, Mr. Potter introduced his own bill on the regulation of automobiles, and clashed immediately with the anti-autoist Mr. Sewall of Bath:

The gentleman from Brunswick (Mr. Potter) introduced this bill on behalf of or at least with the approval of the Automobile Club of Maine... it did not seem to me then nor does it seem to me now that this bill was framed in the interests of the people of our State who use the roads of our State... You must remember that the owners of automobiles, however well disposed they may be, are carried away...with an infatuation of the machine, which leads them to absolutely reckless consequences[.]<sup>27</sup>

Objecting strongly to the insinuation of his bill as a product of the auto association, Potter reprimanded Sewall:

It is both unjust and ungenerous for the gentleman from Bath to make the reference he has to me in connection with the Automobile Club... now I appeal to the sense of candor and fairness of the House whether or not these automobile are not entitled to some privileges, whether a general automobile bill should include, as the gentleman from Bath would have it, a string of prohibitions and penalties and nothing else, or whether it should confer some rights.<sup>28</sup>

In the process of amendment and adoption, Potter's auto bill was heavily debated.

Ultimately the Legislature sided with Potter's position to create a statewide ordinance, capping vehicle speeds at the breakneck maximum of 15 miles-per-hour, and under eight within more populated environments, but did not overturn the Eden ban. Local economies of Maine were increasingly reliant on the seasonal influx of wealthy visitation and angering the source of summer income was partially the reason that Eden was granted the legal right to refuse autos altogether, citing the safety of riders on winding roads. Only two years later, the debate over autos in and around Mount Desert Island would challenge already entrenched positions.

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<sup>27</sup> State of Maine, *The State of Maine Legislative Record for 1903, House of Representatives, March 27<sup>th</sup>*, 671.

<sup>28</sup> State of Maine, *The State of Maine Legislative Record for 1903, House of Representatives, March 27<sup>th</sup>*, 672-674.

The summer of 1905 sparked argument throughout Hancock County, as auto enthusiasts clashed with anti-autoists in the correspondence columns of papers like *The Ellsworth American*. Columns entitled “THE AUTO-TERROR” dramatically recorded a variety of opinions and incidents. While general opinion may have been against motorists, the paper featured an offer from B.T. Sowle, “Ellsworth’s only automobilist,” to drive his auto to a local park, in order for any interested parties to bring their horse and accustom them to the sight and sounds of such machines.<sup>29</sup> While the intent may have been beneficent and proactive, auto owners like Sowle were immediately drawn into a maelstrom of bitter public opinion in the ensuing weeks.

The good-will of owners like Sowle was not enough to convince many staunch anti-autoists, such as C.E. Butler, resident of West Franklin. Franklin’s correspondence piece in the week following Sowle’s offer stated bluntly: “the machine and driver combined are but tyrants, inasmuch as they are taking away the liberties of the people and should be looked upon the same way as any other class of robbers and murderers.”<sup>30</sup> Included with his stark condemnation of autoists, Butler attached an article from a Bangor publication which discussed Orrington and North Bucksport farmers purchasing revolvers to keep autoists from their lands. With such an aggressive public stance, *The Ellsworth American* editor wrote a companion piece to temper the “dangerously near to anarchistic” notion of firing on autoists.<sup>31</sup> While agreeing that Butler’s stance is “almost

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<sup>29</sup> “Local Affairs,” *The Ellsworth American*, (Ellsworth, Maine) August 16<sup>th</sup>, 1905, 1, [https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4632&context=ellsworth\\_american](https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4632&context=ellsworth_american).

<sup>30</sup> “Correspondence: The Auto Terror,” *The Ellsworth American*, (Ellsworth, Maine) August 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1905, 4, [https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4633&context=ellsworth\\_american](https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4633&context=ellsworth_american).

<sup>31</sup> “The Auto Terror,” *The Ellsworth American*, (Ellsworth, Maine) August 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1905, 4, [https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4633&context=ellsworth\\_american](https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4633&context=ellsworth_american).

justified by the incidents of reckless auto-driving,” the editor “recogniz[ed] the indisputable fact that the auto has come to stay.”<sup>32</sup>

Butler’s polarizing statements only opened the floodgates for debate in the remaining summer months. Sowle, having been publicly, though indirectly, characterized as a violent criminal, fired back the following week. He stated: “allow me to say a word for the other side of the subject...do not condemn the many for the acts of a few reckless drivers[.] As the owner of an auto, I feel I have been a benefactor to the community in getting horses acquainted with them[.] Let us be reasonable and careful and patient, and cultivate a good feeling between the auto driver and the horseman.”<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately for Sowle, the same issue of *The Ellsworth American* that carried his olive branch featured another article detailing an accident concerning his own vehicle, and the first inadvertent auto incursion into Bar Harbor, both further enflaming local opposition:

Daniel Doyle, coachman for Senator Hale, was severely injured Sunday afternoon by being thrown from a carriage at High and Spruce streets. Mr. Doyle was driving a spirited horse, which had never made the acquaintance of an automobile. Turning into High street from Spruce, the horse caught sight of B. T. Sowle’s automobile, which was standing in front of Mr. Sowle’s house, some distance away. Turning short, the horse [c]ramped the wagon, throwing Mr. Doyle out. He struck on his side on some rocks, breaking three ribs.<sup>34</sup>

While Sowle was not behind the wheel, his vehicle was still implicitly blamed for the accident. However shocking the mere presence of the stationary auto was in Ellsworth, the same week also featured the first car driving through Eden:

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<sup>32</sup> “The Auto Terror,” *The Ellsworth American*, (Ellsworth, Maine) August 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1905, 4, [https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4633&context=ellsworth\\_american](https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4633&context=ellsworth_american).

<sup>33</sup> “Correspondence: The Auto Terror,” *The Ellsworth American*, (Ellsworth, Maine) August 30<sup>th</sup>, 1905, 4, [https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4634&context=ellsworth\\_american](https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4634&context=ellsworth_american).

<sup>34</sup> “Local Affairs,” *The Ellsworth American*, (Ellsworth, Maine) August 30<sup>th</sup>, 1905, 5, [https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4634&context=ellsworth\\_american](https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4634&context=ellsworth_american).

## THE AUTO-TERROR.

On Sunday an automobile passed through the town of Eden, notwithstanding the law prohibiting the use of autos in the town. The machine was escorted by the town fathers and no damage was done. The automobile arrived on the [steamship] *James T. Morse* and was bound for Sullivan, but the accommodations on the ferry boat were not sufficient for the big touring car, and the chauffeur wanted to drive through the town on his way to Sullivan. First Selectman Bunker consented to this under certain conditions which the chauffeur agreed to. Selectman Bunker went on ahead in a carriage, followed by the auto and accompanied by quite a crowd of men and boys. Chief-of-Police Hamor occupied a seat in the auto next the chauffeur, who drove at a very slow pace, and in this manner the journey through the limits of the town of Eden was made, and no damage to man or beast was done.<sup>35</sup>

Though not the realization of Butler's fear of automotive carnage, the two incidents set the stage for public outrage and debate, further dividing the already polarized public.

The following weeks of correspondence columns were filled with charged attacks against the opposition. Jumping quickly to ridicule Sowle's inconvenient timing, Butler wrote that the pleasant afternoons of family driving in safety "is past now, and all on account of those combinations that pose as 'public benefactors.'"<sup>36</sup> In an effort to find a moderate approach, Ellsworth resident S.L. Lord wrote in to the column, proposing to divide the day into auto-less and auto-inclusive driving times.<sup>37</sup> This too angered Butler, commenting the following week that "Mr. Lord would ride his automobile because it is legal, regardless of consequences. Such men are dangerous factors in the community, and must be curbed by law," also preaching that "There are some things 'legally right, but

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<sup>35</sup> "Correspondence: From Bar Harbor. Horse Show A Success – The Auto Terror – Empty Lockers. The Auto Terror," *The Ellsworth American*, (Ellsworth, Maine) August 30<sup>th</sup>, 1905, 4, [https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4634&context=ellsworth\\_american](https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4634&context=ellsworth_american).

<sup>36</sup> "Correspondence: The Auto Terror," *The Ellsworth American*, (Ellsworth, Maine) September 6<sup>th</sup>, 1905, 4, [https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4635&context=ellsworth\\_american](https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4635&context=ellsworth_american).

<sup>37</sup> "Correspondence: The Auto Terror," *The Ellsworth American*, (Ellsworth, Maine) September 6<sup>th</sup>, 1905, 4, [https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4635&context=ellsworth\\_american](https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4635&context=ellsworth_american).



morally wrong.”<sup>38</sup> Beyond the issue of an automotive morality, R.L. Grindle wrote in to say that the beautiful vistas are “spoiled just as soon as it is known that the auto is likely to be encountered on the road, for many of our summer visitors would abandon them at once. The result would be a loss of many thousands of dollars every year.”<sup>39</sup> Pleading to ban autos on the basis of public safety, ethical conduct, and economic dependence, the argument against autos seemed an easy case for many.

Though anti-autoists appeared to have public momentum in the light of emerging safety concerns, the back-and-forth in published columns continued to rage. Remarkably, *The Ellsworth American* published a piece in early October which seemed to settle the number of entries to the column after weeks of uproar:

The country districts of Hancock county are much disturbed just at present over the advent of the “auto-terror.” After a day on the country roads of Hancock county in an auto, the writer is bound to say – and he begs the reader to believe him absolutely impartial in so saying – that as far as this day on the road indicated the auto-terror is more imaginary than real; more a disease of the man behind the horse than an epithet appropriate to the auto. ...The auto [used for the tour] was that of B. T. Sowle, about which most of the auto-terror tempest in this section centers.<sup>40</sup>

Although Sowle secured a positive story at last, the region remained a hostile environment for his hobby. The very next week, the Bar Harbor Village Improvement Association’s (VIA) response was printed, declaring that:

The summer people of Bar Harbor and other Mt. Desert resorts do not object to the proper use of automobiles in proper places... Our contention, and especially the contention of the president of the Automobile club of America, is that this island is not a proper place for them...The summer

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<sup>38</sup> “Correspondence: The Auto Terror,” *The Ellsworth American*, (Ellsworth, Maine) September 13<sup>th</sup>, 1905, 4, [https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4636&context=ellsworth\\_american](https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4636&context=ellsworth_american).

<sup>39</sup> “Correspondence: The Auto Terror,” *The Ellsworth American*, (Ellsworth, Maine) September 27<sup>th</sup>, 1905, 4, [https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4638&context=ellsworth\\_american](https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4638&context=ellsworth_american).

<sup>40</sup> “The Auto Terror: A Day With One On Hancock County Roads – Behavior of Horses Met In Fifty-Mile Run – Horses in Many Cases Less Excited Than Driver,” *The Ellsworth American*, (Ellsworth, Maine) October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1905, 5, [https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4639&context=ellsworth\\_american](https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4639&context=ellsworth_american).

people pay more than half the whole tax-levy of this town, and their expenditures here form fully half the entire income of the place. They ask that the present restriction be continued because they are convinced that “the introduction of automobiles would occasion serious direct loss to the commercial interests of Bar Harbor, and would retard its growth.”<sup>41</sup>

Blatantly explained in newsprint, the VIA acknowledged the significant sway that wealthy visitors maintained in the leisure colony. Though local opinion may have differed from the summering population, pure economic interest in keeping the cottager-class content would override enthusiasts and year-round residents, at least for the time being.

The debate was again enflamed only two years later, when an auto arrived in the resort town. In 1907, New York vacationer Fordham C. Mahoney deliberately drove his vehicle to the front door of an Eden hotel, prompting a rapid response from the police and locals. The *Bar Harbor Record* declared “Bar Harbor’s First Auto” had arrived despite the ban.<sup>42</sup> The same feelings of anti-modernism that had prompted residents to advocate for the ban were enflamed by Mahoney’s act of defiance. Immediately after the Mahoney incident, the *Record* featured articles with an easily discernable anti-modernist tone for nearly a month.

By end of August, Arthur Train’s dystopian fantasy piece “The Isle of Mount Deserted” captivated local readers. Painting a bleak picture of the resort island in the not-so-distant future of 1920, Train bluntly critiqued autos and anyone that enjoyed them. The front page story predicted an “evacuation of summer residents,” and noted “that much of the surrounding scenery has suffered in appearance owing to the extensive conflagrations occasioned by the explosion of gasoline tanks, and from the great fire of

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<sup>41</sup> “Correspondence: The Auto Terror,” *The Ellsworth American*, (Ellsworth, Maine) October 11<sup>th</sup>, 1905, 4, [https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4639&context=ellsworth\\_american](https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4639&context=ellsworth_american).

<sup>42</sup> “Bar Harbor’s First Auto” *The Bar Harbor Record*, (Bar Harbor, Maine) August 7<sup>th</sup>, 1907.

1910 which devastated the entire island and originated from the same cause[.]”<sup>43</sup> What unburned landscape Train did describe, such as Newport Mountain (now Champlain Mountain), is disfigured by billboards declaring, “You ought to auto!” and “Try our motors and die happy!”<sup>44</sup> Not lacking in dramatic and dark detail, Train wrote that while touring the desolate landscape, he remarked to a traveling companion that he could not see any children. His guide “waved his hand toward a dotted hillside. ‘There they are’ he said sadly, ‘but,’ and he brightened perceptibly, ‘the survivors are given daily lessons by the Mt. Desert Kindergarten Association, in running motors.’”<sup>45</sup> Torched scenery and mass fatalities were perhaps a wildly exaggerated prediction for the future, yet conveyed the sense of horror that many felt toward these new contraptions invading the landscape.

For a few years, the island was a relatively safe anti-modernist haven for the cottage residents. This was not to last, however, as momentum for change grew to include year-round residents and a few summering families. In February 1908, the third annual exhibition of the Automobile and Motor Boat Show drew curious guests to the Portland Auditorium. With an admission cost of .35 cents, attendees accessed over 40 exhibitors, were entertained by the Zylpha Ladies’ Orchestra, and took home an extensive program booklet containing the number plate registration, name, and town of every Maine registered auto owner.<sup>46</sup> With 2,238 entries, the program provided a unique window into the local growth of automotive adoption, as the state of Maine began

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<sup>43</sup> Arthur Train, “The Isle of Mt. Deserted,” *The Bar Harbor Record*, (Bar Harbor, Maine) August 28<sup>th</sup>, 1907, 1.

<sup>44</sup> Arthur Train, “The Isle of Mt. Deserted,” *The Bar Harbor Record*, (Bar Harbor, Maine) August 28<sup>th</sup>, 1907, 3.

<sup>45</sup> Arthur Train, “The Isle of Mt. Deserted,” *The Bar Harbor Record*, (Bar Harbor, Maine) August 28<sup>th</sup>, 1907, 3.

<sup>46</sup> “Automobile and Motor Boat Show-Third Annual Exhibition,” Portland, Maine Auditorium, February 24 to 29, 1908 (Maine Advertising Company, 1908), PAMP 2614, Raymond H. Fogler Library, University of Maine, Special Collections.

requiring number plates for vehicles beginning in 1905. Registration numbers from 1-736 were issued in 1905, numbers from 737-1385 were assigned in 1906, and 1386-2238 represent the plates from 1907.<sup>47</sup> By georeferencing the rare data from the program, a map of local ownership demonstrates the growing demand and adoption of the new technology (see Figure 24 Map 3, Appendix B). Urban centers such as Portland contained over four hundred auto owners by 1908, but even towns like Fort Kent on the far northern edge of the state registered two, Lubec on the eastern corner contained one, and Jackman, though deep in the lake and mountains region of Maine, was home to four auto owners. Motoring, though contentious, clearly was not only an issue with foreign or out-of-state enthusiasts.

Not all shared the nightmares of an auto-inclusive island. Hotel owners and politicians responded with multi-year campaigns to overturn the ban in Eden. Growing local interest in allowing autos inspired the summering population again to advocate for an entire island-wide motor ban, hoping to prevent any cars from reaching their estates. Just as the wealthy families overpowered local opposition in previous years, the ban bill drew support from prominent and powerful vacationers like John D. Rockefeller Jr., and most were united in securing the passage of the island-wide ban.<sup>48</sup> Brought to the floor on March 10, 1909, limited comments from representative Mr. Staples of Knox preceded another rule-suspended passage:

I do not like automobiles,--I will admit that. I wish that there was not one in the State of Maine, nor ever would be, because we have so much trouble with those vehicles in our country towns; but I am aware that they have come to stay. I am aware that they are recognized by the law as

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<sup>47</sup> Richard and Nancy Fraser, *A History of Maine Built Automobiles and Motorized Vehicles, 1834-1934: with a History of Maine License Plates* (East Poland: R. & N. Fraser, 2009), 438.

<sup>48</sup> "BAN ON AUTOS AT BAR HARBOR; J.D. Rockefeller, Jr., Jacob H. Schiff, and Others Sign Opposition Petition," *The New York Times*, (New York City, New York) February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1909, 2.

public conveyances. I am aware that the highways of that, and every other town, are public highways; and for that reason I do not believe that we have any constitutional right to pass any such bill... the poor men of Bar Harbor would not stand much show against the power of the millionaires who put this bill in here and who want to keep them out. Being content in my own mind that is an illegal proposition that that the Courts of this State will take care of it.<sup>49</sup>

Despite Staples' confidence that the bill would be ruled unconstitutional, the bill passed without serious challenge, and marked a significant victory for the anti-autoists on Mount Desert Island and in Maine.

Less than one month after the bill's passage, the auto laws of Bar Harbor were again challenged by a motorist. Southwest Harbor resident and businessman Simeon "Sim" Holden Mayo was a man of varied talents as he professionally:<sup>50</sup>

[S]old and repaired bicycles, motor boats, Maxwell automobiles, sold boat and automobile supplies, plumber's and gas fitter's supplies, waterworks supplies, installed and repaired engines, ran a boat wharf (later the site of Southwest Boat Corporation), was a major figure in the automobile wars that opened Mt. Desert Island to automobiles, and ran for County Commissioner on the Republican Ticket in 1932.<sup>51</sup>

With obvious interests in mechanical tinkering, it should come as no surprise that Mayo was one of the early automobile owners on Mount Desert Island. Like the infamous Mahoney incident only two years earlier, Mayo caused a scene in 1909 by driving his auto into Bar Harbor.<sup>52</sup> The front page of the *Ellsworth American* carried both a prominent advertisement for Mayo's Maxwell Automobile business, and only one

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<sup>49</sup> State of Maine, *The State of Maine Legislative Record for 1909, Senate, March 10<sup>th</sup>*, 557, [http://ldc.mainelegislature.org/Open/LegRec/74/Senate/LegRec\\_1909-03-10\\_SP\\_p0551-0562.pdf](http://ldc.mainelegislature.org/Open/LegRec/74/Senate/LegRec_1909-03-10_SP_p0551-0562.pdf),

<sup>50</sup> Ralph Warren Stanley, *The Stanleys of Cranberry Isles... and Other Colorful Characters* (Southwest Harbor: Southwest Harbor Public Library and Digital Archive, 2017), 257, <https://swhplibrary.net/digitalarchive/files/web/The%20Stanleys%20of%20Cranberry%20Isles.pdf>.

<sup>51</sup> Southwest Harbor Public Library Digital Archives, "Mayo - Simeon Holden Mayo (1867-1933) Aka Sim," *Omeka RSS*, <https://swhplibrary.net/digitalarchive/items/show/9596>.

<sup>52</sup> Southwest Harbor Public Library Digital Archives, "Simeon Holden Mayo and his 1907 Maxwell Automobile at the Florence Hotel, Bar Harbor," *Omeka RSS*, <https://swhplibrary.net/digitalarchive/items/show/620>.

column over, an account of his double arrests for operating an auto on the forbidden road of old Eagle Lake.<sup>53</sup> *Automobile Topics Illustrated*, a publication from New York, carried the story beyond the confines of local press, writing:

Got Uncle Sim Coming and Going - Another step in Bar Harbor's auto mobile war was taken on Monday when Uncle Sim Mayo of Southwest Harbor came over the forbidden roads, stopped his machine opposite the Florence [hotel], went in, ate dinner and waited [for] developments. A warrant was hastily made out and Uncle Sim was arraigned before Judge Clark. Attorney Bunker, Mayor of the town, offered extracts from the State and the town laws. Attorney Graham waived all proceedings and appealed to the Supreme Judicial Court. Dr. John T. Hinch and W. M. Sherman, leaders in the fight for the admission of automobiles, went bail for the respondent, and it was all over in five minutes. Uncle Sim got aboard his car, waved his hand to his faithful supporters and started back to his home at Southwest Harbor. The next day the officials went over to Southwest Harbor, rearrested Mayo and brought him up once more for crossing the forbidden roads with his auto when he went home. This was more than Mayo had bargained for, but he again gave bond.<sup>54</sup>

While the Mahoney incident had forced a local response to strangers entering the island by auto, Mayo's actions were those of a local resident and well-known businessman (see Figure 8). Locals were now facing automotive pressure from both willfully intrusive outsiders and their own friends and neighbors.

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<sup>53</sup> "Local Affairs: Testing Automobile Law," *The Ellsworth American*, (Ellsworth, Maine) April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1909, 1, [https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4822&context=ellsworth\\_american](https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4822&context=ellsworth_american).

<sup>54</sup> "Got Uncle Sim Coming and Going," *Automobile Topics Illustrated* Vol. XVIII, No. 1, 30 (New York, April 10, 1909), 39, <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=qeZYAAAAYAAJ&hl=en&pg=GBS.PA39>.



Figure 8-Simeon Holden Mayo's 1907 Maxwell Automobile at the Florence Hotel, Bar Harbor, presumably taken during his act of defiance. Courtesy of Southwest Harbor Public Library Digital Archives, "Simeon Holden Mayo and his 1907 Maxwell Automobile."

Acts of automotive rebellion like Mahoney and Mayo only exacerbated the divide, though momentum was gradually shifting in favor of the motorists. Rabid anti-autoists gradually calmed when prominent Bar Harbor residents like George Bucknam Dorr suggested compromise and conservation. An avid outdoor enthusiast, Dorr joined other wealthy landowners to purchase or acquire lands to set aside as "natural" space for recreation on the island from 1901 onward. While deeply motivated to save picturesque landscapes on Mount Desert Island, Dorr recognized the growing importance of mechanized transportation to the region and attempted a moderate compromise. A "syndicate of summer residents" including Dorr were actively engaged in purchasing land and setting aside funds to construct a private road from the mainland to Mount

Desert Island in 1910, therefore avoiding the ban.<sup>55</sup> In January of 1911, 355 local petitioners led by Simeon Mayo successfully lobbied the Maine Legislature to approve the access road to Mount Desert Island.<sup>56</sup> While many island roads still remained closed to machines, this new act marked the tipping point of the conflict, and the autoists were gathering speed.<sup>57</sup>

While the “Auto Wars” continued on Mount Desert Island, the rest of Maine had slowly become accustomed to seasonal and local motorists as roads were improved and guidebooks encouraged travel. The *Ideal Tour* guidebook of 1910 advised a route from New York through much of New England, which gradually included longer excursions into Maine to see locations such as Poland Spring.<sup>58</sup> By 1912, businesses and hoteliers organized to create *Maine Automobile Road Book and Pine Tree Tour* through the Maine Automobile Association (MAA).<sup>59</sup> Just over the international border, “pioneering” motorists struggled to find connected touring roads in Atlantic Canada at this time, yet the MAA already had actively promoted established and prescribed scenic motoring routes through much of Maine. The guide changed dramatically from year to year, as roadways were improved or included to draw travelers. The 1913 *Pine Tree Tour* featured a route that took motorists only as far east as Bar Harbor, but by 1914 the guide

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<sup>55</sup> “Private Automobile Road: Interesting Bar Harbor Story by Way of Boston,” *The Ellsworth American*, (Ellsworth, Maine) November 23, 1910, 1,

[https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4907&context=ellsworth\\_american](https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4907&context=ellsworth_american).

<sup>56</sup> State of Maine, *The State of Maine Legislative Record for 1911, Senate, January 25<sup>th</sup>*, 83,

[http://lldc.mainelegislature.org/Open/LegRec/\\_75/Senate/LegRec\\_1911-01-25\\_SP\\_p0083-0085.pdf](http://lldc.mainelegislature.org/Open/LegRec/_75/Senate/LegRec_1911-01-25_SP_p0083-0085.pdf)

<sup>57</sup> State of Maine, *Acts and Resolves of the Seventy-Fifth Legislature of the State of Maine, 1911* (Augusta: Kennebec Journal Print, 1911), 550, [http://lldc.mainelegislature.org/Open/Laws/1911/1911\\_PS\\_c242.pdf](http://lldc.mainelegislature.org/Open/Laws/1911/1911_PS_c242.pdf).

<sup>58</sup> Almon C. Judd, *The Ideal Tour* (New York and Chicago: Norman Pierce Co., 1910), 78.

<sup>59</sup> AAA Northern New England History, “AAA Northern New England Has Been Serving Members since 1910,” <https://www.northernnewengland.aaa.com/information/aaa-northern-new-england-history.html>.



prescribed a coastal route to destinations such as Lubec and Calais.<sup>60</sup> As the tour became an established system for automotive enthusiasts, the MAA continued improving the text throughout the war years. By 1918, the *Old Town Enterprise* noted that “this year’s road book contains many new routes... corrected and thoroughly revised to meet the conditions of the present touring season... practically everything of value to the tourist is covered from New York to Montreal, east to the Atlantic Ocean.”<sup>61</sup> Popular automotive touring and road improvements in the Northeast was reflected in tourism literature, and grew at a rate which necessitated yearly updates in publication.

Rising popularity in motor touring, greater reliability of the machines, and the gradual improvements in road conditions allowed for increased access across the state of Maine. Based on the yearly changes in guidebook literature such as *The Ideal Tour* and *The Pine Tree Tour*, a georeferenced map of recommended routes indicates a rapid expansion of the tourism environment (see Figure 24, Map 4, Appendix B). Utilizing the initial *Ideal Tour* route through southern Maine as a starting point, the 1913 and 1916 *Pine Tree Tour* maps demonstrate the spread of recommended touring options into new communities in only a matter of a few short years. While rural roads had already connected many of these communities for decades, their inclusion in published guidebooks opened new regions of the state to tourism, spreading from urban centers and resort locations outward into the rural environments. More autoists arrived in Maine each

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<sup>60</sup> Shaylor Eng. Co. Map, “Maine Automobile Road Map and Pine Tree Tour,” Osher Sheet Map Collection (Portland, ME.: Maine Automobile Association, 1913) <https://oshermaps.org/image/?id=83701&pg=1>, and Touring Information Bureau and Maine Automobile Association, *Maine Automobile Road Book and Pine Tree Tour of Maine and White Mts. Portland* (Portland: Printwell Printing Co., 1914), <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=Gi5KAAAAMAAJ&hl=en&pg=GBS.PP4>.

<sup>61</sup> “Great Works,” *Old Town Enterprise*, August 10<sup>th</sup>, 1918, 5, [http://oldtown.advantage-preservation.com/viewer/?k=tour&i=f&by=1918&bdd=1910&d=08011918-08101918&m=between&ord=k1&fn=the\\_old\\_town\\_enterprise\\_usa\\_maine\\_old\\_town\\_19180810\\_english\\_5&df=1&dt=7](http://oldtown.advantage-preservation.com/viewer/?k=tour&i=f&by=1918&bdd=1910&d=08011918-08101918&m=between&ord=k1&fn=the_old_town_enterprise_usa_maine_old_town_19180810_english_5&df=1&dt=7).

year, touring the improved and suggested roads, and arriving on the doorstep of exclusive retreats like Eden. As island businesses recognized the value in attracting these tourists, curious motorists and enterprising islanders could not be held at bay.

With pressure mounting, Eden's ban looked likely to be overturned, even with a number of wealthy cottagers still vehemently opposed to the machines. Although the economic threat of abandoning the summer colony was originally crucial to keeping autos out, few families seemed to actually follow through. New and messy integration of cars and horse-drawn traditions finally came to the streets of Bar Harbor in 1915, inspiring those like George Dorr to increase their efforts to preserve natural spaces. By 1916, cars freely roamed the roads of Mount Desert Island, and a new National Monument was created alongside, ultimately to become Acadia National Park.<sup>62</sup>

With an ever-expanding stock of promotional literature luring autos to the state, and local ordinances mostly removed, the late 1910s and early 1920s flung wide the gates, ushering in thousands of visitors each season. Accessibly priced autos, labor's changing relationship with workers concerning time and vacation, and the growth of auto touring popularity only increased the pressure on the few remaining places determined to hold back the tide of motoring visitors.<sup>63</sup> Maine's adaptation to an automotive reality brought

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<sup>62</sup> George B. Dorr was one of several summer residents of Mount Desert Island interested in preserving natural spaces on the increasingly popular and developed island. With the mounting threat of autos and private land ownership, the newly-formed Hancock County Trustees of Public Reservations organization, with Dorr at the helm of acquisitions, began soliciting land donations from primarily wealthy estate owners. Gathering five thousand acres of island landscape, Dorr began the long process of lobbying for federal protection under the Antiquities Act to create the first eastern National Monument. Sieur De Monts National Monument was created through an executive order by Woodrow Wilson in 1916, which was expanded to Lafayette National Park by Act of Congress in 1919, and finally changed its name to Acadia National Park in 1929. For more on the creation of Acadia National Park in Maine, see Ronald H Epp, *Creating Acadia National Park: The Biography of George Bucknam Dorr* (Bar Harbor: Friends of Acadia, 2016).

<sup>63</sup> While tangible and intangible barriers to automobile ownership deserve dedicated study, Henry Ford's Model T entered the market in 1908 with a price tag of over \$800, fell to \$350 only eight years later, and was eventually available for \$260 in 1925. While not the only car available, Ford's dominated much of the

the conflict to New Brunswick's doorstep, challenging another rural region's infrastructure and cultural tradition. Although Maine had begrudgingly come to the conclusion that autos were here to stay, guidebooks like the *Ideal Tour* and the *Pine Tree Tour* prescribed certain roads over others, channeling the waves of tourists. Many roads in the state remained "unimproved" for decades after enthusiasts pushed for "good roads." More than ever, those looking to tour Maine in a modern and fashionable way were told "you ought to auto!"

### **"Turn-To-The-Right": Collisions in New Brunswick's Landscape and Legislature**

Resistance to automobility was not exclusive to a resort on the coast of Maine, as motorists coming from the United States and the neighboring province of Quebec were causing additional problems for New Brunswickers. Thomas Wilby's Canadian transcontinental journey began in the Maritimes, and his account reveals the complicated mobility landscape in provinces like New Brunswick:

The touring automobile continues to rank in some quarters as one of those infernal "contraptions" imbued with the spirit of the seven devils of perversity which must be stolidly endured but cordially ignored. In one province the rule of the road is to the right, in another to the left, and there is no talk of bringing about uniformity.<sup>64</sup>

Wilby experienced Canada on the cusp of automotive adaptation, including confronting the increasingly problematic Maritime rule of the road.

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market and made ownership a possibility for millions of North Americans. Rough figures from "Model T Ford Club of America-Encyclopedia," <https://www.mtfca.com/encyclo/index.htm>. (Accessed July 28<sup>th</sup>, 2020).

<sup>64</sup> Wilby, *A Motor Tour*, XI.

On narrow twentieth century roads, drivers would stay in the middle until confronted with oncoming travelers. While Maritimers turned left when meeting oncoming traffic, Americans and interior province Canadians would turn to the right. This “mobility borderland” between left- and right-turning traffic would further complicate an already existing tourism borderland, combining a new technology with old ideas of nature and leisure. Encroaching modernity in an economically-struggling province brought out anti-American and anti-modern arguments, especially in the agricultural countryside. The battle to preserve provincial custom or acquiesce to pro-tourism advocates ultimately reshaped the Maritimes.

All of North America was united in “keeping right” when traveling the growing network of roads, except for British Columbia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia. These four provinces, with the later confederated Newfoundland and Labrador (1949), all honored the British rule of the road by turning to the left. By 1917, British Columbia had voted to switch, leaving the Maritimes alone with the old English custom.

In his “Report of Permanent Roads, 1918,” provincial road engineer B.M. Hill voiced the reality of tourism on local roads:

St. Andrews... is visited each year by a large number of tourists and summer visitors from the United States and Upper Canada. Nearly all of these people have their private cars and nearly all of them pay license fee to the New Brunswick Government. Most of these people wish to make an Automobile Tour of the Province during their stay and it is important that the road from St. Andrews to St. John should be put in first class condition so that these tourists will find no difficulty in getting to St. John where the road connects with the other Main Trunk Highway Systems of the province.... the automobile traffic on this road runs as high as 600 cars a day during some of the summer[.]<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> B.M. Hill, “Report of Permanent Roads - 1918,” in *Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of the Minister of Public Works* (Fredericton: Government of New Brunswick, 1918), 214.

Hill's report illustrates growing international travel, as well as visitors from neighboring provinces, and that the majority were now coming by private car. The transition from railway travel to the individual automobile presented new challenges for a province with underdeveloped roads and a need for economic growth.

The recipient of Hill's report was the newly elected Minister of Public Works and future Premier, Peter J. Veniot. Ultimately becoming a central figure in both advocating for road improvement and bringing the rule-of-the-road issue to the Legislature, Veniot would become "generally admired, and anointed with the sobriquet 'Good Roads Veniot'" by the mid 1920s. The concerns raised by Hill and the citizens of New Brunswick were answered by Veniot's action in 1918 to create a comprehensive highways bill.<sup>66</sup>

The growing presence of international motorists caused, at least anecdotally, collision and injury in the borderlands between left-turning regions like New Brunswick and right-turning regions like Maine. Accidents like the serious collision between a Maine auto from Houlton and a New Brunswick vehicle from Fredericton on September 19, 1917 likely stuck in the minds of border-county legislators.<sup>67</sup> Mounting public campaigns from local automobile associations applied pressure in New Brunswick to change the law in addition to infrastructural support for improvement. While tourism and automotive modernity was mostly welcomed by economically-struggling counties, not all

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<sup>66</sup> Rees, *New Brunswick's Early Roads*, 161.

<sup>67</sup> J. D. Perry from Houlton and Mr. Ebbett of the New Brunswick Telephone Exchange collided while on a steep and blind hill. Ebbett reportedly turned to the left (as was the rule of the road), yet still struck the Maine car, and was sent tumbling down the embankment roughly fifteen or twenty feet. Though the column described the unfortunate confluence of poor visibility and narrow conditions on the turn, accidents like these likely inspired local fear or characterizations of borderland accidents, as reference to public safety and prevention of accidents was raised in the legislature arguments. See "Serious Accident Two Automobiles Come Together: A Houlton, Me., Touring Car Collides with Manager Ebbett of Fredericton," *The Daily Gleaner*, (Fredericton, New Brunswick) September 19, 1917, 12.

were interested in accommodating these new visitors. The regional tensions were finally exposed in the Legislative Assembly debates of 1918.

Many members of the New Brunswick Legislature supported both the growing need for a tourism-based economy and provide for infrastructural change to attract and satisfy visitors. Spurred on by public petitions in favor of changing the rule of the road, Veniot answered these calls by bringing “an Act relating to Highways” before the Assembly. While introducing the bill, he justified his expertise to his colleagues: “He had travelled 9,800 miles in automobiles and has an experience with all kinds of roads, so he might claim to be more familiar with the roads than many hon. Members of the House.”<sup>68</sup> The 94-part bill was briefly described, highlighting the separation of roads into “trunk” and “branch” categories, taxation, a patrol system, and the growing calls to change the rule of the road. Veniot was “not wedded to a change and for that reason had decided to leave the question for the House.”<sup>69</sup>

While not wanting to decide on the matter personally, Veniot spoke before the House, saying, “in New Brunswick there were many people who favored a change from left to right, which was shown by the largely signed petition which [Veniot] had that day presented to the House.”<sup>70</sup> Not wanting to suggest that only places like St. Andrews were in favor of a switch, Veniot elaborated that he received many requests from all over the province to force “conformity with the rule in force in Quebec and Ontario and the United States. The reason given was that a large number of tourists came from the United States in automobiles and the confusion resulting from different rules had endangered

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<sup>68</sup> Robert P. Allen, *Synoptic Report of the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick for the Session of 1918* (Fredericton: Mail Printing Co., 1918), 27.

<sup>69</sup> Allen, *Synoptic Report*, 46.

<sup>70</sup> Allen, *Synoptic Report*, 46.

life.”<sup>71</sup> Having presented the case for debate, members representing counties all across New Brunswick fought for their local interests.

What followed was an extensive debate laced with national identity, political sniping, and regional lobbying. Francis Sweeny, representing Westmoreland County, came out vehemently against a change, saying “the people of the province all their lifetime had been accustomed to turn out to the left. It was the people of the province who used the roads... They did not think they should take to the woods every time they met an American tourist in a car.”<sup>72</sup> Those opposed to the change like Sweeny clearly cited a sense of Maritime identity against the onslaught of seasonal American visitors. Though a Liberal, Sweeny found unlikely allies such as Hedley Dickson, a Conservative from Kings County. Dickson declared his opposition to the change, reading a letter to the Assembly from a constituent, urging “that the change should not be made as it would inconvenience a million people for the benefit of a few from the United States.”<sup>73</sup> Members from both sides found common ground in resisting the calls to change, not wanting to bow to the customs of wealthy Americans on a motoring holiday.

Flashes of non-partisan unity were not enough to halt the debate. Sweeny clashed with several members, including the future Conservative Premier John M. Baxter from Saint John County. When Sweeny declared that “the House should not be in haste to make the change... the members were there to legislate for the people of New Brunswick,” in response, Baxter rhetorically asked “where did you get that idea?” To

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<sup>71</sup> Allen, *Synoptic Report*, 181.

<sup>72</sup> Allen, *Synoptic Report*, 47.

<sup>73</sup> Allen, *Synoptic Report*, 181.

this, Sweeny quickly quipped “not from that side of the House.”<sup>74</sup> Exchanges like these dripped with sarcasm and posturing.

Partisan banter aside, lines were most clearly drawn not by political party, but by proximity to different borders and economic interest in tourist traffic. Liberal representative Fred Magee made his opinion clear, opposing the change on account of living in Westmoreland County, apprehensive of the confusion. However, representatives such as William Sutton from Carleton County expressed the opposing view. Sutton, living near the border of Maine, knew of the need for the change and expressed that it would be in the interests of public safety to make it. Benjamin Smith, also from Carleton County, clearly understood the split between regional arguments, but also knew that Nova Scotia would not switch before New Brunswick, yet he was satisfied that Nova Scotia would follow. William Roberts of Saint John City reframed the debate by saying, “some accidents might result from the change but if the present rule is continued accidents will continue to occur. American tourists are trying to come to the Maritime provinces and obstacles should be removed from their way in order that the province might benefit from this traffic.” No matter what the House ultimately decided, New Brunswick would still possess a problematic borderland between left and right turning regions. Spatially, their existing borders with turn-to-the-right regions included over 750 kilometers with Maine and Québec. However, a change in road law would reduce their problematic border to only the 30 kilometers between New Brunswick and the more lightly populated province of Nova Scotia.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Allen, *Synoptic Report*, 47.

<sup>75</sup> Allen, *Synoptic Report*, 181.



Once members had aired their grievances, a vote of 23 to 19 in favor of the change narrowly decided that New Brunswick would be the first Maritime Province to turn to the right. This decision would place *one sentence* in the 94-part act, changing the rule of the road for the entire province. However, the change was not written to become effective upon passing of the act, but to be activated by a later Order-in-Council. This legislative “punt” effectively satisfied most opponents by building in an unbounded grace period for residents to prepare for the new rule. New Brunswick would ultimately wait for four years, finally acting when convinced that Nova Scotia would follow closely behind. Dated July 4th, 1922, a single-sentence Order-in-Council forced change in the province, bringing New Brunswick into compliance with Quebec and Maine on December 1st.<sup>76</sup> Between 1918 and 1922, *only two sentences* entirely reoriented the province, abandoning a multi-century Anglo-Maritime identity custom, and preparing for increasing waves of American and Central Canadian motorists.

Internal reasoning behind the December switch is difficult to source, as little official documentation exists. Boxes of surviving official papers in the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick yield only one handwritten note of unknown authorship, simply stating that the switch would occur on December 1st, fulfilling section 15 of the Highways Act.<sup>77</sup> During the 1918 debates, James Murray from Kings County had been resistant to immediate change of the rule; however, he suggested that “to accustom horses, as well as people to the change... it might be advisable to have it brought into

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<sup>76</sup> “Proclamation: By His Honour William Pugsley, D.C.L., LL.D., K.C., P.C., Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of New Brunswick,” *The Royal Gazette*, July 12, 1922, Vol.80, 133. Also located on “Original Minutes of The N.B. Executive Council 1921, 1922, 1923 (to be cont.),” Microfilm reel F-428, Document #210, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

<sup>77</sup> Unknown Author, Handwritten memo, ca. July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1922, Box #64 (May 18, 1922-March 7, 1923), folder “4 July 1922,” item 41, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

force during the month of January.”<sup>78</sup> It seems reasonable that the desire to create several months of buffer before summer tourism would prompt a winter switch, allowing locals to retrain their animals and practice the new custom. Citizens of New Brunswick were frequently warned about the upcoming change from early July onward, announcements and articles appearing in newspapers across the region. The *Saint John Globe* ran a small piece two days after the Order-in-Council, stating:

Drive to the right... will be the rule in New Brunswick after December first. The change... will bring this province into harmony with practically the whole North American continent. The rapid increase in automobile travel several years ago forced the conviction that this change, however long it might be delayed, was inevitable.<sup>79</sup>

The mobility of modernity brought change to New Brunswick expressed as an “inevitability.” Although New Brunswick was joining this harmony of North American mobility laws, neighboring provinces still retained the old rule, prompting fears of chaos on December 1<sup>st</sup>. To allay fears of automotive carnage on December 1<sup>st</sup>, the provincial government invested in print announcements in advance of the new law. The *Saint John Globe* published Veniot’s promise that “an extensive publicity campaign would be carried on... to prevent, if possible, accidents taking place when the change comes into effect... large road signs will be erected at various points”<sup>80</sup> (see Figure 9). Also per the *Saint John Globe*, “Drivers... posted on windshields and... rear windows, signs in large red letters reading, ‘Drive to the Right.’”<sup>81</sup> The frequent articles and advertisements of

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<sup>78</sup> Allen, *Synoptic Report*, 46.

<sup>79</sup> “Drive to the Right,” *Saint John Globe*, (Saint John, New Brunswick) July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1922, 4.

<sup>80</sup> “Will go into effect on December 1: Turn to the Right to be Rule of the Road,” *Saint John Globe*, (Saint John, New Brunswick) July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1922, 9.

<sup>81</sup> “New Law Worked Smoothly Today: No Trouble Occurred in St. John,” *Saint John Globe*, (Saint John, New Brunswick) December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1922, 11.

“Turn to the Right - Instead of the Left”<sup>82</sup> (see Figure 10) ensured daily readers were aware of the impending switch, but Assembly members in 1918 had believed that accidents would inevitably occur.



Figure 9- “Keep to the Right” road sign. Bank of Nova Scotia and White’s Drug Store, McAdam, NB, after the switch from left to right, featuring. Signpost magnification edits by Sean Cox. Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Item P46-100.

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<sup>82</sup> The *Saint John Globe* and other borderland newspapers included bold notices multiple times leading up to the switch.

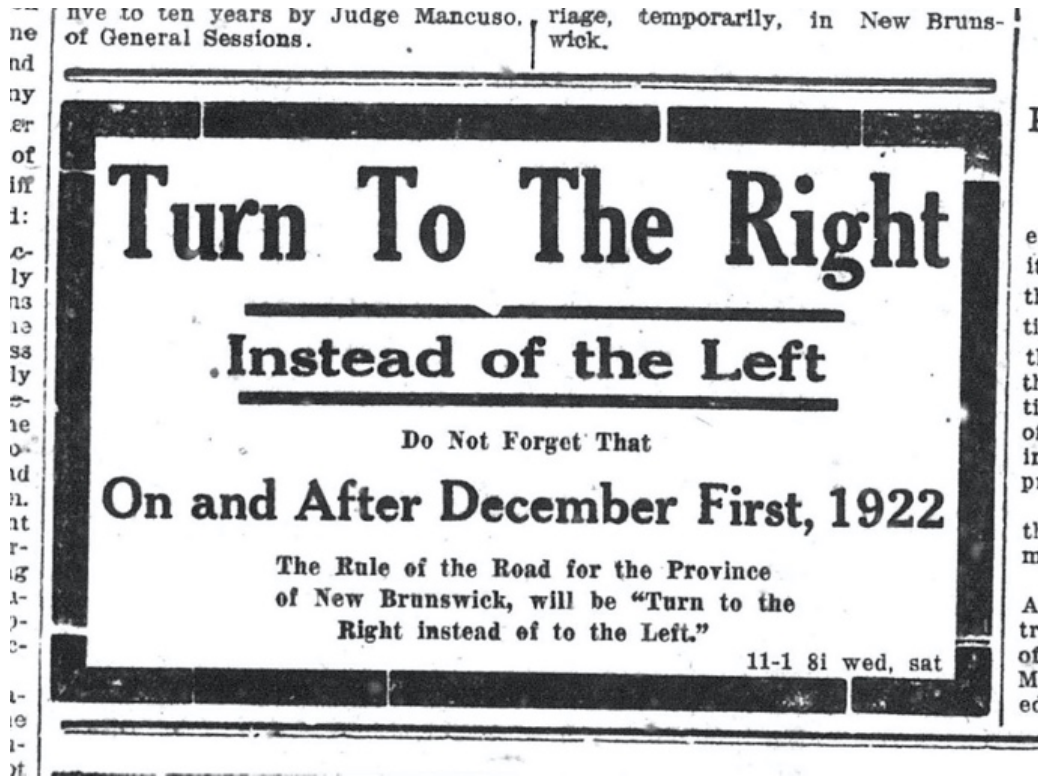


Figure 10- "Turn to the Right" notice, one of many printings in the Saint John Globe, November 29th, 1922, 4.

December 1st finally arrived, and despite the persistent warnings from Assembly members that the switch would cause chaos and confusion, Maritime newspapers such as the *Halifax Herald* and the *Saint John Globe* reported a surprisingly smooth transition. Efforts by Veniot to prepare the province seemingly made for an easy transformation, albeit in early winter with limited traffic. The predicted scenes of car-related carnage failed to appear, and New Brunswick successfully began the Maritime transition from the "Old Country" rule to an Americanized custom.

The immediate lived experience for New Brunswickers, although reportedly devoid of catastrophic collisions, still was full of practical day-to-day reorientation. Learned habit and muscle memory needed to be completely overwritten, along with

infrastructural particulars. The New Brunswick Power Company reportedly spent an “immense amount of work” converting their electric trolleys, saying “it has been necessary to remove the door operating mechanism so that the car could be used on regular service right up to the night of November 30th.” Extensive remodeling in preparation for the switch allowed for service to remain unbroken but required “a large force of men... [making] final changes after the cars are taken to the barns on Thursday night.” The *Saint John Globe* article detailing the effort included a detailed description of the changes in trolley service for residents, warning that “some delays are expected until the passengers become accustomed to the location of the car stops, and the side on which they will board the car.” To reduce confusion, white bands were painted on poles to indicate where cars will stop, hoping to make the transition smoother for commuters.<sup>83</sup>

As for residents, drivers and horses faced immediate problems adapting, as a trained habit is difficult to break all at once. The *Saint John Globe* reported: “as was anticipated, the chief difficulty has so far been with the horses... accustomed to turn to the left, [they] have not realized their age-old habits must now be changed. In fact, delivery horses which were left standing by the drivers... were seen to start off by themselves, go[ing] to the... side of the road where they had been accustomed to stand.”<sup>84</sup> The arrival of modern mobility in New Brunswick required significant change for all, even if the change was not reportedly a catastrophic one.

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<sup>83</sup> “Change in the Rule of the Road,” *Saint John Globe*, (Saint John, New Brunswick) November 30<sup>th</sup>, 1922, 2.

<sup>84</sup> “New Law Worked Smoothly Today,” *Saint John Globe*, (Saint John, New Brunswick) December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1922, 11.

G.B. Norcliffe's text on the arrival of bicycles in Canada includes extensive discussion of modernity:

In some cases controversy surrounds the changing identity of a place such that it becomes a "contested place." It was always thus, but in the pre-modern era these meanings were much more stable. Modernity, of its very nature, seeks change and the status quo is rarely allowed to stand for long; change, indeed, may become the constant.<sup>85</sup>

New Brunswick certainly became a "contested place" as the modern economy of tourism brought waves of automobiles into the unprepared landscape. Modernity, by Norcliffe's definition, changed the status quo of traditional mobility patterns in favor of a continental law. With the waves of tourists coming to the province, change in regional accommodation became a constant.

The decision to adopt a new mobility pattern was not unanimous, facing resistance from those claiming an undue burden on farmers and local infrastructure. The "contested space" of rural landscapes became recommodified as a touring destination, polarizing political opinion. Growing calls from groups like the Good Roads Association placed pressure on officials like Veniot, resulting in the extensive bill with the single-sentence determining the rule-of-the-road switch. Opinions voiced by the members in the House were largely abandoned based on proximity to problematic borderlands and expanding tourism spaces, rather than partisan political affiliation. After extensive debate spanning several sessions, a narrow majority ultimately approved the provincial change, ushering in a new era of modern mobility for New Brunswickers and those that chose to visit. Those that expressed stiff opposition to the change likely had a variety of reasons for their position: a fear of economic hardship in making a change, a desire to protect

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<sup>85</sup> G B. Norcliffe, *The Ride to Modernity: The Bicycle in Canada, 1869-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 20.

regional identity, a dislike of American or Québécois tourists, or the discomfort of accepting problematic machines in a rural space. Whatever their personal reasoning, the resistance was just one small part of an “anti-modern” sentiment, reacting to rapid change in the new century.

“Anti-modernists” of New Brunswick were forced into accepting both a new life-way pattern and a larger regional reality, embracing a noisy, smelly, and foreign motorized invader. The switch in New Brunswick began a cascade of changes in the remaining Maritime Provinces, demonstrating the forced acceptance of new tourism for the entire region. Ironically, tourism had already begun transforming the landscape of places like New Brunswick into an anti-modernist escape for adventurous urbanites. Rapid technological development of steam and gasoline engines only increased the complex relationship between individualistic exploration and “natural” landscapes. Many of these landscapes were artificially constructed in the name of fashionable tourism and local profitability.

The age of automobiling had arrived in the Northeast with a few local owners and the infrequent visitor, but had gathered momentum quickly. Technological adaptation had allowed originally European inventions to traverse the difficult landscapes of North America while gradually improving reliability. As enthusiastic owners expanded their sphere of individual mobility to beyond cityscapes, the urban-adjacent “wildernesses” of Maine and New Brunswick provided a unique challenge in tourism. Residents of these established leisure landscapes had mixed opinions on the arrival of automobiles, igniting controversy between pro- and anti-auto groups. From 1905 through the early 1920s, the

tourism borderlands of Maine and New Brunswick also became a mobility borderland, filled with pockets of resistance and enthusiasm.

Previous historical analysis of the Northeastern borderlands has largely ignored the dynamic changes in tourism and automobility in this contested landscape of mobility and leisure. Though Mount Desert Island represented an unusual battleground between autoists and anti-autoists, and New Brunswick's mobility tradition was shared by other Maritime Provinces, these two examples demonstrate the rapid and contested conversion to a new automotive reality. The economic interests of auto-tourism compelled regions like Maine and New Brunswick to make dramatic change. Mainers faced the problems of early autos in greater numbers and slightly earlier than their Maritime counterparts. Old resort colonies and rural landscapes were begrudgingly converted to allow the stinking, smoking machines to putter through their towns, and as with the damage and disturbance, money flowed into the community. In the case of New Brunswick, fashionable auto-tourism became such a compelling force that abandoning an Anglo-Maritime custom that predated New Brunswick's partition from colonial Nova Scotia made clear economic sense for many.<sup>86</sup> Arthur Jerome Eddy and Thomas Wilby's "contraptions" could no longer be "cordially ignored," and the vehicular "seven devils of perversity" ultimately ignited uniformity movements between political jurisdictions. The early decades of the twentieth century were marked not by one auto revolution, but by the countless revolutions per minute of each internal combustion engine, propelling more drivers and passengers by fuel and flame into regions like Maine and New Brunswick. The "middle landscape" of the borderlands became increasingly accessible as roads were mapped and

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<sup>86</sup> Based upon the historical analysis of mobility patterns around the globe, as discussed in Peter Kincaid, *The Rule of the Road, An International Guide to History and Practice* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 54-60.



improved for motorists. As autoing transitioned from an elite hobby to a broader cultural phenomenon, local governments would begin to assert control in marketing the region as an auto-friendly retreat. The auto age had arrived in the Northeast, and the competition to market Maine and New Brunswick as a premier destination was now a gasoline-fueled race.

**CHAPTER 4**  
**VACATIONLAND VICTORIOUS: MAINE AND NEW BRUNSWICK**  
**TRAFFICKING IN AUTO TOURISM, 1922-1939**

From the 1920s onward, auto-tourism in the Northeast transitioned from a pioneering novelty to an intensive industry. Towns and regional governments began treating motor tourism as a valuable commodity and engineering a regional identity to support the business. A 1925 map created by the Canadian Department of the Interior entitled “Motor Roads and Recreational Resources” of New Brunswick marked trunk roads with bright red lines, secondary roads in blue, and natural resources listed in red text. These natural resources ranged from “oil shale” around towns like Mapleton, “grindstones” from Burnsville, and “mixed farming” in numerous locations like Greenfield, yet “golf” appears just as prominently in red text beside places like Fredericton and Chatham.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the Maine Publicity Bureau held an end-of-year meeting with a full report in 1929, which included an observation that “Trees are worth hard cold cash to any community. A beautiful elm, a symmetrical maple or a sturdy oak is a big cash asset and has a definite sales value. Rows of them, such as found in many places in Maine, are worth thousands of dollars in attraction value.”<sup>2</sup> Nature touring had long been a part of the Northeast identity, but the interwar era was quickly becoming a golden age for tourism in the borderlands.

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<sup>1</sup> Canada Department of the Interior, “Map of New Brunswick Indicating Motor Roads and Recreational Resources 1925,” *Digital Maine*, <https://digitalmaine.com/maps/45/>.

<sup>2</sup> “State of Maine Publicity Bureau – Annual Report 1929,” *Digital Maine*, [https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1007&context=publicity\\_bureau\\_docs](https://digitalmaine.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1007&context=publicity_bureau_docs).

As the economic viability of natural resource extraction diminished for regions like Maine and New Brunswick in the early twentieth century, the growth and intrusion of automotive hobbyists into existing vacation grounds presented new opportunities for success.<sup>3</sup> Though locals often resisted autoists, legislatures ultimately accepted and promoted auto-tourism. With autos coming in greater waves each season, many northeastern landscapes and businesses were reconstructed to suit the new generation of visitor: local stores now carried fuel, downtown streets were filled with shops dedicated to automotive supplies, and roads were built or improved with touring and visual consumption of the landscape in mind. Conversion to a tourism economy was not a clear or universally welcomed development for those living in the modern “middle landscape,” yet legislatures and businesses pressed for adoption.<sup>4</sup> Through the bureaucratic centralization of tourism information to bureaus, the creation and marketing of Vacationland became an official mission statement for the entire borderland region.

### **Photographs, Phrases, and Prints: Conceptualizing Vacationland**

Locals were unlikely to welcome machines on their streets before the First World War, but the automobile’s growing popularity presented new opportunities for those willing to adapt. Thomas Wilby’s critique of sparse provincial development and auto infrastructure was certainly true in the 1910s, but the transition from blacksmith to repair shop and country store to fuel emporium had taken hold in the 1920s.<sup>5</sup> Those interested in

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<sup>3</sup> On the decreasing economic viability of natural resource extraction in Maine and New Brunswick in the early twentieth century, see Bill Parenteau, "The Woods Transformed: The Emergence of the Pulp and Paper Industry in New Brunswick, 1918-1931," *Acadiensis* 22, no. 1 (1992): 5-43 and chapters 17 and 18 within Richard W. Judd, Edwin A. Churchill, and Joel W. Eastman eds., *Maine: The Pine Tree State from Prehistory to the Present* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 2011), 391-447.

<sup>4</sup> For discussion of Leo Marx’s “middle landscape,” see Chapter One of this thesis.

<sup>5</sup> For discussion of Thomas Wilby’s trans-Canadian autoing adventure, see Chapter Two of this thesis.

learning the art of mechanical repair had seized on the bicycle craze of the 1890s and adapted to the more complicated needs of autos in the new century. Shops converted from blacksmithing and farm equipment repair could offer their creative services to travelers. Before the Ford age of mass automobile production, each auto had relatively unique parts and all the chronic symptoms of hand-built machinery. Learning to scavenge missing bolts, lift a stuck car with a fencepost, and change blown tire tubes were all necessary roadside skills for drivers, but disassembly and reconstruction of significant parts became a specialized occupation. Change in the constructed landscape was visible for photographers to document, and fortunately many images survive to tell the story of this rapid development. Archival photos depict the intrusion of autos in “quaint” space, capturing critical moments in the arrival of modernity. These photos act as a sort of wayfinding guide for the historian seeking a glimpse into what happened during this period beyond the written record.

Most visible in city centers, the businesses Wilby predicted only a few years before began to dominate the built environment. Small stores gradually became “motor fuel emporiums,” and the blacksmiths were replaced with garage mechanics, like the Station Street Garage in Saint John (see Figure 11). Likely a thriving business judging by the line of damaged or ailing machines parked outside, the young man working on the machine in the foreground has completely removed the hood for better access, while the vehicle parked behind has yet to have its front fender bent back into shape. This new generation of tinkerers supported local autoists but were equally important for tourists suffering mechanical failure or damage far from home. Difficult and complicated repairs, such as the complete disassembly of an engine (see Figure 12), required specialist work

for quality results. This garage of unknown ownership possesses at least eight spaces for simultaneous repair, with oil and fluid stains in each bay indicating a well-used business space. A modern shop equipped with benches full of tools, illuminated with electric light, and pits for easy under-vehicle repair would have required significant investment to build, but was fully equipped to repair extensive damage. The mechanic working on the nearest car is focusing on the cylinder head, while having placed each piston and connecting rod along the running board. This vehicle has clearly suffered significant failure or wear, and benefits from the well-stocked and designed garage.

Surviving photographs can reveal more than just the mechanical needs of automobility in the built environment. As many like the dystopian Mount Desert Island author Arthur Train feared, billboards and advertisements relating to autos did come to occupy much of the visible space, though primarily in urban environments, like heavily-branded buildings above this gas station on the corner of Prince Edward and Union Streets of Saint John (see Figure 13).<sup>6</sup> Clearly an Imperial Oil and Gasoline station by the numerous signs and logos, the facility offered maintenance services like a free crank-case service, air filling stations, and even an “auto laundry” car washing bay. A corner property with overwhelming advertising space represents a purposefully visible change in the urban landscape.

When autos were not in for repair or being washed at thoroughly-modern service stations, they were crossing paths with other forms of transportation on urban streets and rural roads. Images like the 1919 photo of Main Street in Saint John (see Figure 14) demonstrate the increasing confusion of modern mobility in cityscapes. Horses and autos shared the streets while dodging electric street cars and pedestrians beneath the webbing

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<sup>6</sup> For more on the fictional article of Arthur Train, see Chapter Two of this thesis.

of electrical lines, and fortunately this moment of hybrid mobility was preserved in the visual record. Notably, this represents Saint John observing the Maritime tradition of driving on the left-hand side of the road, only a few years before the switch in 1922. Similarly, less populated but urbanizing spaces like the business street of St. George (see Figure 15) depict the intermixture of horse-drawn carriages and vehicles sharing the road without much attention to keeping to one side. Though a main street in a developed space, the road remains only a dirt and gravel surface, subject to the damaging effect of automotive wheels and seasonal conditions. Radiating outward from the urban centers, dirt country roads like the one photographed (see Figure 16) would carry locals and seasonal visitors to and from the provincial capital, leaving clouds of dust in their wake. Completely obscuring the road and surrounding environments behind them, the clouds from dusty roads would motivate further surface improvements.

As life in towns changed to include new motor cars alongside horses and electric trolleys, some mobility historians have noted that:

[R]ural isolation [had] ended, for easy travel now became available to those of all incomes, reducing monotony, loneliness, and even boredom of farm work... Farmers not only used cars in many ways around the farm and went to the nearest town for business or pleasure, but joining the rest of the populace, discovered the joy of touring America. Anxious to enjoy nature without spending too much money, many people took up family camping.<sup>7</sup>

The simplicity of asserting the end of rural isolation is an attractive modernist analysis, yet it oversimplifies the complex process of automotive acceptance into rural space.

Clearly not all regions welcomed the technology or their frequently urbanite drivers, but

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<sup>7</sup> Jean-Pierre Bardou, et al., *The Automobile Revolution: The Impact of an Industry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 114-115.

many farming communities eventually experienced these broader societal changes.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, while the accessibility of automotive ownership did reach many, cars were not in every driveway overnight. This unique moment of modernity intruding into rural life and creating Vacationland spaces arrived at the same moment Canada and the United States were transitioning from rural majority populations to urban dominance.<sup>9</sup> The relationship between urban development and rural tradition became one of commodification for the purposes of picturesque escapism, exemplified by resort landscapes like Mount Desert Island or St. Andrews.

While rural isolation was far from abolished, many remote communities still experienced the revolution of modern mobility. Small towns like Shippagan were mostly insulated from hordes of motorized visitors by its relative isolation in northeastern New Brunswick. Photographed circa roughly 1920, the unpaved street through “part of the village” (see Figure 17) is empty save for a lone auto. While difficult to determine if the vehicle was a local possession or a tourist’s car, both the auto and electric poles speak to the arrival of modernity’s influence in some form. While Shippagan was dutifully documented by provincial cartographers, the northeastern region was largely overlooked by guidebook writers for decades.<sup>10</sup> Photography of locations like remote towns and

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<sup>8</sup> Mount Desert Island in Maine resisted the inclusion of autos on island roads and New Brunswick struggled to agree on switching from driving on the left-hand side of the road. See Chapter Two of this thesis for the debates.

<sup>9</sup> The U.S. Census of 1920 indicated a majority urban population of 54 million, while 51 million lived in rural environments. The Canadian Census of 1931 reveals a similar reported turning point, with 5.5 million urban residents and 4.8 million rural Canadians. For census data, see United States Census Bureau, *Historical Statistics of the United States 1789-1945, A Supplement to the Statistical Abstract of the United States* (United States Department of Commerce, 1949) and Statistics Canada, “Canada Goes Urban,” 17 May 2018, [www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2015004-eng.htm](http://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2015004-eng.htm). Historians like Ruth W. Sandwell explore the dynamics and misconceptions between urban and rural populations in Canada well into the twentieth century; see Ruth W. Sandwell, *Canada’s Rural Majority: Households, Environments, and Economies, 1870–1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

<sup>10</sup> Also written as “Shippigan” on contemporaneous tourist maps.

urban centers were used in the new generation of guiding and promotional material for tourists, but also provide a window for historical analysis of the lived experience.



Figure 11-Saint John Station St. Garage, NB, 1925. Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Item P39-39.

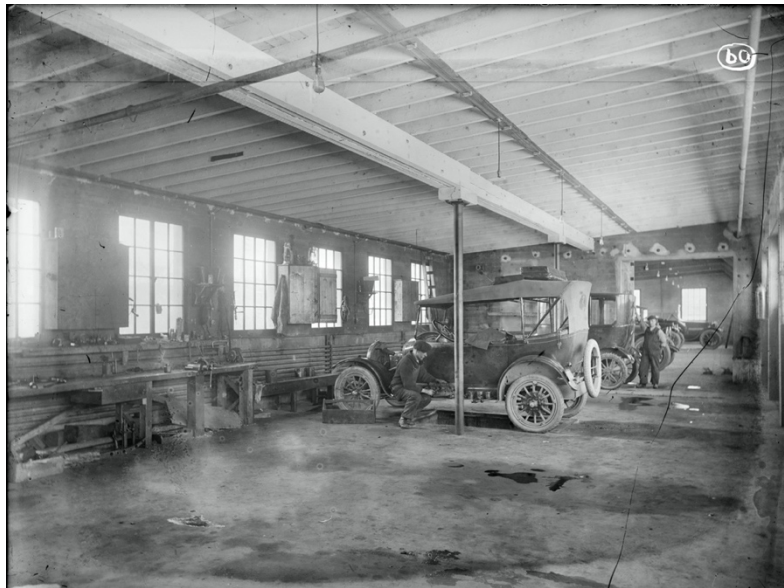


Figure 12-Men working on vehicles in garage, undated. Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Item P210-1856.





Figure 13-Imperial Oil Limited Station, corner of Prince Edward and Union Streets, Saint John, ca 1928-1936. Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Item P210-3020.



Figure 14-Main street Saint John looking east (cropped). Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Item P210-422.



Figure 15-St. George, NB. Business street (old). Businesses include the Frauley Bros. store, Grant & Morin, and C.M. Pottle, barber. Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Item 210-1194.



Figure 16-“A country road between Woodstock and Fredericton.”  
Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Item P819-44.



Figure 17 -“Part of village,” Shippagan, ca. 1920. Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Item P4-5-5.

Alongside the evolution of automotive technology, photography, printing, and publishing also changed to take full advantage of new inventions to compete in a growing market. The simple text-only or hand-illustrated guides of the late nineteenth century would transform into rich pictorial guides filled with photography and advertisements for local services. As promotional material, these guides or pamphlets were often designed as hyperbolic regional propaganda first and a practical navigational aid second, if at all. Though difficult to trace an exact origin of the term, northeastern regions like Maine and New Brunswick were increasingly described as “vacation land” or “Vacationland” in the early twentieth century advertisements or tourism literature. An early example of the phrase appeared in *The New York Times* in 1915, proclaiming “New England—The

Vacation Land.”<sup>11</sup> The advertisement (see Figure 18) was sponsored by several New England railway lines, as a twilight effort to boost leisure ridership as automobiles had gradually diminished railway popularity in fashionable touring. Similarly, the Canadian Government Railways guide *Tourists and Sportsmen’s Paradise* described New Brunswick as “A Summer Playground” and “A Land of Re-creation.”<sup>12</sup>



Figure 18- “New England, The Vacation Land” *The New York Times*, May 15th, 1915, 10.

Maine and New Brunswick’s businesses and local tourist associations were responsible for much of the road guide material produced before the 1920s, inheriting the “leisure language” from previous decades. *The Pine Tree Tour* publications produced by Maine’s Auto Association included “Maine The Nation’s Playground” embossed on the

<sup>11</sup> *The New York Times*, May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1915, 10.

<sup>12</sup> Canadian Government Railways, General Passenger Department, *New Brunswick Canada— Tourists and Sportsman’s Paradise* (1916), RS617 Pictorial Guides, Item A4a/1916, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

rear cover beginning in 1916. “Vacationland” as both phrase and concept would influence print advertisements from the late 1910s onward. Local businesses made use of the term for their own guides, such as the 1919 *Hay’s Guide to Portland*, clearly declaring “Maine—The Ideal Vacation Land” on their first page.<sup>13</sup> However, they were not alone as the New Brunswick Tourist & Resources Association printed several editions of a pamphlet simply entitled *Vacationland—New Brunswick* by 1922.<sup>14</sup> Evolving in name and budget, the New Brunswick Government Bureau of Information and Tourist Travel continued the claim by printing *New Brunswick—Canada’s Unspoiled Province -By The Sea- The Ideal Vacationland of North America* in 1933.<sup>15</sup> Both sides of the border would proclaim themselves the premier Vacationland, yet Maine legislators would ultimately bring the issue of officially adopting the controversial slogan to the state legislative floor by 1935. The evolution of publicity language demonstrates a small facet of the complicated intersection between economic interests, technological capability, and the cultural interest in leisure. Commodifying the landscapes and the cultural curiosities in them, these publications were crucial in developing the branded tourism borderlands of Maine and New Brunswick.

While branding and photography may have been enough to catch the attention of prospective travelers, the built-environment reality of driving in Maine and New Brunswick needed to match the paradisiacal language. The mobility experience in New Brunswick supported local autoists and the new waves of motoring visitors through

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<sup>13</sup> H. H. Hay Sons, *Hay’s Guide to Portland and Motoring in Maine* (Portland: 1919), 1.

<sup>14</sup> The New Brunswick Tourist & Resources Association, *Vacationland—New Brunswick* (Saint John, 1923), 1, RS617 Pictorial Guides, Item A4a/1923, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

<sup>15</sup> New Brunswick Government Bureau of Information and Tourist Travel, *New Brunswick—Canada’s Unspoiled Province -By The Sea- The Ideal Vacationland of North America* (Fredericton: 1933), RS617 Pictorial Guides, Item A4a/1933, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

“good roads” improvements, but highways needed to expand to offer new destinations and connect more regions of the province. Significantly different when compared to the New Brunswick Road Guide of 1914, the New Brunswick Automobile Association (NBAA) Road Guide of 1935 clearly demonstrates the spread of automobility and tourism into formerly distant or remote communities (see Figure 25, Map 5, Appendix B).<sup>16</sup> By georeferencing the two road guide maps, a far more extensive network of the automotive world emerges in New Brunswick, in a span of only twenty years.

Maine experienced similar expansion in road infrastructure and marketing through the interwar era, and by the mid 1930s, Vacationland was more interconnected and accessible than ever. By georeferencing two printed maps included in 1930s guide material, we can see roads that had primarily linked urban centers now carried tourism into the countryside. Touring in Vacationland had become an international experience of automobility (see Figure 26, Map 6 Appendix B). Improved surface conditions and maintenance of highways provided hundreds of miles for visitors to choose from, allowing more communities to profit from seasonal visitation. Comparing the 1935 New Brunswick *Official Road Guide* to the 1937 Federal Writers’ Project, *Maine, A Guide ‘Down East,’* significantly more unified and accessible touring experiences becomes visible.<sup>17</sup> While the featured roadways of Maine appear to more evenly crisscross the state than New Brunswick’s clustered web of community connections, motorists were

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<sup>16</sup> E. Huchison and the Provincial Department of Public Works, *New Brunswick Auto Guide* (Fredericton:1914), Item MC80/1195.1, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, and New Brunswick Automobile Association, *Official Road Guide 1935*, (Saint John: Hopkins Press Limited, 1935).

<sup>17</sup> New Brunswick Automobile Association, *Official Road Guide 1935* and The Federal Writers’ Project, Works Progress Administration of Maine, *Maine – A Guide ‘Down East’* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, The Riverside Press Cambridge, 1937).

presented with hundreds of miles of automobiling roads to choose from, each route with their own natural and developed features to tour.

Alongside the established and growing fields of photography and automotive guide literature, the often maligned and ignored set of pictorial maps, also called “animated” by some map-makers, depict a deeper cultural perception of place in an autoing world. Leaving road directions and route numbers for dedicated guides, animated maps produced from roughly the 1920s onward forged a new type of interpretive cartography. As pictorial map historical geographer Stephen Hornsby writes, “they combined map, image and text, frequently for the purposes of telling a visual story or to capture a sense of place...the best pictorial maps were characterized by bold and arresting graphic design, bright and cheerful colors, and lively detail.”<sup>18</sup> Virtually useless as navigational aids, the creations were at worst a gross oversimplification of regional character, but at best an accessible and attractive advertisement for inquisitive travelers. Hornsby further describes that these maps “also enthusiastically sold places, regions, states, industries, transportation products, and services of all kinds... Although ignored in most histories of cartography, pictorial maps were arguably the most creative and dynamic part of American cartography in the middle decades of the twentieth century.”<sup>19</sup> Pictorial maps were not explicitly designed for local consumption, but to decipher and display in external states or provinces, and the more eye-catching the map, the better possible return in the way of new visitors each season.

As a distinct subset of the tourism ephemera produced to fill a growing motorist’s demand, the separation from steam tourism is distinctly depicted in pictorial maps. The

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<sup>18</sup> Stephen J. Hornsby, *Picturing America: The Golden Age of Pictorial Maps* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 2.

<sup>19</sup> Hornsby, *Picturing America*, 4.

growth and diversity of destinations and auto routes had eclipsed the complicated web of railway connections a generation before as “the automobile promised a ‘more intimate and democratic’ experience of the landscape. At the same time, rapid improvements in offset lithography allowed mass production of cheap paper maps and images, which circulated, mainly in ephemeral publications, to shape popular images of the different states and regions of the United States.”<sup>20</sup> Appealing to a faster moving and individualizing cultural moment, the visual style of mapmaking utilized by artists such as Berta and Elmer Hader (Figure 22, Map 1, Appendix A) subjectively distilled Maine into regional vignettes, featuring major industries, iconic scenery, and opportunities for leisure. As observed: “pictorial maps of Maine typically included illustrations of moose, pines, windjammers, lighthouses, and fishermen, a popular iconography of the state that can still be found on postcard maps and restaurant placemats.”<sup>21</sup>

Not only Maine was caricaturized in stylized maps, as provinces like New Brunswick were captured in similar ways. As part of federally-funded promotional efforts in 1929, the National Resources Intelligence Service within the Canadian Department of the Interior sponsored the creation of a *Dominion of Canada Animated Atlas*. Sharing a similar caricature style with American artists, Arthur Edward Elias created unique provincial plates for publication (see Figure 23, Map 2, Appendix A). To clearly outline the purpose of the artistic atlas, federal Minister of the Interior Charles Stewart prefaced the artwork with the following declaration:

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<sup>20</sup> Stephen J. Hornsby “Mapping for Tourists,” in Stephen J. Hornsby and Richard W. Judd, eds., *Historical Atlas of Maine* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 2015), Plate 71.

<sup>21</sup> Stephen Hornsby, “Mapping for Tourists,” in Stephen J. Hornsby, Richard William Judd eds., *Historical Atlas of Maine* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 2015), Plate 71.



Canada is a country of great resources – material and inspirational. Both kinds are necessary. The bow always bent soon loses its resilience, and the man who never relaxes accomplishes less than he who intersperses his work with a due amount of recreation. In this publication there will be found, on the one hand, what the economist with a few broad strokes of his pen has to tell of the distinctive features of the natural wealth of each province, and, on the other, the viewpoint of the artist who has represented graphically some of the recreational resources and has spiced them with a touch of humor.<sup>22</sup>

Adjacent to Maine and sharing many of the same seasonal tourists, New Brunswick's artistic incarnation includes lines of red, green, and yellow autos packing the roadways, with golf clubs strapped to the top and passengers loaded in back seats. Interspersed among the county lines and towns of the province, golfers ranging from jubilant to frustrated, hunters both pursuing and being pursued by moose, and leaping fish, dominate the landscape. Oliver Master, author of the accompanying text, wrote, "no reference to New Brunswick's natural wealth could be excused for failing to mention the province's celebrated recreational attractions. New Brunswick is literally a happy hunting-ground for the sportsman, and the fame of its salmon streams and moose-hunting regions has been carried far and wide by the devotees of rod and gun."<sup>23</sup> Master's economic description of recreational value is unmistakable, and the message of Elias's image is equally clear. Without scale of distance, legend of icons, or quantifiable information of any kind, the atlas is well summarized by the caption "The Artist suggests good sport." The visually commodified landscapes of places like Maine and New Brunswick were now paper caricatures to be consumed as well, hopefully inspiring future visitation.

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<sup>22</sup> Natural Resources Intelligence Branch of Canada, *Dominion of Canada Animated Atlas* (Canada Department of the Interior, Natural Resources Intelligence Service, 1926), preface, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/osu.32435016386682>.

<sup>23</sup> Natural Resources Intelligence Branch of Canada, *Dominion of Canada*, Plate III.

Through the photographer's lens, natural environment and intrusion of automotive modernity was captured for guide material, promoting the infrastructure and navigability of regions like New Brunswick. Complementing the increasingly visual pamphlets, the inherited leisure language of tourism promotion facilitated further commodification and branding. The regional identity that these publications promoted directly influenced the creation of non-navigational caricature maps. Throughout the interwar period, the concept of Vacationland had been visually captured, ideologically branded, and imaginatively redrawn to entice lines of autos into traveling the Northeast borderlands.

### **Commercialized Wayfinding: Navigating the Commodified Vacationland**

“Vacation fever,” as described by John Bachelder in his 1875 publication *Popular resorts, and how to reach them*, had taken hold of the North American population by the early twentieth century.<sup>24</sup> To capitalize on the cultural momentum, auto enthusiasts and business owners of Maine and New Brunswick created marketing strategies to become continentally recognized as a Vacationland, especially for motorists. United by the economic need for tourism dollars, both sides of the international border depended on the strength of this leisure language and advertising to persuade travelers to tour the Northeast.

Founded by East Coast businessman Charles Howard Gillette in 1901, *Automobile Blue Books* were increasingly popular throughout the 1910s and 1920s. Blue Book guides became an industry standard, giving North Americans a reliable and condensed version of road touring, broken into regions, and providing detailed

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<sup>24</sup> For discussion on Bachelder's guides, see Chapter One of this thesis.

descriptions of routes. As one of several competing publishing efforts to fill the growing need for directional automotive wayfinding, “Blue Book volumes were intended to be a single source of information for automobile tourists, an authoritative guide on which travelers could reliably depend throughout their entire journey.”<sup>25</sup> Originally focused on eastern metropolitan regions, guides like Gillette’s were “promot[ing] touring by establishing routes that connected automobile ‘supply stations.’”<sup>26</sup> But as roads improved and more towns lobbied for tourism dollars, the guides quickly expanded to fill yearly volumes separated into regions.

The original mission of the Blue Book series was to connect service stations, as they were few and far between. By the late 1920s and early 1930s, the mission returned with “gas maps.” Gasoline corporations had expanded rapidly to dominant entire geographical regions, and in the Northeast, the Standard Oil branch Socony (Standard Oil Company of New York) exercised significant power. The corporate kingdom of “Soconyland,” as one Maine resident described it, competed with similar major companies for every tourist dollar that could be made at the pumps.<sup>27</sup> However, new publications sponsored by the major gasoline producers guided autoists with cheaply produced and mass-distributed gas maps, featuring all sponsored stations along their touring route. A major competitor for the Socony regime, Shell produced “In-an’-Out” maps for popular touring regions like Maine and the Maritimes (see Figure 19). A 1935 edition of this guide boldly marketed the helpful maps with the phrase “Tour With

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<sup>25</sup> John T. Bauer, “The Official Automobile Blue Book, 1901–1929: Precursor to the American Road Map,” *Cartographic Perspectives*, No. 62 (Winter 2009): 6.

<sup>26</sup> Bauer, “The Official Automobile Blue Book,” 11.

<sup>27</sup> Clearly displeased, resident of Maine Richard Hale drafted his concerns about Maine becoming simply a “Vacationland” into a letter which was read on the floor of the Maine Legislature, as part of the debate on adopting a state slogan. See *Legislative Record of the Eighty-Eighth Legislature of the State of Maine* (Augusta: Kenebec Journal Company, 1937), 378.

Confidence,” directed drivers to “ask for In-an’-Out Maps at Shell Service Stations in those Towns Marked In Index By Red Stars,” and advised “when entering another state obtain map of that state from a Shell Service Station or Dealer.” Although independent route determination was ultimately up to the driver, gas maps cleverly guided visitors



Figure 19-1935 Shell Gas Map, “Maine and the Maritime Provinces.”  
Private collection, Sean Cox.

along specific roads and provided mileage markers between towns with a Shell station. As a direct descendent of corporate railway guides from the late nineteenth century, prescribing a route could bias readers and benefit a singular company over smaller stations. Efforts like Socony and Shell gas maps interlinked states and provinces, further creating regional vacationlands like Maine and New Brunswick into one large autoist playground.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> For more on the significance of commercially-curated navigational tools in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, see James R. Akerman’s extensive works of historical geography, such as James R. Akerman “American promotional road mapping in the twentieth century.” *Cartography and Geographic Information Science* 29, no. 3 (2002), Akerman, “Blazing a well-worn path: cartographic commercialism, highway promotion, and automobile tourism in the United States, 1880-1930,” *Cartographica* 30, no. 1 (1993): 10-20, and Akerman, ed. *Cartographies of Travel and Navigation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), Accessed August 7, 2020. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Vying for readership and attention, marketing efforts commodified both landscapes and the people living within the “picturesque,” while fulfilling navigational needs. Descended from late nineteenth century New Brunswick hunting and guide literature, Indigenous goods, services, and imagery became even more prominent in provincial promotional literature of the twentieth century.<sup>29</sup> By 1915, *The Tourist’s Maritime Provinces* commercial publication featured the popularity of sport hunting while inserting “history” and commentary on the visibility of Indigenous communities:

Balmy hours slip by amid the long grasses or the range light point. Across the water a cargo schooner flying Norway’s flag glides to port along the Gaspé shore. Indian nomads [s]plash by at your feet, canoes heaped with rods, buckets and knotted bundles. The women’s bronze faces gleam where the sun strikes cheek-bone and forehead. The men wear broad hats, but their squaws’ black hair is bared to the ruffling wind. They paddle silently, ignoring the white man’s salutation.<sup>30</sup>

Romanticized and nostalgic characterization of wilderness in an industrial age was personified by the fictional “noble savage” narrative and imagery of the Northeast woodlands, though interactions between tourists and Wabanaki were likely far more complicated. Employment of Mi’kmaw guides or purchasing handmade goods continued as an economic institution until local organizations found convenient methods to further remove communities from valuable and visible property.

Wabanaki encampments alongside the resort properties in Bar Harbor had been treated as a cultural attraction for decades, advertised as “perfectly safe for anyone to visit” in the late nineteenth century.<sup>31</sup> Through sporting guide services and selling

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<sup>29</sup> For discussion on nineteenth century Indigenous community connections to tourism, see Chapter One of this thesis.

<sup>30</sup> Ruth Kedzie Wood, *The Tourist's Maritime Provinces* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1915), 282.

<sup>31</sup> Harold E.L. Prins and Bunny McBride, *Asticou's Island Domain: Wabanaki Peoples at Mount Desert Island 1500-2000*, vol.1, (Boston: Northeast Region Ethnography Program, National Park Service, 2007), 292.

handmade goods, the Wabanaki communities maintained an economic foothold on the island, despite multiple legal removals and reestablishments due to the Bar Harbor Village Improvement Association. Advancing development along the shoreline of the resort ultimately resulted in a compelled relocation of the encampment from the seaside to the southern end of Bar Harbor, effectively strangling the economic viability of the establishment. Local tourism had profited from the persistent visibility of Wabanaki communities through much of the late nineteenth century, but racialized local politics under the guise of improving sanitary conditions whitewashed the waterfront. The concept of Indigeneity on the landscape was an attractive metaphor for nature and wilderness in guide material, while lived experience for Wabanaki communities in Vacationland was vastly different than the glamourized or nostalgic portrayals.<sup>32</sup>

The New Brunswick Tourist Association (NBTA) produced promotional material, gradually taking guiding authority out of the hands of individual travel writers and smaller enthusiast groups. Though still a private organization, control of advertisement gradually became more centralized through the twentieth century. In this capacity as an increasingly trusted authority, the organization continued the tradition of stereotyping and caricaturizing Maliseet communities as attractively nostalgic features. A 1925 NBTA pamphlet *Fredericton – The Celestial City* contains short segments of text frequently interrupted by photos or advertising, designed to bring tourists and their pocketbooks to the region. The brief nature of the publication distilled regional history and development, largely ignoring Indigenous presence, save for the splashy cover (see Figure 20) and a short ad for Indigenous goods:

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<sup>32</sup> McBride and Prins, *Indians in Eden: Wabanakis and Rusticators on Maine's Mt. Desert Island* (Camden: Down East Books, 2009), 160-171.

SOUVENIRS THAT ARE USEFUL  
Indian Moccasin Slippers  
MADE OF SOFT PLIABLE LEATHERS,  
BEADED VAMPS AND FUR TRIMMING  
Buy them for your Friends at Home <sup>33</sup>

As previous tourism texts indicated, Mi'kmaw or Maliseet goods were part of the regional character for visitors to purchase. Marketing moccasins indicates the continued visibility of Mi'kmaw or Maliseet commodification for predominantly European-American tourists. Printed materials like this brochure became a necessity for destinations to produce, and any feature or cultural image were viable targets for advertising material, regardless of racialized depictions that perpetuated diminishment or “noble savage” narratives. The fictional portrayal of Indigenous decline likely persuaded visitors that an opportunity to interact with Wabanaki communities was too rare to ignore, though visitor expectations of “Indian” culture was vastly misinformed by promotional “histories.”



Figure 20- Fredericton “The Celestial City” tourism publication, ca 1925. Courtesy of the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Item M2015.70 Fredericton The Celestial City MC3912 MS10.

Commercially-created information on tourism had been a long-standing business model for many in the Northeast, as tourists sought to gather logistical and advantageous information in a print-media age. The guidebook market evolved to fill automotive needs

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<sup>33</sup> New Brunswick Tourism Association, "Fredericton - The Celestial City," 18, Item M2015.70 Fredericton The Celestial City MC3912 MS1, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

in addition to landscape and activity descriptions, while continuing to commodify environment and local populations. Additionally, as the curious hobby of automobiling had transitioned to a cultural standard of mobility, the gasoline infrastructure had vested interests in mapping their presence onto the landscape through “gas maps.” With the popularity of auto touring on the rise, governmental interest in amplifying the marketing of tourism emerged and would expand in the 1930s.

### **Official Tourism Identities: Governmental Adoption of Vacationland**

Authoritative tourism information, previously generated and distributed by private publishing companies or motivated enthusiast groups, transitioned to government hands in the 1920s and 1930s. With the advent and integration of automotive tourism into the regional economies of Maine and New Brunswick, these valuable and lucrative information businesses were gradually centralized by both local and regional governments. For decades, the Maine Automobile Association and New Brunswick Automobile Association compiled and produced guides for drivers. However, as the roads became more established, improved, and regularly traveled, local governments and national-scale publishing groups took more interest in producing promotional literature to attract the waves of autoists.

By the mid-1920s, the Maine Legislature recognized the growing need for centralized tourism information, distribution, and economic accounting of tourism income. Through a resolution creating the Maine Development Commission (MDC), legislators appropriated yearly budgets of \$50,000 for two purposes: “compilation, publication, dissemination and advertising of data relative to the state, and the general administration of the purposes of this act,” and importantly for “newspaper and magazine



advertising in conjunction with the moneys raised by cities and towns.”<sup>34</sup> Armed with a broad directive and state support, the MDC’s unpaid members advised and directed the creation of dozens of publications to highlight recreational and economic facets of the state. After initial success, the commission was renewed with an improved budget of \$75,000, and reported that in 1929, the commission released 236,000 copies of promotional literature, with an increase to 369,000 copies in 1930.<sup>35</sup> Printed material was in addition to publishing content in newspapers and magazines in Maine and abroad, resulting in 72,696 column inches, the equivalent of 1.14 miles of promotional newsprint in two years alone.<sup>36</sup> One of these publications, *Seeing Maine by Motor*, offered readers numerous interest-selective routes: The Grand Tour Through Maine, Maine Coastal Tour, Maine Lakes Tour, Belgrade and Rangeley Lakes Tour, Eastern and Northern Maine Tour, Maine and New Hampshire Mountains Tour, Maine and Quebec Tour, Maine, New Brunswick and Eastern Quebec Tour, and the Southwestern Maine Tour. Through state-level investment and publication, regions like Maine competed heavily in the wayfinding market, further commodifying the region as a motor-tourist’s playground.

There was also growing recognition for tourism promotion in New Brunswick during the interwar period. On a federal level, New Brunswick broadly benefitted from Canadian initiatives such as the Motion Picture Bureau, Canadian Travel Bureau, and Canadian Association of Tourist and Publicity Bureaus. Using film and print advertising to target U.S. populations, government officials increasingly supported the effort to “sell Canada” and encourage a national identity for scenic tourism. Historian Dominique

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<sup>34</sup> *Maine Development Commission Report*, January 1, 1931, 3, Item E 17.1.930, Raymond H. Fogler Library, University of Maine, Special Collections.

<sup>35</sup> *Maine Development Commission Report*, 7.

<sup>36</sup> *Maine Development Commission Report*, 10.

Brégent-Heald's article "Vacationland: Film, Tourism, and Selling Canada, 1934-1948" clearly demonstrates the national efforts to make these marketing schemes a perceived reality, though New Brunswick did not receive a majority of their attentions and was less successful than Maine in maintaining high-profile campaigns.<sup>37</sup> Through provincial departments such as the New Brunswick Government Bureau of Information and Tourist Travel, publications like "New Brunswick, Canada's Unspoiled Province" continued the tradition of marketing New Brunswick as an outdoorsman's retreat and anti-modernist escape. Geographically positioning the province as "the most easily and quickly reached natural playground for the vacationists of New England...[and] the most convenient seaside for those from Central Canada," the navigability of roads, size of hunting grounds, and "freedom from commercial exploitation of its natural resources," all painted a government-sanctioned portrait of the province.<sup>38</sup> Glossing over the long history of exploitation of natural resources like lumber in New Brunswick, government-funded marketing bureaus worked to recreate the provincial image as one of pristine wilderness and leisure opportunity accessible by auto.<sup>39</sup>

The developing golden age of auto-touring in Vacationland was significantly threatened by the rapid economic collapse which would become the Great Depression. The financial damage to middle and upper-class touring populations seemed unlikely to recover quickly, destabilizing the already economically marginalized regions of Maine and New Brunswick. Although the analysis of Depression-Era Maine by historians like

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<sup>37</sup> Dominique Brégent-Heald, "Vacationland: Film, Tourism, And Selling Canada, 1934-1948," *Canadian Journal of Film Studies* 21, no. 2 (Fall 2012): 27-48.

<sup>38</sup> New Brunswick Government Bureau of Information and Tourist Travel, "New Brunswick, Canada's Unspoiled Province" (Fredericton: 1930), 1.

<sup>39</sup> For a more detailed history on the progression of forestry in New Brunswick, see Bill Parenteau, "Looking Backward, Looking Ahead: History and Future of the New Brunswick Forest Industries." *Acadiensis* 42, no. 2 (2013): 92-113.

Richard R. Wescott paint a bleak picture of elite summer-home resort collapse in the region,<sup>40</sup> automobility and auto-tourism continued, and even expanded occasionally. While a full recovery and rebirth of tourism would not occur in Vacationland until after the Second World War, modern motoring vacations continued to support the weakened economies of Maine and New Brunswick. According to an article in the U.S. Department of Commerce Report in 1930, “The volume of tourist travel between Canada and the United States reached record proportions in 1930, notwithstanding the unfavorable economic position in both countries.”<sup>41</sup> Auto tourism remained a source for economic optimism in Vacationland. Notably, the Canadian provinces that experienced the most significant change were in the Maritimes. Compared to the recorded statistics from 1929, the Maritime Provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island) experienced 243,375 twenty-four-hour period passes for tourism, an increase of 53% from the previous year, and 37,876 sixty-day period passes, an increase of 48% from 1929.<sup>42</sup> The regional dynamic was enough of an outlier that the article noted:

The pronounced growth in Maritime Province entries is an especially interesting feature... indicating the natural extension of the tourist movement east ward. While some cars touring this section undoubtedly entered at other Canadian points, the returns bear out local reports of a record influx of United States visitors last year in all three of the Atlantic Provinces—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island... It has also been established that the number of Canadian automobiles leaving Canada [nation-wide] for the purpose of touring in the United States rose materially during the year to 746,900, as compared with 619,000 in 1929, an increase of 127,000, that is credited very largely to Ontario and British Columbia points, which account for more than 60 per cent of the traffic.

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<sup>40</sup> Richard R. Wescott, “An Age of Adjustment - ‘Tourism in Maine,’” in *Maine: The Pine Tree State from Prehistory to the Present*, ed. Richard William Judd, et al (Orono: University of Maine Press, 2011), 431–438.

<sup>41</sup> United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, *Commerce Reports, A Weekly Survey of Foreign Trade*, vol. 2, issue 19 (Washington D.C., 1931), 373.

<sup>42</sup> United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, *Commerce Reports*, 376.

Comparatively large declines are reported for the year for the Maritime Provinces, Quebec, and Saskatchewan.<sup>43</sup>

Shortly after the market crash of 1929, American tourists were increasingly flocking to the Maritimes, at least in the early years of the Great Depression, while many New Brunswickers appear to have stayed home. As the neighboring region, it is reasonable to assume Maine experienced similar surges in visitation as U.S. tourists were most likely to travel and tour through Maine while on the way to New Brunswick.

The Great Depression challenged the carefully crafted and government-funded marketing schemes of both Maine and New Brunswick. However, Maine fared slightly better than New Brunswick as U.S. federal programs granted aid to the struggling state in ways not paralleled in the Maritimes. While New Brunswick continued to promote tourism during the Great Depression, Maine was able to out-invest and out-promote the province. Economic disparities that had existed between Canadian provinces were only exacerbated by the economic crisis, and New Brunswick would effectively remain mired in economic depression until the Second World War. Indeed, a federal requirement for provinces and municipalities to match grants equally hampered efforts to provide aid to economically-marginalized parts of Canada, such as New Brunswick.<sup>44</sup> Maine, however, was able to access slightly more economic support through programs like the Works Progress Administration and continue to promote tourism while securing funding and jobs, including the controversial marketing of Vacationland on residential plates.

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<sup>43</sup> United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, *Commerce Reports*, 376.

<sup>44</sup> E.R. Forbes, "Cutting the Pie into Smaller Pieces: Matching Grants and Relief in the Maritime Provinces during the 1930s," *Acadiensis* XVII, no. 1 (Autumn 1987): 34-55 and Forbes, "Consolidating Disparity: The Maritimes and the Industrialization of Canada during the Second World War," in *Challenging the Regional Stereotype: Essays on the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Maritimes* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1989), 172-199.

To relieve the despair of the Great Depression, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration instituted the Works Progress Administration (WPA) to fund federal employment for the masses of desperate citizens. One such project created from the WPA initiative was a state-by-state guide series. Prefacing each text, a mission statement declared the work was "designed primarily to give useful employment to needy writers and research workers, this project has gradually developed the ambitious objective of utilizing the talent among the unemployed writers to create and present a comprehensive portrait of America."<sup>45</sup> With nearly 30 years of automotive tourism as a major economic feature of the state, *Maine – A Guide 'Downeast'* featured many of the established scenic highlights. In addition to the now familiar road-guide style of direction, historical content and photographs accompanied the routes, compiled by Maine writers. In a section appropriately entitled "Vacationland," a series of photos were prefaced with the statement, "these too, are speaking pictures. They show some of Maine's advantages in the long-enjoyed but only recently discovered recreational resources of which resident and visitor alike are taking greater advantage every year. There is no season of the year in Maine which does not offer some exciting and vigorous sport; there is no time when the Maine landscape does not present some new and striking scene."<sup>46</sup> Vaguely characterizing Maine's resources as "recently discovered" stretches the truth in light of nearly a century of touring, yet through the automobile a "rediscovery" and expansion of recreation more accurately captures the shift.

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<sup>45</sup> The Federal Writers' Project, Works Progress Administration of Maine, *Maine – A Guide 'Down East,'* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, The Riverside Press Cambridge, 1937), Preface.

<sup>46</sup> The Federal Writers' Project, *Maine – A Guide 'Down East,'* 422-423, photograph preface.

Alongside federal efforts to restore jobs, Maine invested heavily into the touring and promotional efforts of the MDC. Benefitting from years of pre-Depression publicity, advancing technology, and social conditions, the commission reported:

Maine's recreational business which now represents nearly a hundred million dollars in annual income to the state receiv[ing] its largest impetus in 1925, when a far-sighted Legislature set up the Maine Development Commission as a state department charged with its promotion. The legislative leaders of that period foresaw the increasing travel trend in America, caused by improvements in automobiles and highways; shorter working hours for all and earlier retirement ages[.]<sup>47</sup>

Though efforts in the late 1920s made a significant economic difference for the state, the investment of dwindling budgetary power into publicity was a bold move in the height of national economic crisis.

The late 1930s represents for many regions a history of decline and economic struggle until rejuvenated by the wartime economies in the 1940s. New Brunswick was already economically unstable at the time of the market crash despite the growing tourism economy and was not able to compete in marketing as effectively. Maine's tourism economy was able to mitigate some effects of the Great Depression and expanded rapidly due to the continued publicity investments. The MDC report of 1940 wrote:

[T]o make travel-minded America 'Maine conscious' was the first task undertaken... Conclusive evidence of the success of this endeavor is shown by the simple statement that Maine's recreational business increased \$15,000,000 in the past seven years during the country's greatest depression and is now Maine's single greatest industry. While national automobile travel took a tremendous drop, travel in Maine showed a marked increase.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *Report of Maine Development Commission 1940*, February 1, 1941, 3, Item E 17.1.940, Raymond H. Fogler Library, University of Maine, Special Collections.

<sup>48</sup> *Report of Maine Development Commission 1940*, 3.

The marketing of Maine as Vacationland had not only survived the economic disaster but had become an even greater engine of statewide income in the process.

Commodification of Maine as a tourism destination continued to escalate through the mid-1930s, however not all Mainers were pleased by new marketing strategies. By 1935, the Maine State Legislature debated a contentious bill to stamp “Vacationland” on Maine license plates, enraging many locals. Senator Fernald from Waldo rose to speak to his fellow legislators, hoping that “...they may see this thing in the same humorous light that I see it... I am wondering how some of the members of this Senate will react when they... have these distinctive number plates bearing the words, ‘Maine Council; Vacationland.’”<sup>49</sup> To spark a resistance movement in the chamber, several members objected to local Maine livelihoods being forcibly labeled with Vacationland for the world to see. Proponents like Mr. Schnurle of Cumberland countered the argument by stating, “Maine is spending a considerable amount of money in advertising and have tried to make the people of this country conscious of the fact that the State of Maine is Vacationland... the word ‘Maine’ of course is still there because we want the two words to be synonymous.”<sup>50</sup> Without substantial support, Fernald’s attempt to kill the bill failed, and was sent on to the Committee of Maine Publicity by March 20<sup>th</sup> of 1935.<sup>51</sup> After weeks of committee work, Fernald attempted a second time to permanently postpone the act, with Schnurle again sparring with the Senator saying “I will not take the time of the Senate to go into this matter again... I have here a draft of the license plate exactly as it will look... I think it makes a very fine looking plate and it does not detract at all from

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<sup>49</sup> State of Maine, *Legislative Record of the Eighty-Seventh Legislature of the State of Maine* (Augusta, ME: Kenebec Journal Company, 1935), 414.

<sup>50</sup> State of Maine, *Legislative Record of the Eighty-Seventh Legislature*, 415.

<sup>51</sup> State of Maine, *Legislative Record of the Eighty-Seventh Legislature*, 484.

the looks[.]”<sup>52</sup> Again, lacking necessary votes, Fernald and sympathetic Senators were overruled as the bill was passed. With acceptance of the legislation, all 1936 plates would from then on carry the word that tourism-minded Mainers similarly hoped would become synonymous with their home state businesses (see Figure 21).



Figure 21-Maine’s 1936 plate featuring the controversial slogan. Private collection, Sean Cox.

After the first generation of Vacationland plates had been affixed to Maine bumpers, local resentment for the new plates reached a boiling point in 1937. Miss Martin, representative of Penobscot, stood to read letters from angry constituents, first from Robert Hale, declaring: “Maine is Maine no longer. By the beneficent action of the Eighty-Seventh Legislature, Maine became on July 6, 1935 Vacationland.”<sup>53</sup> Years of automotive adaptation and tourism growth had benefitted many in Maine, but displeasure over subservience to a new regional economic model rankled Hale. Commenting on creeping automotive realities, Hale admits that “we had permitted a large private corporation to annex [Maine] with other territory to compose Soconyland [Standard Oil

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<sup>52</sup> State of Maine, *Legislative Record of the Eighty-Seventh Legislature*, 831.

<sup>53</sup> State of Maine, *Legislative Record of the Eighty-Eighth Legislature of the State of Maine* (Augusta, ME: Kenebec Journal Company, 1937), 378.



Company of New York],” but had never thought to rename or rebrand the state.<sup>54</sup>

However much gasoline company “annexation” had bothered locals, Hale clearly drew a line between the state marketing Maine as a tourism destination and being forced to display an advertisement himself:

Why, oh why, must we in Maine abase ourselves for our summer visitors? Let them come by all means. But there is no reason why we should give up our birthright to them. Maine should be our state and not theirs. There are places in Europe which exist only for being picturesque. Their inhabitants expect to make a living by being photographed in quaint costumes. These places are fake places. They are all atmosphere and no vitality. Is Maine to emulate their example? I hope not.<sup>55</sup>

Filled with dramatic resentment, Hale wrote passionately about the injustice of Mainers being associated with the phrase. Declaring that the roughly 150,000 Maine plates now in existence<sup>56</sup> debase the value of residents and their labor, Hale continued:

I don’t believe that Maine is Vacationland today to Mr. Booth Tarkington at Kennebunkport though he is not Maine born. I am sure Maine is not Vacationland to Bob Coffin who laments his lost paradise in Brunswick, or to Mary Ellen Chase who lauds the godly heritage of Blue Hill. And I know Maine is not Vacationland to me. It is the place where I was born, where I earn my daily bread, where I know my neighbors, and where my forbears were born, tilled the soil, worshipped God, and were scalped by the Indians... I will warrant that I saw my Chevrolet blush when I screwed on her 1936 license plates. Next Winter I am going to drive her to Augusta and ask if I can’t trade in Vacationland and get back Maine.<sup>57</sup>

Hale’s written aversion to tourism marketing and his hatred of the legislative imposition, in addition to ethnocentric notions of regional ownership and entitlement, was a culmination of many local frustrations. Watching outsiders invade and claim their home

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<sup>54</sup> State of Maine, *Legislative Record of the Eighty-Eighth Legislature*, 378.

<sup>55</sup> State of Maine, *Legislative Record of the Eighty-Eighth Legislature*, 379.

<sup>56</sup> State of Maine, *Legislative Record of the Eighty-Eighth Legislature*, 378.

<sup>57</sup> State of Maine, *Legislative Record of the Eighty-Eighth Legislature*, 379.

state as a seasonal paradise had long been a point of contention, but being legally obligated to promote Vacationland was one step too far for many.<sup>58</sup>

Citing a feeling for common Mainers' distaste for the move, Senator Martin continued her readings with a sympathetic letter from G.M. Hatch of Farmington: "[I] hope you will persevere in your crusade against Vacationland number plates. I consider it an imposition on any car owner to compel him to pay for advertising Maine as a summer resort. I object on principal. Maine is no Vacationland for the farmers who work 12 to 14 hours per day..."<sup>59</sup> Similarly, Reverend Warren E. Mesler of Morill wrote, "not only are the words ridiculous, but they are a positive disgrace to the fair name of our state. They have made us a laughingstock from Maine to New Jersey. Every year I go from here to New Jersey and I have never felt so foolish and ashamed since those words have appeared."<sup>60</sup> Finally ending with Belle Smallidge Knowles of Northeast Harbor, Senator Martin read aloud:

[W]hat red blooded man or woman, who would like to have Maine take its place in the world of affairs, would feel like having such a word plastered on his private property?... Mount Desert is a summer resort, primarily, where there are cars from everywhere in summer, but few carry that plate except those who are working or should be working for their living. To visitors it doubtless appears silly: to young people of our communities it tends to make for idleness, and a desire for a vacation.<sup>61</sup>

Armed with the discontent of vocal constituents, Martin pressed her colleagues to repeal and reject the use of the plates. Personal embarrassment, moral objection, sympathy for hardworking locals, and a fear for the work ethic of a new

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<sup>58</sup> While Maine beat numerous states in officially claiming Vacationland as a regional slogan, sentiments expressed in the debate are very similar to neighboring locations like Vermont. See Blake A. Harrison, *The View from Vermont: Tourism and the Making of an American Rural Landscape*, (Hanover and Burlington: University of Vermont Press, 2006).

<sup>59</sup> State of Maine, *Legislative Record of the Eighty-Eighth Legislature*, 379.

<sup>60</sup> State of Maine, *Legislative Record of the Eighty-Eighth Legislature*, 379.

<sup>61</sup> State of Maine, *Legislative Record of the Eighty-Eighth Legislature*, 379.

generation inspired a moment of resistance to the characterization, yet faced strong opposition on the floor.

One such advocate, Mr. Wentworth of York, attempted to debunk the alleged rift between tourists and farmers. He asked, “can these objectors to the continued use of ‘Vacationland’ honestly believe that Maine’s legions of summer visitors do not do much to add to the prosperity of Maine farmers? If so, I will refer them to a survey made by the Maine Development Commission in 1934 which showed that vacationers in Maine left a minimum of \$2,570,542 each year with our agriculturists...”<sup>62</sup> Beyond a purely agricultural argument, Mr. Ashby of Aroostook added his support, saying:

[A]s a member of the Maine Publicity Committee I voted to retain the word “Vacationland” on the number plates. Still, I don’t know that it gets us anything in dollars and cents. It certainly doesn’t lose anything anyway and it is there and we have kind of got used to it and why not let it stay? I don’t know why all this ado about nothing. You would think that the weal or woe of Maine depended on whether we retain that word... I do believe it is a good advertisement for the state and still I have a lot of sympathy for the poor tillers of the soil—you know I am one of those poor critters myself... when I do take vacation it’s usually in Maine anyway because I haven’t got enough money to get out of the state[.]<sup>63</sup>

Considering the multi-year national economic crisis, every external dollar spent in Maine was critical. With this frugal mentality, many members like Ashby and Wentworth leveraged economic realities over disgruntled locals, saying “it doesn’t cost a cent to have this word ‘Vacationland’ on the plates. We have been hearing a lot about economy lately, if you vote to take this word off the plates it is going to cost two thousand dollars another year for new dyes for plates.”<sup>64</sup> Despite public backing from angry Mainers, Martin failed to convince enough of her compatriots to act and Vacationland remains on Maine plates

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<sup>62</sup> State of Maine, *Legislative Record of the Eighty-Eighth Legislature*, 380.

<sup>63</sup> State of Maine, *Legislative Record of the Eighty-Eighth Legislature*, 382.

<sup>64</sup> State of Maine, *Legislative Record of the Eighty-Eighth Legislature*, 383.

until today. Automobile tourism ultimately won out against resistance movements and forced a realignment of regional identities, even to the point where the technology itself became a rolling advertisement for the state of Maine.

Having established that autos were here to stay, popular vacationing further commodified the Northeast into a “playground” or Vacationland through promotional printing, photography, mapping, and marketing bureaus. Conceptually, Vacationland was firmly established as a regional identity in Maine and New Brunswick through the 1920s, and the tourism borderlands experienced significant success in attracting waves of motorists. Private companies thrived in commodifying landscape and locals for profit, though governmental agencies gradually began to centralize tourism information and publication to increase state and provincial revenue. Riding the North American economic wave of prosperity for nearly a decade, investment into roads and attractions set the stage for yearly tourism income each season, but the continental economic stability was not to last. By 1930, the shockwaves of crashing markets had dramatically changed priorities for many states and provinces. However, Maine not only continued to invest in tourism advertisements but increased their efforts during the greatest economic crisis the hemisphere had seen in the modern age, outstripping New Brunswick’s efforts and resources, and officially claiming the slogan Vacationland by 1935. Though the word only appears on Maine plates, the concept of Vacationland evolved and advanced on both sides of the international border, transforming regional image and commodifying environments into consumable routes, vistas, and experiences.

## CHAPTER 5

### FOLDING UP THE MAP: CONCLUSIONS IN VACATIONLAND

The Vacationland identity of Maine and New Brunswick was forged in the turbulent years of early twentieth century transition: from steam to petrol, from elite travel to democratizing tourism, and from natural resources to nature *as a resource*. Transformations in technology, cultural dynamics, and landscape adaptations provided new opportunities to these already struggling borderland regions to redefine their perceived regional character and relevance. In shifting from a dominant natural resource extraction economy to a tourist landscape, the lived experiences of locals demonstrated both resistance movements and logistical challenges. The “middle landscape” of the Northeast transitioned from an elite leisure landscape, to a democratizing vacationer’s experience through advancing automobile technology and culture.<sup>1</sup> Though not always welcomed, the waves of automotive tourists carried currency and modernity to rural landscapes, and by the eve of the Second World War, this increasing leisure movement had carried Maine and New Brunswick into the automotive age with a new economic and environmental identity.

Automotive culture, fed by the success and expansion under wartime conditions, spread rapidly and sped temporal, physical, and social change. Jean-Pierre Bardou discusses a shift in vacationing pattern, stating that “gradually the weekend emerged as an institution, including plodding Sunday drivers. Tourism, especially for short periods,

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<sup>1</sup> For discussion on Leo Marx’s “middle landscape,” see Chapter One of this thesis.

enjoyed an unprecedented popularity.”<sup>2</sup> The industrial commodification of time through labor negotiations produced an increase in free time, eventually creating an official “weekend” by the early 1940s. As automotive mobility shrank travel time and increased individual agency, North Americans had more options than ever to spend their time and money in “local” destinations. As much of the continental population still remained along the East Coast, locations like Maine and New Brunswick became frequently chosen destinations for these shorter excursions.

Replacing horses with horsepower for business and personal travel dramatically changed North American culture and landscape in a remarkably short period. Within a few decades, cars had transformed from unreliable and obnoxious oddities into nearly ubiquitous and crucial fixtures in mobility. Accessibility to this technology remained economically stratified, however advancements in mass production and price management effectively lowered the threshold for thousands of North Americans. Though not all welcomed the new automotive age, the technology proved to be overwhelmingly influential, reshaping entire regional economies and landscapes. For the auto-owner of the late 1910s and early 1920s, choice of destination became one of the most significant problems, and newly formed tourism bureaus were more than happy to advise prospective travelers.

Much has been written on North American car culture, natural tourism of the Western parklands, and the pressures of twentieth century modernity, yet the Northeastern borderlands have been mostly ignored. This study was designed to fill this gap in academic discourse, and has asserted that Maine and New Brunswick experienced

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<sup>2</sup> Jean-Pierre Bardou, et al., *The Automobile Revolution: the Impact of an Industry*, (University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 115.

a unique transition to modernity as a tourism borderland, rebranded as Vacationland. Continental-scale narratives of automobility and environmental change serve to explain rapid national changes in the early twentieth century, but Vacationland experienced challenges and change in established touring destinations while negotiating the perceived value of “second nature” landscapes. The constructed and commodified environments in Vacationland demonstrate an economic shift from natural resource extraction as the regional priority, to a new market for nature *as the resource*. Technologically, automobiles amplified existing tourism developments in Vacationland, but introduced a democratizing influence to previously elite and exclusionary destinations and presented new challenges for locals. As an increasingly interconnected landscape, the development and improvement of roads brought motorists into previously distant or remote locations, thus carving Vacationland into more touring routes and consumable vistas than ever before. Having now depended on automotive tourism for nearly a century, Vacationland’s history of transition and adaptation explains much of the regional identity and economic priorities of this region today.

While Maine and New Brunswick experienced differing challenges with arriving automobiles, the similarities in debate and response are remarkably similar. The gradual arrival of mechanical oddities into the comparatively rustic and “wild” landscapes of Maine and New Brunswick presented immediate challenges to the region. Unexpected arrivals of motoring pioneers in quiet resort-spaces drew a variety of emotional reactions, from wonder and enthusiasm to anger and revulsion. Early motorcars were unmistakably modern, and the personalities that drove them often were just as disruptive as their machines. Unprepared environments were an irresistible challenge to these adventuring

spirits, and local communities struggled over accepting or rejecting their presence. For a time, Mount Desert Island managed to hold the autoists at bay, and the New Brunswick Legislature remained divided over changing the rule of the road, yet the growing reliability, accessibility, and ubiquity of the machines eventually trampled objection.

When finally allowed to tour the landscapes and towns of Maine and New Brunswick, autoists brought a renewed and democratizing North American interest in vacationing to marginalized economies and the growing middle class. A new population of tourists now could access destinations traditionally reserved for the elite, and many local businesses recognized the opportunity for growth in catering to the car-going visitor. Additionally, both Maine and New Brunswick had long depended on natural resource extraction as a mainstay of the regional economy, but the expanding steam network contributed to diminishing significance. This decline produced an economic vacuum to be filled by the newly empowered class of laborers with the means to take a vacation. Service industries, gasoline emporiums, repair shops, and guide-writers all expanded rapidly to fill new needs of these fast-paced and individualistic tourists. Though autoing pioneers were willing to traverse the nearly impassible roads leftover from the previous century, local enthusiast groups pushed for states and provinces to invest in road infrastructure. When improved, these roads became as much a feature to be toured as the environment they cut through.

As it became apparent that the car was here to stay in North American culture, the regional incentive to proactively attract autoists became apparent to local governments. Inspired and informed by years of guide-writing by private individuals and enthusiast groups, newly formed government agencies worked with limited budgets to advertise the



natural wonders, cultural curiosities, and infrastructural stability of their respective region. As more North Americans took to the road for a vacation, the race to become continentally known as the best “playground,” “paradise,” or “Vacationland” inspired new forms of mapping and guides, filled with the language and iconography of leisure. Despite an economic depression of unparalleled severity, the tourism borderlands of Maine and New Brunswick continued to invest in attracting tourists, with differing levels of federal support and to varied levels of success. By the end of the 1930s, these regions had been environmentally and technologically reincarnated as an accessible northeastern pleasure periphery, offering a wide variety of attractive leisure opportunities. Forged alongside popular and reliable automobility, this regional identity and economic model exists in the Northeast today, though new challenges threaten its stability.

Written before and during the initial COVID-19 outbreak and pandemic, this study was not designed to evaluate the fragility of tourism economies. However, the current state of affairs, including the necessary precautions of closures and limiting unnecessary travel, has already done significant anecdotal damage to Maine and New Brunswick’s economies. With the closure of the international border, these similar tourism borderlands have dramatically hardened into bordered lands, separating New Brunswick from U.S. visitors and Maine from their Canadian counterparts. Undoubtedly future research will examine tourism’s 2020 pandemic crash, but this study suggests that the regional identity based on Vacationland will continue to suffer until restrictions are lifted and confidence in travel is restored. During the Great Depression, the economic model of rural vacationing income insulated and buoyed regions like Maine and New Brunswick. Yet in the current pandemic crash, movement and mobility will only further

exacerbate infections. The intersection of pandemic study and tourism promises to be a rich area of study for future scholars.

Though facing difficulties today, the regional identity of Vacationland remains crucial for historical analysis of Maine and New Brunswick. These borderland regions experienced the arrival of automotive modernity and modern tourism in distinct ways. Commodified and utilized by nearby urban populations, the leisure landscapes of the Northeast encountered new forms of mobility and reacted in similar ways. Maine and New Brunswick struggled with resistance movements, complicated adaptation phases, and new economic realities for local residents. The extensive nature of this rebirth forced new cultural identities on locals living in Vacationland, which have remained influential in regional development for well over a century. Vacationing had existed in both Maine and New Brunswick for decades before the first automobile bounced along their rural roads, but the arrival of motoring tourism forcibly introduced modernity to the borderlands and permanently reshaped their environments. In this pandemically-caused moment, the roads and scenic vistas in Vacationland are far quieter than they have been in generations.

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APPENDIX A



Figure 22- Map 1, Pictorial Map of Maine, in Berta Hader and Elmer Hader, *Berta and Elmer Hader's Picture Book of the States*, (New York: Harper Brothers, 1932). Sean Cox, private collection.

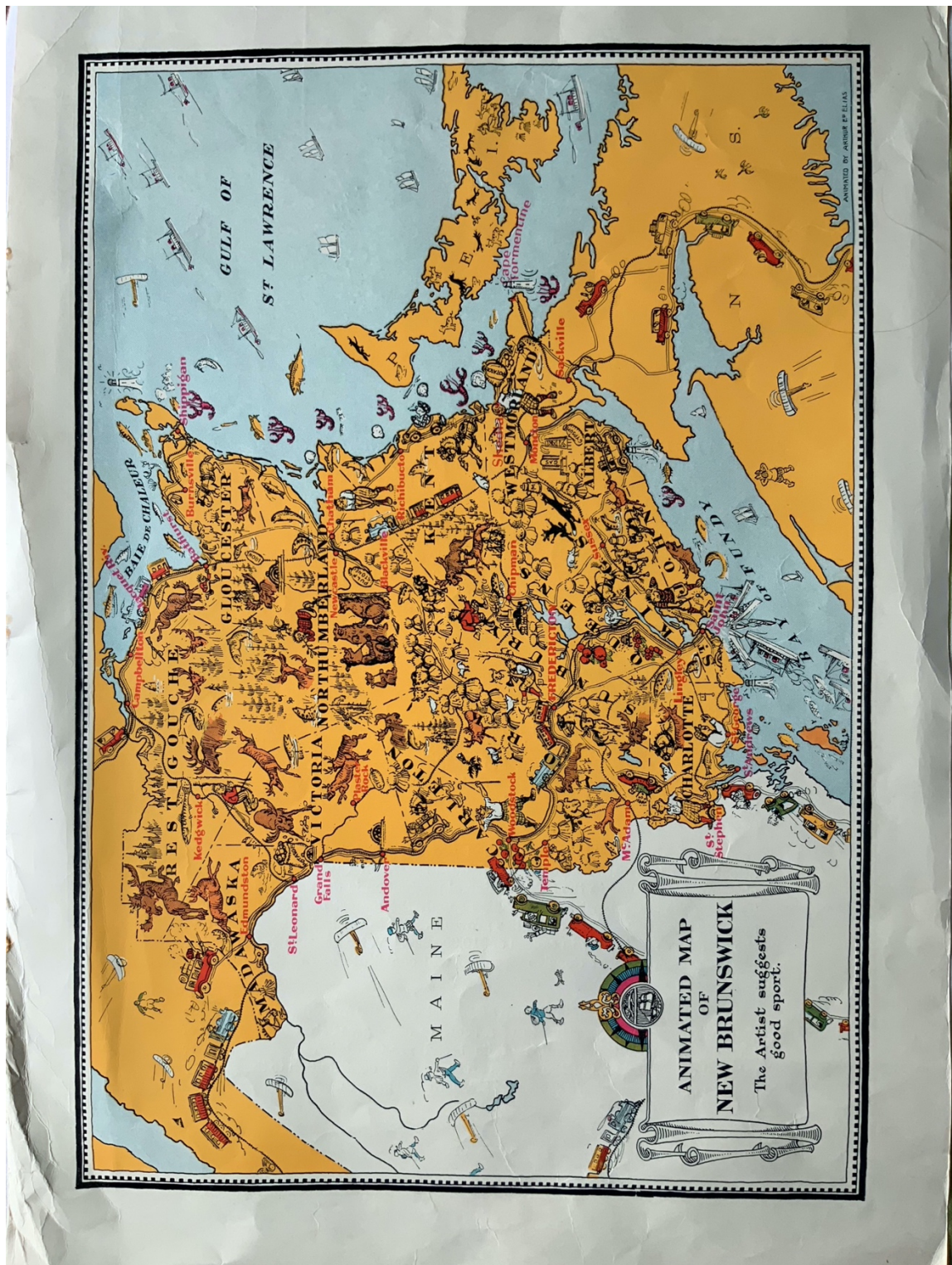


Figure 23 - Map 2, Pictorial Map of New Brunswick, in Natural Resources Intelligence Branch of Canada, Dominion of Canada Animated Atlas (Canada Department of the Interior, Natural Resources Intelligence Service, 1926). Sean Cox, private collection.

## APPENDIX B

The following maps are of my own composition and represent the first serious attempt to incorporate historical GIS into my academic work. Inspired by the visual style of *The Historical Atlas of Maine*, and guided by the patient instruction of fellow graduate student Maja Kruse, these maps were designed to illustrate the spatial expansion of early twentieth century automobility in Maine and New Brunswick.<sup>3</sup> Utilizing the program QGIS 3.12, digital files from Maine Office of GIS and GeoNB provided base layers for the boundaries of Maine and New Brunswick, respectively. Lake and river data files were simplified by applying filters or manually editing the layer to display major or significant bodies of water. As the mapped landscape represents an international borderland region adhering to two different systems of measurement, distance scales are given in both miles and kilometers for equity in potential readership.

Automobile registration and ownership data was mined from *Automobile and Motor Boat Show*, and converted into an Excel format. The owner's town of residence was geocoded to Google Maps data and layered on the Maine shapefile to visualize the spread of local ownership. Historical data from tourism publications was generated through digital photography and scans of the provided maps, and by georeferencing the photos to Google Maps layers. Maps included in early twentieth century guidebooks often are inaccurate when compared to modern satellite data, so while working on the state or province scale, road placement was approximated to demonstrate general spread of touring roads over pinpoint accuracy.

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<sup>3</sup> Hornsby and Judd eds., *Historical Atlas of Maine* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 2015).

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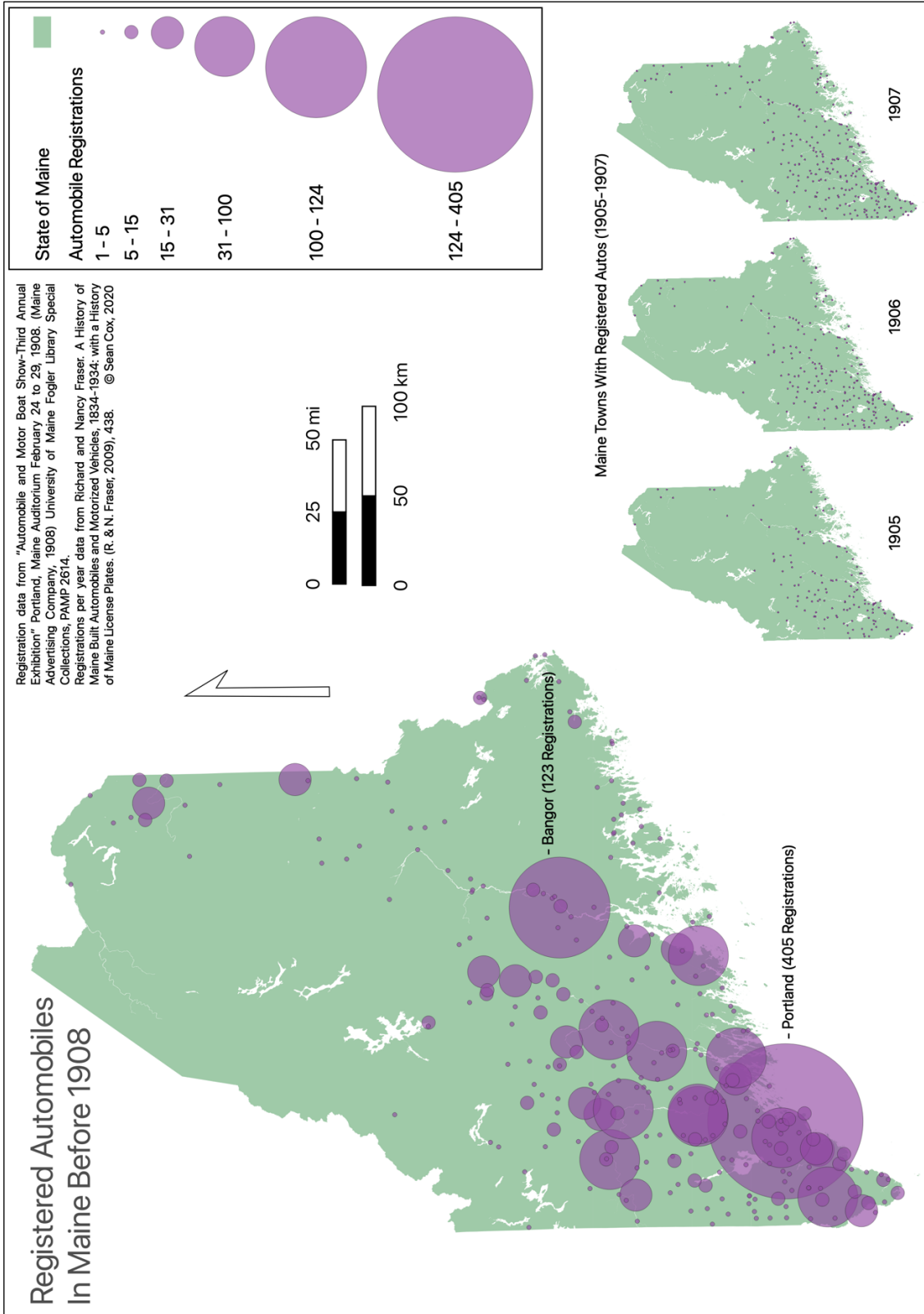


Figure 24 - Map 3, "Registered Automobiles in Maine Before 1908."

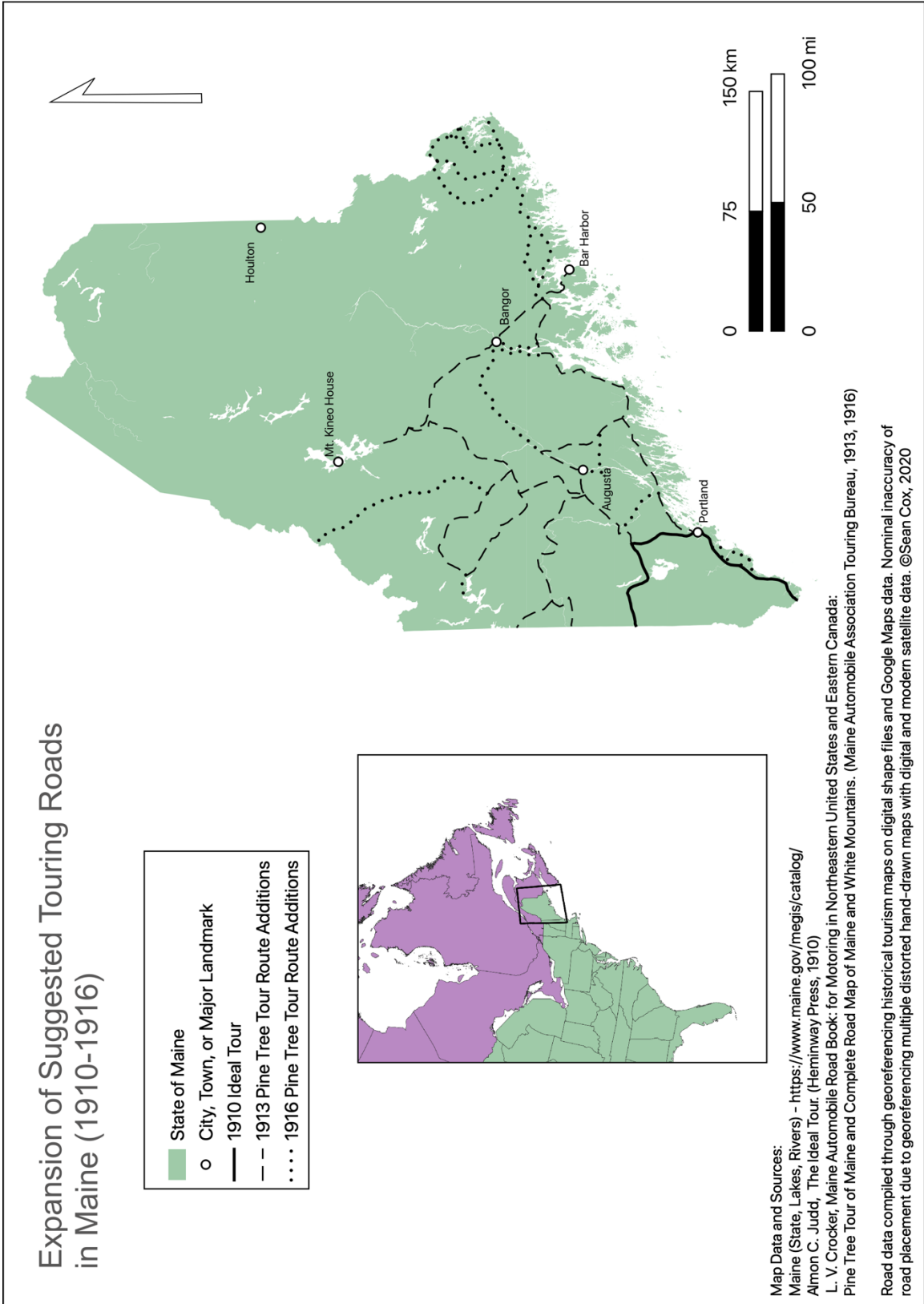


Figure 25 - Map 4, "Expansion of Suggested Touring Roads in Maine (1910-1916)."



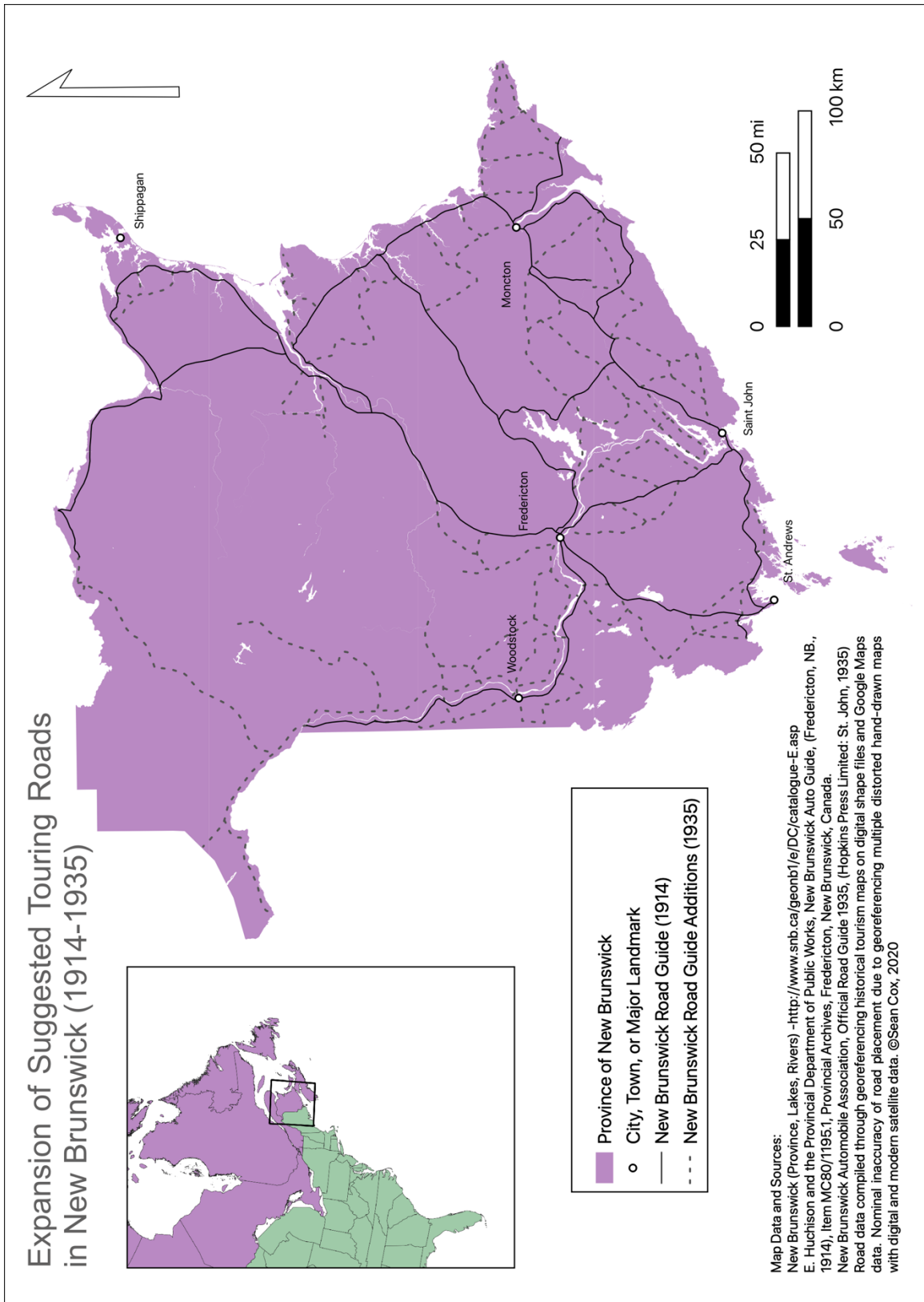


Figure 26 - Map 5, “Expansion of Suggested Touring Roads in New Brunswick (1914-1935)”

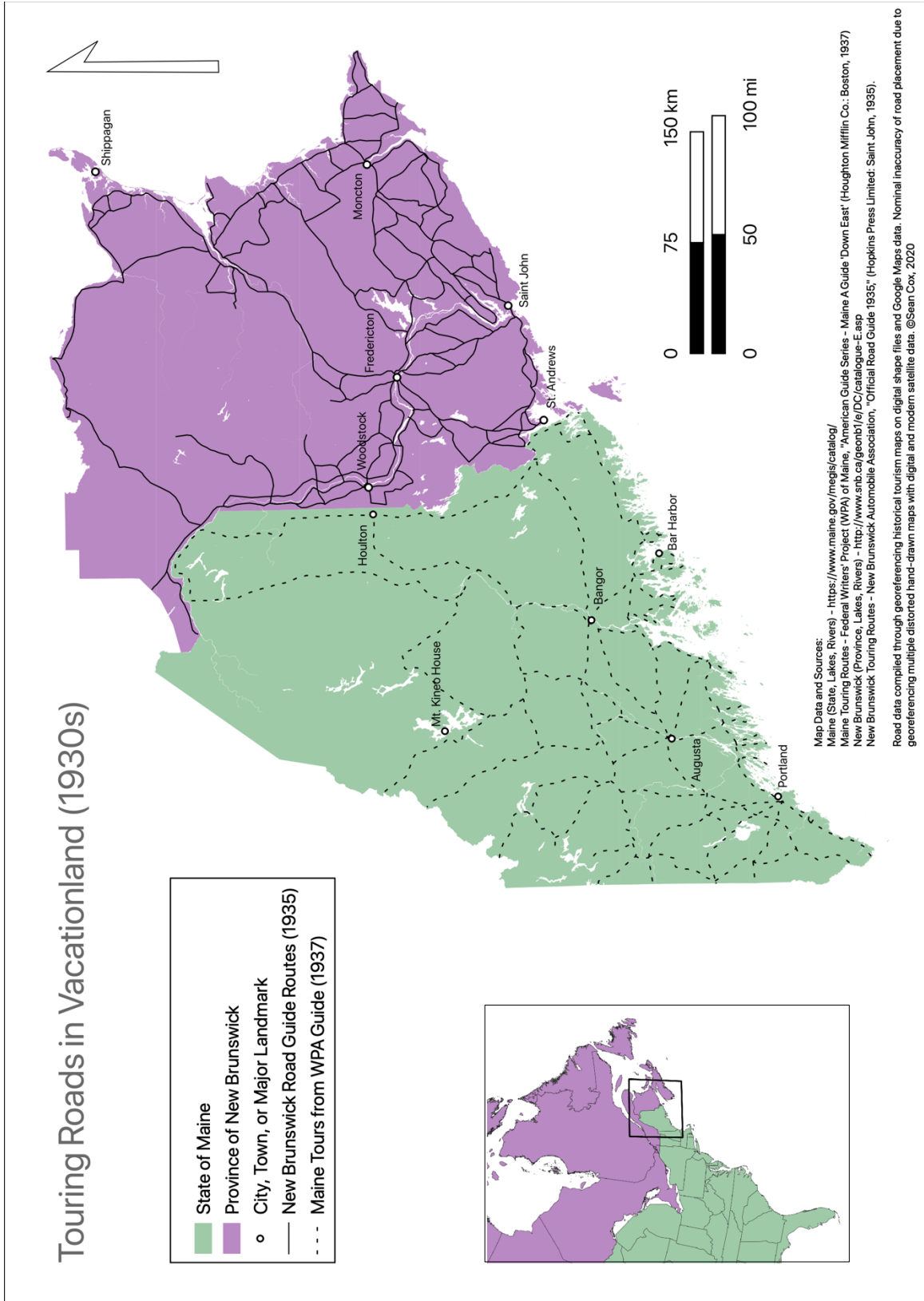


Figure 27 - Map 6, "Touring Roads in Vacationland (1930s)."

## **BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR**

Sean Cox was born in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1993 and raised on the coast of Maine in Bar Harbor. After graduating from Mount Desert Island High School in 2011, Sean earned his B.A. in 2015 from the University of Maine. While in school, Sean worked as an Interpretation-Division National Park Ranger in Acadia. After graduation, Sean spent several years working for the University of Maine Admissions Department and Honors College while taking graduate courses, before officially entering a MA program in the fall of 2018. Despite the unusual circumstance of a global pandemic, Sean will begin his Ph.D. program at the University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, in the fall of 2020. He is a candidate for the Master of Arts degree in History from the University of Maine in August 2020.