

Stony Brook University



OFFICIAL COPY

The official electronic file of this thesis or dissertation is maintained by the University Libraries on behalf of The Graduate School at Stony Brook University.

© All Rights Reserved by Author.

**Prisonland: Environment, Society, and Mass Incarceration on New York's Northern
Frontier, 1845-1999**

A Dissertation Presented

by

Clarence Jefferson Hall, Jr.

to

The Graduate School

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

Stony Brook University

May 2014

Copyright by
Clarence Jefferson Hall, Jr.
2014

Stony Brook University

The Graduate School

Clarence Jefferson Hall, Jr.

We, the dissertation committee for the above candidate for the
Doctor of Philosophy degree, hereby recommend
acceptance of this dissertation.

**Christopher Sellers – Dissertation Advisor
Professor of History**

**Nancy Tomes - Chairperson of Defense
Professor of History**

**Donna Rilling
Associate Professor of History**

**Robert Chase
Assistant Professor of History**

**Connie Chiang
Associate Professor of History and Environmental Studies, Bowdoin College**

This dissertation is accepted by the Graduate School.

Charles Taber
Dean of the Graduate School

Abstract of the Dissertation

Prisonland: Environment, Society, and Mass Incarceration on New York's Northern Frontier, 1845-1999

by

Clarence Jefferson Hall, Jr.

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

Stony Brook University

2014

My dissertation explores the social experience and environmental politics of mass incarceration in five communities in New York's Adirondack Park, with a focus on the period 1975-1999. Historians, sociologists, and criminologists have enhanced our understanding of criminal law and its impacts on lawbreakers, their families, and communities. By the same token, environmental historians have expanded our knowledge of the dynamic forces that contributed to the making of parks and recreational spaces across the United States. With rare exceptions, scholars in these fields have left unexplored one of the consequences of postindustrial decline, namely, the mass incarceration of predominantly urban, non-white men in penal institutions situated in overwhelmingly white, rural communities far from their homes. This project, therefore, seeks to begin a conversation about the many people, environments, and economies that have been implicated in the United States' criminal justice system.

I argue that city dwellers' desire for "law and order," and Park residents' clamor for economic development, outweighed the failures of mass incarceration, leading to construction of a crimescape in the Adirondacks in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Anti-prison rancor in affluent parts of New York pushed correctional planners to the North Country, where they encountered communities whose permanent residents, seasonal dwellers, history, and natural environment greatly complicated the state's carceral objectives. While many locals welcomed the prospect of increased economic activity, second homeowners and other outsiders bristled at the idea of their vacationland becoming a gulag. Environmental regulators found themselves in

the crosshairs of locals suspicious of state power, elite vacationers demanding a halt to penal expansion in the Park, and prison officials eager to fill more cells. In the end, corrections leaders hashed out compromises with environmental bureaucrats that mollified supporters and opponents and paved the way for over a dozen new prisons. While escapes, violence, and unrest were ever-present in the area's prison towns, the free labor of inmate workers in communities across the region helped facilitate the slow naturalization of the Adirondacks' crimescape.

Dedication

For the men and women, free and unfree, of New York's correctional system.

Frontispiece



Clinton Correctional Facility inmate transportation officers. The author's father, Clarence J. Hall, Sr., an officer with the New York State Department of Correctional Services from 1973 to 1998, is depicted third from left. Oct. 1987. Artist unknown.

Table of Contents

Abbreviations	x
Acknowledgements	xi
Introduction	1
Primary Sources and Literature Review.....	4
Chapter Summary.....	14
Chapter 1: “The Germ from Which, With Proper Cultivation, the Green Tree Shall Spring”: Nature, Labor, and Reform at Clinton State Prison, 1841-1865	
Introduction.....	20
The Adirondacks before the Crimescape.....	22
The Carceral State in Early New York.....	25
“Within the yard all is alive with industry”: Inventing Dannemora.....	28
“The pure air of its mountainous altitude”: Nature and Reform at Dannemora.....	33
Conclusion.....	39
Chapter 2: “Attica of the Adirondacks”? Naturalizing Mass Incarceration in Ray Brook, 1976-2012	
Introduction.....	43
The “establishment of a new industry”: Prisons and Environmental Health, 1974-1979.....	46
The Olympic Prison: One Penitentiary, Two Oppositions.....	62
Camp Adirondack and the Social Experience of Mass Incarceration.....	80
FCI-Ray Brook: A 1984 Facility.....	96
Conclusion.....	110
Chapter 3: “Who is going to live in Gabriels?” Class, Environment, and Prison Building in Gabriels, 1979-2009	
Introduction.....	115
Choosing Gabriels.....	120
The Prison Advocates’ Masquerade.....	124
Citizens Against More Prisons in the Adirondacks.....	128
Local Support & Attempts at Accommodation.....	139
The Hearings.....	146
Opening Camp Gabriels.....	151
“A chance to get in touch with outside people”: Inmate Labor and a Naturalized Crimescape.....	156

Conclusion.....	159
Chapter 4: “Serenity shortlived”? Mass Incarceration and the Legacies of Mining in Lyon Mountain, 1967-2011	
Introduction.....	162
“Among the world’s purest ores”: Mining Lyon Mountain, ca. 1798-1967.....	167
“Built on a desert of oresand”: The Politics of Redevelopment and Reconstruction, 1967-1983.....	174
“I’m not against it and I’m not for it”: Prison and the Path to Reconstruction.....	180
“A poor choice?” The Prison, Nature, and the Politics of Civic Reconstruction.....	188
An Unhappy Marriage: The Prison and Lyon Mountain’s Struggle to Rebuild.....	195
Conclusion.....	201
Chapter 5: “This town will die”: Community Prison Building and Environmental Politics in Tupper Lake, 1980-2006	
Introduction.....	206
Origins of Community Prison Building, 1980-1992.....	208
The Final Push: 1996-1998.....	219
Debating the “Nature” of Tupper Lake’s Prison.....	235
Crimescape’s End.....	247
Conclusion.....	251
Conclusion.....	255
Bibliography.....	259

Figures and Illustrations

Figure 1: Map of state and federal correctional facilities in New York State.....	2
Figure 2: Map of state and federal correctional facilities in Northeastern New York State.....	14
Figure 3: Photograph of entrance to ACF, 2007.....	113
Figure 4: Photograph of entrance to FCI-Ray Brook, 2007.....	114
Figure 5: DOCS Map of proposed Gabriels Correctional Facility, 1981.....	116
Figure 6: Photograph of CAMPA leaders, 1981.....	130
Figure 7: Photograph of Lyon Mountain, 2012.....	205
Figure 8: Photograph of Natural History Museum of the Adirondacks, 2012.....	254
Figure 9: Photograph of mosaic, Clinton County Government Center, 2009.....	258
Figure 10: Photograph of Clinton State Prison inmates, Clinton County Government Center mosaic, 2009.....	258

Abbreviations

Adirondack Correctional Facility.....	ACF
Adirondack Park Agency.....	APA
Bureau of Prisons.....	BOP
Chateaugay Ore & Iron Company.....	COIC
Citizens Against More Prisons in the Adirondacks.....	CAMPA
Concerned Citizens of Ray Brook.....	CCRB
Department of Correctional Services.....	DOCS
Department of Environmental Conservation.....	DEC
Economic Development Administration.....	EDA
Federal Correctional Institution (Ray Brook).....	FCI
International Olympic Committee.....	IOC
International Paper.....	IP
Lake Placid Olympic Organizing Committee.....	LPOOC
North Country Community College.....	NCCC
Northern Adirondack Central School District.....	NACS
Paul Smith's College.....	PSC
Stop the Olympic Prison.....	STOP
Tupper Lake Concerned Citizens.....	TLCC
United States Olympic Committee.....	USOC

Acknowledgments

I have greatly benefited from the warmth, thoughtful advice, and care of a variety of individuals who I am proud to have as colleagues, family, and friends. I'll do my best to acknowledge and thank each of you.

Chris Sellers has provided a steady hand in guiding this project from the earliest stages, when even I had no idea how I would get it done. Without his patience, understanding, valuable criticism, and encouragement, this dissertation would not have seen the light of day. I will always be grateful for having had Chris as an advisor and look forward to continuing our professional relationship in the years ahead.

I will always be grateful for the guidance and friendship of Donna Rilling. Donna's good humor, sharp editing, care, and attention to detail have proven invaluable as I labored to synthesize a mountain of documents down to mammoth essays that later became coherent and (I hope) polished chapters. The encouragement and steadfast support from Nancy Tomes, too, have helped keep me going when I doubted whether this project would ever be finished. Though exiled in the dissertation-writing wilderness, I always knew I could call on Professor Tomes for a kind word, a note of support, or a well-timed wisecrack. Finally, I must also thank Robert Chase and Connie Chiang. Though they joined me late in this process, their encouragement, friendliness, and scholarship have inspired me to continue pursuing this project beyond the dissertation phase. In a word, I have been extremely lucky to work with such a fine group of scholars and friends.

Among the faculty in the History Department at Stony Brook, I also wish to thank April Masten (and her husband Vince DiGirolamo and their daughter, Cara), Helen Lemay, Joel Rosenthal, Shirley Lim, Kathleen Wilson, Thomas Klubock, Alix Cooper, Elizabeth Garber, Bill Miller, Iona Man-Cheong, Young-sun Hong, Wolf Schafer, Susan Hinely, Jared Farmer, Michael Barnhart, and Ned Landsman for their valuable advice, kindness, and friendship over the years.

When I entered the Ph.D. program at Stony Brook, one of the best pieces of advice I received was to develop a good relationship with Susan Grumet. Without Susan's help, I would not be finishing this degree. Whenever I needed a good-natured ribbing, sound advice, or just someone to talk to, I always knew where to go. Susan truly is the heart and soul of the History Department, and I'm proud to call her a colleague and a friend. I would be remiss if I did not also offer heartfelt gratitude to Roxanne Fernandez, whose sound advice, good cheer, and professionalism make her a credit to the department and the university. Graduate students in History are lucky to have such a fine person looking out for their interests.

I've also had the good fortune of working with a whole host of scholars, teachers, and professionals outside the History Department whose encouragement and kindness have meant a great deal to me: At Stony Brook: Harry Denny and Anne Beaufort in the Writing Program; Ray Goldstein in the Graduate Program in Public Health; Howard Schneider, Dean Miller, Jim Klurfeld, Rick Hornik, Steve Reiner, Steve Shultz, Michael Spikes, and Liz Farley in the School of Journalism; Linda Unger, Kristy Arnold, Tiffanie Vlack, and Carolyn Jankowski in the School of Professional Development; Dave Maynard and Susan Crane in the Freshmen Learning Communities Program; and the helpful staff members in the Melville Library, Interlibrary Loan Office, and University Archives. At the New Jersey Institute of Technology: Richard Sher, Alison Lefkowitz, Jessica Dyer-Witte, Maureen O'Rourke, Stephen Pemberton, Kyle

Riismandel, Scott Kent, and Marybeth Boger. At Binghamton University: Melvyn Dubofksy, Brendan McConville, Sarah Elbert, Richard Lindstrom, Arleen de Vera, Tiffany Patterson, and Dave Hacker. Finally, I also want to thank the extremely helpful staff at the New York Public Library, Elmer Bobst Library at New York University, Queens Library, Adirondack Museum, New York State Archives, New York State Library, State University of New York at Albany Special Collections, State University of New York at Potsdam Special Collections, State University of New York at Plattsburgh Library and Special Collections, St. Lawrence University Archives, Plattsburgh Public Library, Lake Placid Olympic Museum, Saranac Lake Free Library, Lake Placid Public Library, Adirondack Park Agency, New York State Department of Environmental Conservation, and the Northern New York Library Network.

Along the way, I've had the great fortune of being able to work with a tight-knit community of graduate students and good friends. My friendship with Jon Anzalone began at the very beginning of this process and I'll always be grateful for his support, humor, guidance, advice, editorial skills, and encouragement. I doubt very much I'd be finishing if it wasn't for Jon's constant willingness to listen to my griping, his sound and very helpful advice, and our visits to greasy food joints and Starbucks along the way. In no particular order, I also want to acknowledge Doug Skopp, Vincent Carey, Greg Geddes, Dianne Cappiello, Francis Rodriguez, Denise Lynn, Karen Kaminski, Walt Fontane, Alberto Harambour Ross, Toby Kurth, Consuelo Figueroa, Elizabeth Hornor, Elizabeth O'Connell, Lauren Neefe, Meghan Fox, George Fragopoulos, Kathleen Drucker Spivack, Tobi Dress-Germain, Jenise DePinto, Ann Becker, Kraig Larkin, Annette Ricciardi, Sarah Marchesano, James Nichols, Poppy Slocum, Scott Kravet, Luke Feder, Neil Buffett, Ron Van Cleef, Tara Rider, Julian Pessier, Amira Simha-Alpern, Rich Wandel, Neal Profitt, Martha Swan, Tracy Huling, Jim Negri, and Supasit Sunko for their friendship, care, and support.

Finally, I want to offer thanks to my family in the North Country. My parents, Carol and Clarence Hall, my sisters, Kerry Forgette and Kimberly Hall-Stone, my brothers-in-law Chris Stone and Josh Forgette, and my nieces Courtney, Haley, and Hannah, have each provided their own forms of love and support during this long process. Without the support, guidance, prodding, and love of my mother, however, I might have abandoned this project years ago. Carol Hall is an extraordinary woman, friend, and human being, and I strive every day to follow her fine example. We are lucky to have her in our lives.

Introduction

At a 1986 meeting of the Adirondack Park Agency (APA) in Ray Brook, New York, agency commissioners debated the possibility of permitting hazardous waste storage inside the Park as an economic development scheme for its depressed towns and villages. At the time of this discussion, a prison-building boom on New York's northern frontier was entering its second decade, a development that had generated a wide range of emotional, political, social, and ecological responses. By the mid-1980s, the Park Agency had been embroiled in protracted and heated debates over prison construction projects in three local communities, and faced the likelihood of more in the future. As the Agency commissioners ended their discussion, Herman "Woody" Cole, the APA chairman and a former official at the Lake Placid Olympic Organizing Committee (LPOOC), offered a note of sarcasm, asking "Why not?" import toxic waste to the Adirondacks, since, "We already live in prisonland."¹

¹ "North Country Towns Compete for Prisons," *Lake Placid News* (hereafter, *LPN*), Mar. 26, 1987.

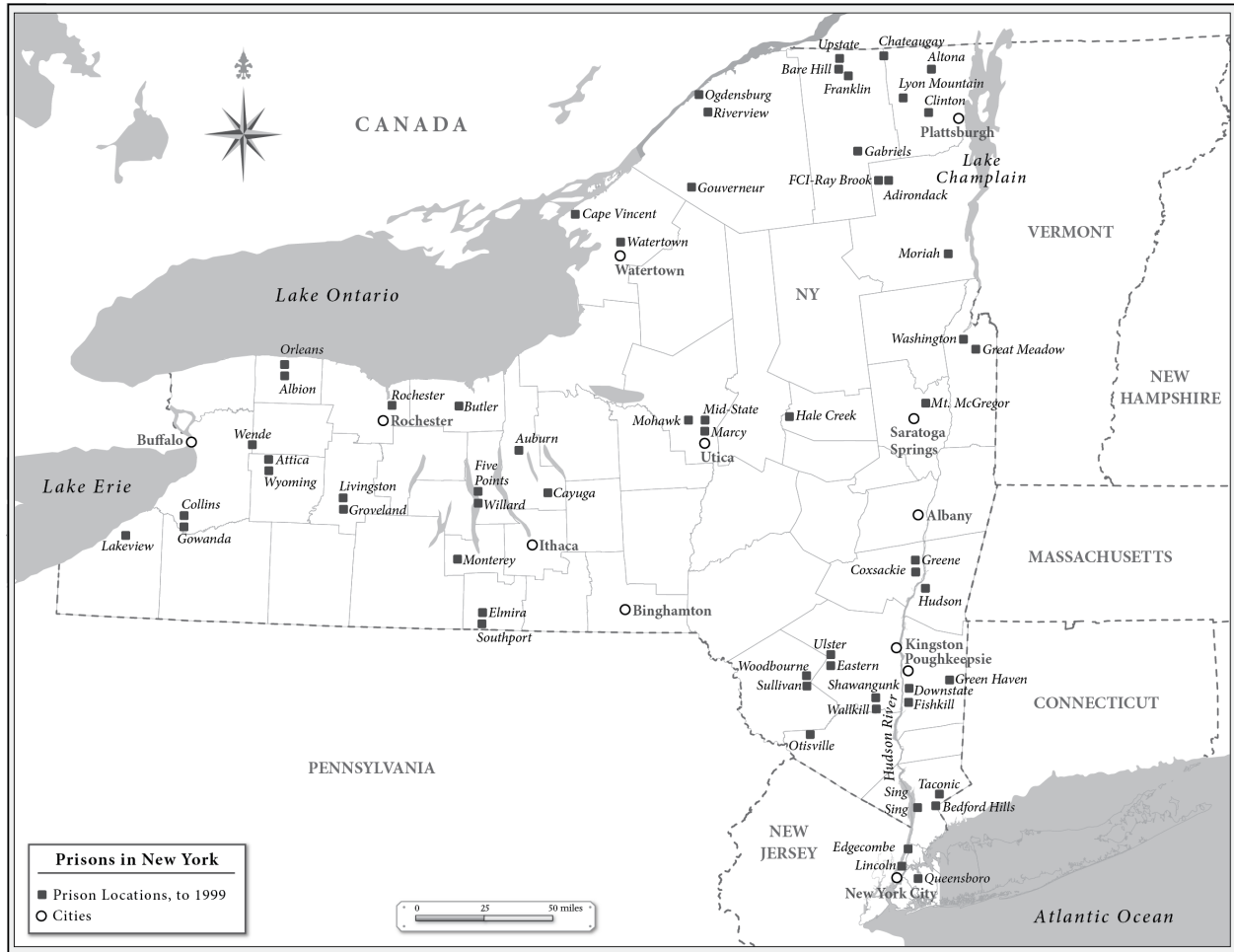


Figure 1: State and federal correctional facilities in New York State. Map by Gerry Krieg. 2014.

What was prisonland? Writ large, it was the concrete-and-steel result of a nationwide crackdown on violent crime and narcotics possession beginning in the 1970s. By the early twenty-first century, the United States incarcerated over two million men and women in prisons, jails, and other correctional facilities across the country, representing a more than 700 percent increase in a little less than four decades. Nearly half were African Americans, roughly 20 percent were Hispanics, and by the early 2000s, nearly 17 percent of all black men in the United States had been incarcerated at some point in their lives. The number of penal institutions also grew; while there were 61 state prisons in the United States in 1923, by 2000, there were 1023

(not including federal prisons and jails). Total annual spending on correctional services nationwide jumped from \$9 billion in 1980 to \$60 billion by 2007.²

Figure one illustrates the growth of correctional facilities in the prisonland built in New York State beginning in the late eighteenth century, but accelerating rapidly in the past four decades. The Narcotics Control Act of 1973 (popularly known as the Rockefeller drug laws), in concert with increasingly strict sentencing guidelines and punishments for repeat offenders, helped swell the state's inmate population from 12,500 in 1972 to over 71,000 by 1999, a nearly six fold increase. The majority of prisoners in New York, as at the federal level, were African American and Latino, and most were drawn from just a few New York City neighborhoods, including central Brooklyn, northern Manhattan, the South Bronx, the Lower East Side, and southeast Queens. Once overcrowding began to plague the state's existing 32 prisons by the late 1970s, lawmakers in Albany embarked on a prison-building spree that would leave the Empire State with 70 penal institutions by the end of the twentieth century. The vast majority of these facilities would be built upstate, with a significant number opening in the Adirondacks' own prisonland.³

Woody Cole's offhand use of the term "prisonland" is instructive in helping to understand how state and federal policies of mass incarceration transpired in the Adirondack Park communities targeted for correctional expansion. With eleven penal institutions holding

² Marc Mauer and Ryan King, "Uneven Justice: State Rates of Incarceration By Race and Ethnicity," (Washington, D.C.: The Sentencing Project, 2007), 1-2; Sarah Lawrence and Jeremy Travis, "The New Landscape of Imprisonment: Mapping America's Prison Expansion," (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Justice Policy Center, 2004), 8; Public Safety Performance Project, "Public Safety, Public Spending: Forecasting America's Prison Population, 2007-2011," (Washington, D.C.: Pew Charitable Trusts, 2007), ii-iii; and, Eric Schlosser, "The Prison-Industrial Complex," *The Atlantic Monthly* (Dec. 1998).

³ John Flateau, *The Prison Industrial Complex: Race, Crime & Justice in New York* (Brooklyn: Medgar Evers College Press, 1996), 7-12; Lawrence & Travis, "The New Landscape of Imprisonment," 27; Mauer and King, "Uneven Justice," 6; and, Ryan King, Marc Mauer, and Tracy Huling, "Big Prisons, Small Towns: Prison Economics in Rural America," 4-5.

over 20,000 inmates and employing thousands of area residents in operation by the late 1990s, the North Country was, indeed, a land of prisons. However, building correctional facilities in a region long prized for its natural resources, aesthetic beauty, and rustic charms necessitates an exploration of the historical relationships forged between penal institutions and the land where they were built. While northeastern New York did become a land of prisons by the late 1990s, that same land, its people, and its history exerted strong influences over the shape, size, and dimensions of the region's burgeoning correctional industry.

Primary Sources and Literature Review

Crucial to my research was the plethora of documentary evidence produced by a wide array of government agencies, concerned citizens, environmental organizations, anti-prison groups, and individual politicians whose participation in debates surrounding mass incarceration and prison building was crucial to shaping the Adirondacks' penal histories. Freedom of Information Law requests to the Adirondack Park Agency yielded thousands of pages of official documents, memoranda, environmental impact statements, reports, and correspondence from residents that were vital to understanding and telling the stories of correctional facilities planned in Ray Brook, Gabriels, Lyon Mountain, and Tupper Lake. The APA files were particularly useful as they contained not only Agency documents, but also records from other relevant bureaucracies, including the Department of Correctional Services, Department of Environmental Conservation, Department of Health, and others.

I have also drawn on a variety of archival materials housed in academic institutions across the state. The annual reports of the Prison Association of New York, located at the New York Public Library's Stephen Schwarzman Building, and the Dannemora Town Board meeting minutes, stored at the New York State Archives in Albany, remain indispensable resources for

understanding penal and community life in Dannemora, the area's oldest prison town. The records of Stop the Olympic Prison, oral histories of the 1980 Olympic Winter Games in Lake Placid, and the papers of former Congressman Robert McEwen, all stored at St. Lawrence University in Canton, and the papers of former Congressman David O'Brien Martin, housed at the State University of New York at Potsdam, were crucial to unpacking the social and environmental politics of penitentiary construction and expansion in Ray Brook. Finally, the State University of New York at Albany possesses the records of both former State Senator Ronald Stafford and Council 82, the public employee union representing correctional officers, collections that further illuminate the tensions and debates surrounding penal expansion in the North Country.

Even with all the foregoing evidence, it would have been impossible to reconstruct Adirondack prison history without the Northern New York Library Network's invaluable online collection of literally millions of pages of local newspapers and periodicals, many dating to the nineteenth century. Journalistic accounts, letters to the editor, editorials, advertisements, wedding announcements, obituaries, and other seemingly innocuous printed items have provided a far more nuanced, complicated, and ultimately clear picture of life in the Adirondacks' prisonland than one might expect from official documents and archival materials alone. Together, the government records and press coverage show a correctional system that, over time, metastasized through nearly every nook and cranny of the region's prison towns, and beyond.

Though the canon of Adirondack history has evolved considerably in recent years, it still adheres to conventions and tropes that yield an incomplete portrait of the region's social, political, and economic life. While accounts detailing the area's natural resources, aesthetic qualities, commercial enterprises, and political history prevailed through the 1960s and 1970s,

more recent scholarship has explored the social, ecological, and economic dimensions of life inside the region's towns and villages. Given the prisons' relative newness in local history, it should come as little surprise that the area's correctional industry draws but scant attention in even more recent work.⁴ However, there are newer texts that provide useful models for this study. Philip Terrie's *Forever Wild: A Cultural History of Wilderness in the Adirondacks*, examines shifts in ideas about wilderness among residents and visitors to the Adirondacks, and his newest work, *Contested Terrain: A New History of Nature and People in the Adirondacks*, destabilizes the focus of earlier narratives by exploring the tensions underpinning social relations

⁴ The canon of Adirondack history includes classics such as William H.H. "Adirondack" Murray, *Adventures in the Wilderness; or, Camp-life in the Adirondacks* (Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co., 1869); also Christopher Angus, *The Extraordinary Adirondack Journey of Clarence Petty: Wilderness Guide, Pilot, and Conservationist* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002); Henry A.L. Brown, *John Brown's Tract: Lost Adirondack Empire* (Canaan, NH: Phoenix Publishing, 1988); Charles Brumley, *Guides of the Adirondacks: A Short Season, Hard Work, Low Pay* (Glens Falls, NY: North Country Books, 1994); Anthony D'Elia, *The Adirondack Rebellion* (Onchiota, NY: Onchiota Books, 1979); Karen Ann Dietz, "A Home in the Woods: Summer Life in the Adirondacks," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992; Alfred Donaldson, *A History of the Adirondacks*, 2 vols. (Fleischmanns, NY: Purple Mountain Press, 1992); Patrick Farrell, *Through the Light Hole: A Saga of Adirondack Mines and Men* (Glens Falls, NY: North Country Books, 1997); Craig Gilborn, *Adirondack Camps: Homes away from Home, 1850-1950* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000); Frank Graham, *The Adirondack Park: A Political History* (New York: Random House, 1978); Philip James Hardy, "The Iron Age Community of the J. and J. Rogers Company, Ausable Valley, N.Y.: 1825-1900, Ph.D. diss., Bowling Green State University, 1985; Jeffrey Lanier Hornell, "Seneca Ray Stoddard and the Adirondacks: Changing Perceptions of Wilderness," Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1995; Floy Hyde, *Adirondack Forests, Fields, and Mines: Brief Accounts and Stories Concerning Lumbering, Forest-Related Products, Farm Specialties, and Mining* (Saranac Lake: Chauncy Press, 1991); Catherine Henshaw Knott, *Living with the Adirondack Forest: Local Perceptions on Land Use Conflicts* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998); W. Douglas McCombs, "Therapeutic Rusticity: Antimodernism, Health and the Wilderness Vacation, 1870-1915," *New York History* 76, no. 4 (Oct. 1995): 409-428; Felicia Romano McMahon, "Wilderness and Tradition: Power, Politics, and Play in the Adirondacks," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992; Barbara McMartin, *Perspectives on the Adirondacks: A Thirty-Year Struggle by People Protecting Their Treasure* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002); John Moravek, "The Iron Industry as a Geographic Force in the Adirondack-Champlain Region of New York State, 1800-1971," Ph.D. diss., University of Tennessee, 1976; Brenda Parnes, "Trespass: A History Land-Use Policy in the Adirondack Forest Region of Northern New York State," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1989; Paul Schneider, *The Adirondacks: A History of America's First Wilderness* (New York: Owl Books, 1998); David Strauss, "Toward a Consumer Culture: 'Adirondack Murray' and the Wilderness Vacation," *American Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 270-286; Philip Terrie, "The New York Natural History Survey in the Adirondack Wilderness, 1836-1840," *The Journal of the Early Republic* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1983): 185-206; Norman Van Valkenburgh, *The Adirondack Forest Preserve: A Narrative of the Evolution of the Adirondack Forest Preserve of New York State* (Blue Mountain Lake: Adirondack Museum, 1979); and Charles Zinser, "The Impact of Leisure Homes on the Economy of the Area Within the 'Blue Line' of the Adirondack Park," Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1974.

in regional communities, especially amid expansions in state environmental regulation.⁵ While Terrie's work does not explore the prison industry, his emphasis on the interplay among human and nonhuman nature and a rising regulatory state has strongly informed my own efforts.

Building on Terrie, Karl Jacoby's *Crimes against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* explores the history of Progressive Era conservation as one characterized by intellectual, legal, and sometimes physical conflict between state conservationists, their affluent allies, and the often poor and subjugated men and women whose uses of nature they sought to manage. Jacoby's study of the Adirondacks reveals a sense of working-class consciousness at the turn of the twentieth century among locals resisting conservation measures designed to buttress the interests of wealthy second homeowners and commercial entrepreneurs.⁶ Though the acceleration of prison construction in the region in the 1970s brought these tensions back to the surface, my work shows that the varying histories, natural environments, and inhabitants of each community targeted for penal expansion determined the contours of their social divisions and ensuing debates.⁷ Thus, while prison building exposed old resentments between poor and rich, local and outsider, and rural and urban, it also created new fissures, revealed existing tensions that lay dormant until aroused by the

⁵ Philip Terrie, *Forever Wild: A Cultural History of Wilderness in the Adirondacks* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994); Terrie, *Contested Terrain: A New History of Nature and People in the Adirondacks* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997); and, Jonathan Anzalone, "Creating a Modern Wilderness Playground: The Transformation of the Adirondack State Park, 1920-1980," Ph.D. diss., Stony Brook University, 2012.

⁶ Karl Jacoby, *Crimes against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

⁷ See, Robert Bethke, *Adirondack Voices: Woodsmen and Woodstove* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981); Russell M.L. Carson, *Peaks and People of the Adirondacks* (Glens Falls, NY: Adirondack Mountain Club, 1973); Glenn Harris, "The Hidden History of Agriculture in the Adirondack Park, 1825-1875," *New York History* 83, no. 2 (2002): 165-202; Harold Hochschild, *Lumberjacks and Rivermen in the Central Adirondacks, 1850-1950* (Blue Mountain Lake: Adirondack Museum, 1962); Jane Eblen Keller, *Adirondack Wilderness: A Story of Man and Nature* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1980); and Catherine Henshaw Knott, "Views of the Forest: Local People and Indigenous Knowledge in the Adirondack Park Land-Use Conflict," Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1993.

state's need for more prison cells, and blurred the once rigid social, economic, and political divisions that Jacoby, Terrie, and others uncovered in their work.

Exploring the social experience and environmental politics of late twentieth century prison building projects provides a fresh perspective on a prominent theme in United States history. Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont, in *Du système pénitentiaire aux États-Unis et de son application en France*, examined the successes and failures of early nineteenth century experiments in penal reform in states and cities throughout the United States.⁸ Since then, scholars from an array of disciplinary backgrounds have explored the Western shift away from corporal punishments and toward incarceration, most notably Michel Foucault's classic *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*.⁹ Interestingly, the vast literature on European

⁸ Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont, *Du système pénitentiaire aux États-Unis et de son application en France* (Paris, 1833).

⁹ See, Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1977); John L. Bonn, *Gates of Dannemora* (New York: Doubleday, 1951); Mark Colvin, *Penitentiaries, Reformatories, and Chain Gangs* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); William Crawford, *Report on the Penitentiaries in the United States* (Montclair, New Jersey, 1969); Donald Cressey, *The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961); Thomas Dumm, *Democracy and Punishment: Disciplinary Origins of the United States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); Estelle Freedman, *Their Sisters' Keepers: Women's Prison Reform in America, 1830-1930* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981); Lawrence Friedman, *Crime and Punishment in American History* (New York: Basic Books, 1993); Larry Goldsmith, "Penal Reform, Convict Labor, and Prison Culture in Massachusetts, 1800-1880," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1994; Joseph M. Hawes, "Prisons in Early Nineteenth-Century America: The Process of Convict Reformation," *Law and Order in American History* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1979), 37-52; M.J. Heale, "The Formative Years of the New York Prison Association, 1844-1862," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (1975): 320-347; Adam Hirsch, *The Rise of the Penitentiary: Prisons and Punishment in Early America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Michael Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1790-1850* (New York: Pantheon, 1978); W. David Lewis, *From Newgate to Dannemora: The Rise of the Penitentiary in New York, 1796-1848* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965); Lewis, "Newgate of New York: A Case History (1796-1828) of Early American Prison Reform," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 47, no. 2 (1963): 137-172; Robert M. Lindner, *Stone Walls and Men* (New York: Odyssey Press, 1946); Louis Masur, *The Rites of Execution: Capital Punishment and the Transformation of American Culture, 1776-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Blake McKelvey, *American Prison: A History of Good Intentions* (Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith, 1977); Michael Meranze, *Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution, and Authority in Philadelphia, 1776-1835* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); J.M. Moynahan & Earle K. Stewart, *The American Jail: Its Development and Growth* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1980); William Novak, *The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); George R. Panetta, "Up the River: A History of Sing-Sing Prison in the Nineteenth Century," Ph.D. diss., The Graduate Center of the City University of New York, 1999; Alexander Pisciotta, *Benevolent Repression: Social Control and the American Reformatory Prison Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 1994);

penal colonies often (inadvertently) gave nonhuman nature a prominent role, exploring the relationships forged among aboriginal peoples, inmates, and prison officers in strange and often unforgiving climates and environments.¹⁰ Nevertheless, up to the end of the twentieth century, most prison scholarship remained institutionally oriented. In the 1970s, however, we see the near simultaneous emergence of the environmental movement, new legal frameworks designed to protect the nation's ecological integrity and public health, *and* the beginnings of mass incarceration in the United States.¹¹ Advocates and detractors on each side of these momentous social upheavals would eventually converge in the towns and villages of the Adirondacks.

Not surprisingly, as prison populations nationwide have begun to decline, a new, interdisciplinary interest in carceral studies has taken root, exploring the historical underpinnings and social consequences of late twentieth century mass incarceration. Michelle Alexander's *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* situates prisonland as the intended result of policies designed to temper the growth potential of the African American community in the post-King era, while Ruth Wilson Gilmore's *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus,*

David Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little Brown, 1971); Phillip K. Shinnick, "Natural Sport, the Olympic Prison, and the Fight for Sovereignty Rights of the Mohawks," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 9, no. 1 (1981): 43-52; Paul Tappan, *Crime, Justice, and Correction* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960); and Karel Weiss, ed., *The Prison Experience: An Anthology* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1976).

¹⁰ On penal colonies, see Alice Bullard, *Exile to Paradise: Savagery and Civilization in Paris and the South Pacific, 1790-1900* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000); Joy Damousi, *Depraved and Disorderly: Female Convicts, Sexuality and Gender in Colonial Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); James Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russia's North Asian Colony, 1581-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Colin Forster, *France and Botany Bay: The Lure of a Penal Colony* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996); Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore: A History of the Transportation of Convicts to Australia, 1787-1868* (New York: Vintage, 1988); David Mackay, *A Place of Exile: The European Settlement of New South Wales* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); David Neal, *The Rule of Law in a Penal Colony: Law and Politics in Early New South Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Stephen Nicholas, ed., *Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia's Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Deborah Oxley, *Convict Maids: The Forced Migration of Women to Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies: A Study of Penal Transportation from Great Britain and Ireland to Australia and Other Parts of the British Empire* (Irish Historical Press, 1998).

¹¹ See, Rose Braz and Craig Gilmore, "Joining Forces: Prisons and Environmental Justice in Recent California Organizing," *Radical History Review* 96 (Fall 2006): 95-111.

Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California explores the tangled social and racial politics of mass incarceration as they developed in 1980s and 1990s California. Their studies have sharpened my own understandings of how mass incarceration functioned as a social process carrying both large-scale historical consequences and an array of specific, discrete, and seemingly miniscule effects that reverberate among the inmates, families, officers, communities, and environments implicated in the nation's prisonland.¹²

The presence of prisons in remote, rural locales like the Adirondacks, far from inmates' families and homes, was not accidental, though few scholars have examined the environment's role in prisonland politics. By the late twentieth century, the North Country's eleven prisons served both as a nexus of state power and as a significant source of locals' livelihoods. Peter Redfield explored the role of nature in the construction of penal colonies and rocket bases in French Guiana in *Space in the Tropics: From Convicts to Rockets in French Guiana*. W. David Lewis attempted a similar task in his article "Fiasco in the Adirondacks: The Early History of Clinton Prison at Dannemora, 1844-1861," briefly examining the relationship between the Adirondack environment and construction of the region's first state prison. While not environmental histories per se, each of these works provide a useful framework for my

¹² See, Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: The New Press, 2010); Robert Chase, "'Slaves of the State' Revolt: Southern Prison Labor and a Prison-Made Civil Rights Movement," in Robert Zieger, ed., *Life and Labor in the New South* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012); Mary Ellen Curtin, "State of the Art: The New Prison History," *Labor* 8, no. 3 (2011): 97-108; Mary Gibson, "Global Perspectives on the Birth of the Prison," review essay, *American Historical Review* 116, no. 4 (Oct. 2011): 1040-1063; Leon Fink, "Editor's Introduction," *Labor* 8, no. 3 (2011): 1-3 Marie Gottschalk, *The Prison and the Gallows: The Politics of Mass Incarceration in America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Rebecca Hill, "'The Common Enemy Is the Boss and the Inmate': Police and Prison Guard Unions in New York in the 1970s and 1980s," *Labor* 8, no. 3 (2011): 65-96; Talitha LeFlouria, "'The Hand that Rocks the Cradle Cuts Cordwood': Exploring Black Women's Lives and Labor in Georgia's Convict Camps, 1865-1917," *Labor* 8, no. 3 (2011): 47-63; Alex Lichtenstein, "A 'Labor History' of Mass Incarceration," *Labor* 8, no. 3 (2011): 5-14; Heather Ann Thompson, "Rethinking Working Class Struggle through the Lens of the Carceral State: Toward a Labor History of Inmates and Guards," *Labor* 8, no. 3 (2011): 15-45; Tom Wicker, *A Time to Die: The Attica Prison Revolt* (New York: Crown, 1975); and, Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, and Opposition in Globalizing California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

exploration of the connections among nonhuman nature, prisons, inmates, officers, and their surrounding communities.¹³

Finally, since its inception over four decades ago, the intellectual scope of environmental history has broadened from the realm of conservation policy and park building to include questions involving cities, health, race, gender, and culture, among others.¹⁴ Among a vast sea of scholarship, Richard White's *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River*, has both continually challenged and informed my understandings of the relationships forged among

¹³ Peter Redfield, *Space in the Tropics: From Convicts to Rockets in French Guiana* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); W. David Lewis, "Fiasco in the Adirondacks: The Early History of Clinton Prison at Dannemora, 1844-1861," *New York History* 49, no. 3 (1968): 284-305; on labor issues, see, John Conley, "Prisons, Production, and Profit: Reconsidering the Importance of Prison Industries," *Journal of Social History* 14, no. 2 (1980): 257-275; Sylvia Kronstadt, "The Prison Guards: An Unhappy Lot," *New York Affairs* 2, no. 2 (1974): 60-77; Rebecca McLennan, "Punishment's 'Square Deal': Prisoners and Their Keepers in 1920s New York," *Journal of Urban History* 29, no. 5 (2003): 567-619; Andrew Peterson, "Deterring Strikes by Public Employees: New York's Two-for-One Salary Penalty and the 1979 Prison Guard Strike," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 34, no. 4 (July 1981): 545-562; and Lynn Zimmer & James Jacobs, "Challenging the Taylor Law: Prison Guards on Strike," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 34, no. 4 (July 1981), 531-544.

¹⁴ Examples of more traditional environmental history include Ethan Carr, *Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1991); Mark Harvey, *A Symbol of Wilderness: Echo Park and the American Conservation Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000); Paul Josephson, *Industrialized Nature: Brute Force Technology and the Transformation of the Natural World* (Shearwater Books, 2002); Frieda Knobloch, *The Culture of Wilderness: Agriculture as Colonization in the American West* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Carsten Lien, *Olympic Battleground: The Power Politics of Timber Preservation* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1991); Chris Magoc, *Yellowstone: The Creation and Selling of an American Landscape* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999); Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); Kathy Mason, *Natural Museums: U.S. National Parks, 1872-1916* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004); Linda F. McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Chad Montrie, "I Think Less of the Factory than of My Native Dell: Labor, Nature, and the Lowell 'Mill Girls,'" *Environmental History* 9, no. 2 (April 2004): 275-295; James Pritchard, *Preserving Yellowstone's Natural Conditions: Science and the Perception of Nature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); Justin Reich, "Re-creating the Wilderness: Shaping Narratives and Landscapes in Shenandoah National Park," *Environmental History* 6, no. 1 (Jan. 2001): 95-117; Donna Rilling, "Sylvan Enterprise and the Philadelphia Hinterland, 1790-1860," *Pennsylvania History* 67, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 194-217; Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Mark Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Ted Steinberg, *Nature Incorporated: Industrialization and the Waters of New England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Daniel Vickers, "Those Dammed Shad: Would the River Fisheries of New England Have Survived in the Absence of Industrialization?" *William and Mary Quarterly* 61, no. 4, 3rd. Ser., (Oct. 2004): 685-712; and Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

modern infrastructure and nonhuman nature. Two points in particular are worth mentioning.

First, White asserts,

Planning is an exercise of power, and in a modern state much real power is suffused with boredom. The agents of planning are usually boring; the planning process is boring; the implementation of plans is always boring. In a democracy boredom works for bureaucracies and corporations as smell works for a skunk. It keeps danger away. Power does not have to be exercised behind the scenes. It can be open. The audience is asleep. The modern world is forged amidst our inattention.¹⁵

Exploring the mountains of memoranda, reports, and correspondence produced by correctional planners, it might be easy to accept White's cynical view of state power. However, my work reveals an empowered and engaged public, ranging from state officials, local politicians, homeowners, and inmates all the way to local soils, waters, wildlife, and mountainsides as active and vital participants in the planning of penal institutions. Key players' attention to detail, whether in determining how to treat prison sewage or the best way to scale a razor wire fence, informed the social experience of mass incarceration in Adirondack prison towns from the planning stages and beyond. More often than not, the often unpredictable plans of human and nonhuman nature outside the realm of "planning" were vital to the shaping and building of the North Country's prisonland.

Second, White writes of the Columbia River, "no matter how much we have created many of its spaces and altered its behavior, it is still tied to larger organic cycles beyond our control."¹⁶ Prisons in the Adirondacks, as we will see, were not immune to the dynamic forces of climate, nonhuman nature, and a population whose understandings of both their environment's "organic cycles" and of the very nature of "control" were often impossible to predict. As the

¹⁵ Richard White, *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), 64.

¹⁶ White, *The Organic Machine*, 112.

decades passed and the region's prisonland grew, these seemingly anti-natural and highly artificial correctional institutions would undergo a long process of naturalization, thanks in no small measure to the innumerable hours spent by largely non-white inmates working on, repairing, and creating the very artificial infrastructure that helped give meaning to the area's nature.¹⁷

¹⁷ On race and environmental history, see, Robert Bullard, *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality* (Westview Press, 3rd ed., 2000); Susan Clayton & Susan Opatow, eds., *Identity and the Natural Environment: The Psychological Significance of Nature* (Boston: MIT Press, 2004); Luke Cole & Sheila Foster, *Environmental Racism and the Rise of the Environmental Justice Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2001); Giovanna di Chiro, "Nature as Community: The Convergence of Environment and Social Justice," in William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1995); Andrew Hurley, *Environmental Inequalities: Class, Race, and Industrial Pollution in Gary, Indiana, 1945-1980* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); and Carolyn Merchant, "Shades of Darkness: Race and Environmental History," *Environmental History* 8, no. 3 (July 2003): 380-394.

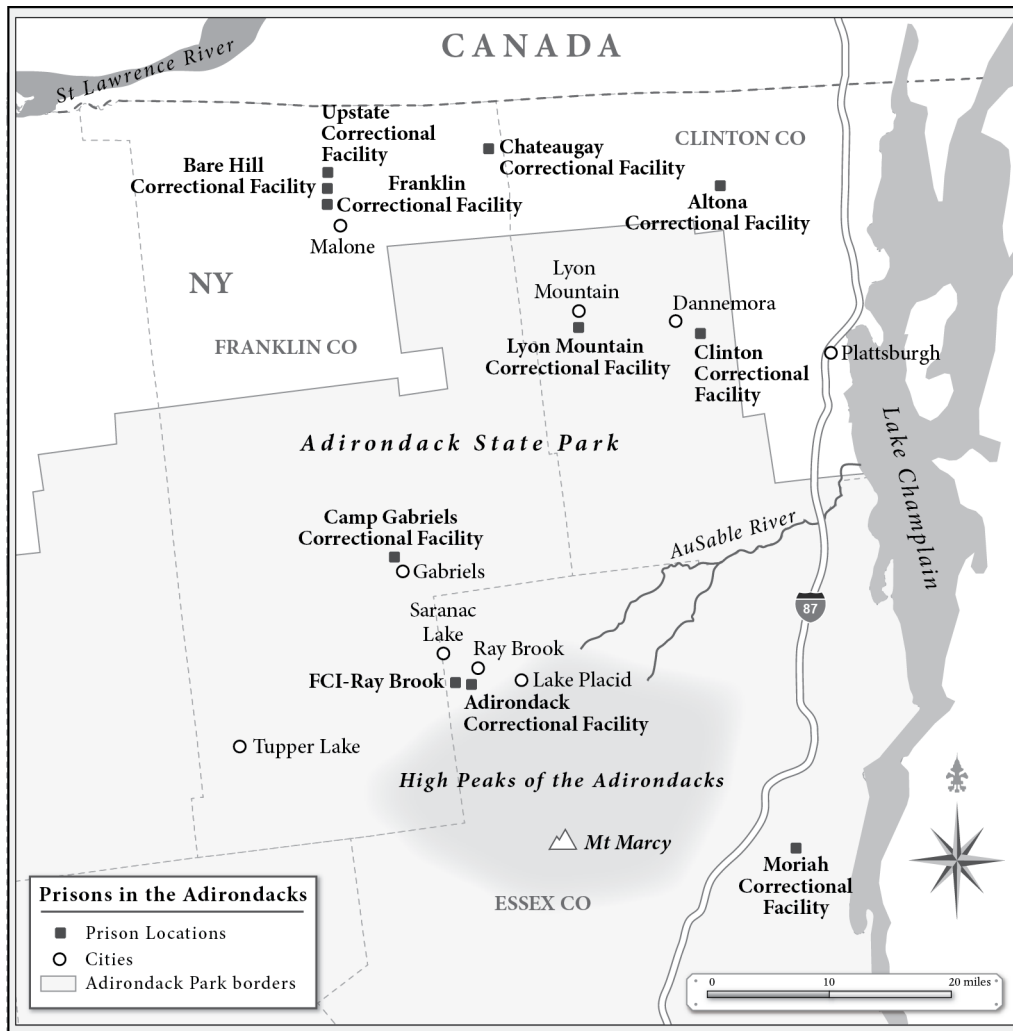


Figure 2: Federal and State Correctional Facilities in Northeastern New York. Map by Gerry Krieg, 2014.

Chapter Summary

In the chapters that follow, I will explore the social, environmental, political, and economic dimensions of prison building projects in five Adirondack Park communities, highlighting how each township’s history, nature, and socioeconomic divisions shaped the penitentiaries’ planning and long-term development. Chapter 1 explores how the first two decades of operations at Clinton State Prison, opened in an unpopulated corner of the Adirondacks in 1845, helped establish a framework for correctional expansion in the

Adirondacks over a century later. Viewed simultaneously as a way to deal with overcrowding at Sing Sing and Auburn, as an economic development scheme for the isolated region, and as an innovative experiment in humane inmate rehabilitation, Clinton came under immediate scrutiny by the Prison Association of New York, whose inspections uncovered a penal institution and healthful natural environment working in tandem to achieve reform. By the 1850s and 1860s, however, reformers discovered failing prison industries, increasing numbers of escapes, and punishments bordering on torture. As the village of Dannemora grew around the prison, and as a massive wall, guard towers, and gun turrets surrounded the prisoners, the reform impulses of Clinton's early years became lost to history. When confronted with another overcrowding crisis in the early 1970s, prison planners' desperate search for cell space landed them back in the North Country. Unlike 1845, however, correctional officials had to contend with an array of environmental regulations and permanent and seasonal residents whose class positions and relationships with nature determined their support or opposition to prison expansion. Nevertheless, critics and advocates alike shared a strong desire not to become a second Dannemora.

Chapter 2 delves into the complicated political and bureaucratic maneuvering that resulted in both a state and federal prison opening in the Essex County hamlet of Ray Brook during the run-up to the 1980 Winter Olympics in nearby Lake Placid. These penitentiaries, though, were the unintended consequence of a series of seemingly unsolvable dilemmas at the federal, state, and local levels in the early 1970s. A nationwide recession coincided with a renewed commitment from politicians to crack down on narcotics and violent crime. As the nation's prisons burst at the seams, correctional officials' efforts to build new cells met resistance from homeowners reluctant to have inmates as neighbors and the reality of

environmental laws designed to mitigate developments' ecological impacts. In the Adirondacks, Olympic organizers' efforts to use Ray Brook's former tuberculosis hospital for athletes' housing met competition from other cash-strapped bureaucracies also seeking to control the facility. Eventually, the state Corrections Department reopened the hospital as a minimum-security prison camp in September 1976. Olympic officials then partnered with the federal Bureau of Prisons to seize 155 acres of Forest Preserve land in Ray Brook and build a new facility to first house athletes and reopen as a federal medium-security prison. While most locals were unalarmed by the state's penal conversion of a familiar institution, the radical environmental transformations, ecological damage, and threats to public health from construction of the federal prison engendered bitterness and alienation among the same homeowners. The confluence of international athletics and mass incarceration also inspired a global protest movement that shone a harsh light on American criminal justice policies. After 1980, hope that both prisons might seamlessly integrate into Ray Brook were dashed by frequent escapes, violence, unrest, and labor troubles. As the two prisons came to resemble each other, though, the prisons' early history remained the primary factor driving residents' feelings of acceptance or alienation.

Inspired by the prisons in Ray Brook, state correctional planners continued their search for space in the Adirondacks, arriving in May 1981 in the Franklin County hamlet of Gabriels, which is the subject of chapter 3. After efforts to stem overcrowding by building prisons in New York City's suburbs encountered stiff resistance from affluent homeowners, Gabriels' former Catholic tuberculosis hospital, owned by Paul Smith's College, seemed like a safe alternative. However, many of those same wealthy suburbanites owned second homes in Gabriels and sought to prevent the property's sale for use as a minimum-security prison camp. For fifteen months, a well-funded and well-organized anti-prison movement, aided by sympathetic allies at the

Adirondack Park Agency, successfully delayed and nearly prevented the prison's opening. After the facility opened in August 1982, however, an unexpected transformation occurred. Though the Gabriels penitentiary, like its sibling institutions in Ray Brook and Dannemora, experienced escapes, unrest, and occasional violence, the invaluable labor of its prisoner work crews on countless outdoor conservation and public works projects across the region helped soften the views of even the harshest critics. By the time New York announced Gabriels' closure in 2009, nearly the entire community turned out to rally in its defense. The prison's former critics understood the value of inmate labor in repairing and preserving the recreational infrastructure that gave meaning to their understanding and uses of Adirondack nature. In a sense, then, area residents had unwittingly incorporated a once reviled institution into their recreation-oriented vision of the Adirondack Park's meaning.

In chapter 4, we turn to the Clinton County hamlet of Lyon Mountain, located seven miles west of Dannemora, whose iron ore mines for nearly two centuries fed the nation's steel industry. The departure of Republic Steel in 1967 left this former company town's 800 residents with rundown infrastructure, a devastated natural environment, and no other viable industry. Difficulty securing private capital to invest in the isolated hamlet delayed reconstruction of roads, sewers, and water systems well into the 1980s. At the same time, the development-minded town board's apparent willingness to sell its vast natural resources to the highest bidder inspired resistance from residents determined to safeguard their community's environmental and public health against new corporate threats. The Corrections Department's June 1983 decision to reopen Lyon Mountain's shuttered public school as a minimum-security prison, therefore, met an ambivalent response from most locals. While acclimated to living in close proximity to a state penitentiary, most homeowners felt little joy in becoming a prison town. Nevertheless, residents

and board members expected public investment in the new correctional facility to include funding for the community's decaying infrastructure. The Corrections Department, for its part, limited its spending only to the prison, leaving town leaders and residents to apply for outside grants and loans, employ inmate labor, and find other alternative solutions to reverse the damage of decades of corporate control. The prison, meanwhile, functioned quietly and largely without incident during its nearly thirty years of operation, allowing Lyon Mountain's largely retired population to live in a serene and peaceful postindustrial community.

Finally, chapter 5 traces the nearly twenty-year struggle among political leaders and residents in the Franklin County village of Tupper Lake to attract a state prison to their community. By 1980, Tupper Lake's long dominant logging and tourist trades were in a tailspin, encouraging local officials to look on Ray Brook's apparent good fortune as a source of inspiration. While early efforts to attract a correctional facility involved a complex scheme to revive the logging trade through construction of a combined wood-burning electric plant and penal institution, by the mid 1980s, local politicians and area prison employees (some of whom worked in Ray Brook, Gabriels, Lyon Mountain, and Dannemora) decided on a penitentiary as a new, stand alone industry for their struggling community. However, as at Ray Brook and Gabriels, residents and second homeowners invested in preserving the area's aesthetic qualities and recreational character resisted the proposal, exploiting fears of the AIDS virus, warning of environmental damage, and asking locals whether they wanted Tupper Lake to become another Dannemora. Numerous rejections of Tupper Lake preceded the state's 1997 decision to build a 1500-inmate maximum-security prison in Franklin County, leading to a bitter showdown between a large and determined group of advocates, a skeptical Corrections Department, an ambivalent Adirondack Park Agency, a group of well-funded though intimidated local

opponents, and the Sierra Club, whose threats to sue the state ultimately witnessed the project moved outside the Park to the Franklin County village of Malone, already home to two other state prisons. The July 1999 opening of Upstate Correctional Facility, the state's sixty-ninth prison, witnessed the beginning of a long period of contraction in New York's prisonland. In Tupper Lake, meanwhile, the state agreed to help build a natural history museum, though its status as a consolation prize for the village's lost prison is not part of its official guided tour.

Chapter 1
“The Germ from Which, With Proper Cultivation, the Green Tree Shall Spring”: Nature, Labor, and Reform at Clinton State Prison, 1841-1865

Introduction

In June 1845, as the last traces of winter gave way to summer, two inmates incarcerated at the recently opened Clinton State Prison in Dannemora, New York, escaped into the surrounding wilderness. After eating lunch and returning to work, the men jumped the fence in hopes of finding freedom twenty miles away in Canada. With limited knowledge of the terrain, by sunset they found themselves a mere 800 feet from the prison yard. As darkness consumed the forest, the prisoners weighed their options. Frustrated, hungry, tired, and sore from hours of running in circles, surrender seemed tempting. However, their misunderstanding of the local environment was matched only by their appreciation for the workings of the justice system. As rain began to fall, the inmates kept going to avoid almost certain punishment. Amidst a violent thunderstorm, they fell into a swamp, a “natural prison” of sorts that confined them for the rest of the night. At dawn, they headed east along a road swarming with “groups of men with guns and sticks” out looking for them. The inmates luckily stumbled upon a local woman’s cottage, but armed searchers soon arrived, striking one with a stone, while the other fled. Deputies arrested the uninjured inmate, and his counterpart spent the night hiding in the woods. By morning, “his

hunger was so intolerable that he came out and surrendered himself to the men who were still watching along the road.”¹⁸

After two days on the run, Clinton State Prison’s first escapees were back in the clink. The physical punishment that had propelled their perilous journey, however, did not materialize. In view of their poor health and physical condition, officers imposed a suspended sentence to be meted out only in the event of future misbehavior. The threat worked, as officials noted the prisoners “conducted themselves with such perfect propriety as not to have deserved even a reproof” in the months following their brief sojourn in the Adirondack wilderness.¹⁹

This escape narrative helps illustrate the complex relationship among the natural environment, correctional institutions, social reformers, and area residents that took shape in the Adirondacks in the mid-nineteenth century. As the public slowly acquired increased knowledge of the remote locale, its vast natural resources and available lands proved attractive for farmers, entrepreneurs, and, in time, the state prison system. However, as prison building began in the 1840s, concerned parties interpreted, used, and reshaped nature to suit their respective visions of modernity and rehabilitation. To the chagrin and delight of correctional officials, prisoners’ surroundings could be both liberating and confining. While offering refuge to both escapees and inmates allowed to work outside the fence, the unfamiliar wilderness also served as a barrier to those contemplating a getaway. Meanwhile, urban penal reformers’ understanding of the inherent rehabilitative qualities of Adirondack nature established an intellectual and socio-scientific framework for future prison expansion in the region. Finally, local residents, including cottage dwellers, prison officers, search party members, and others, found themselves ensnared

¹⁸ “The Clinton State Prison,” *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 17 (Nov. 1845), 351-352.

¹⁹ “The Clinton State Prison,” *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 17 (Nov. 1845), 351-352.

in a crimescape whose dimensions would expand for 150 years.²⁰ Thus, the early history of Clinton State Prison sheds light on the broader social, political, economic, and ecological implications of increased reliance on carceral forms of punishment.²¹

The Adirondacks before the Crimescape

The Adirondacks stretch from the Québec border to the outskirts of Albany, and west from Lake Champlain to the hinterlands of Lake Ontario. For centuries before geologist Ebenezer Emmons affixed the name “Adirondack” to the region in the late 1830s, Eastern Woodland peoples including Abenaki, Algonquian, and Mohawk, traversed and inhabited the region. According to legend, Jacques Cartier viewed its rugged terrain from Montreal in 1535 after his Algonquian guide Donnacona “pointed out to him the country toward the south, speaking of rivers, ‘seas,’ lakes, and the route by which one could penetrate as far as the lands of the Iroquois.” Travelers remarked on the region’s wildly diverse ecosystems, which together

²⁰ I am defining a crimescape as a landscape whose physical, social, political, cultural, and economic dimensions have been shaped, either in whole or in part, by state sanctioned criminalization of particular human behaviors and activities. In developing this term, I have been influenced by the work of Thomas Andrews and Connie Chiang. See Andrews, *Killing for Coal: America’s Deadliest Labor War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), and Chiang, “Imprisoned Nature: Toward an Environmental History of the World War II Japanese American Incarceration,” *Environmental History* 15, no. 2 (Apr. 2010): 236-67.

²¹ Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont wrote the first extensive work on antebellum American prisons during their visit in the 1830s. See Beaumont & Tocqueville, *Discours sur la pénitencière aux États-Unis* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, reprint, 1964). More contemporary works on American prisons include Mark Colvin, *Penitentiaries, Reformatories, and Chain Gangs* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994); Thomas Dumm, *Democracy and Punishment: Disciplinary Origins of the United States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); Lawrence Friedman, *Crime and Punishment in American History* (New York: Basic Books, 1993); Larry Goldsmith, “Penal Reform, Convict Labor, and Prison Culture in Massachusetts, 1800-1880,” Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1994; Adam Hirsch, *The Rise of the Penitentiary: Prisons and Punishment in Early America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Michael Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1790-1850* (New York: Pantheon, 1978); Blake McKelvey, *American Prison: A History of Good Intentions* (Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith, 1977); Michael Meranzy, *Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution, and Authority in Philadelphia, 1776-1835* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); George Panetta, “Up the River: A History of Sing-Sing Prison in the Nineteenth Century,” Ph.D. diss., Graduate Center of the City University of New York, 1999; Alexander Pisciotta, *Benevolent Repression: Social Control and the American Reformatory Prison Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 1994); and, David Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little Brown, 1971).

would perform important roles in the daily functioning of Dannemora's prison. The Adirondacks' high mountains, vast waterscape, abundant wildlife, assortment of vegetative resources, untouched forest, and untapped minerals propelled white pioneers *and* prison planners to establish a foothold in the region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.²²

The relative obscurity of its scattered and tiny settlements, however, left the Adirondacks unknown to most Revolutionary era Americans. The majority of New York residents living outside New York City concentrated in the Mohawk and Hudson Valleys. While post-revolutionary migrations swelled those areas' populations, the Adirondacks' geographic isolation, poor soils, and short growing season kept many settlers away. However, popular beliefs concerning the positive relationship between soil fertility and abundant tree cover (along with a corresponding disdain for barren, treeless land) created a slow trickle of migrants from Canada, New England, and other parts of New York in the early nineteenth century. Life was difficult for farmers tilling the rocky soil, leading many toward market agriculture, mining, and tourism to survive. From early on, settlers understood that long-term survival in the region required a range of skills and talents.²³

²² Philip G. Terrie, "The New York Natural History Survey in the Adirondack Wilderness, 1836-1840," *Journal of the Early Republic* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1983): 185-206; Guy Omeron Coolidge, *The French Occupation of the Champlain Valley from 1609 to 1759* (Fleischmanns, NY: Purple Mountain Press, 1938/1999), 8-9; Colin Calloway, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); and, *The Opening of the Adirondacks* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1865), pp. 16-17, 23, 54-57, 59, 61-64, 69.

²³ Philip Terrie, *Forever Wild: A Cultural History of Wilderness in the Adirondacks* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), 4; James W. Darlington, "Peopling the Post-Revolutionary New York Frontier," *New York History* 74, no. 4 (Oct. 1993): 340-381; John R. Stilgoe, "Fair Fields and Blasted Rock: American Land Classification Systems and Landscape Aesthetics," *American Studies* 32, no. 1 (Spring 1981): 21-33; Terrie, *Contested Terrain: A New History of Nature and People in the Adirondacks* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press & The Adirondack Museum, 1997), 20-23, 28, 32-33; Glenn Harris, "The Hidden History of Agriculture in the Adirondack Park, 1825-1875," *New York History* 83, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 165-202; and, Karl Jacoby, *Crimes against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), especially Part I, on the Adirondacks.

Expanding settlements and increased knowledge of this “blank spot” on the map garnered attention from state leaders. In 1827, Governor DeWitt Clinton warned that future generations would regret squandering the Adirondacks’ vast resources, especially as the state’s population steadily grew. Accordingly, the legislature funded a wide-ranging scientific investigation designed to rationalize, catalogue, and establish control over the enormous region. In 1836, a group of the country’s most prominent scientists began the five-year Natural History Survey. Their ambivalent view of wilderness as both an obstruction to the progress of civilization and as an “antidote to the evils of modernity” and “source of spiritual power” heavily informed their work. In addition to extolling nature’s commercial and aesthetic values, the scientists reorganized the political landscape through the imposition of county and township boundaries; the naming of mountains, lakes, rivers, and streams; and, in keeping with Americans’ sentimental attitudes toward Native peoples, imprinted a supposedly Iroquois word, “Adirondack,” over the entire region.²⁴

News of the survey’s findings inspired new visitors and migrants to travel to the Adirondacks. Artists, hunters, fishermen, and other outsiders hired local guides to assist them on their trips, and tuberculosis patients and sickly urbanites fled the cities to breathe fresh, mountain air. Joining them were executives from newly formed logging, mining, and tourism companies heeding the call to exploit nature’s bounty. The area’s vast mineral deposits proved especially

²⁴ Lloyd C. Irland, *The Northeast’s Changing Forest* (Petersham, MA: Harvard University Press for Harvard Forest, 1999), 186-187; Edward Pessen, *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics* (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1969), 66; William Cronon, “The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature,” in William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: Norton, 1995), 69; and, Terrie, “The New York Natural History Survey in the Adirondack Wilderness, 1836-1840,” 185-186, 195-198; and, Terrie, *Contested Terrain*, 13-14, 16; Terrie, *Forever Wild*, 7; Jane Eblen Keller, *Adirondack Wilderness: A Story of Man and Nature* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1980), 114; James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); and, Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

tempting. Local legend tells of a chance 1826 meeting in Essex County between a Jersey City lawyer interested in building a mining business and a St. Francis Indian who guided him toward a remote area containing “various and immense amounts of ore, equal almost to the demands of the world for ages” as well as “boundless forests of hard wood and an abundant water power.”²⁵ Though little known at the time of this random encounter, the Adirondacks’ ore, water, and forests would be crucial both to its economic development and future in the crimescape.

The Carceral State in Early New York

Criminal justice policies in North America had undergone enormous transformations by the time New York announced construction of its first Adirondack prison in 1842. Historically, law enforcement preferred public corporal punishments and executions as quick and inexpensive forms of deterrence. Alternatively, inmates might be forced to row galleys, construct public works, or perform other socially useful tasks. European workhouses, where paupers, petty offenders, and vagrants labored under close supervision, had provided inspiration for New York City’s first such institution, which opened in 1735. Chronic labor shortages, however, made European-style punishments impractical, and officials instead opted to impose fines and often overlooked minor offenses. Unfortunately, relative leniency prompted fear of recidivism and the creation of a permanent criminal class in a state that could not afford permanently active police,

²⁵ See Charles Brumley, *Guides of the Adirondacks: A Short Season, Hard Work, Low Pay* (Glens Falls, NY: North Country Books, 1994); Ellen Damsky, “A Way of Life: Saranac Lake and the ‘Fresh Air’ Cure for Tuberculosis,” Ph.D. diss., SUNY Binghamton, 2003; Karen Ann Dietz, “A Home in the Woods: Summer Life in the Adirondacks,” Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992; Craig Gilborn, *Adirondack Camps: Homes away from Home, 1850-1950* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000); Gilborn, *Durant: The Fortunes and Woodland Camps of a Family in the Adirondacks* (Glens Falls, NY: North Country Books, 1981); Harold Hochschild, *Life and Leisure in the Adirondack Backwoods* (Blue Mountain Lake, NY: Adirondack Museum, 1962); W. Douglas McCombs, “Therapeutic Rusticity: Antimodernism, Health, and the Wilderness Vacation, 1870-1915,” *New York History* 76, no. 4 (Oct.1995): 409-428; Gregg Mitman, “Hay Fever Holiday: Health, Leisure, and Place in Gilded Age America,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 77, no. 3 (2003): 600-635; David Strauss, “Toward a Consumer Culture: ‘Adirondack Murray’ and the Wilderness Vacation,” *American Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 270-286; *The Opening of the Adirondacks*, 66; and, Stilgoe, “Fair Fields and Blasted Rock,” 27.

court, and penal systems. Thus, many Revolutionary era New Yorkers called for carceral punishments designed both to protect the public *and* ensure rehabilitation. Many favored Jeremy Bentham's *Panopticon*, a circular prison providing constant surveillance of inmates.²⁶ Reformation of prisoners through incarceration, work, and intense supervision, therefore, provided the intellectual framework for New York's emerging correctional system.

New York's first penal institution, Newgate, opened in Greenwich Village in 1796 and featured a prominent prison reformer as its warden. To promote rehabilitation, Thomas Eddy encouraged religious worship and education and forbade corporal punishment. Inmates spent their days producing shoes, barrels, linen, woolen cloth, and woodenwares in factories that helped ensure the prison's solvency. However, Newgate quickly required reformation of its own. Because prison jobs were tools of patronage, corrupt administrators often obstructed the institution's objectives and misspent its miniscule public funds. As reformers' fears of increased crime materialized, overcrowding in Newgate led officials to suggest establishment of a penal colony either upstate or in the Pacific Northwest, and one lawmaker recommended inmate labor to build roads into the as yet, largely unknown Adirondacks. The state settled on closing Newgate and building two new prisons upstate: along the route of the future Erie Canal at Auburn in 1817, and on the banks of the Hudson at Sing Sing in 1825.²⁷

Both Auburn and Sing Sing became notorious as authoritarian institutions dedicated to rehabilitation through harsh punishment and terror. Shifting away from the reform-minded

²⁶ W. David Lewis, *From Newgate to Dannemora: The Rise of the Prison in New York, 1796-1848* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965), 7, 10, 12, 13, 15-17, 19; Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Vintage, 1997), especially the chapter on workhouses in the Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977); and, Rebecca McLennan, *The Crisis of Imprisonment: Protest, Politics, and the Making of the American Penal State, 1776-1941* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

²⁷ Lewis, *From Newgate to Dannemora*, 29, 32-33, 37-39, 41, 44, 54-55, 61.

Newgate, inmates at Auburn worked in silence during the day, spent nights alone in poorly ventilated, cold, and unlit cells, consumed substandard and often rotten food, faced violent beatings for minor infractions, and lived under constant surveillance. The facility's daily routines quickly acquired international renown as the Auburn system. Persistent overcrowding at Auburn, however, prompted purchase of lands adjacent to marble mines thirty miles north of New York City to build Sing Sing. Viewing rehabilitation as a fool's errand, administrators instituted the Auburn system at Sing Sing, including vicious beatings and starvation diets that led many inmates to drown themselves in the Hudson. The phrase "going up the river" came to embody the fear of transport to New York's newest upstate prison.²⁸

The institutional regimens of Auburn and Sing Sing closely resembled those of the nation's budding industrial workplaces. To ensure the facilities' financial solvency, lawmakers in 1817 had authorized a system of contract labor allowing private firms to import raw materials for mass production by inmates in prison industries. Whether producing shoes, barrels, carpets, combs, furniture, or clothing at Auburn, or cutting stone from the hills at Sing Sing, inmate workers were vital to the profitmaking abilities of early nineteenth century entrepreneurs.²⁹ As New York's prisons became public factories using forced labor for private gain, concerned

²⁸ Lewis, *From Newgate to Dannemora*, 63, 70, 117-118, 126-127, 133, 136, 153, 182-183; M.J. Heale, "The Formative Years of the New York Prison Association, 1844-1862: A Case Study in Antebellum Reform," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (1975): 320-347; also, Pieter Spierenburg, "From Amsterdam to Auburn: An Explanation for the Rise of the Prison in Seventeenth-Century Holland and Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Social History* 20, no. 3 (1987): 439-461; and, Panetta, "Up the River." Suicide was common at Sing Sing; with the river abutting the prison grounds, and with most Americans not knowing how to swim, throwing oneself into the Hudson was a quick and convenient way to escape the terror. Dutch penal officers in the early modern period often executed convicted criminals by throwing them into rivers and canals. See Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*.

²⁹ John A. Conley, "Prisons, Production, and Profit: Reconsidering the Importance of Prison Industries," *Journal of Social History* 14, no. 2 (Winter 1980): 257-275; W. David Lewis, "Fiasco in the Adirondacks: The Early History of Clinton Prison at Dannemora, 1844-1861," *New York History* 49, no. 3 (1968): 284-305; Lewis, *From Newgate to Dannemora*, 179, 181-183; and, Anne Mackinnon, "Welcome to Siberia," *Adirondack Life* 28 (Nov./Dec. 1997): 40-51.

citizens organized to resist the terror, cruelty, and exploitation that defined daily life in the state's increasingly packed correctional institutions.

Looking at their turbulent streets and neighborhoods, New York City residents articulated a rationale for overcrowding that provided a foundation for action.³⁰ They blamed increasing crime rates on relaxed law enforcement; lenient punishments and early releases common at Newgate; and, by the 1830s, terror-scarred inmates returning from upstate prisons and highly susceptible to recidivism.³¹ A new social movement dedicated to building a properly funded, politically independent, and morally oriented correctional system arose in 1844. The Prison Association of New York had one big objective: end the Auburn system altogether. At the time of the group's founding, New York undertook construction of Clinton State Prison at Dannemora, where reformers hoped a penal regime centered on humane, rehabilitation-oriented punishment would take hold.

“Within the yard all is alive with industry”: Inventing Dannemora

A variety of factors led New York to choose an uninhabited, unnamed, and uncharted section of the Adirondack wilderness for its new prison. In addition to addressing rising crime rates and chronic overcrowding, state leaders faced pressure from skilled workers calling for an end to competition from existing contract labor systems at Auburn and Sing Sing. While supportive of incarceration, mechanics and journeymen called for the new penitentiary to employ

³⁰ See, Tyler Anbinder, *Five Points: The Nineteenth Century New York City Neighborhood that Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections and Became the World's Most Notorious Slum* (Plume, reprint, 2002); Herbert Asbury, *The Gangs of New York: An Informal History of the New York Underworld* (Hippocrene, 1989); Randolph Roth, *American Homicide* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009); and, Ted Steinberg, *Down to Earth: Nature's Role in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), especially “Death of the Organic City.”

³¹ M.J. Heale, “Humanitarianism in the Early Republic: The Moral Reformers of New York, 1776-1825,” *Journal of American Studies* 2, no. 2 (Oct. 1968): 161-175.

distantly exiled prisoners only on projects that would mitigate the financial burdens imposed on free labor. For their part, North Country politicians welcomed the prospect of a massive new institution as a vehicle for economic development in their remote and sparsely populated locale. What better way to heed DeWitt Clinton's call to exploitation, and set the correctional system on a new course, than to employ inmate labor in the region's burgeoning mining trade?³²

Discussions of the new penitentiary focused on its relationship with the local environment. Scientists with the Natural History Survey first proposed putting inmates to work building roads, operating sawmills, and mining iron ore in the area. The idea resurfaced in 1841 when a local resident urged Governor William Seward to employ prisoners in iron mining in Clinton and Essex Counties. In 1842, the Assembly's Committee on Prisons endorsed a North Country penitentiary after reviewing data indicating vast ore deposits, enlisting Saratoga County inventor Ransom Cook to find a site suitable for mining and incarceration.³³ Thus, in much the way planners had chosen Auburn for its proximity to the Erie Canal, and Sing Sing for its marble mines and closeness to the Hudson, the natural bounty of the Adirondacks figured prominently in the decision to build a penitentiary in the North Country.³⁴

³² Mackinnon, "Welcome to Siberia," 46; and, Lewis, "Fiasco in the Adirondacks," 288-289. John Conley discussed how Oklahoma's first political leaders (after statehood in 1907) attempted to use the construction of an industrial prison at McAlester to promote economic growth in the largely rural and sparsely populated state. See Conley, "Prisons, Production, and Profit," 259.

³³ Mackinnon, "Welcome to Siberia," 46; Lewis, *From Newgate to Dannemora*, 198; Terrie, "The New York Natural History Survey in the Adirondack Wilderness," 198; and, Terrie, *Contested Terrain*, 16.

³⁴ Iron mining in the Adirondacks preceded the prison debate. By 1770, the North American colonies were the world's third largest iron producer. Miners extracted iron from deep inside hard rock, with many believing possession of particular ores would bring great wealth. By the nineteenth century, iron became an important raw material in industries ranging from consumer goods to railroads. Mining in the Adirondacks began at Chateaugay in 1798, and by the 1820s ore processing and iron production enterprises were operating in Clinton, Essex, and Franklin Counties. See, Robert B. Gordon, *American Iron, 1607-1900* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 1, 28; Sven Anderson and Augustus Jones, "Iron in the Adirondacks," *Economic Geography* 21, no. 4 (Oct. 1945): 276-285; and, Douglass C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860* (New York: Norton, 1966), 164-165.

Cook's investigation landed him in western Clinton County. His 1843 report concluded the area's magnetic ore was "very valuable," that the mines were "the best located...in regard to an abundant supply of fuel [timber and water]," and that "the soil of the adjacent country is good, furnishing an abundant supply of provisions at a cheap rate." Cook stated confidently "that for the manufacture of wrought iron, this is the best locality for such an establishment [prison]." Finally, Cook promised iron produced at Dannemora would "be put in competition with the manufacturers of iron in Europe," and not with domestic producers, helping to settle the frayed nerves of skilled workers across the state.³⁵

The state moved swiftly to act on Cook's findings. In May 1844, the governor appropriated \$75,000 to build the prison, employ inmates in iron production, and allow Cook to acquire the land, resources, and prisoners necessary to begin construction. Support for the project had been nearly unanimous. Local lawmakers, labor organizations, and skilled workers from all over New York had lobbied to locate the prison "in the Northern part of the State where the convicts could be employed in mining and the manufacture...of Iron" and "by which our mechanics would be relieved from the ruinous competition entailed by the present system." Fear that the facility might compete with free labor prompted 4,500 skilled workers to petition lawmakers in March 1844:

The undersigned, Mechanics of the City of New-York and vicinity, respectfully pray your Honorable Body to consider favorably the Bill providing for the building of a new Prison, in the Northern section of this State...The...mechanics would further respectfully state, that we are earnest and anxious for the passage of this bill, under the full belief and assurance that it will eventually divert the labor of our State convicts from all interference with the labor of any and all of our citizens, it being our sincere conviction that the labor of the convicts...will interfere only with goods imported, and such imported goods

³⁵ Report of Ransom Cook, to the Legislature, Jan. 28, 1843, New York Public Library, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, New York, N.Y.

consisting mostly of the best iron from Russia and Sweden, made by the convicts chiefly of those countries.

The bill's passage prompted parades, speeches, toasts, fireworks, a twenty-six-gun salute in Albany and a one hundred gun salute in New York City, "an example followed by most of the villages in the State."³⁶ The prospect of more humane carceral policies, of course, had played no role in these public displays of support. Safeguarding the material interests of one class of New Yorkers by incarcerating and exploiting another, however, had provided a reason to rejoice.

Once the celebration ended, the work of building New York's fourth prison began. Warden Ransom Cook purchased land containing mines "of magnetic oxide of iron, in Clinton County, about fourteen miles west of Plattsburgh, and about fourteen hundred feet above Lake Champlain." The heavily forested tract that would become Dannemora had, since 1836, hosted a total of two inhabitants squatting in an old hunting cabin. Fear of a possible overcrowding emergency led officials to begin construction in the winter of 1844-1845. Cook's description of the work displayed clearly both the opportunities and limitations attached to modernizing an unbroken and isolated environment:

About the first of February [1845], the stockading of the yard for this prison was commenced and prosecuted through the winter, notwithstanding the snow here was more than five feet deep on an average... On the 21st of April, the erection of temporary buildings for... officers, guards, workmen, and convicts, was commenced amid a heavy growth of timber, and with nearly three feet of snow still remaining on the ground... The cold late spring, the want of roads, and other inconveniences incident to the location, combined to retard the completion of these buildings until June.

³⁶ Anonymous, "These are Your N.Y. State Correctional Institutions... Clinton Prison, Part I," *Correction* 14, no. 2 (Feb. 1949), 3-13; Duane H. Hurd, *History of Clinton and Franklin Counties, New York* (Plattsburgh: Clinton County Bicentennial Commission, 1880/1978), 48; *New York Daily Tribune*, "The New York State Prison Bill—Movements of the Mechanics," Mar. 29, 1844; *New York Daily Tribune*, "The State Prison Bill," May 1, 1844; Anonymous, "The Clinton State Prison," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 17 (Nov. 1845), 345-352, 347; also, Edward Pessen, *Jacksonian America*, especially pp. 115-117 on the antebellum urban working class; and, Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City & The Rise of the American Working Class, 1790-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

Nevertheless, workers finished a cellblock in April, at which point Cook left to gather his inmates. At Sing Sing, he took fifty prisoners to the chapel and explained where they were being taken, the work they would perform, and the treatment they could expect. Having spent much of their lives in a bustling metropolis, and until that night, in a brutal carceral environment, the men spent “a restless night” aboard a boat on the Hudson before embarking for Dannemora, the settlement recently named for the famous iron mining community in Sweden.³⁷

By June 1845, Clinton State Prison was operating within a 15,000 acre tract of state-owned forestland containing iron ore deposits discovered by Cook. The Plattsburgh *Republican* highlighted the environmental changes wrought both in satisfying the demands of free labor and from the state’s relentless push to modernize, control, and profit from the region’s natural bounty:

As we egressed from the woods on nearing the location, the view was picturesque and interesting. Directly in your face is the new village of Dannemora, about nine weeks old. There are several comfortable dwellings standing among the recently-blackened stumps; then there are block-houses, log-houses, and shanties, of various qualities, sprinkled among the tall trees, presenting a wild, rural appearance; but reminding one that a gust of wind might crush them beneath the falling forest. A few rods farther in advance, and we are met by the tall palisades enclosing the prison yards... Within the yard all is alive with industry. The mingled sound of stone-chisels, stone-hammers, trowels, picks, saws, planes, and blacksmiths hammering, with the occasional booming of the blasts, creates a din that is peculiarly impressive, as it is unaccompanied with talking, calling and shouting among the workmen so common (yet so unnecessary) where workmen are employed on extensive jobs... The difficulties of the location—of procuring materials over such roads—working in this region, and of a late, stormy spring, were far from trivial.

³⁷ Mackinnon, “Welcome to Siberia,” 46-47; “The Clinton State Prison,” *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, 348; Hurd, *History of Clinton and Franklin Counties, New York*, 304; *The Opening of the Adirondacks*, 20-21; Mackinnon, “Welcome to Siberia,” 47; Ransom Cook, agent of Clinton State Prison, first report to the legislature, 1845, New York Public Library, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, New York, N.Y.; and, Lewis, “Fiasco in the Adirondacks,” 290.

These revolutionary transformations notwithstanding, planners also expected nonhuman nature to assist them in guarding and reforming the inmates. As a critic of the Auburn system, Cook believed in enforcing discipline only as a last resort (as evidenced by his treatment of the institution's first two escapees). He did not fear disruptions, because, "the woods rather protect the prison." Indeed, Cook asserted, the rough-hewn prison wall, which "stood alongside the mountains," might even be unnecessary under a penal regime dedicated to humane rehabilitation.³⁸ Urban prison reformers, too, hoped Dannemora would open a new chapter in what had been a dark time in New York's prisons.

"The pure air of its mountainous altitude": Nature and Reform at Dannemora

As Clinton Prison took shape, a group of "highly respectable" merchants, lawyers, doctors, and educators gathered in a New York City ballroom on a chilly night in December 1844 to form the Prison Association of New York.³⁹ The group called for amelioration of prisoners' living conditions; humane discipline; and assistance for released inmates in finding housing, jobs, and other necessities. Protecting discharged prisoners from "corrupting influences" reflected reformers' emphasis on the role of environmental factors in criminal behavior. Viewing inmates as victims of external conditions beyond their control, the Association believed each possessed "the germ from which, with proper cultivation, the green tree shall spring." Accordingly, the group called for a total reformation of prison governance:

³⁸ Hurd, *History of Clinton & Franklin Counties, New York*, 49; Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); *Plattsburgh Republican*, Aug. 16, 1845; "The Clinton State Prison," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, 351; *The Opening of the Adirondacks*, 31; and, Mackinnon, "Welcome to Siberia," 42.

³⁹ The Prison Association counted among its members former New Jersey Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen, lawyer Abraham Van Nest, educator Thomas Gallaudet, Philip Van Rensselaer, King Oscar I of Sweden and Norway, Alexis de Tocqueville, Gustave de Beaumont, Dorothea Dix, and future Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner. See, Prison Association of New York, *Fourth Report of the Prison Association of New York* (New York: The Association, 1847-1848), pp. 3-5.

“Brute force can have but a short period of existence in a civilized society. A government compelled to oppose its enemies only by physical force, would soon lose that moral power by which governments alone can be effectually sustained.”⁴⁰ Instituting such a vision at Dannemora eventually proved more challenging than reformers had expected.

With a state charter in hand, the Association undertook its most important duties: detailed annual reports of yearly inspections to the state’s prisons. Inspectors focused special attention on inmates’ physical health and education. In 1845, they reported that officers in New York City jails did not allow prisoners to exercise, warning that lack of exposure to clean air, “the immediate and incessant pabulum of life itself,” was as dangerous to health “as the indigestion of bad food.” Reformers also called for a ban on smoking, which they considered “as little conducive to health as it is to cleanliness,” and implored lawmakers to provide educational and vocational training to inmates, many of whom were illiterate and lacked useful work skills. Having discovered correctional facilities operating as warehouses, the Association held out hope that the reform impulse that had helped create Dannemora had also inspired its governance and daily operations.⁴¹

Association inspectors Dr. John Griscom and John Edmonds conducted the group’s first inspection of Clinton Prison in 1846. After leaving New York City, it took forty-six hours to travel from Albany to Dannemora along “a road distinguished for its roughness...an almost

⁴⁰ Prison Association of New York, *First Report of the Prison Association of New York, 1844* (New York: Jared W. Bell, 1845), New York Public Library, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, New York, N.Y., 3, 6-7, 13, 15, 20, 23, 27, 40. Other antebellum prison reform organizations included the Boston Prison Discipline Society, founded in 1826, and the Philadelphia Prison Society, founded in 1776.

⁴¹ Prison Association of New York, *Second Report of the Prison Association of New York, 1845* (New York: The Association, 1846), New York Public Library, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, New York, N.Y., vol. II, iii-vi, 68, 76, 84, 97, 102; Peter Baldwin, “How Night Air Became Good Air, 1776-1930,” *Environmental History* 8, no. 3 (Jul. 2003): 412-429; and, Prison Association of New York, *Third Report of the Prison Association of New York, 1846* (New York: The Association, 1847), New York Public Library, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, New York, N.Y., 9.

uninterrupted ascent, through deep sand, broken rocks, and water-worn gullies.” On arrival at the prison, they reported that “the reign of cruelty seems to have passed away,” and that the new penitentiary “has from its foundation been thus well and wisely governed.” They praised the architectural design, including large cells, wide hallways, high ceilings, and a network of pipes furnishing “a regulated supply of air, from without, into the prison, warmed in winter.” The environment, “with the pure air of its mountainous altitude,” would render “Clinton prison... unrivaled” as an institution committed to humane rehabilitation. The 159 prisoners, most of whom were under thirty years of age, appeared in good health, such as “might be expected in persons at regular labor, with good and wholesome diet, in a general atmosphere of the greatest purity,” exhibiting “cheerfulness” and “an elasticity and vigor of mind and body.” The inspectors proclaimed, “cruelty is unknown, and disobedience infrequent” at Dannemora.⁴² The collaboration of state-sponsored moral reform and the putative powers of nature, it seemed, were speeding the downfall of the Auburn system.

The Association’s 1848 inspection report highlighted what appeared to be an increased commitment to humanitarian reform at Dannemora. The inspectors’ interviews with the 143 prisoners (composed of 133 whites, eight African Americans, and two Native Americans) showed that most had been manual laborers, “chiefly farmers and mechanics”; were incarcerated for property and alcohol related offenses; and that fewer than one quarter were recidivists. They found the prison “in a condition very creditable to its warden and officers, and the prisoners, with

⁴² Prison Association of New York, *Third Report of the Prison Association of New York, 1847*, 43, 59, 112, 114, 117. The inspection report also revealed demographic information on the men imprisoned at Dannemora. Of the 159 inmates in August 1846, there were 145 whites, and 14 African Americans; most were serving sentences between two and four years; the majority were between 20 and 30 years old; just under 20 percent were repeat offenders; and the vast majority were in prison for property-related crimes. See *Third Report of the Prison Association of New York, 1847*, pp. 118-126. Cook built the ventilation system during this first year as warden. See, *Second Report of the Prison Association of New York*, 149-150, for a detailed description.

but few exceptions, in the enjoyment of excellent health.” The interplay of moral reform and nature, too, appeared to have generated some positive impacts:

The location of the prison as to climate, the plan of the building with reference to the accommodation of its unfortunate inmates, the peculiar and admirable system of ventilation, the nature of the labor required, and the healthful food prescribed by law, all conspire to produce an evidence of comfort and an aspect of cheerfulness well calculated to alleviate the sadness of spirit which must ever lay heavy upon the minds of the unfortunate inmates of a prison... A large portion of the prisoners said they could not reasonably complain. Most of them acknowledged that the warden and his keepers, with some special qualification, were as kind in treatment and as attentive to their wants as their condition would warrant them to expect.

The prisoners’ desire for reformation was such that “many declared their intention to call at the office of the Association [in New York] if they should have an opportunity. One of them, a colored man, contributed a dollar to our funds, and another declared that a part of his earnings, after the expiration of his sentence, should be given to the prison.”⁴³

However, inspectors James Titus and Richard Reed also uncovered evidence of disciplinary measures at Clinton that seemed Auburneseque. After finding an inmate in the prison hospital recovering from a gunshot wound sustained during an escape attempt, they cited interviews with prisoners indicating an increase in harsh disciplinary measures, especially since the departure of Ransom Cook as warden. A particularly troubling discovery concerned a form of punishment known as a “shower bath,” where officers slowly poured water over the heads of inmates restrained in wooden chairs. The inspectors pleaded for an end to what amounted to torture, urging administrators to install a dungeon and employ the supposedly more humane punishment of solitary confinement. Thus, it seemed that the putative therapeutic benefits of a

⁴³ Prison Association of New York, *Fourth Report of the Prison Association of New York* (New York: The Association, 1849), New York Public Library, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, New York, N.Y., 207-209, 214. Because of the Association’s chronic financial difficulties, the inspectors very often used their personal funds to finance trips to and from New York City to Dannemora.

wilderness setting were no match for the capricious and arbitrary discipline of officers and administrators unversed in the language of reform.⁴⁴

Five years later, the Association's 1853 report on Dannemora revealed an ongoing struggle to achieve the organization's objectives. John Stanton Gould and James Titus noted that officers allowed inmates to eat "the best quality" food until they were full because "the labor here being mostly carried on in the open air, and...heavier in its character than at any other prison... makes a greatly increased allowance, absolutely necessary." While working in the mines and at other tasks, prisoners enjoyed sharply reduced surveillance from officers. The inspectors observed, "some of the men are sent into the woods alone with teams; others are taken...into the open fields to work on the farm; detached parties work...in different parts of the yard, without the immediate oversight of the keeper." The influence of Dannemora's rugged environment on this relaxed disciplinary regime cannot be overstated: "Situated in the wilderness, and remote from...public conveyances, it is more difficult here...to escape even when outside the stockade, if they go into the forest they are probably lost, and after traveling for days are as likely to find themselves within a mile of the prison as any where else."⁴⁵ The two men who escaped eight years earlier had proven this point almost as soon as the prison opened.

On the other hand, Gould and Titus's research also revealed new challenges, both in the prison and within the Association itself. The inspectors noted the "evil" of political affiliation "being almost solely recognized as a qualification for office, irrespective of personal fitness or moral character." The Association feared that without the restraining and liberating effects of

⁴⁴ Prison Association of New York, *Fourth Report of the Prison Association of New York*, 207-214.

⁴⁵ Prison Association of New York, *Ninth Report of the Prison Association of New York* (Albany: Charles Van Benthuysen Printers, 1854), New York Public Library, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, New York, N.Y., 156, 158, 160.

the natural environment, officers at Clinton might not “enter heart and soul into the duties required of them.” At the same time, they articulated an alternative criminological theory that posited the importance of sin, and not environment, as a primary factor in law breaking. The individual himself, the inspectors asserted, was responsible for his own actions, employing naturalistic metaphors to illustrate their point:

The seed of evil should be destroyed whilst it is young and vigorous; nay, the poisonous blossoms should not be suffered to drop its seed. It is not an exotic, or of forced culture; it does not require care or attention to develop and propagate it. Simple neglect will do the work effectually; leave it to itself, and like the thistle down, it will take root on the highways as well as the by-ways, on the most sterile soil and the richest virgin lands.⁴⁶

Though not a call for Auburn system discipline, the inspectors’ call to preempt criminal behavior seemed both a rejection of carceral punishment, which their organization had approved, and an endorsement of a pseudo-Darwinian approach to preventing criminality before it could take root. Dannemora’s difficulties in breaking with Auburn, it seemed, had tested the idealism of even the most committed penal reformers.

Reduced funding led to fewer inspections at Dannemora by the mid 1850s, as the Association focused more attention on penal facilities in the New York City area. However, the group remained active in correctional reform. In 1857, it proposed allowing inmates to perform salaried work upon completion of their mandatory prison tasks, and suggested reduced sentences for good conduct. However, the onset of the Civil War led to suspension of the group’s activities, “at a time when the safety of the nation, the perpetuity of democratic government, the

⁴⁶ Prison Association of New York, *Ninth Report of the Prison Association of New York*, 25, 157-159.

preservation of our Federal Union and the defence of our liberties, occupy...the minds of all patriots.”⁴⁷

Meanwhile, the Association’s struggle to reverse the Auburn system at Dannemora became an unwinnable war. An explanation for their difficulties could be found in the environment itself. Reformers insisted on understanding the region’s non-human nature as a partner in the task of humane rehabilitation. However, that partnership required cooperative inmates, officers, and administrators in order to function. When those humans’ behavior failed to conform to the Association’s vision (witnessed in inmate escapes and officers’ use of a rudimentary form of waterboarding, for example), even the purest air, loftiest mountains, and cleanest water would be insufficient to effect the changes they sought. Faced with the reality of an imperfect institution where prisoners, guards, reformers, and nature constantly vied for control, Association idealism began to crack. Though an improvement over the brutal regimes that governed Auburn and Sing Sing, Clinton’s incomplete and halting efforts to balance humanitarianism with its mandate to discipline and punish reflected the equally unpredictable and hard-to-manage environment out of which it had grown.

Conclusion

In August 1864, *The New York Times* published an editorial entitled, “Adirondack.” The paper extolled the “advantages offered for residence by our Atlantic cities” as being “their proximity to the most charming natural retreats, to which we can easily escape during the intervals of our business.” The *Times* noted:

⁴⁷ Prison Association of New York, *Tenth Report of the Prison Association of New York* (Albany: Charles Van Benthuyzen Printers, 1855); Prison Association of New York, *Eleventh and Twelfth Reports of the Prison Association of New York* (Albany: Charles Van Benthuyzen Printers, 1857), 21-22; and, Prison Association of New York, *Sixteenth Report of the Prison Association of New York* (Albany: Charles Van Benthuyzen Printers, 1862), New York Public Library, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, New York, N.Y., 16-17.

Within an easy day's ride of our great City, as steam teaches us to measure distance, is a tract of country fitted to make a Central Park for the world. The jaded merchant, or financier, or *litterateur*, or politician, feeling excited within him again the old passion for nature (which is never permitted entirely to die out), and longing for the inspiration of physical exercise, and pure air, and grand scenery, has only to take an early morning train, in order, if he chooses, to sleep the same night in the shadow of kingly hills, and waken with his memory filled with pleasant dreams, woven from the ceaseless music of mountain streams.

With the completion of railroads through the area, the editorial claimed, "the Adirondack region will become a suburb of New-York."⁴⁸ Within the decade, urban industrialists seeking refuge from the nation's overcrowded cities heeded the call to build private estates up north separated physically, socially, and intellectually from the existing environment. However, wealthy elites' efforts to imprint a recreation-oriented vision of natural resource stewardship generated conflict with poorer locals and eventually, with an expanding crimescape, too.

Though passed over by waves of tourists discovering the Adirondacks, Dannemora and its massive prison underwent enormous transformations in the decades after the Civil War. Clinton's mining operation collapsed during the depression of the 1870s, pushing more inmate workers onto the prison's farm, into its textile factories, and scattered across the sprawling facility as cooks, custodians, and in all manner of forced labor. Expanding inmate populations also led to more discipline and surveillance. Six-story-high stonewalls and guard towers replaced the wooden stockade in 1887; executions by electrocution began in 1892 (causing blackouts in the village); and new hospitals housed the mentally ill and tuberculars by the turn of the century. At the same time, generations of correctional employees building and purchasing

⁴⁸ "Adirondack," *The New York Times*, Aug. 9, 1864, 4.

homes fueled continued expansion outside the wall.⁴⁹ By the mid-twentieth century, Dannemora's fluctuating free and unfree populations reflected often-sharp changes in the inmate count within a given year. By 1971, the prison system held 12,577 inmates, down from 19,073 five years earlier. The Clinton Correctional Facility, which incarcerated 2123 inmates in 1967, held only 961 in 1971, at which time fewer than 3000 residents called Dannemora home. Increasing numbers of inmates arriving from New York City transformed the demographic profile of the prison and the community. The 1970 federal Census recorded 32 percent of Dannemora's population as African American, an anomaly in a region where some communities were 100 percent white, and a drastic shift from the eight black inmates who had arrived back in 1845.⁵⁰

The combined efforts of correctional officials, moral reformers, inmates, and the natural environment had helped create the less coercive penal environment at Dannemora in the mid

⁴⁹ Andrea Guynup, "The Largest Maximum Security Prison in New York," *All Points North Magazine*, Aug. 2006; and, Ron Roizen, "The 'Courts' of Clinton Prison," New York Correction History Society: <http://www.correctionhistory.org/northcountry/dannemora/html/courts00.htm#list>.

⁵⁰ The state prison system's operations remained relatively stable after 1945, though its budgets continually increased, and the inmate population jumped up and down. By 1945, the number of men's and women's prisons, reformatories, camps, and mental hospitals had increased. Among the new maximum-security prisons, Attica had opened in 1931, Great Meadow in 1911, Wallkill in 1932, and Bedford Hills (for women) in 1933. New minimum-security reformatories (for younger inmates) included Elmira in 1876, Westfield State Farm in 1901, and Cossackie in 1935. Camp facilities (operating in partnership with the Conservation Department) operated at Pharsalia, Monterey, Summit, and Georgetown by the mid-1950s. Mental hospitals for the criminally insane operated at Matteawan and Dannemora. Through the early 1970s, capital construction projects modernized much of the physical infrastructure at Clinton Prison, and interestingly, a plastic surgery program became a popular part of the rehabilitation program, removing scars and other physical imperfections from inmates prior to release. See, State of New York, *Annual Report of the Department of Correction, 1945* (Albany: DOC, 1946), 15-18, 21, 23; *Annual Report of the Department of Correction, 1946* (Albany: DOC, 1947), 28; *1965 Annual Report, Department of Correction, New York State* (Albany: DOC, 1966), 3-5, 10, 13, 18; *Department of Correction, New York State, 1966 Annual Report* (Albany: DOC, 1967), 3-5, 7-9, 19; *Annual Report 1968, State of New York Department of Correction* (Albany: DOC, 1969), 6, 8, 10, 26; and, *Annual Report 1970, State of New York Department of Correction* (Albany: DOCS, 1971), 6-7, 16, 24, 26, 27. On Dannemora population, see, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 34, New York* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), pp. 34-15, 34-22, 34-115; and, *Census of Population: 1970, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 34, New York—Section I* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), 34-12, 34-24, 34-68.

nineteenth century. However, as the state and federal governments embarked on a program of mass incarceration and prison building in the Adirondacks beginning in the 1970s, the legacies and lessons of Clinton Prison's first two decades became subject to manipulation and reinterpretation among a host of self-interested stakeholders. Correctional planners and their local advocates promised that new penal institutions built inside existing communities would not resemble Dannemora. In so doing, they caricatured the region's first prison as little more than a huge eyesore subject to violence, escapes, unrest, and disruption. However, their message met a receptive audience among both opponents and supporters of crimescape expansion, as few tourists or Adirondack Park residents outside Dannemora looked kindly on their sibling community.⁵¹ Lost in this retelling of history, though, was the penitentiary's central role in the prison reform and free labor movements of the mid nineteenth century, and its prominent efforts to rid New York of a notoriously cruel and inhumane penal system. Nevertheless, as the Empire State contended with increasing overcrowding in its prisons, correctional planners looking to build in the Adirondacks encountered a socially, economically, and politically diverse population for whom the implications of replicating Dannemora held very different meanings.

⁵¹ New York State created a Forest Preserve in the Adirondacks in 1885, and in 1892 created the Adirondack Park, which included Dannemora and its prison. However, the penitentiary and its large landholdings received special exemption from state conservation laws, allowing the prison to continue operating its forests, farms, and piggeries without state regulation well into the twentieth century. The creation of the Adirondack Park Agency (APA) in 1971, and the imposition of strict zoning and land use regulations in the Park, would apply to the town and village of Dannemora, but not to the correctional facility itself. The following chapters will contain more discussion on the environmental and conservation laws that came into play during the era of mass incarceration.

Chapter 2 “Attica of the Adirondacks?” Naturalizing Mass Incarceration in Ray Brook, 1976-2012

Introduction

On a warm day in August 1978, a contingent of anti-prison activists traveled from New York City to Lake Placid, where preparations were underway for the 1980 Winter Olympics.⁵² The group then drove seven miles west to the hamlet of Ray Brook, where workers were busy transforming a previously undeveloped tract of state Forest Preserve into an Olympic housing complex that would later become a federal medium-security prison. The project manager guided members of Stop the Olympic Prison (STOP) toward the partially completed cellblocks; one participant recalled the experience: “Depressing is the only way one could describe the tiny concrete cubicles and the limited natural light flowing in. Outside, a glance in any direction reveals the beauty of the Adirondack mountains and reminds you of the acres of trees felled and land leveled to build this monstrosity.”⁵³ With the Camp Adirondack state minimum-security prison having opened across the road two years earlier, STOP’s comments foreshadowed a

⁵² After hosting the Winter Games in 1932, Lake Placid bid again for 1948, 1952, 1956, and 1968. The village sought to fill in as host of the 1976 Winter Olympics after Denver withdrew following a referendum in November 1972. The IOC eventually moved the 1976 Winter Games to Innsbruck, Austria, which had hosted in 1964. In the wake of Denver’s withdrawal, the IOC instituted new rules that required voter approval of Olympic bids. See, “Colorado Drops Winter Games Bid,” *New York Times* (hereafter, *NYT*), Nov. 9, 1972; “North Elba residents give board go-ahead on Olympics,” *Adirondack Daily Enterprise* (hereafter, *ADE*), Dec. 5, 1972. Voters in the Town of North Elba approved a 1973 ballot measure authorizing Lake Placid’s bid for 1980. See, “North Elba Voters OK Olympic Bid,” *PR*, Oct. 17, 1973; “’80 Olympics are not just fun and games,” *The Bergen (New Jersey) Record*, Jan. 4, 1979; Ronald MacKenzie, “Lake Placid, ‘Olympic City,’” (Lake Placid, N.Y.: Lake Placid Olympic Organizing Committee, 1977), 84; “Moscow, Lake Placid Awarded ’80 Olympics,” *NYT*, Oct. 24, 1974; “Lake Placid wins 1980 Winter Games,” *ADE*, Oct. 23, 1974; and, “Lake Placid Set Aglow by 1980 Olympic Fever,” *NYT*, Oct. 30, 1974.

⁵³ Stop the Olympic Prison (S.T.O.P.), meeting minutes, Aug. 3, 1978, in S.T.O.P. (Stop the Olympic Prison) (MSS 54), Box 1, St. Lawrence University, Owen D. Young Library, Frank and Anne Piskor Special Collections Department, Canton, N.Y. (hereafter, STOP Records); “STOP opposing prison concept,” *Press Republican* (hereafter, *PR*), Aug. 4, 1978; “Prison Foes Get Cold Shoulder at Placid,” *Watertown Daily Times* (hereafter, *WDT*), Aug. 5, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; and, “Olympics, Yes! Prison, No!” *LPN*, Aug. 10, 1978.

decades-long struggle over the environmental, social, and economic implications of the first expansion of the Adirondack crimescape in over one hundred years.

Unraveling the connection between Olympic planning and the opening of both a state and federal prison in Ray Brook requires that we follow the money. Congress expected viable after-use proposals for each new facility before disbursing Olympic construction funds.⁵⁴ While ski jumps, a bobsled run, and an ice arena promised continual long-term use, satisfying the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) mandate to lodge 2000 participants in one location proved challenging in a village of only 3000 year-round residents.⁵⁵ Then out of nowhere in the early 1970s, the overcrowding and housing difficulties simultaneously afflicting the state and federal prison systems helped save Lake Placid's Olympics.

Few could have predicted that the fortunes of Olympic, state and federal correctional bureaucrats would intersect in tiny Ray Brook. Governor Hugh Carey's conversion of the hamlet's former tuberculosis hospital into Camp Adirondack minimum-security prison in 1976 dashed the Lake Placid Olympic Organizing Committee's (LPOOC) hopes of using it as athletes' housing. As an alternative, local Congressman Robert McEwen recommended a tract of public

⁵⁴ In exchange for millions in federal funds, Congress expected organizers to adhere to strict budget guidelines and provide after use proposals for all new construction. See, House of Representatives, 93rd Congress, 2nd Session, *Report No. 93-1182, Endorsing Lake Placid, N.Y., as the Site of the 1980 Winter Olympic Games* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 9; United States Senate, 93rd Congress, 2nd Session, *Report No. 93-771, 1980 Winter Olympic Games at Lake Placid, N.Y.* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974); and, House of Representatives, 93rd Congress, 2nd Session, *Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, on H. Con. Res. 443 and H. Con. Res 444, Expressing the Sense of Congress in Support of Lake Placid, N.Y., as the Site of the 1980 Winter Olympic Games*, May 8, 1974 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), pp. 1-4.

⁵⁵ On the increasing prominence of the Olympics, see, John Gold, *Olympic Cities: City Agendas, Planning, and the World's Games, 1896-2016* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Holger Preuss, *The Economics of Staging the Olympics* (London: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2006); John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson, *Watching the Olympics: Politics, Power, and Representation* (New York: Routledge, 2012). Since the 1932, Olympic host cities have provided housing for participants. See, Mark Dyreson, "Marketing National Identity: The Olympic Games of 1932 and American Culture," *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* 4 (1995): 23-48; and, Jeremy White, "'The Los Angeles Way of Doing Things': The Olympic Village and the Practice of Boosterism in 1932," *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* 11 (2002): 79-116.

land across the road for a new complex that would first lodge Olympic participants and then reopen as a federal medium-security prison. The congressional spigot opened, and in 1977 the federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) broke ground on Ray Brook's second correctional facility. The ensuing backlash, extending from ordinary homeowners and clergy to heads of state and government, highlighted the range of struggles accompanying New York's wrenching postindustrial transformation.

Though begun around the same time and in close proximity, Ray Brook's new prisons elicited wildly divergent reactions from a variety of self-identified stakeholders. Olympic organizers, correctional officials, and local politicians trumpeted both penitentiaries as necessary engines of economic growth. STOP, meanwhile, cast the "Olympic Prison" as the product of a cynical ploy to expand a flawed penal system under the guise of promoting winter sports. On the other hand, the projects' relative social, economic, and environmental impacts helped shape the responses of Ray Brook residents. While the retention of jobs in a treasured local institution generated support for the state prison at Camp Adirondack, the destruction of an equally beloved environment for the federal prison elicited anxiety and resentment among area homeowners. The fallout from this tumultuous penal transformation would reverberate for the next three decades.

The social experience of mass incarceration in Ray Brook produced a multitude of unintended consequences and outcomes. While STOP's warnings of racial and social turmoil at the Federal Correctional Institution (FCI) materialized, mutual outreach among local residents and Camp Adirondack officers and inmates fostered a climate of goodwill that outlived that facility's medium security upgrade. Neighborly sentiment persisted even as many of STOP's worst fears about FCI began to plague Adirondack Correctional Facility (ACF) as well. However, as the two prisons came more closely to resemble each other, residents' views

remained frozen in time: while the state penitentiary belonged in Ray Brook, the Olympic Prison would always be an unwelcome intruder.

The “establishment of a new industry”: Prisons & Environmental Health, 1974-1979

Pre-existing land use patterns dictated homeowners’ responses to the two prisons planned for their community. For seventy years, the focal point of Ray Brook life had been its 540-acre tuberculosis hospital, a reality residents believed would outlast its penal conversion. Across the road, advocates’ fixation on the federal prison’s potential economic impact blinded them to the bonds linking locals to that environment. Ray Brook’s Forest Preserve had long stitched together the fabric of Adirondack nature, sheltering and nourishing wildlife, plants, and humans alike. The complexity of nature mirrored residents’ equally intricate understanding of the interdependence of bodily and environmental health. The ecological transformations undertaken in the name of mass incarceration damaged the environment, validated locals’ environmental logic, and permanently alienated residents whose support was vital to the project’s success.

Ray Brook had flourished as a center for tuberculosis treatment and research since the hospital’s opening in 1904.⁵⁶ Shrinking demand for tubercular isolation with the discovery of streptomycin, however, drove steady declines in both patient population and scientific work, ending with the facility’s closure in 1971. Though nervous locals expressed relief when it reopened as a state drug rehabilitation center, the declining fortunes of institutional health care

⁵⁶ On tuberculosis in the U.S., see, Mark Caldwell, *Saranac Lake: Pioneer Health Resort* (Saranac Lake, N.Y.: Historic Saranac Lake, 1993); Ellen Damsky, “A Way of Life: Saranac Lake and the ‘Fresh-Air’ Cure for Tuberculosis,” Ph.D. diss., Binghamton University, 2003; David Ellison, *Healing Tuberculosis in the Woods: Medicine and Science at the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994); Georgina Feldberg, *Disease and Class: Tuberculosis and the Shaping of Modern North American Society* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1995); and, Sheila Rothman, *Living in the Shadow of Death: Tuberculosis and the Social Experience of Illness in American History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

struck a hard blow in the chronically depressed region.⁵⁷ Moderate increases in Essex County's population from the 1920s through the 1960s obscured the steady trickle of young people fleeing the North Country in search of steady jobs, leaving older residents to contend with the low pay and irregular employment of the burgeoning tourist trade.⁵⁸ Massive public investment, Olympic organizers hoped, might reverse these ominous trends.

Complying with Congress's after-use requirement for new athletic facilities in Lake Placid stymied efforts to establish an Olympic housing plan. Several failed ideas preceded a 1975 proposal to lodge participants in Ray Brook's drug rehabilitation center and later reopen the

⁵⁷ On tuberculosis hospitals at Saranac Lake and Ray Brook, see, "Doctors Here for Symposium," *ADE*, July 14, 1952; "Trudeau Opens Annual Course," *ADE*, June 1953; "Area Experts at TB Meeting," *ADE*, Feb. 1954; "New TB Treatments Heard at Institute," *ADE*, Jun. 11, 1955; "Stony Wold," editorial, *ADE*, Oct. 31, 1955; "Ray Brook Officials 'Pleased' With Budget," *ADE*, Feb. 2, 1956; "TB Symposium Continues at Saranac Lake," *ADE*, July 12, 1956; "Dr. Harry Bray Dies at 76, Ray Brook Head 30 Years," *ADE*, Nov. 16, 1956; "Ray Brook Open House," *ADE*, Apr. 30, 1958; "Handwriting on the Wall," editorial, *ADE*, May 28, 1958; "Wonderful Staff and Spirit Found at Ray Brook Hospital," *ADE*, Apr. 16, 1960; "45th Trudeau School Opens with 41 Doctors," *ADE*, Jun. 7, 1960; "The Program at Ray Brook," editorial, *ADE*, Nov. 19, 1960; "Ray Brook Cutback is Set; People Take Blow in Stride," *ADE*, Mar. 12, 1964; "A Non-Fatal Wound," editorial, *ADE*, Mar. 12, 1964; "Ray Brook Employees Notified of Job Status," *ADE*, Jan. 18, 1965; "Symposium on Respiratory Diseases Opens Monday," *ADE*, July 9, 1965; "Ray Brook Will Continue Minimum of 4 Years," *ADE*, Apr. 21, 1966; "State Assembly Set to Pass Bill to Broaden Use of Ray Brook," *ADE*, Mar. 18, 1968; "Background and Ray Brook: Saranac Lake History as Health Center," *ADE*, Dec. 26, 1968; "Governor Asks Closing of Ray Brook by Oct. 1; 3 State Agencies Now Considering Use of Facilities," *ADE*, Jan. 24, 1969; "Ray Brook Bombshell," editorial, *ADE*, Jan. 24, 1969; "It All Started with Gov. T.R.," *ADE*, Jan. 24, 1969; "Ray Brook's Reprieve," editorial, *ADE*, May 2, 1969; "Health Dept. Sees End of all 3 State TB Hospitals," *ADE*, Oct. 2, 1969; "TB-RD Association Pleads for Ray Brook Expansion," *ADE*, Nov. 4, 1969; "Governor Reminded of Ray Brook," *ADE*, Dec. 10, 1969; "Rocky States Interest in Ray Brook," *ADE*, Jan. 16, 1970; "Ray Brook Stays in 1970-71 Budget," *ADE*, Jan. 20, 1970; "Ray Brook Now Pursuing Heart, Non-TB Programs," *ADE*, Sept. 17, 1970; "Ray Brook," editorial, *ADE*, Feb. 1971; "Ray Brook Future Remains Uncertain," *ADE*, Apr. 8, 1971; "Ray Brook Probers Hit Facility's Location," *ADE*, Nov. 20, 1975; "Ray Brook Facility," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Dec. 2, 1975; "S.I.C. and Ray Brook," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Dec. 2, 1975; "Defends Ray Brook Staff," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Dec. 2, 1975; "Carey Says Ray Brook to Close," *ADE*, Dec. 16, 1975; and, "Ray Brook Abandonment Likely; Carey has no plans for its use," *ADE*, Jan. 9, 1976.

⁵⁸ On economic conditions in the Adirondacks in the 1970s, see, John Maxwell, Raymond Richardson, and Patricia Olin, "The Economic Impact on the Lake Placid Area of Hosting the 1980 Olympic Winter Games," (Plattsburgh, N.Y.: Technical Assistance Center, 1974), pp. 5-8, and Stephen Papson and Alan Schwartz, eds., "Lake Placid and the 1980 Olympic Games: Community Attitudes and the Planning Process," (Canton, N.Y.: St. Lawrence University Environmental Studies Program and North Country Research Center, 1977), pp. 1-4. Also, "Beauty of Upstate County Hides Poverty of Its Residents," *NYT*, Mar. 24, 1971; "Adirondack Outsider Looks In," *NYT*, Nov. 12, 1972; and, "The Downside of Upstate," *NYT*, Sept. 16, 1984. The 1970 U.S. Census showed a two percent decline in Essex County's population, which Census officials attributed to a lack of regular employment opportunities. At the same time, over nine percent of Essex County families lived on less than \$3000 per year, and eight percent of families in Lake Placid earned incomes below the poverty level. In December 1973, unemployment in Essex County topped 17 percent.

facility as a state prison.⁵⁹ Leaders in Albany, meanwhile, struggled to manage overcrowded penitentiaries and underutilized state health care institutions with steadily diminishing resources. Highlighting revelations of corruption, a swelling budget deficit, and a dire need for cell space, Governor Carey closed the Ray Brook center in December 1975 and proposed conversion to a penitentiary.⁶⁰ Recognizing the facility might soon be lost to New York State, Congress appropriated \$16 million to fund the LPOOC's Ray Brook housing plan.⁶¹ Carey, desperate not to lose the complex to the Olympic organizers, quickly converted it permanently to a minimum-security prison in August 1976.⁶² Camp Adirondack's 200 inmates, relocated from the

⁵⁹ House of Representatives, 93rd Congress, 2nd Session, *Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, on H. Con. Res. 443 and H. Con. Res. 444, Expressing the Sense of Congress in Support of Lake Placid, N.Y., as the Site of the 1980 Winter Olympic Games*, May 8, 1974 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), pp. 18-19; LPOOC, "Information on the 1980 Olympic Winter Games Prepared by the Lake Placid Olympic Organizing Committee for the Congress of the United States," (Lake Placid, N.Y.: LPOOC, 1975), p. 55; "College may use Games buildings," *ADE*, Oct. 30, 1974; "Ray Brook proposed for Olympic village," *ADE*, Sept. 30, 1975; "Shea discusses Ray Brook," *ADE*, Oct. 2, 1975; "Ray Brook drug center may be Olympic village," *PR*, Jan. 14, 1976; "Avalanche over Lake Placid?" *Time*, Jan. 30, 1978; Gray Twombly, Paul Smith's College, to Rep. Robert McEwen, Oct. 14, 1975; and, Helen T. McDonald, Director, Essex County Mental Health Services, to Senator Jacob Javits, Nov. 10, 1975, in Robert McEwen Papers (MSS 25), Box 95-27, Folder: 1980 Olympics, to 1977—Ray Brook Facility Correspondence, St. Lawrence University, Owen D. Young Library, Frank and Anne Piskor Special Collections Department, Canton, N.Y. (hereafter, McEwen Papers). By September 1975, the Ray Brook drug center housed 60 female drug addicts, employed 135 men and women, and operated on an annual budget of \$2.1 million. At its peak, the facility had accommodated 150 patients and employed 202 workers. Even with fewer patients and staff, the center remained one of the area's largest employers.

⁶⁰ "Layoffs hit North," *ADE*, May 19, 1975; "Harris blasts Carey for lack of hiring," *ADE*, May 19, 1975; "Prison system to be expanded," *ADE*, Nov. 11, 1975; "SIC recommends closing Ray Brook Rehab Center," *ADE*, Nov. 26, 1975; "Drugs, booze traded for favors, Ray Brook inmate tells hearing," *PR*, Nov. 19, 1975; "Carey says Ray Brook to close," *ADE*, Dec. 16, 1975; "Ray Brook drug unit may close," *PR*, Dec. 17, 1975; "Resolution protests Ray Brook closing," *ADE*, Dec. 17, 1975; "Ray Brook abandonment likely, Carey has no plans for its use," *ADE*, Jan. 9, 1976; and, "Carey seeking other agencies to reopen Ray Brook facility," *ADE*, Jan. 13, 1976.

⁶¹ "Ray Brook drug center may be Olympic village," *PR*, Jan. 14, 1976; "NCCC trustees urged to accept Ray Brook for campus expansion," *ADE*, Jan. 14, 1976; "Olympic funding bill sent to President," *ADE*, Apr. 12, 1976; "Olympics affect Ray Brook," *ADE*, Apr. 12, 1976; "Olympic bill is \$49,040,000," *ADE*, May 11, 1976; and, "Ray Brook may be Olympic center; USOC considering site for training," *ADE*, May 11, 1976.

⁶² Camp Adirondack in Dannemora operated as part of the Adirondack Correctional Treatment and Evaluation Center (ACTEC) at Clinton Correctional Facility. During its brief existence in Dannemora, Camp Adirondack and its inmates became a familiar presence in area communities. Its closure in 1975 provoked a storm of outrage among employees, residents, and politicians alike. See, "College students present 'Bus Stop' at Dannemora," *PR*, Mar. 24, 1973; "AAUW hears inmates talk," *PR*, Apr. 4, 1973; "Dannemora is scene of TV film," *PR*, Apr. 17, 1973; "Keeseville scouts hear inmate talk," *PR*, Jun. 7, 1973; "\$31,625 bookmobile ready for the road," *PR*, Aug. 4, 1973;

maximum-security Clinton Correctional Facility in Dannemora, would spend the final months of their sentences laboring on local conservation and public works projects in the surrounding region, and anxious residents greeted news of 100 state jobs *and* a new, free labor supply.⁶³ For their part, Corrections officials offered the LPOOC use of its inmate workers and held the door open to housing Olympians inside the new prison.⁶⁴

The Adirondacks' first new correctional facility in 131 years opened in September 1976. Ray Brook's newest unfree residents immediately set to work renovating the former hospital for

"State priority may close minimum security camp," *PR*, Aug. 24, 1973; "Consider making ACTEC an inmate college," *PR*, Aug. 29, 1973; "Prison inmates' families to get help for visits," *PR*, Nov. 30, 1973; "Guest speaker at ACTEC," photo, *PR*, Dec. 15, 1973; "New ice rink," photo, *PR*, Jan. 21, 1974; "ACTEC 'Alive' scheduled for Friday," *PR*, Feb. 28, 1974; "About 300 attend performance of 'ACTEC Alive and On Stage,'" *PR*, Mar. 18, 1974; "ACTEC hosts District 10 Jaycees," *PR*, May 24, 1974; "Correction academy imparts 'interpersonal' skills," *PR*, Aug. 5, 1974; "ACTEC is program-oriented, progressive correctional unit," *PR*, Jan. 24, 1975; "Dannemora center volunteers sought," *PR*, Mar. 17, 1975; "ACTEC, Camp Adirondack to be phased out," *PR*, May 17, 1975; "Facility loss may rock economy," *PR*, May 17, 1975; "North Country leaders outraged," *PR*, May 17, 1975; "Amell's response to Carey," *PR*, May 17, 1975; "Layoffs hit North," *ADE*, May 19, 1975; "ACTEC a pillar to our economy," editorial, *PR*, May 19, 1975; "Harris blasts Carey for lack of hiring," *ADE*, May 19, 1975; "Carey to 'rethink' ACTEC," *PR*, May 20, 1975; "ACTEC won't shut, union leader vows," *PR*, May 23, 1975; "ACTEC closing shows state anti-area—Boissey," *PR*, May 24, 1975; "ACTEC closing: saving or expense?" *PR*, May 29, 1975; "Guards may strike over ACTEC closing," *PR*, May 30, 1975; "ACTEC closing decision 'under review by Carey,'" *PR*, May 31, 1975; "Court sets hearing on ACTEC closing," *PR*, Jun. 5, 1975; "Standing room only," photo, *PR*, Jun. 5, 1975; "ACTEC to stay in prison role," *PR*, Jun. 6, 1975; "ACTEC phase out to end specialized program," *PR*, Jun. 7, 1975; "ACTEC boss says future uncertain," *PR*, Jun. 10, 1975; "Stafford still fights for ACTEC jobs," *PR*, Jun. 10, 1975; "Carey makes wrong decision," letter to the editor, *PR*, Jun. 11, 1975; "Harvey expected to rule Monday on ACTEC," *PR*, Jun. 14, 1975; "ACTEC needed, inmate says," letter to the editor, *PR*, Jun. 19, 1975; "Last inmates leave ACTEC," photo, *PR*, Jun. 27, 1975; "New wing of Clinton Prison to add 23 non-security personnel," *PR*, Jun. 28, 1975; "Jobs may rise in prison changeover: LaVallee," *PR*, Jul. 10, 1975; and, "Prison upgrading mandatory," *PR*, Aug. 25, 1975.

⁶³ On prison camps, see, Volker Janssen, "When the 'Jungle' Met the Forest: Public Work, Civil Defense, and Prison Camps in Postwar California," *Journal of American History* vol. 96, no. 3 (Dec. 2009): 702-726. Also, Douglas Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (New York: Anchor Books, 2009), and Neil Maher, *Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁶⁴ "Corrections taking over Ray Brook," *ADE*, Aug. 13, 1976; "State plans prison camp for Ray Brook center," *PR*, Aug. 14, 1976; "Prison No Bar to '80 Housing," *LPN*, Aug. 19, 1976; "Camp Adirondack relocates in Ray Brook," *ADE*, Sept. 2, 1976; "Ray Brook Campmen Tuned to Mountain Air," *LPN*, Sept. 15, 1976; and, "Triple Play at Ray Brook: Camp to Village to Prison?" *LPN*, Sept. 22, 1976. Corrections intended Ray Brook inmates to work on tree planting, forest management, flood and fire control, trail and campground maintenance, and soil conservation, both on the prison grounds in local municipalities. Ray Brook prisoners averaged twenty-five years of age and were in the final months of their sentences. Officials called them well-behaved and mature men who posed little risk either to themselves, prison staff, or the public.

penal use. The *Adirondack Daily Enterprise* endorsed both the facility and the deepening troubles in the state prison system that had made it all possible:

The prison population in New York State is rising by leaps and bounds, and there is a growing trend toward using minimum security “camps” of this sort for low risk prisoners. Therefore, it is logical to assume that with the passage of time Camp Adirondack could grow to a size where the local employment will be...higher than it was when the drug rehabilitation center was here. Aside from the new employment for the area...the community itself may be able to make use of the residents at the camp for some needed community projects—at great savings to the taxpayers. So far the acceptance of Camp Adirondack by the overwhelming majority of the people in the area, and their elected representatives, has been most encouraging.

Several inmates concurred, calling the area “beautiful,” describing the penitentiary as “far superior” to other state facilities, and declaring Ray Brook would be “as pleasant a spot as any to spend” one’s last months behind bars.⁶⁵ Though disappointing for the LPOOC, Camp Adirondack opened the door to a more fruitful collaboration between them and the federal prison system.

Organizers’ tortuous pursuit of Olympic housing paralleled the BOP’s equally fruitless quest for increased cell space. In the early 1970s, concerned residents across the Northeast had frustrated Bureau efforts to build prisons in their communities. Sensing an opportunity, in June 1976 Congressman McEwen had met with BOP Director Norman Carlson to discuss using the Ray Brook center first as athletes housing and later as a federal prison. McEwen promised skeptical homeowners a facility without “high walls like Dannemora” that would blend

⁶⁵ “Camp Adirondack relocates in Ray Brook,” *ADE*, Sept. 2, 1976; Bill McLaughlin, “If I Had the Wings of an Angel,” column, *ADE*, Sept. 8, 1976; and, “Camp Adirondack is good news for the area,” editorial, *ADE*, Sept. 13, 1976. There was a long history of convicts assisting in the construction of prisons in New York. See, W. David Lewis, *From Newgate to Dannemora: The Rise of the Penitentiary in New York, 1796-1848* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965).

seamlessly with the landscape and create 200 new jobs.⁶⁶ Though this plan for using the center did not come to fruition, the Bureau's eagerness to expand in Ray Brook, endorsed by McEwen, only intensified with residents' warm reception of Camp Adirondack. In November, the BOP and LPOOC announced construction of a new, multi-structure complex (modeled after the federal prison in Memphis) that would house Olympic athletes and later incarcerate 500 federal medium-security prisoners.⁶⁷ After Congress approved the plan in February 1977, McEwen heralded Ray Brook's two new prisons as akin to "the establishment of a new industry in the region."⁶⁸

⁶⁶ "Ray Brook: U.S. Facility?" *LPN*, May 27, 1976; "Ray Brook age called an issue, site is good," *ADE*, Jun. 2, 1976; "Ray Brook Roomers: Felons or Athletes?" *LPN*, Jun. 3, 1976; "Ray Brook: Another Tour," *LPN*, Jun. 24, 1976; and, "Ray Brook prison plan hatched in casual chat," *ADE*, Feb. 23, 1977. McEwen noted that the BOP had experience converting former drug treatment centers in places like Fort Worth, Texas and Lexington, Kentucky, into federal prisons. Since 1975, though, Bureau efforts to build a medium-security prison for youthful offenders in the Northeast met resistance from residents and politicians in places like Lawrence Township, Fairfield, Quinton, and Bridgetown, all in New Jersey; Goshen, Orangeburg, Newburgh, and Yonkers, in New York; and Chester County, Pennsylvania. See, Robert McEwen to Graham Hodges, Dec. 4, 1978; and Robert F. Messmer, BOP Facilities Development Chief, to Thomas Long, Legislative Aide to Rep. McEwen, Jun. 13, 1978, STOP Records. Also, Gary Mote, BOP Assistant Director of the Division of Planning and Development, to Bob Honsted, Chief, BOP Office of Program Development, Subject: Feasibility of Lake Placid Facility Based Upon Population Distribution, Jun. 7, 1976; Mote to Honsted, Subject: Lake Placid, Jun. 16, 1976; and, Mote to Honsted, Subject: Utilization of Lake Placid Location as a Youth FCI, Jun. 23, 1976, McEwen Papers, Box 95-27: Folder—Winter Olympics Youth Correction Center, Ray Brook Memos, Info—Folder 95-27/2168.

⁶⁷ 94th Congress, 2nd Session, *Public Law 94-427, Olympic Winter Games Authorization Act of 1976* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976); LPOOC, "Fifth Report of the Lake Placid 1980 Olympic Winter Games Organizing Committee, for the Executive Committee of the International Olympic Committee," Barcelona, Spain, Oct. 1976 (Lake Placid, N.Y.: LPOOC, 1976), p. 9. Lake Placid's Olympic organizers consistently avoided mention of prisons in their communications with the IOC. See, LPOOC, "12th Report of the Lake Placid Olympic Organizing Committee to the Executive Committee of the International Olympic Committee," San Juan, Puerto Rico, Jun. 29-30, 1979 (Lake Placid, N.Y.: LPOOC, 1979); and, LPOOC, "13th Report of the Lake Placid Olympic Organizing Committee to the Executive Committee of the International Olympic Committee," Nagoya, Japan, Oct. 1979 (Lake Placid, N.Y.: LPOOC, 1979); "Olympic Organizers Seek Advance," *LPN*, Nov. 3, 1976; "Olympic Village Sited at Ray Brook," *LPN*, Dec. 1, 1976; "Placid: Front Runner with Drawbacks," *LPN*, Dec. 9, 1976; "Fregoe on U.S. Prison: 'We Want to See It,'" *LPN*, Jan. 12, 1977; and, "No Bars—And No Place To Put Them," photo, *LPN*, Mar. 31, 1977. Though the Memphis prison served as a prototype, the design of Ray Brook's federal prison would be modified for the Adirondack environment, including deeper foundations; roofs designed to hold heavy snow; extra insulation; construction of cold weather vestibules; and enclosed walkways between buildings. See, "The Athlete Village/Federal Correctional Center at Ray Brook, New York: Background Information," Nov. 9, 1978, McEwen Papers, Box 95-27, Folder: Holtzman Amendment HR 3033: Study After-Use of Athletes' Village. See also, <http://mylifeasasaga.blogspot.com/2012/06/my-prison-designs-saga-4.html>.

⁶⁸ "Placid Olympic Funds total over \$50 million," *PR*, Jan. 18, 1977; "Capitol Hill astir over Placid Olympic funding," *PR*, Jan. 19, 1977; "McEwen eyeing '80 Olympics as an incumbent," *PR*, Feb. 16, 1977; "Congress Acts

In their rush to establish a housing plan, Olympic organizers had become the vanguard of a local prison industry that would expand for two decades. Though Ray Brook's prisons were the byproduct of bureaucratic competition, confusion, and inefficiency, the idea of correctional after use had originated with Olympic planners. The organizing committee's original goal of using the Olympics to breathe new life into the local tourist trade had quickly morphed into a scheme whereby winter sports midwived the birth of a new sector devoted to correctional services. Planners' fixation on Ray Brook intensified after the opening of Camp Adirondack and blinded them to the hazards of undertaking large-scale development on protected public land. The enormous costs and unintended consequences of this drastic transformation would incite outrage among residents concerned about environmental and public health.

The decision to embark on a second round of prison expansion in Ray Brook unmasked the perils of state and federal environmental planning.⁶⁹ The Adirondack Park Agency (APA) reported early in 1977 that the state Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC), which managed public lands in the Adirondack Park, had never classified the tract being targeted for construction. In its own confusion, the APA had zoned the land as private, even though it seemed to be publicly owned. The DEC admitted not knowing whether it was part of the Forest

to Speed Olympic Funds," *LPN*, Feb. 17, 1977; "Priority to be given local people in hiring for Placid Olympics," *PR*, Feb. 24, 1977; "Construction program outlined," *PR*, Mar. 2, 1977; "Committee okays corrections facility funds," *PR*, Mar. 14, 1977; "Main Olympic projects could be done on time," *PR*, Mar. 25, 1977; Senate Committee on Appropriations: Statement of Norman A. Carlson, Director, Bureau of Prisons, Before the Senate Committee on Appropriations for the Department of Justice, Feb. 7, 1977; House Subcommittee on Appropriations: Statement of Norman A. Carlson, Director, Bureau of Prisons, Before the Subcommittee on Appropriations for the Department of Justice, House of Representatives, Feb. 9, 1977; and, Statement of Robert C. McEwen before House State, Justice, Commerce, & Judiciary Subcommittee on Appropriations, Feb. 9, 1977, McEwen Papers, Box 95-27: Folder—Winter Olympics Youth Correction Center, Ray Brook Memos, Info—Folder 95-27/2168. Carlson noted that as of January 30, 1977, there were 28,300 prisoners in BOP facilities (an increase of 4566 in one year), but the BOP had only enough funding and space to house 24,000 inmates.

⁶⁹ On creation of the Forest Preserve, see, Philip Terrie, *Forever Wild: A Cultural History of Wilderness in the Adirondacks* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985); Terrie, *Contested Terrain*; Graham, *The Adirondack Park*; Keller, *Adirondack Wilderness*; Karl Jacoby, *Crimes against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); and, Stradling, *The Nature of New York*.

Preserve, and thus protected from sale and development. Realizing the BOP's intent to build, the APA suggested that the federal government acquire the property through eminent domain. To facilitate condemnation, the Agency changed its map of the Park, designating the site as state land. Nevertheless, even after establishing its Forest Preserve status, the federal government in May 1977 condemned the wrong tract, acquiring 155 acres at Camp Adirondack. This blunder, though, proved no barrier to construction on the property it had intended to acquire.⁷⁰

Months of uncertainty surrounding the land's legal status also revealed the promise of state environmental management. While assisting the federal government in acquiring the land, the APA, established by the legislature in 1971 to regulate and oversee developments on parklands, undertook a comprehensive environmental analysis of the site. In their report, Agency officials outlined the prominent features of Ray Brook's built environment, including paved highways, rail lines, dozens of permanent and seasonal dwellings, numerous small businesses, as well as the new state prison. Residents and tourists made frequent use of the tract proposed for construction. They spent warm summer days at its picnic grounds and athletic fields; accessed trails to popular hiking and climbing spots; hunted deer in the fall; watched for rare birds; camped under the stars; cast fishing lines in its ponds and streams; and skied across its powder during the long winters. Camp Adirondack had even built a sanitary landfill on the

⁷⁰ "Several problems persist for Olympics planning," *PR*, Jan. 22, 1977; "No word from 2 groups on Olympic litigation" *PR*, Jan. 29, 1977; and, "Olympics land filed for," *PR*, Jun. 8, 1977. On the APA, see, Adirondack Park Agency, *Adirondack Park State Land Master Plan* (Albany: APA, Jun. 1972), and APA, *Adirondack Park Land Use and Development Plan and Recommendations for Implementation* (Albany: APA, Mar. 1973). Also, Anthony D'Elia, *The Adirondack Rebellion: A Political, Economic, and Social Expose of the Adirondack State Park* (Onchiota, N.Y.: Onchiota Books, 1979); Frank Graham, *The Adirondack Park: A Political History* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1978); Jane Eblen Keller, *Adirondack Wilderness: A Story of Man and Nature* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1980); Barbara McMartin, *Perspectives on the Adirondacks: A Thirty-Year Struggle by People Protecting their Treasure* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002); John R. Moravek, "The APA Era in New York's Outpost Wilderness: Thirty Years of Conflict and Progress," *New York History* 85, no. 4 (2004), 387-400; David Stradling, *The Nature of New York: An Environmental History of the Empire State* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010); and, Philip Terrie, *Contested Terrain: A New History of Nature and People in the Adirondacks* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press & the Adirondack Museum, 1997).

property where inmates helped manage the state prison's solid waste.⁷¹ This environment's diverse and dynamic qualities, therefore, seemed both to reinforce and belie its official designation as "forever wild."⁷²

APA officials also uncovered an energetic non-human environment shaped for decades through both natural and artificial means. The site's rich forest of evergreen and deciduous trees, planted a century earlier, towered over its aquatic ecosystems, including a stream, pond, lake, and wetlands which contained trout, perch, and bass maintained through annual stocking. Marshlands also provided refuge for the indigenous ring-necked duck and endangered osprey. Carefully maintained vegetation at the waters' edge supplied shade for aquatic organisms, stabilized the banks for use by fishermen, and provided food for wildlife. The 142 acres of wetlands also protected residents by providing water storage during floods.⁷³ The site's natural, seemingly pristine aesthetic features masked the mutual dependence and deeply integrated human and non-human habitats that both characterized and maintained this environment. This outward display of untouched wilderness unwittingly opened the door to prison planners, who saw it as an unused parcel of real estate ripe for development.

Agency officials offered recommendations to mitigate the impact of construction on Ray Brook's natural latticework. They noted that because water drained toward the site's aquatic habitats, excavation and timber removal might trigger sedimentation, siltation, and pollution.

⁷¹ Adirondack Park Agency, "Site Analysis of the Proposed Site of the Olympic Village," APA Staff Evaluation Report, (Ray Brook, N.Y.: APA, Feb. 1977), pp. 4-5, McEwen Papers, Box 95-27, Folder: 1980 Olympics, to 1977—Ray Brook Facility Correspondence.

⁷² Article XIV of the New York State Constitution, approved in 1894, designated Forest Preserve lands in the Adirondacks and Catskills as "forever wild" and protected from commercial development. Managed first by the Conservation Department, and by its successor, the Department of Environmental Conservation, Forest Preserve lands remained open to the leisure and recreational pursuits of tourists and residents alike.

⁷³ APA, "Site Analysis," pp. 1-4, McEwen Papers.

The APA suggested building on gentler terrain to minimize disturbances, including existing recreational areas whose use was “somewhat limited in the Adirondacks due to the long winters.” The Agency also proposed retention of existing vegetation to guard against soil erosion, water pollution, and harm to wildlife. Park Agency officials also sought to safeguard at least some of the site’s natural aesthetic and prevent potentially negative visual impacts, offering Camp Adirondack, which operated “without clearcutting around the buildings,” as an example for federal planners to follow. With less vegetation, the APA feared the prison would “be visible from several nearby peaks and...from the Ray Brook Road.” Further, preservation of existing vegetation and “screening the facility to the extent possible is important toward maintaining the current property values.”⁷⁴

In March 1977, representatives from the LPOOC, APA, and BOP met to discuss the Park Agency’s findings. Citing regulations that required federal prisons be built on flat, unobstructed terrain, Bureau officials estimated they would have to excavate and fill one million cubic acres of earth and cut seventy five acres of forest (463,000 board feet of timber) at the 155-acre site. Bureau leaders asserted that preserving the existing environment would hinder incarceration and imperil public safety, stating, “You can’t have any hills and valleys that might provide refuge for a prisoner. You can have little vegetation in the area. Those are the things you have to live with if you want to build a prison.”⁷⁵ Prison planners summarily discarded the Park Agency report

⁷⁴ APA, “Site Analysis,” section entitled “Preliminary Thoughts on Major Site Development Concerns and Possible Solutions,” pp. 6-9, McEwen Papers.

⁷⁵ “U.S. Prison Officials Go Flat Out to Stop Escapes,” *LPN*, Mar. 24, 1977.

(which they were not legally obligated to follow), and did not explore alternatives to their vision of proper prison topography.⁷⁶

The Park Agency's recommendations amounted to a set of inconvenient truths for planners who viewed the land as a tabula rasa and its people as single-mindedly focused on jobs. Project advocates shrugged off potential legal complications from building a federal prison on state land, and rejected offers from other agencies to operate the facility after 1980. No other use, they argued, would generate the same economic impact as a penal institution.⁷⁷ McEwen criticized skeptics, claiming there were "forces at work in this area that are against job opportunities and the expansion of the economy." To that point, project supporters accepted potential environmental degradation as the price of bringing jobs to a region battling chronically high unemployment.⁷⁸ By planners' logic, the Ray Brook environment was a collection of separate and unequal parts, with nature itself obstructing residents' path to prosperity. To unlock the prison's economic potential, not only did the landscape have to be razed, but the tight knit relationships forged among humans and their non-human neighbors had to be severed.

At the same time, prison supporters sought to ward off any social or political fallout from their unconventional housing plan by concealing the facility's after use. Visiting the Memphis federal penitentiary in March 1977, McEwen declared the Ray Brook complex would "provide

⁷⁶ See, James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

⁷⁷ "Olympic Village Sited at Ray Brook," *LPN*, Dec. 1, 1976; and, "Placid: Front Runner with Drawbacks," *LPN*, Dec. 9, 1976. LPOOC President Ronald MacKenzie commented, "If you want to put a federal prison on state land, you can imagine it would be a field day for attorneys." He also dismissed ideas to convert the facility to a permanent Olympic training center, stating the USOC's proposal would not "give the village as much as use" as a correctional facility. MacKenzie also reminded listeners of the 200 jobs the new prison would eventually create.

⁷⁸ "McEwen eyeing '80 Olympics as an incumbent," *PR*, Feb. 16, 1977; "Priority to be given to local people in hiring for Placid Olympics," *PR*, Feb. 24, 1977; and, "Construction program outlined," *PR*, Mar. 2, 1977.

first class accommodations for the athletes in 1980.” The congressman added, tellingly, “you’d never know it was a prison.” For its part, the LPOOC deliberately misled the IOC, claiming the complex “would offer a permanent after-use as a state or federal facility,” that the state had granted the land to Olympic organizers, not the BOP, and that the buildings would be “turned over by the Organizing Committee to the Government of the United States for its long-term use.”⁷⁹ Misstatements about the facility’s future were both reflective of organizers’ difficulties justifying their scheme and part of a campaign to legitimize construction in the face of increasing skepticism and opposition.

The *Lake Placid News* warned of dire social transformations from continued crimescape expansion in the isolated Adirondacks. While praising the potential for economic growth, editors criticized the exclusion of local input, and cautioned that more penitentiaries might expose residents to “state and national problems largely unfamiliar to Adirondackers,” including the scourges of city life in 1970s New York: illegal narcotics and violent crime. Employing racially tinged rhetoric, the paper labeled New York City “a world of barely-chained violence.” With the cities’ predominantly African American and Hispanic criminals being shipped to the Adirondacks, editors warned, “no longer will distance and mountain winds silence the ghetto’s scream.”⁸⁰ The editorial added an important layer to the APA’s portrait of Ray Brook life, namely, of a primarily white community whose experience of the urban crisis went no further than news reports. Relative peace and quiet, a condition that both reflected and supported Ray Brook’s prevailing natural order, was under siege.

⁷⁹ “Spring Brings Olympic Greening,” *LPN*, Mar. 31, 1977; MacKenzie, “Lake Placid, ‘Olympic City’”; and, “Olympic Organizers Present Fifth Report,” *LPN*, Apr. 7, 1977.

⁸⁰ “For Humanity, Dignity and Equal Opportunity,” editorial, *LPN*, Apr. 4, 1977.

Excavation and timber removal commenced abruptly in June 1977, catching locals by surprise. Their concerns affirmed the prior warnings from the Park Agency and local news media. Residents continued to complain about their exclusion from the planning process, and fretted over property values, taxes, and quality of life concerns stemming from elevated noise and artificial lighting. The biggest source of anxiety, though, sprang from the project's ecological impacts. Townspeople assailed the project as "an environmental disaster" which had "damaged the land" and "created a big scar." Prevented from accessing the site, some residents asked plaintively, "How do you propose we get to our homes?" One homeowner declared he was "not afraid of getting murdered in my bed by escaped prisoners," but was "upset by the impact of the prison itself on the surroundings," and feared "a trout will never be seen" in Ray Brook again. The *Lake Placid News* decried the "rape of the stripped and ravaged land" and, in wondering "why some things are worth protecting, and others aren't," asked, "why wasn't Jones Beach condemned?"⁸¹

Planners labored to convince skeptics that the new penitentiary might someday blend smoothly with the existing landscape. They promised to retain some vegetation and install "a special type of lighting" to mitigate visual impacts. Officials assured homeowners that taxes would not increase, construction noise would be temporary, and that the prison would create 260 new jobs. Planners compared the Memphis-inspired facility to the "country club" style federal prison in the posh suburb of Danbury, Connecticut, which housed nonviolent, "high class

⁸¹ "Soft Cell at Ray Brook," *LPN*, Jun. 9, 1977; "Games and other Games: The new Olympic prison," *frying pan* (Sept. 1978), pp. 23-24; Joan Potter, "The 'Olympic Prison': An Obvious Choice or a 'Chilling Idea?'" *Corrections Magazine* (Jun. 1978), pp. 26, 30, STOP Records; "A Needless Waste of Beauty," Editorial, *LPN*, Jun. 9, 1977; and "Prison Site," photo, *ADE*, Jun. 14, 1977.

criminals.”⁸² The keys to a smooth transition for Ray Brook’s new federal prison, as they saw it, lay not in accommodating the community’s existing ecological order, but by offering aesthetic, economic, and social correctives designed both to placate anxious residents and to facilitate the institution’s normalization *after* construction.

After leveling seventy-five acres of forest and excavating one million cubic acres of soil, planners further antagonized locals with a poorly conceived waste disposal plan. In August 1977, officials proposed building “lagoons” at the property’s edge to collect and treat wastewater and raw sewage. The plans called for placing the lagoons adjacent to Ray Brook stream and near a dozen private homes. Locals worried about air, water, and noise pollution, in addition to impacts on property values and aesthetics. Tellingly, some residents also feared harmful effects on inmates at nearby Camp Adirondack. With some homeowners threatening to move, the *Lake Placid News* highlighted planners’ “lack of concern for Ray Brook’s health and welfare,” criticized officials who had tolerated its “legal rape,” and praised residents for their “firm stand in opposing the siting of the ‘fecal facility.’” Heightened anxiety about the sewage proposal led dozens of residents to sign a petition and inform officials of what was at stake:

If on-site sewage disposal is used...there is potential for serious adverse impact upon values which we consider important citizens’ rights—a healthy environment for our children and for ourselves; enjoyment of one’s property without imposition of...nuisances such as foul odors, and visual degradation; and avoidance of new neighborhood development which causes serious property value reductions. Also...there is potential for significant negative impact of Prison on-site sewage disposal to Ray Brook stream, Oseetah Lake and Lake Flower. These are important outdoor recreational waterways which are heavily used for fishing and other water related activities...The piping of sewage to the Saranac Lake Village sewage treatment system...will largely avoid these stated negative impacts...To make a choice other than the Saranac Lake option is to disregard the health and welfare of Ray Brook citizens.

⁸² “Soft Cell at Ray Brook,” *LPN*, Jun. 9, 1977; “Games and other Games: The new Olympic prison,” *frying pan* (Sept. 1978), pp. 23-24; and, Joan Potter, “The ‘Olympic Prison’: An Obvious Choice or a ‘Chilling Idea?’” *Corrections Magazine* (Jun. 1978), pp. 26, 30, STOP Records.

Citizen activism prevailed, as officials in nearby Saranac Lake offered to collect and treat prison sewage at their sanitary facility.⁸³ Nevertheless, locals were powerless to prevent the destruction and ecological transformations the APA had predicted only months earlier.

Heavy rains in August 1977 facilitated the ecological degradation feared by area residents. Under pressure to meet construction deadlines, contractors had failed to properly secure tons of excavated soil and wood chips their machines had created. By September, residents noticed muddied waterways and discolored drinking water in their homes. Park Agency scientists reported, “drainage from the site began depositing substantial quantities of sediment in adjoining water bodies,” just as their recommendations had predicted. Rainstorms unleashed 400 tons of mud, creating new sandbars, befouling vegetation, and threatening wildlife. Residents contended with restricted access to swimming and fishing areas, and scientists predicted restoration of the site’s ecological integrity would take at least five years.⁸⁴

⁸³ “Federal Prison: An Arrogant Intruder,” editorial, *LPN*, Aug. 18, 1977; Potter, “The ‘Olympic Prison,’” p. 30; “McCormick Writes Congressman on Prison Sewage Plant,” *LPN*, Sept. 1, 1977; Warner Deitz, Town of North Elba Planning Board, Ray Brook representative, to Wiley Lavigne, DEC Olympic Environmental Monitor, Aug. 15, 1977; Deitz to McEwen, Aug. 19, 1977; Richard McCormick, State Department of Health District Sanitary Engineer, to McEwen, Aug. 16, 1977, McEwen Papers, Box 95-27, Folder: 1980 Olympics, to 1977—Ray Brook Facility Correspondence; PETITION from Ray Brook Citizens to the Economic Development Administration, 1977 McEwen Papers, Box 95-27, Folder: 1980 Winter Olympics, Ray Brook Correspondence, 1978. On Saranac Lake’s decision to accept federal prison sewage, see, John F. Cullen, Consulting Engineer, Memo Re: Meetings Relative to Olympic Sewerage, Nov. 30, 1977; Ramon Lopez, Project Manager, to Saranac Lake Mayor Charles Keough, Dec. 16, 1977, Re: Treatment of Sewage at Saranac Lake Village; Cullen to Jack Lawless, Village of Saranac Lake, Dec. 28, 1977, Re: Treatment of Sewage from Ray Brook Facilities; Deitz to David Bochnowich, Federal Project Director, Economic Development Administration, Feb. 22, 1978; Deitz to McEwen, Feb. 27, 1978; McEwen to Deitz, Mar. 9, 1978; and Deitz to McEwen, Mar. 29, 1978, McEwen Papers, Box 95-27, Folder: 1980 Winter Olympics, Ray Brook Correspondence, 1978. Also, “Hearing set on prison sewage line; APA to challenge Olympic projects,” *ADE*, Jul. 25, 1978.

⁸⁴ “Construction Impact Concerns Berle,” *LPN*, Sept. 21, 1977; “380 Tons of Mud,” *LPN*, Sept. 28, 1977; “Prison site erosion repair to take 5 years,” *PR*, Sept. 23, 1977; and, “Adverse Environmental Impacts of the Construction of the Federal Correctional Facility at Ray Brook, New York: Evaluation and Recommendations: A Special Report Prepared by the State of New York, Adirondack Park Agency,” Sept. 22, 1977, pp. 1-6, McEwen Papers, Box 95-27, Folder: 1980 Olympics, to 1977—Ray Brook Facility Correspondence.

A bureaucratic struggle quickly ensued over responsibility for the disaster at Ray Brook. The federal Economic Development Administration (EDA), charged with managing Olympic financing, accused contractors of ignoring directives to guard against runoff. The APA blamed the BOP for failing “to exercise precautions to prevent a serious environmental impact” and called on the U.S. Council on Environmental Quality to force the Bureau to take “all possible measures...to restore the impacted resources.” For its part, the Bureau blamed the weather, claiming heavy rainfall had caused the destruction. The DEC informed the BOP that pollution of waterways on state land surrounding the site may have violated New York water quality standards, leading to possible litigation. Faced with threats to withhold critical funding, prison officials relented and followed Park Agency guidelines to forestall further destruction. By November 1977, workers had installed sediment basins, mulched loose dirt and wood chips, reseeded open areas, and placed jute mesh around the site. The scale of the destruction that had already taken place, though, prompted one APA official to label the prison construction “one of the environmental tragedies of the Olympics.”⁸⁵

For two years, Olympic organizers and their Bureau partners had tested the limits of undertaking large-scale development on protected public land. Driven both by fear and arrogance, planners had disregarded expert, scientific advice, dismissed residents’ anxieties, and

⁸⁵ Bochnowich to Fell, Sept. 16, 1977; Robert Flacke, Chairman, APA, to Charles Warren, Chairman, United States Council on Environmental Quality, Sept. 22, 1977; Messmer to Philip Gitlen, Compliance Counsel, DEC, Sept. 23, 1977; and, Norman Carlson to Robert Hall, Assistant Secretary, Economic Development Administration, Sept. 29, 1977, McEwen Papers, Box 95-27, Folder: 1980 Olympics, to 1977—Ray Brook Facility Correspondence; “Construction Impact Concerns Berle,” *LPN*, Sept. 21, 1977; “380 Tons of Mud,” *LPN*, Sept. 28, 1977; “Federal Agency Bears Olympic Financial Burden,” *ADE*, Oct. 19, 1977; “Update on Olympic Construction,” *LPN*, Nov. 3, 1977; and, Interview between Elizabeth Morrison and Dick Persico, Apr. 19, 1979, Tape Transcription, in XIII Olympic Winter Games Oral History (MSS 90), 1980 Winter Olympic Games, St. Lawrence University, Owen D. Young Library, Frank and Anne Piskor Special Collections Department, Canton, N.Y. (hereafter, XIII Olympic Winter Games Oral History). A similar episode occurred in October 1978, when heavy rains demolished a 35-foot embankment at the construction site, letting loose 250 tons of mud into Ray Brook’s waterways. EDA officials noted that the areas affected were only beginning to recover from the destruction unleashed in 1977. See, “Prison sand bank washes into brook,” *ADE*, Oct. 16, 1978.

conceived of natural features at the site as barriers to overcome in order to fulfill their objectives. In developing a tract of Forest Preserve, they disassembled the pieces of Ray Brook's intricately constructed natural order. Nature, though, had quickly asserted itself as a player in the prison debate, and Olympic and Bureau officials found it difficult to withstand the torrent of criticism that flowed from those summer rains. Only the specter of financial disaster and an unfinished housing complex propelled implementation of the expert guidance planners had so easily ignored. Once permitted to proceed with construction, organizers' efforts to conceal the facility's permanent after use evaporated as Lake Placid's Olympic Prison acquired international notoriety.

The Olympic Prison: One Penitentiary, Two Oppositions

During the planning phases, the facility's future as a federal prison attracted scant attention from both opponents and supporters. By 1978, however, anti-prison activists from outside the Adirondacks seized on its proposed after use, and the publicity afforded by the Olympics, to attract converts to their struggle to reform the nation's criminal justice system. Though its grievances largely sidestepped local fears and anxieties, STOP's moral crusade against the Olympic Prison did seek to mitigate the damage the prison would inflict on Ray Brook's social fabric. Converting the facility to a non-carceral purpose, STOP hoped, might aid in legitimizing its presence in a community long oriented toward health, leisure, and outdoor recreation.

Inspired by the unusual opportunity to use the Olympics to draw attention to their cause, activists affiliated with a variety of progressive and Christian reform organizations in New York

City founded Stop the Olympic Prison (STOP) in March 1978.⁸⁶ With construction slated to resume in April, STOP shifted the discussion from the facility's ecological and public health impacts toward stirring public awareness and moral outrage over its intended future use after the Olympics had ended. The creation of STOP thus signaled a second phase of the opposition centered on the use of moral suasion and nonviolent protest to scuttle the prison plan. To that end, STOP undertook a public relations campaign to expose the moral challenges presented by Ray Brook's second correctional facility.⁸⁷

STOP assailed the Olympic Prison as emblematic of the nation's misguided criminal justice policies. Opponents viewed chronic overcrowding and reliance on mass incarceration as proof of prisons' failure to tackle the underlying causes of crime.⁸⁸ Further evidence of their inability to deter criminal behavior and provide effective rehabilitation could be found in the swelling number of correctional facilities, most notably Camp Adirondack. Building more penitentiaries, critics argued, only exacerbated the problems they were intended to solve.

⁸⁶ Founding members of STOP hailed from the New York State Council of Churches, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, the National Moratorium on Prison Construction (a joint project of the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee and the National Council on Crime and Delinquency), and the New York Moratorium on Prison Construction. Over time, the group forged an alliance with a host of other progressive groups and individuals, including, the National Council of Churches, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Urban League, American Civil Liberties Union, American Friends Service Committee, Ramsey Clark, Rev. William Sloane Coffin, National Council of La Raza, North Country Committee Against the Olympic Prison, The Fortune Society, and the War Resisters League, among others. See, STOP, Update on STOP Activities, Sept. 1, 1978, STOP Records. For clarity, I will refer only to STOP when discussing the objectives and actions taken by individuals and organizations on the group's behalf.

⁸⁷ STOP's public relations efforts included mass distribution of anti-prison pamphlets, newsletters, and brochures; networking with lawyers, officials from the United Nations, athletes, celebrities, government officials, clergy, students, and environmental organizations; and contact with news media outlets, including *60 Minutes*, the *McNeil-Lehrer News Hour* on PBS, the *Times* of London, *Newsweek*, *Fortune*, and journalists in the Adirondacks and New York City area.

⁸⁸ On mass incarceration, see, Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: The New Press, 2010); Marie Gottschalk, *The Prison and the Gallows: The Politics of Mass Incarceration in America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Tom Wicker, *A Time to Die: The Attica Prison Revolt* (New York: Crown, 1975); and, Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, and Opposition in Globalizing California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

Echoing opposition claims that prisons had become a mere “dumping ground for societal scapegoats,” STOP urged conversion of the facility not to a prison, but to a monument to “an earlier time when people believed in prison confinement from which they have freed themselves.”⁸⁹

Activists warned of grave political fallout from the penitentiary’s morally destructive character. The communal and celebratory spirit of the Olympics, they worried, might be tarnished by the “grief, social failure and oppression” characteristic of American prisons. STOP shamefully noted that once the athletes departed, “their place will be taken by other young men brought there in chains and caged.”⁹⁰ Deemed “a violation of human rights...by a land that

⁸⁹ “After-Use Dispute Erupts,” *LPN*, Oct. 26, 1977; “Depressing?” editorial, *ADE*, Jan. 19, 1978; “Olympic Projects Threatened in Two Separate Court Cases,” *LPN*, Feb. 22, 1978; STOP, “An Olympic Prison: Is this for real?” 1978, STOP Records; STOP opposing prison concept, *PR*, Aug. 4, 1978; STOP, Pamphlet, Summer 1978; “Clark opposes ‘Olympic prison,’” *Sunday Daily Item*, Dec. 2, 1978; and, “North Residents ‘Don’t Know Anything,’” Says Prison Foe, *WDT*, Dec. 2, 1978, news clippings, STOP Records. STOP noted that from 1970 to 1977, the BOP had opened eighteen new federal prisons designed to incarcerate 6000 inmates. During that time, the number of non-white federal prisoners had increased by 6700, meaning that every new federal prison bed installed during the era of expansion had been taken primarily by African American or Hispanic convicts. Of the nearly 600 federal youthful offenders from New York, 95 percent hailed from New York City, and the vast majority were non-white.

⁹⁰ On the prison and the Olympic spirit, see, Milton Rector, “Opposing a Prison at Lake Placid,” letter to the editor, *NYT*, Jan. 17, 1978; National Moratorium on Prison Construction, “Repression Replaces Celebration: The 1980 Winter Olympic Prison,” (Washington, D.C.: National Moratorium on Prison Construction, March 1978), pp. 5-8; STOP, Meeting minutes, Apr. 5, 1978, p. 1; STOP, “An Olympic Prison: Is this for real?”; STOP, Meeting minutes, Apr. 18, 1978, pp. 1-2; Graham Hodges, Letter to the Editor, *LPN*, Apr. 21, 1978, news clipping; Hodges, letter to the editor, *ADE*, Apr. 24, 1978, news clipping; Hodges, letter to the editor, *New York Amsterdam News*, no date, news clipping; United Church of Christ, New York Conference, “Resolution on the Olympic Prison,” Jun. 1978; STOP, Pamphlet, Summer 1978; STOP, “Olympic Prison Poster,” news release, pp. 1-3; STOP, Comments on USOC lawsuit, flier, 1978; *Stop the Olympic Prison v. United States Olympic Committee*, Civil Action in United States District Court for Eastern District of New York, Oct. 5, 1978, STOP Records; “Raybrook prison opposed by county clergy,” *North Country Catholic* (hereafter, *NCC*), Nov. 22, 1978; “Essex, Clinton Clergymen Oppose Olympic Prison,” *WDT*, Nov. 17, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; “Prison Use Comes Under Attack,” *LPN*, Nov. 22, 1978; Graham Hodges, “Anti-Prison,” letter to the editor, *LPN*, Nov. 23, 1978; Eugene Turner, Executive, Synod of the Northeast of the United Presbyterian Church, to the Most. Rev. Stanislaus J. Brzana, Bishop, Catholic Diocese of Ogdensburg (N.Y.), Nov. 9, 1978; Rev. Virginia Mackey, National Interreligious Task Force on Criminal Justice, to Charles Tobin, Director, New York Catholic Committee, Dec. 4, 1978, STOP Records; James Bailey, “Urban Prisoners Should Have Urban Environment,” letter to the editor, *LPN*, Jan. 25, 1979; “Sign statement opposing prison,” *NCC*, Feb. 21, 1979; North Country Clergy Concerned About the Lake Placid Olympic Prison, “Leading North Country Clergy Ask Change in Use of Olympic Dormitories,” news release, Feb. 15, 1979; “Statement of Conscience on the Lake Placid Olympic Prison by North Country Clergy,” Feb. 1979, STOP Records; House of Representative, 96th Congress, 1st Session, Bureau of Prisons Fiscal Year 1980 Authorization, *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice of the Committee on the*

proclaims them,” the Olympic Prison challenged the nation’s self-proclaimed status as a bastion of liberty.⁹¹ Opponents predicted an amplified geopolitical advantage for nations notorious for mass incarceration, including the U.S.S.R. and South Africa. Soviet plans to convert athletes’ housing in Moscow to apartments after the 1980 Summer Olympics, STOP argued, further undercut the United States’ tainted moral authority. With the nation’s respectability compromised, opponents intoned the September 1971 uprising at Attica as a cautionary example of the deadly consequences of morally corrupt criminal justice programs. They noted ominously that Ray Brook might someday achieve notoriety as the “Attica of the Adirondacks.”⁹²

Judiciary, Mar. 21 and 23, 1979, Serial No. 7, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), pp. 18-19, 59-65; and, “Moynihan Changes Opinion on Prison,” *WDT*, May 2, 1979, news clipping, STOP Records.

⁹¹ On American values, see, “After-Use Dispute Erupts,” *LPN*, Oct. 26, 1977; National Moratorium on Prison Construction, “Racist Nature of Juvenile Facilities, Jails and Prisons in the United States,” (Washington, D.C.: National Moratorium on Prison Construction, Feb. 1978), news release; “Repression Replaces Celebration,” pp. 6-8; *Jailbrake: Newsletter of the New York Moratorium on Prison Construction* (Syracuse, N.Y., Spring 1978), pp. 4-5; “The Challenge of Corrections,” letter to the editor, *LPN*, Mar. 2, 1978; “Placid Prison Fight Expands to Carter,” *WDT*, May 13, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; “Church criticism of Ray Brook prison blasted; McEwen says ‘attempt to embarrass U.S.’,” *PR*, May 20, 1978; United Church of Christ, New York Conference, “Resolution on the Olympic Prison,” STOP Records; “Olympics, Yes! Prison, No!” *LPN*, Aug. 10, 1978; STOP, Pamphlet, 1978; STOP, flier on USOC lawsuit, 1978; *Stop the Olympic Prison v. United States Olympic Committee*, Oct. 5, 1978; “Olympische gevangenis,” (“Olympic prison”), *de Volksrant van Donderdag*, (Netherlands), Nov. 9, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; “Clark opposes ‘Olympic prison,’” *Sunday Daily Item*, Dec. 2, 1978; “North Residents ‘Don’t Know Anything,’ Says Prison Foe,” *WDT*, Dec. 2, 1978; Mackey to Tobin; “Statement of Conscience on the Lake Placid Olympic Prison by North Country Clergy,” Feb. 1979, STOP Records; *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice*, pp. 59-65; Hodges to Terence Cardinal Cooke, Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York, Apr. 18, 1979, STOP Records; “Clergyman Calls The Olympic Prison ‘Stupid,’ and ‘Immoral,’” *LPN*, Apr. 28, 1979; Hodges, comments on the prison, Jun. 1, 1979, STOP Records; and, Hodges, letter to the editor, *LPN*, Oct. 25, 1979.

⁹² On comparisons to the U.S.S.R., South Africa, and Attica, see, Rector, “Opposing a Prison at Lake Placid”; Hodges, letter to the editor, *ADE*, Apr. 24, 1978, news clipping; Hodges, letter to the editor, *New York Amsterdam News*, no date, news clipping; United Church of Christ, New York Conference, “Resolution on the Olympic Prison,” 1978, STOP Records; “Olympics, Yes! Prison, No!” *LPN*, Aug. 10, 1978; STOP, Pamphlet, 1978; STOP, “Olympic Prison Poster,” news release; STOP, flier on USOC lawsuit, 1978, STOP Records; “Moscow Olympic Village Rises Amidst Mud,” *Sunday Gazette-Mail* (Charleston, W.V.), Oct. 15, 1978; “Olympische gevangenis,” news clipping, STOP Records; “Minister speaks out on Olympic prison,” *The Southeast Watertown Town & Country News*, Dec. 13, 1978; “Statement of Conscience on the Lake Placid Olympic Prison by North Country Clergy,” Feb. 1979, STOP Records; *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice*, pp. 59-61; Hodges to Cooke; and, Hodges, letter to the editor, *LPN*, Oct. 25, 1979.

None of the prison's moral deficiencies, though, were as pervasive or damaging for critics as its status as incubator of the nation's class and racial inequalities. STOP labeled the Olympics a ploy to benefit white Americans across the socioeconomic spectrum: elite devotees of winter sports; workers hired to build the facilities; and unemployed residents seeking prison jobs. The price of this program of white uplift, though, extended beyond congressional appropriations and environmental impacts. The costs to the predominantly urban, African American, and Hispanic convicts included broken neighborhoods, financial hardships, and the likelihood of recidivism. Prison foes also foretold significant burdens for non-white, low-income city dwellers visiting loved ones imprisoned in an expensive resort community. STOP warned of the potentially explosive mix of "poor, non-white, inner city, unemployed youthful males" being guarded by "rural white mountain folks in search of 'recession proof'" jobs at Ray Brook, a condition exacerbated by the region's vast racial disparities, where whites comprised 99 percent of the local population.⁹³ As pawns in a cynical scheme of rural economic development, poor

⁹³ On race and class, see, Rector, "Opposing a Prison at Lake Placid," *NYT*, Jan. 17, 1978; "Olympic Projects Threatened in Two Separate Court Cases," *LPN*, Feb. 22, 1978; "Racist Nature of Juvenile Facilities, Jails and Prisons in the United States"; "Repression Replaces Celebration: The 1980 Winter Olympic Prison," pp. 6-8; STOP, meeting minutes, Apr. 5, 1978; Hodges, letter to the editor, *LPN*, Apr. 21, 1978, news clipping; Hodges, letter to the editor, *ADE*, Apr. 24, 1978, news clipping; Hodges, letter to the editor, *New York Amsterdam News*, no date, news clipping, STOP Records; Hodges, "Being Taken," op-ed, *LPN*, Jun. 29, 1978; United Church of Christ, New York Conference, "Resolution on the Olympic Prison"; STOP, pamphlet, 1978; STOP, flier on USOC lawsuit, Sept. 1978; *Stop the Olympic Prison v. United States Olympic Committee*, Oct. 5, 1978; "Olympische gevangenis"; Minister speaks out on Olympic prison," *The Southeast Watertown Town & Country News*, Dec. 13, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; "Prison Foes to Call on White House," *LPN*, Dec. 6, 1978; "S.T.O.P. protestors hold rally," *PR*, Dec. 8, 1978; "Clark opposes 'Olympic prison,'" *Sunday Daily Item*, Dec. 2, 1978, news clipping; "North Residents 'Don't Know Anything,' Says Prison Foe," *WDT*, Dec. 2, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; "Sign statement opposing prison," *NCC*, Feb. 21, 1979; North Country Clergy Concerned About the Lake Placid Olympic Prison, "Leading North Country Clergy Ask Change in Use of Olympic Dormitories," news release, Feb. 15, 1979; "Statement of Conscience on the Lake Placid Olympic Prison by North Country Clergy," Feb. 1979, STOP Records; "Lawmakers Try to Stop Funds for Olympics," *LPN*, Feb. 22, 1979; "News from Senator Carl McCall: Legislators to Offer Amendment to Stop Olympic Village Construction," Feb. 13, 1979; Regier to Hodges, Feb. 14, 1979, STOP Records; *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary*, Mar. 21 & 23, 1979, Serial No. 7, pp. 18-19, 59-65; Hodges to Cooke, Apr. 18, 1979; William Oscar Johnson, "The Olympic Getaway," *Sports Illustrated*, Apr. 9, 1979, magazine clipping, STOP Records; "Clergyman Calls the Olympic Prison 'Stupid' and 'Immoral,'" *LPN*, Apr. 28, 1979; Hodges, letter to the editor, *LPN*, Jun. 1, 1979, news clipping, STOP Records; Phillip K. Shinnick, "Natural Sport, the Olympic Prison, and the Fight for Sovereignty Rights of the Mohawks," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies*, vol. 9,

New Yorkers, irrespective of race or regional background, might someday find themselves trapped in a cauldron of racial violence.

In an effort to rally local support, STOP extended its moral critique to issues involving land use, environment, and social integrity. Critics argued the penitentiary's remote locale violated Bureau facility siting standards. Exiling urban, minority convicts in the Adirondacks, they claimed, would impair the institution's rehabilitative objectives. Opponents urged relocation of the prison to an urban area to ensure preservation of familial ties and inmates' access to health, educational, and employment opportunities deemed vital to rehabilitation.⁹⁴ By

no. 1 (Spring 1981), 43-52; Hodges, letter to the editor, *LPN*, Oct. 25, 1979; and, "Mohawks Plan Olympic Demonstrations, *LPN*, Nov. 29, 1979. Demographic data for Lake Placid and the Town of North Elba indicate the black population of Lake Placid rising from 5 to 9 between 1960 and 1980, and 35 African Americans living in North Elba in 1970. The 1970 figure rose to 107 by 1980, largely as a result of Camp Adirondack. See, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 34, New York* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), Table 22, p. 34-118; *Census of Population: 1970, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 34, New York—Section 1* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Table 16, p. 34-69, Table 31, p. 34-192, and Table 33, p. 34-211; and, *Census of Population: 1980, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Chapter B: General Population Characteristics, Part 34, New York, PC80-1-B34* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982), Table 14, p. 34-12, Table 14-A, p. 34-25, Table 15, p. 34-33, and Table 15-A, p. 34-46.

⁹⁴ On the Adirondacks' remote locale, see, "After-Use Dispute Erupts," *LPN*, Oct. 26, 1977; Rector, "Opposing a Prison at Lake Placid," *NYT*, Jan. 17, 1978; "Olympic Projects Threatened in Two Separate Court Cases," *LPN*, Feb. 22, 1978; "Racist Nature of Juvenile Facilities, Jails and Prisons in the United States"; "Repression Replaces Celebration: The 1980 Winter Olympic Prison," p. 5; STOP, "An Olympic Prison: Is this for real?" flier, Apr. 1978; STOP, meeting minutes, Apr. 5, 1978, pp. 1-2; Hodges, letter to the editor, *LPN*, Apr. 21, 1978, news clipping; Hodges, letter to the editor, *ADE*, Apr. 24, 1978, news clipping; Hodges, letter to the editor, *New York Amsterdam News*, no date, news clipping; United Church of Christ, New York Conference, "Resolution on the Olympic Prison," 1978; United Methodist Church, Northern New York Conference, "Resolution on the proposed use of the Olympic Village facility as a federal prison," annual meeting, May 31-Jun. 2, 1978, pp. 1-3; STOP, pamphlet, 1978; STOP, flier on USOC lawsuit, Sept. 1978; *Stop the Olympic Prison v. United States Olympic Committee*, Oct. 5, 1978; "Criminal Justice Committee took action on Olympic Village," *Times of Ticonderoga* (N.Y.), Oct. 3, 1978, news clipping; "Essex, Clinton Clergymen Oppose Olympic Prison," *WDT*, Nov. 17, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; "Prison Use Comes Under Attack," *LPN*, Nov. 22, 1978; "Olympische gevangenis," news clipping; "Minister speaks out on Olympic prison," *The Southeast Watertown Town & Country News*, Dec. 13, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; "Playing Games with Prisons," Editorial, *NYT*, Jan. 13, 1979; James Bailey, "Urban Prisoners Should Have Urban Environment," letter to the editor, *LPN*, Jan. 25, 1979; "Statement of Conscience on the Lake Placid Olympic Prison by North Country Clergy," Feb. 1979; "News from Senator Carl McCall: Legislators to Offer Amendment to Stop Olympic Village Construction," Feb. 13, 1979; *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary*, Mar. 21 & 23, 1979, Serial No. 7, pp. 18-19, 59-65, 82-84, 86; and, Interview between David Casier and Elizabeth "Betsy" Minehan, Apr. 17, 1979, XIII Olympic Winter Games Oral History. Also, Edwin Potter to McEwen, Mar. 8, 1978; Thelma Graziano to State Senator H. Douglas Barclay, Oct. 12, 1978; Dr. Earl Johnson, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Plattsburgh, N.Y., and Nancy Collin, Clerk of Session, to McEwen and President Carter, Dec. 12, 1978; James Bailey to McEwen,

pressuring the BOP to enforce its own directives (mandating incarceration in facilities built in close proximity to inmates' hometowns), opponents tacitly acknowledged the limits of their moral opposition and unwittingly endorsed the use of prisons, albeit with firm environmental restrictions.

According to STOP, geographic isolation was but one factor rendering mass incarceration incompatible with the Adirondack region. Opponents appealed to the Park's history as a wilderness enclave protected for the "recreational and conservationist uses of all New Yorkers." Suddenly seeing virtue in the region's remoteness, they criticized the prison proposal as "an affront to public intent." Critics intoned the area's "beautiful environment," "big woods," and "clear lakes" as compatible only with tourism. Once comparisons to San Quentin, Dannemora, and Alcatraz took hold, STOP warned of irreversible damage to the region's dominant industry. As an institution "alien to Lake Placid's traditions of recreation, health, and family fun," opponents urged prompt relocation to a seemingly more appropriate, urban environment.⁹⁵ However, by defending the region's social and economic status quo, opponents unwittingly

Dec. 14, 1978, McEwen Papers, Box 95-27, 1980 Winter Olympics, Ray Brook Correspondence, 1978; and, Austin Stevens to McEwen, Jan. 23, 1979; Mr. and Mrs. William Streeter to McEwen, Jan. 31, 1979; Shirley Schoenstadt to McEwen, Feb. 1, 1979; A.R. Hall to McEwen, Feb. 1, 1979; and, Maile J. Fowler to McEwen, May 23, 1979, McEwen Papers, Box 95-27, Folder: 1980 Winter Olympics Correspondence, Jan.-Jun. 1979.

⁹⁵ On incompatibility, see, "Repression Replaces Celebration: The 1980 Winter Olympic Prison," pp. 6-8, STOP Records; "STOP opposing prison concept," *PR*, Aug. 4, 1978; "Olympics, Yes! Prison, No!" *LPN*, Aug. 10, 1978; STOP, meeting minutes, Aug. 3, 1978; "Prison Foes Get Cold Shoulder at Placid," *WDT*, Aug. 5, 1978, news clipping; STOP, pamphlet, 1978, STOP Records; Bailey, "Urban Prisoners Should Have Urban Environment, Writer Says," letter to the editor, *LPN*, Jan. 25, 1979; "Lawmakers Try to Stop Funds for Olympics," *LPN*, Feb. 22, 1979; "News from Senator Carl McCall: Legislators to Offer Amendment to Stop Olympic Village Construction," Feb. 13, 1979; *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary*, Mar. 21 & 23, 1979, Serial No. 7, pp. 18-19, 59-65, 78-79, 82-84, 86; Interview between David Casier and Elizabeth "Betsy" Minehan, Apr. 17, 1979, XIII Olympic Winter Games Oral History; "Clergyman Calls The Olympic Prison 'Stupid' and 'Immoral,'" *LPN*, Apr. 28, 1979; Hodges, letter to the Olympic Prison, Jun. 1, 1979; Hodges to Gov. Hugh Carey, Jun. 27, 1979, STOP Records; Hodges, letter to the editor, *LPN*, Oct. 25, 1979; Shinnick, "Natural Sport, the Olympic Prison, and the Fight for Sovereignty Rights of the Mohawks"; "Mohawks Plan Olympic Demonstrations," *LPN*, Nov. 29, 1979; and, Hodges, "Lake Placid Is for Athletes, Not Convicts," op-ed, *NYT*, Apr. 22, 1980.

buttressed the interests of the same white elites they had earlier condemned as unworthy and amoral beneficiaries of Olympic and prison largesse.

STOP and its allies also railed against the complex itself as antithetical to the region's reputation for promoting health and wellness. They targeted its tiny rooms, narrow windows, and five circularly arranged cellblocks spread across the flattened terrain, lamenting that "an environment of James Fenimore Cooper" had been invaded by "a modern 1984 facility, with all its symbolism." The prison's modernist, concrete-and-steel design prompted even Olympic organizers to fear a "concentration camp atmosphere for some people from European countries."⁹⁶ International sports executives condemned plans to lodge four athletes apiece in rooms designed for only one inmate. Cramped quarters, they feared, would inhibit proper rest, promote the spread of disease, and physically debilitate athletes prior to competition. Many delegations accordingly eschewed Ray Brook in favor of rented space in area homes, inns, and apartment buildings. By the same token, STOP feared restricted physical space inside the prison, in concert with the region's "long and cold winters," would create "embittered and more dangerous young people coming out of there." Opponents also dismissed long-held beliefs in the

⁹⁶ On aesthetic concerns, see, "Lake Placid spürte Hauch von Olympia: Eifrige Organisateren, aber auch Probleme prägen das Bild des Olympiaortes," news clipping, German Democratic Republic, Feb. 14, 1978; STOP, "An Olympic Prison: Is this for real?" flier, 1978; Hodges, letter to the editor, *LPN*, Apr. 21, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; Hodges, "Being Taken," letter to the editor, *LPN*, Jun. 29, 1978; STOP, meeting minutes, Aug. 3, 1978; STOP, pamphlet, 1978; "Lake Placid prison plans criticized; Chief protestor visits Norwich," *The (Norwich, N.Y.) Evening Sun*, Oct. 17, 1978, news clipping; "Moscow Olympic Village Rises Amidst Mud," *Sunday Gazette-Mail* (Charleston, W.V.), Oct. 15, 1978, news clipping; "Olympische gevangenis," news clipping, STOP Records; "S.T.O.P. protestors hold rally," *PR*, Dec. 8, 1978; "Clark opposes 'Olympic prison,'" *Sunday Daily Item*, Dec. 2, 1978, news clipping; "North Residents 'Don't Know Anything,' Says Prison Foe," *WDT*, Dec. 2, 1978, news clipping; Bailey, "Urban Prisoners Should Have Urban Environment, Writer Says," letter to the editor, *LPN*, Jan. 25, 1979; "News from Senator Carl McCall: Legislators to Offer Amendment to Stop Olympic Village Construction," Feb. 13, 1979," STOP Records; *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary*, Mar. 21 & 23, 1979, Serial No. 7, pp. 18-19, 59-65, 82-84, 86; Interview between David Casier and Elizabeth "Betsy" Minehan, Apr. 17, 1979, XIII Olympic Winter Games Oral History; and, Hodges, letter to the editor, *LPN*, Oct. 25, 1979.

inherently healthful qualities of Adirondack nature, claiming, “Pure cold air and pine trees may cure tuberculosis, but not crime, else there would be no crime in the North Country.”⁹⁷

To resolve these dilemmas, STOP proposed an alternative use that they hoped might help legitimize the facility’s presence in Ray Brook. Opponents pressed for conversion to a permanent Olympic training center, which they believed would aid in restoring Ray Brook’s damaged social character.⁹⁸ This proposal highlighted the deep chasm separating local

⁹⁷ On health concerns, see, “After-Use Dispute Erupts,” *LPN*, Oct. 26, 1977; “Lake Placid spürte Hauch von Olympia: Eifrige Organisatoren, aber auch Probleme prägen das Bild des Olympiaortes,” news clipping; STOP, meeting minutes, Aug. 3, 1978; STOP, pamphlet, Summer 1978; “Minister speaks out on Olympic prison,” *The Southeast Watertown Town & Country News*, Dec. 13, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; “Playing Games With Prisons,” editorial, *NYT*, Jan. 13, 1979; Bailey, “Urban Prisoners Should Have Urban Environment,” letter to the editor, *LPN*, Jan. 25, 1979; “News from Senator Carl McCall: Legislators to Offer Amendment to Stop Olympic Village Construction,” Feb. 13, 1979; “Olympic Village beefs don’t dismay organizers,” *Bangor (ME) Daily News*, Feb. 3, 1979, news clipping; “Skiers may snub Olympic Village,” *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Feb. 22, 1979, news clipping, STOP Records; *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary*, Mar. 21 & 23, 1979, Serial No. 7, pp. 59-65, 82-84, 86; “Complaints on Housing for Games,” *Newsday*, Apr. 13, 1979, news clipping; Johnson, “The Olympic Getaway,” p. 22, magazine clipping, STOP Records; “Clergyman Calls The Olympic Prison ‘Stupid’ and ‘Immoral,’” *LPN*, Apr. 28, 1979; Hodges to Carey, Jun. 27, 1979, STOP Records; Hodges, letter to the editor, *LPN*, Oct. 25, 1979; Shinnick, “Natural Sport, the Olympic Prison, and the Fight for Sovereignty Rights of the Mohawks”; “Mohawks Plan Olympic Demonstrations,” *LPN*, Nov. 29, 1979; and, Hodges, “Lake Placid Is for Athletes, Not Convicts,” op-ed, *NYT*, Apr. 22, 1980.

⁹⁸ On training center proposal, see, “Opposition to Ray Brook mounts,” *PR*, Feb. 21, 1978; Hodges, “Being Taken,” letter to the editor, *LPN*, Jun. 29, 1978; “Stop the Olympic Prison,” *Jericho*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Feb.-Jun. 1978), pp. 1-2; “Churches Rally Opposition Against Prison,” *WDT*, May 13, 1978, news clipping; United Church of Christ, New York Conference, “Resolution on the Olympic Prison,” 1978; United Methodist Church, Northern New York Conference, “Resolution on the proposed use of the Olympic Village facility as a federal prison,” May 31-Jun. 2, 1978, pp. 1-3; United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 190th General Assembly, “The Olympic Athlete Housing and Lake Placid Youth Prison,” Jun. 1978; STOP, meeting minutes, Aug. 3, 1978, p. 2; “Prison Foes Get Cold Shoulder at Placid,” *WDT*, Aug. 5, 1978, news clipping; STOP, pamphlet, Summer 1978, STOP Records; “Prison Use Comes Under Attack,” *LPN*, Nov. 22, 1978; Hodges, “Anti-Prison,” letter to the editor, *LPN*, Nov. 23, 1978; Mackey to Tobin, Dec. 4, 1978, STOP Records; “Playing Games with Prisons,” editorial, *NYT*, Jan. 13, 1979; STOP, “The Olympic Prison,” brochure, Winter 1979; “News from Senator Carl McCall: Legislators to Offer Amendment to Stop Olympic Village Construction,” Feb. 13, 1979; Turner to Rev. Mark Rohrbaugh, Feb. 9, 1979; Rev. Allen Wollenberg to Congressman James Hanley, Jan. 26, 1979; Regier, “Update on STOP the Olympic Prison,” Memo to Denominational Leaders, Feb. 16, 1979, STOP Records; Elizabeth Minehan to Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Mar. 18, 1979, in, *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary*, Mar. 21 & 23, 1979, Serial No. 7, pp. 78-79; *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary*, Mar. 21 & 23, 1979, Serial No. 7, pp. 61-62; “Lake Placid People Talk: Should the Olympic Village Become Prison?” *LPN*, Mar. 28, 1979; Interview between David Casier and Elizabeth “Betsy” Minehan, Apr. 17, 1979, XIII Olympic Winter Games Oral History; Hodges, “Olympic prison no job provider,” letter to the editor, *PR*, May 19, 1979; “Mohawks Plan Olympic Demonstrations,” *LPN*, Nov. 29, 1979; and, Hodges, “Lake Placid Is for Athletes, Not Convicts,” op-ed, *NYT*, Apr. 22, 1980. Also, Potter to McEwen; Jonathan Tetherly to McEwen, May

opponents from their putative STOP allies. Ray Brook residents shared few of STOP's concerns about the prison proposal. Local dwellers had peacefully coexisted with Camp Adirondack for a year prior to the devastation unleashed at the federal prison site; having a penitentiary nearby had not inflicted the social harm STOP predicted. Putting the facility to a non-carceral purpose, therefore, was of little concern to homeowners already adjusted to the crimescape. For local residents, the massive complex whose construction had disrupted Ray Brook's ecological integrity and health might never blend in, no matter the circumstances or conditions of its use.

Failure to garner widespread local support never shook STOP members' conviction in the fundamental rightness of their vision. Their efforts followed a familiar trajectory in the history of social reform. Scattered and largely unnoticed interviews, letters to the editor, and news stories eventually became an organized, disciplined, and committed conglomeration of individuals and groups. Throughout 1978, STOP spread its message through newsletters, brochures, fliers, letters, posters, speeches, and bumper stickers. They demanded accountability from Olympic organizers during a visit to Lake Placid; initiated lawsuits concerning free speech and use of Olympic symbols; and stirred doubts among bureaucrats, politicians, and even local residents. In December, STOP marched on Washington to highlight the Olympic Prison as emblematic of the bigger problem of mass incarceration in the United States, leading some to believe its vision of a reconfigured Ray Brook facility might yet come to pass.⁹⁹

22, 1978; Graziano to McEwen; Johnson to McEwen, McEwen Papers, Box 95-27, Folder: 1980 Winter Olympics, Ray Brook Correspondence, 1978; and, Margaret Kesler to McEwen, Jan. 22, 1979; Stevens to McEwen; Schoenstadt to McEwen; Hall to McEwen; and, Streeters to McEwen, McEwen Papers, Box 95-27, Folder: 1980 Winter Olympics Correspondence, Jan.-Jun. 1979.

⁹⁹ On STOP's efforts in 1978, see, "After-Use Dispute Erupts," *LPN*, Oct. 26, 1977; Rector, "Opposing a Prison at Lake Placid," op-ed, *NYT*, Jan. 17, 1978; "Opposition to Ray Brook prison mounts," *PR*, Feb. 21, 1978; "Olympic Projects Threatened in Two Separate Court Cases," *LPN*, Feb. 22, 1978; "Racist Nature of Juvenile Facilities, Jails and Prisons in the United States," Feb. 1978; "Lake Placid spürte Hauch von Olympia: Eifrigere Organisatoren, aber auch Probleme prägen das Bild des Olympiaortes," news clipping; "Repression Replaces Celebration" *The 1980*

With the Olympics one year away, efforts to derail the prison plan intensified during 1979. At the local level, STOP's work triggered a schism among denominational leaders, clerics, and congregations across the North Country. The institutional authority of conferences, assemblies, and bishops disintegrated as area clergy applied STOP's moral vision to the immediate, local, and everyday concerns of their congregants and communities. Though the penitentiary won support from the Catholic hierarchy and several area churches, most local religious groups joined STOP's crusade. State lawmakers in Albany threatened to make Olympic funding contingent on abolition of the prison plan, and in Washington, countless phone calls, telegrams, and letters persuaded Congress to convene two days of hearings on the facility in March 1979. One month later, congressional Democrats mounted three failed attempts to scrap the plan, and in May, STOP held a rally on the Capitol steps. Opposition leaders made little headway at an October meeting with President Jimmy Carter's domestic policy advisers, but warned of protests in Lake Placid during the Olympics. In November, local St. Regis

Winter Olympic Prison," Mar. 1978, pp. 6-8; *Jailbrake*, Spr. 1978, pp. 4-5; STOP, meeting minutes, Mar. 22, 1978, STOP Records; "Prison Suit Possible," *LPN*, Apr. 5, 1978; STOP, meeting minutes, Apr. 5, 1978, pp. 1-2; STOP, meeting minutes, Apr. 18, 1978, pp. 1-2; "Churches Rally Against Prison," *WDT*, May 13, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; "Athlete Housing Opposed," *LPN*, Jun. 29, 1978; United Church of Christ, New York Conference, "Resolution on the Olympic Prison," 1978; United Methodist Church, Northern New York Conference, "Resolution on the proposed use of the Olympic Village facility as a federal prison," May 31-Jun. 2, 1978, pp. 1-3; United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 190th General Assembly, Jun. 1978, "The Olympic Athlete Housing and Lake Placid Youth Prison"; Rev. Jonathan Tetherly, to North Country Committee Against the Olympic Prison," Jul. 21, 1978; "STOP opposing prison concept," *PR*, Aug. 4, 1978; "STOP tours prison site," *ADE*, Aug. 4, 1978; "Olympics, Yes! Prison, No!" *LPN*, Aug. 10, 1978; STOP, meeting minutes, Aug. 3, 1978; "Prison Foes Get Cold Shoulder at Placid," *WDT*, Aug. 5, 1978, news clipping; Tetherly to Hodges, Aug. 4, 1978; STOP, pamphlet, Summer 1978; STOP, "Olympic Prison Poster," news release, Sept. 1978, pp. 1-3; STOP, flier on USOC lawsuit, Sept. 1978; *Stop the Olympic Prison v. United States Olympic Committee*, Oct. 5, 1978, pp. 1, 3-5; STOP, "Olympic Prison Poster," news release, Nov. 14, 1978, pp. 1-3; STOP, Update on STOP Activities, Sept. 1, 1978; STOP Activity List, Jan. 1979, p. 1; Connie Myer, "Olympic Prison—A Matter of Pride?" *New World Outlook* (Oct. 1978), pp. 39-40, magazine clipping; "Criminal Justice Committee took action on Olympic Village," *Times of Ticonderoga* (N.Y.), Oct. 3, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; "U.S. attorney general discusses Olympic Village after use, APA," *PR*, Sept. 12, 1978; "Lake Placid prison plans criticized; Chief protestor visits Norwich," *The Evening Sun* (Norwich, N.Y.), Oct. 17, 1978, news clipping; "Minister speaks out on Olympic prison," *The Southeast Watertown Town & Country News*, Dec. 13, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; "Prison Foes to Call on White House," *LPN*, Dec. 6, 1978; "S.T.O.P. protestors hold rally," *PR*, Dec. 8, 1978; "Clark opposes Olympic prison," *Sunday Daily Item*, Dec. 2, 1978, news clipping; "North Residents 'Don't Know Anything,' Says Prison Foe," *WDT*, Dec. 2, 1978, news clipping; and, "Olympic-Site Prison Plan Opposed," *The (Rochester, N.Y.) Times-Union*, Dec. 15, 1978, STOP Records.

Mohawk elders, citing eighteenth century treaties, pressed legal claims to the prison site in Ray Brook.¹⁰⁰

Despite failing to fuse the various strands of its opposition, STOP did achieve its objective of raising public awareness and stirring moral outrage. From these modest goals, promoted through an extensive public relations campaign, flowed impressive results. State legislators threatened to cancel critical Olympic financing; congressional leaders called prison planners and Olympic organizers to account for their actions; and even the director of the Bureau of Prisons and United States Attorney General, whose department would operate the new prison, expressed doubts about the project. Having acquired a politically influential base of support, opponents sought to leverage their newfound power to alter the facility's after use. Unable to reverse the damage unleashed during construction, STOP adopted a conversion plan they believed even prison stalwarts might embrace. Critics' push for an athletic training center, though, revealed a profound misreading of the sentiments of the project's advocates, who never wavered in their commitment to building the Olympic Prison.

¹⁰⁰ On STOP activities in 1979, see, "Raybrook prison opposed by county clergy," *NCC*, Nov. 22, 1978; "Essex, Clinton Clergymen Oppose Olympic Prison," *WDT*, Nov. 17, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; "Prison Use Comes Under Attack," *LPN*, Nov. 22, 1978; Michael Kroll, STOP Activity List, Jan. 1979, STOP Records; "Sign statement opposing prison," *NCC*, Feb. 22, 1979; North Country Clergy Concerned About the Lake Placid Olympic Prison, "Leading North Country Clergy Ask Change in Use of Olympic Dormitories," news release, Feb. 15, 1979; "Statement of Conscience on the Lake Placid Olympic Prison by North Country Clergy," Feb. 1979, STOP Records; "Lawmakers Try to Stop Funds for Olympics," *LPN*, Feb. 22, 1979; "News from Senator Carl McCall: Legislators to Offer Amendment to Stop Olympic Village Construction," Feb. 13, 1979; Regier to Hodges, Feb. 14, 1979; Regier, Memo to Denominational Leaders, "Update on STOP the Olympic Prison," Feb. 16, 1979, STOP Records; "Olympic housing hearings scheduled," *PR*, Mar. 10, 1979; *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary*, Mar. 21 & 23, 1979, Serial No. 7, pp. 18-19, 59-65, 78-79, 82-84, 86; "Another Ray Brook Delay Attempt Expected Today," *WDT*, Apr. 4, 1979, news clipping; "House Committee Defeats Ray Brook Delay Moves," *WDT*, Apr. 5, 1979, news clipping; "Anti-Prison Drive Running Out of Funds," *WDT*, May 4, 1979, news clipping; "Prison Troubling White House Staff," *WDT*, Oct. 18, 1979, news clipping; Regier, memorandum, Oct. 1, 1979; Hodges to UCC Ministers of the New York Conference of the United Church of Christ, STOP Records; "STOP Seeks Permit for Placid Protest," *LPN*, Dec. 13, 1979; Shinnick, "Natural Sport, the Olympic Prison, and the Fight for Sovereignty Rights of the Mohawks"; "Mohawks Plan Olympic Demonstrations," *LPN*, Nov. 29, 1979; and, "Peaceful Lake Placid? Not About '80 Olympics," *American Bar Association Journal*, vol. 65 (Dec. 1979): 1773-1774.

Forced to defend what many considered a morally reprehensible scheme, supporters cast the prison as compatible with the region's social, economic, and environmental order. In the spirit of the Sagebrush rebels, advocates, including area residents, clergy, and politicians, guided by Congressman McEwen, proclaimed the complex, built with federal funds for an international athletic competition, a purely local concern. Boosters labored to discredit STOP by asserting the supremacy of local knowledge of the Adirondacks' history, nature, and society. Like their opponents, project supporters encountered difficulty reconciling the tensions embedded in their arguments. In response to the unrelenting force of STOP's moral crusade, advocates transformed their appeal to home rule into a reactionary campaign of misinformation, distortion, and lies. Proponents' tacit acknowledgment of discomfort with their own housing plan, though, did not undermine their resolve to get the prison built.

Advocates labeled the isolated and relatively undeveloped Adirondacks an ideal environment for correctional expansion. Prisoners seeking rehabilitation, they claimed, would benefit from the "purity of the air" and "meditative quality of the surrounding mountains." Here, supporters both reinforced and reversed STOP's positioning of urban and rural areas on opposite ends of the environmental spectrum. Cities, they argued, had "spawned the crimes" that made prisons necessary. If the Adirondacks' remote locale were "good enough for tourists," then surely "the unfortunate souls who are society's transgressors" would also benefit. The positive experience of incarceration in a non-urban environment, boosters claimed, would mitigate the harmful impacts of geographic and social isolation predicted by STOP. The president of the

LPOOC, a lifelong local resident, declared with confidence, “If I were a prisoner, I couldn’t think of a better place to serve out my time than in the Adirondacks.”¹⁰¹

By the same token, supporters praised the facility’s design as consistent with both the Adirondack environment and its long-term use as a penal institution. Supporters labeled the low-slung complex “attractive” and “modern,” and compared its layout to a campus that “would not be turned down by any university in this country.” Indoors, organizers promised brightly painted walls that, they argued, would promote rehabilitation, while outside, an electrified fence and razor wire would “keep potential terrorists out” and “keep juvenile offenders in.” Nevertheless, with two prisons already operating in the region, they argued building another was a natural and logical development, regardless of aesthetic or security concerns.¹⁰²

Above all, planners viewed the project as an exclusively local matter, in spite of its state, national, and international implications. They considered the prison consistent with the region’s

¹⁰¹ On remote locale, see, “Depressing?” editorial, *ADE*, Jan. 19, 1978; “Reply to prison opposition, Part I,” editorial, *ADE*, Mar. 3, 1978; “Prison opposition is un-christian,” *WDT*, Jun. 22, 1978, news clipping; “Village faces a space problem,” *Globe & Mail* (Toronto), Oct. 16, 1978, news clipping; “Olympic Site to Be a Prison,” *Jamestown* (N.Y.) *Post Journal*, Oct. 30, 1978, news clipping; “Sinclairville Man Is Fighting Olympic Prison,” *The P-J Weekender* (Jamestown, N.Y.), Nov. 4, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; “Clergy issue statement of support for Ray Brook prison,” *NCC*, Oct. 4, 1978; “Local Clergy Backs Prison,” *LPN*, Sept. 30, 1978; Rev. William D. Hayes, “Supports prison plan,” letter to the editor, *NCC*, Nov. 22, 1978; “Bishop endorses prison plan,” *NCC*, Feb. 21, 1979; “Bishop Brzana’s statement on Ray Brook prison plan,” reprint, *NCC*, Feb. 21, 1979; “Misguided Urban Arguments About Ray Brook Prison,” *LPN*, Jan. 18, 1979; “Prison protest is grandstanding,” editorial, *ADE*, Feb. 16, 1979; and, *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary*, Mar. 21 & 23, 1979, Serial No. 7, pp. 10-11, 17, 37-38, 43-44, 56-57.

¹⁰² On design and aesthetic concerns, see, “Church criticism of Ray Brook prison blasted; McEwen says ‘attempt to embarrass U.S.’,” *PR*, May 20, 1978; “McEwen Airs Views On Olympic Village Use,” *LPN*, Jul. 26, 1978; Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan to Hodges, Sept. 28, 1978; “Village faces a space problem,” *Globe & Mail*, Oct. 16, 1978, news clipping; “Olympic Site To Be A Prison,” *Jamestown Post Journal*, Oct. 30, 1978, news clipping; “Sinclairville Man Is Fighting Olympic Prison,” *The P-J Weekender*, Nov. 4, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; “Clergy issue statement of support for Ray Brook prison,” *NCC*, Oct. 4, 1978; “Local Clergy Backs Prison,” *LPN*, Sept. 30, 1978; Hayes, “Supports prison plan,” *NCC*, Nov. 22, 1978; “Olympic Prison Plan Opposed,” *The* (Rochester, N.Y.) *Times-Union*, Dec. 15, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; “Bishop endorses prison plan,” *NCC*, Feb. 21, 1979; “Bishop Brzana’s statement on Ray Brook prison plan,” reprint, *NCC*, Feb. 21, 1979; and, *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary*, Mar. 21 & 23, 1979, Serial No. 7, pp. 44-45, 48-50, 52-53, 56-57.

history of treating tuberculosis patients, drug addicts, the mentally ill, and criminals in institutional settings. Two-hundred-thirty well-paying jobs (with 110 reserved for local residents), advocates noted, might spur both creation of a “new permanent industry” and a long-awaited economic recovery. Interestingly, as Congress appropriated millions of dollars for the project, supporters claimed, “Government has done too little for Northern New York.” Boosters also assailed STOP as meddling outsiders bent on harming the area economy, embarrassing the United States and the Olympics, and reviling locals as racist “herdsmen of minorities.” Stating, “people who live elsewhere, and barely ever heard of us” should not make “decisions about our future,” advocates encouraged residents to support the project in the name of local control, regardless of who was footing the bill.¹⁰³

Frustrated by STOP’s achievements and unable to offer a compelling rebuttal, supporters embarked on a campaign of lies and distortions. They falsely claimed to enjoy widespread support garnered through thoughtful attention to local concerns. Organizers also solicited private

¹⁰³ On local control, see, William Oscar Johnson, “Placid is Not Peaceful,” *Sports Illustrated*, Jan. 3, 1977; “Olympic impact should begin in ’78,” *PR*, Jan. 26, 1978; Potter, “The Olympic Prison,” pp. 28, 31, magazine clipping, STOP Records; “Locals favor Ray Brook prison,” *PR*, Feb. 22, 1978; “Harrietstown supports prison concept for Olympic village,” *PR*, Feb. 27, 1978; “Prison Suit Possible,” *LPN*, Apr. 5, 1978; “Church criticism of Ray Brook prison blasted; McEwen says ‘attempt to embarrass U.S.’” *PR*, May 20, 1978; “Ray Brook Prison Needed, McEwen Says,” *LPN*, May 31, 1978; “Prison opposition is un-christian,” *WDT*, Jun. 22, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; IKON (Dutch Television), Interview between McEwen and Ms. Freke Vuyst, Jun. 27, 1978, McEwen Papers, Box 95-27, Folder: 1980 Winter Olympics, Ray Brook Correspondence, 1978; “McEwen Airs Views On Olympic Village Use,” *LPN*, Jul. 26, 1978; Gerald Oxford, President, Saranac Lake Area Development Corporation, to McEwen, Aug. 17, 1978, McEwen Papers, Box 95-27, Folder: 1980 Winter Olympics, Ray Brook Correspondence, 1978; Moynihan to Hodges, Sept. 28, 1978; “Village faces a space problem,” *Globe & Mail*, Oct. 16, 1978, news clipping; “Olympic Site To Be A Prison,” *Jamestown Post Journal*, Oct. 30, 1978, news clipping; “Sinclairville Man Is Fighting Olympic Prison,” *The P-J Weekender*, Nov. 4, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; “Clergy issue statement of support for Ray Brook prison,” *NCC*, Oct. 4, 1978; “Local Clergy Backs Prison,” *LPN*, Sept. 30, 1978; Hayes, “Supports prison plan,” letter to the editor, *NCC*, Nov. 22, 1978; “Bishop endorses prison plan,” *NCC*, Feb. 21, 1979; “Bishop Brzana’s statement on Ray Brook prison plan,” reprint, *NCC*, Feb. 21, 1979; “Misguided Urban Arguments About Ray Brook Prison,” editorial, *LPN*, Jan. 18, 1979; *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary*, Mar. 21 & 23, 1979, Serial Nov. 7, pp. 43-44, 52-53, 56-57; Nancy Pandolfo, “Ray Brook prison to provide jobs,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Apr. 2, 1979; “Saranac Lake supports prison,” *PR*, Apr. 4, 1979; and, “Village board backs prison plan,” *PR*, Apr. 12, 1979.

donations based on counterfeit premises: first, that taxpayer money was not funding the Olympics, and second, that the facility would become an athletic training center after the Games (the second claim followed assertions that the complex's size ruled out such a conversion). Recalling a non-existent, failed survey of other federal agencies for an alternate solution, boosters then declared the BOP had foisted the prison upon them. Nevertheless, they called it the "best solution," and with "no other after use for this facility," warned of an expensive and empty complex if the plan fell through. Advocates pressured journalists to eschew the word "prison" in favor of "athletes housing," "dormitories," or "Olympic Village," and most startling of all, claimed no environmental damage had occurred because of construction. Increasingly on the defensive, the advocates' de facto leaders turned on each other: the BOP blamed the LPOOC; Olympic organizers blamed McEwen; and the congressman, for his part, blamed Congress and the Secretary of Commerce. Exhausted after years of struggle, McEwen stated "it was time the country moved on...instead of dwelling on what mistakes may have been made." After all, as one Olympic bureaucrat noted, "We're sure as hell not experts on prisons."¹⁰⁴

The task facing prison advocates should have been simple. By the spring of 1977, they had acquired the necessary money, men, materials, and land; circumvented the informal

¹⁰⁴ On advocates' lies and distortions, see, "Church criticism of Ray Brook prison blasted; McEwen says 'attempt to embarrass U.S.,'" *PR*, May 20, 1978; "Ray Brook Prison Needed, McEwen Says," *LPN*, May 31, 1978; "Prison opposition is un-christian," *WDT*, Jun. 22, 1978, news clipping; Art Devlin, Vice President, LPOOC, "A Special Opportunity for Friends of Good Causes and the American Way of Life," 1978, STOP Records; "McEwen Airs Views on Olympic Village Use," *LPN*, Jul. 26, 1978; Moynihan to Hodges, Sept. 28, 1978; Myer, "Olympic Prison—A Matter of Pride?" *New World Outlook* (Oct. 1978), pp. 39-40, magazine clipping; "Village faces a space problem," *Globe & Mail*, Oct. 16, 1978, news clipping; "Olympic Site To Be A Prison," *Jamestown Post Journal*, Oct. 30, 1978, news clipping; "Sinclairville Man Is Fighting Olympic Prison," *The P-J Weekender*, Nov. 4, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; "Clergy issue statement of support for Ray Brook prison," *NCC*, Oct. 4, 1978; "Local Clergy Backs Prison," *LPN*, Sept. 30, 1978; Hayes, "Supports prison plan," letter to the editor, *NCC*, Nov. 22, 1978; "Olympic-Site Prison Plan Opposed," *The (Rochester, N.Y.) Times-Union*, Dec. 15, 1978, news clipping, STOP Records; "Bishop endorses prison plan," *NCC*, Feb. 21, 1979; "Bishop Brzana's statement on Ray Brook prison plan," reprint, *NCC*, Feb. 21, 1979; *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties, and the Administration of Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary*, Mar. 21 & 23, 1979, Serial No. 7, pp. 10-11, 17, 37-38, 43-45, 48-50, 56-57; "Olympics 'a steal at any price,' McEwen says," *PR*, Apr. 18, 1979; and, Dereck Williamson, "Olympic Village: A Special Place," *Lake Placid Olympian*, vol. 2, no. 11 (LPOOC: Lake Placid, N.Y., Aug. 1979), pp. 4, 8.

regulation of local residents; and, for one dollar, transformed land once considered Forever Wild into Forever Prison. STOP's blistering critiques left project supporters grasping for new ways to justify the rightness of their plan. Absent a compelling moral argument in its favor, and not immune to the unpleasant realities of mixing mass incarceration with Olympic competition, boosters' flimsy defenses devolved into a torrent of lies that ultimately split the awkward partnership among Olympic organizers, prison planners, and their congressional allies. The narrow appeal of calls for home rule, characterized by cries for political independence built on a foundation of economic dependency, only furthered boosters' isolation as the Games approached. Nevertheless, STOP and its local allies looked on with dread as athletes arrived for the 13th Winter Olympic Games in January 1980, all but assuring the facility's future in the crimescape.

Olympic athletes from thirty-seven nations were the first occupants of the circular dormitories built in Ray Brook. Concurrent with their arrival in January 1980, the Olympic flame began its journey north to Lake Placid. Police stifled STOP efforts to disrupt the torch run, which concluded peacefully at the opening ceremonies on February 13. By March, Dionne Warwick and Jamie Farr, after entertaining the athletes in the Village, had returned to Hollywood; the athletes had gone home; the LPOOC had submitted a glowing review of the housing complex to the IOC; and the BOP had begun transforming the facility from athletes' housing to a federal correctional institution.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ "Dormitory or Cellblock," photo, *ADE*, Jul. 5, 1978; "On Top of the Situation," *ADE*, Jul. 5, 1978; "Federal prison half completed," *ADE*, Jul. 5, 1978; "Internationals Examine Olympic Village," *The (Rouses Point, N.Y.) North Countryman*, May 23, 1979; "Athletes' Village Prepares for Grand Opening," *LPN*, Jan. 24, 1980; "Athletes arriving at their home away from home," *PR*, Jan. 29, 1980; "Russians Want to Talk Sport, Not Politics," *LPN*, Feb. 13, 1980; LPOOC, *Final Report: XIII Olympic Winter Games, February 13-24, 1980* (Lake Placid, N.Y.: LPOOC, 1980), pp. 155-162; and, "Some lesson on protest from the 1980 Olympics," op-ed, Michael Kroll, *San Francisco Chronicle*, Mar. 31, 1980.

Renovations required for the complex's carceral conversion (paid for with \$4 million in federal funds) proceeded through the spring and summer of 1980. Some BOP officials, however, remained skeptical. In a speech to the Saranac Lake Chamber of Commerce, one Bureau leader called Ray Brook "not an ideal site," yet repeated claims that no other use justified its construction. The *Press Republican* editorial board piled on, arguing diminished opposition activity evinced locals' approval of the project. Amid a budget crunch and rising conservative tide, the *Press* called for uniform acceptance of the prison as a tool "to keep . . . people off the public assistance rolls." The editors ended with an unambiguously dark prophecy: "The prison is going to become a viable industry in the North Country whether you like it or not."¹⁰⁶

After numerous delays, including misplacement of the prison's keys, the FCI opened on September 26, 1980. Congressman McEwen, local Catholic Bishop Stanislaus J. Brzana, and BOP Director Carlson were guests of honor at a ceremony attended by 150 staff members and supporters. Unwittingly evoking the mission of Camp Adirondack, Carlson pledged a "modern" institution that would "offer hope instead of despair." McEwen was less conciliatory, claiming

¹⁰⁶ "Early steps for prison staff hiring outlined," *PR*, Mar. 10, 1980; "Olympic Prison to Open in August," *LPN*, Mar. 13, 1980; "State urged to get Ray Brook prison," *PR*, Apr. 2, 1980; "Olympic Village possible site for refugees," *PR*, May 10, 1980; "No inmates at federal prison till February 1981," *PR*, Jun. 17, 1980; "California man named 'Olympic prison' warden," *PR*, Aug. 7, 1980; "New Prison to Provide 110 Local Jobs," *LPN*, Aug. 14, 1980; "Jobs figure in prison's future," editorial, *PR*, Sept. 5, 1980; "Warden in, readies for opening," *PR*, Sept. 17, 1980; and, "Work progresses," photo, *PR*, Sept. 17, 1980. On the new right, see, Joseph Crespino, *In Search of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative Counterrevolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); David Farber, *The Rise and Fall of American Conservatism: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Ronald Formisano, *Boston Against Busing: Race, Class, and Ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Kevin Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Matthew Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Jill Lepore, *The Whites of their Eyes: The Tea Party Revolution and the Battle over American History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Bruce Schulman, *Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson, *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Gil Troy, *Morning in America: How Ronald Reagan Invented the 1980s* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); and, Sean Wilentz, *The Age of Reagan: A History, 1974-2008* (New York: Free Press, 2008).

“There is no facility whose completion gives me more satisfaction...in the heart of our picturesque Adirondacks.” The same day, STOP held its final protests against the project. At Bureau headquarters in Washington, D.C., critics honored Brzana as “Turkey of the Year” and President Carter as the “Super-Turkey.” In Ray Brook, a handful of opposition stalwarts expressed disappointment, but noted the controversy’s value as “a good publicity tool” for the anti-prison movement.¹⁰⁷ Whose vision of the facility’s future would prevail, the BOP or STOP, remained uncertain as the first inmates arrived in early 1981.

Camp Adirondack and the Social Experience of Mass Incarceration

Amid the long struggle over the Olympic Prison, across the road at Camp Adirondack, inmates, staff, and residents built partnerships that fortified the penal institution’s presence in the community. A culture of outreach and exchange took root, characterized by activities emphasizing social welfare, public health, and education. An abundance of goodwill, unfortunately, could not forestall the escapes, violence, labor unrest, and corruption that provided stark reminders of the institution’s carceral purposes. Nevertheless, this early cooperative spirit helped preserve public support after the camp expanded to become the medium security Adirondack Correctional Facility (ACF) in 1981. Decades-old social, cultural, and economic bonds easily withstood the placement of barbed wire fencing around the old facility.

¹⁰⁷ “Lake Placid Is for Athletes, Not Convicts,” op-ed, Graham Hodges, *NYT*, Apr. 22, 1980; “Prison keys gone,” *ADE*, Sept. 3, 1980; “STOP to Hold Demonstration,” *LPN*, Sept. 25, 1980; “Barbed Wire Marks Conversion of Olympic Village Into Prison,” *NYT*, Sept. 27, 1980; “Ray Brook prison to open next week,” *PR*, Sept. 27, 1980; “Protest of prison fails to STOP dedication,” *PR*, Sept. 27, 1980; “Winter Olympic Village A Razor Sharp Prison,” *WDT*, Sept. 27, 1980; “New Federal Prison Opens in Ray Brook,” *LPN*, Oct. 2, 1980; Program, FCI Ray Brook Opening Ceremony, Ray Brook, New York, September 26, 1980, 11:00 A.M.; “STOP Welcomes You to the Olympic Prison Counter-Dedication”; STOP, pamphlet on prison opening; and, Remarks by Rep. Robert C. McEwen at the Dedication of the Ray Brook Federal Correctional Facility, Ray Brook, New York, September 26, 1980, in McEwen Papers, Box 95-27, Folder: Ray Brook Dedication, 9/26/1980.

Local residents and service organizations fostered a climate of collaboration that facilitated a smooth transition for both the facility and the community. Their efforts, directed toward enhancing the prisoners' intellectual, mental, and spiritual health, neatly aligned with the institution's historical roots. North Country Community College offered courses both for inmates and staff members and in time, the prison education program helped the college achieve financial solvency.¹⁰⁸ Locals raised money for and volunteered with music and literacy programs at the camp, and area actors and musicians provided entertainment for the men.¹⁰⁹ Regional clergy, in particular the Catholic bishop and his parish priests, became active participants in prison ministry with both inmates and officers.¹¹⁰

Prison staff and administrators, too, worked to promote public involvement in the camp's development. Correctional officials hosted annual open house events that became a fixture of Ray Brook's summer calendar. These gatherings featured inmate-guided tours, barbecues, displays of inmates' artwork, speeches by prisoners, administrators, politicians, and civic boosters, and even carnival rides and activities for children. While hundreds took the chance to get an inside view of prison life, camp officials also ventured into neighboring communities, lecturing at service organizations, displaying images of camp life, and answering locals' questions. Administrators also reached out to prisoners' families, sponsoring visits to the

¹⁰⁸ On inmate college education, see, "Camp Adirondack college studies start," *PR*, Feb. 14, 1977; "Campmen take NCCC courses," *ADE*, Feb. 16, 1977; "Prison employees to be trained through program at local college," *PR*, Feb. 22, 1984; and, "NCCC enrollment up; budget back in black," *PR*, Oct. 1, 1985.

¹⁰⁹ On cultural and educational outreach, see, "Saranac Lake students donate to 'camp,'" *PR*, Dec. 12, 1977; "Scholarship club gives 2 grants," *PR*, Feb. 23, 1978; "Grassroots program brings arts into area schools," *PR*, Apr. 26, 1978; "Thank you, Camp Adirondack," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Jun. 13, 1978; "Jailhouse rock," photo, *PR*, Dec. 21, 1982; "Onchiota woman helps inmates break out of prison illiteracy," *ADE*, Nov. 5, 1984; "Prison literacy program earns praise," *ADE*, Feb. 15, 1985; "Pendragon draws actresses from NYC," *PR*, Aug. 30, 1985; and, "Rhythm and Blues," photo, *ADE*, Feb. 9, 1990.

¹¹⁰ On religious outreach, see, "Prison Visit," photo, *NCC*, Mar. 26, 1986; "Bishop Visits," photo, *ADE*, Apr. 4, 1986; "Father Muench Says Prison Mass," *NCC*, Jul. 16, 1986; and, "Inmates concerned," *ADE*, Oct. 11, 2001.

facility, and hosting picnics and outdoor activities, including fishing in area ponds and streams.¹¹¹

The inmates also engaged in a variety of activities that promoted community acceptance of the new correctional facility. Inmate music groups performed for children at recreational facilities, for patients in medical institutions, and in public concerts held on prison grounds. Prisoners raised money for charitable causes, including the American Cancer Society and for victims of the famine in Ethiopia. Frequently, public schools and service groups enlisted inmates to address area schoolchildren and warn against the dangers of alcohol and narcotics.¹¹² By continuing Ray Brook's tradition of promoting health, the collaborative efforts of staff, prisoners, and residents alike reaffirmed the facility's legitimacy in its new role as a prison camp.

The work of prison labor crews on projects dedicated to social welfare and outdoor recreation, though, made the most indelible contributions toward reinforcing public support. Inmate workers' promotion of social welfare objectives began on an ad hoc basis in the 1970s.

¹¹¹ On administrative outreach, see, "Camp Adirondack plans open house," *ADE*, Jun. 3, 1977; "350 visitors tour Camp Adirondack," *ADE*, Jun. 13, 1977; "In Favor of Campmen," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Jun. 17, 1977; "Camp Adirondack to fete its first anniversary," *ADE*, Aug. 24, 1977; "'Camp' readies birthday no. 1 at Ray Brook," *PR*, Aug. 31, 1977; "Camp Adirondack marks 1st year," *PR*, Sept. 2, 1977; "A Prison Superintendent Who Should Stay as Top Man," editorial, *LPN*, Sept. 8, 1977; "Camp Adirondack opens to the public on Friday," *PR*, Jun. 7, 1978; "Camp Adk open house," *ADE*, Jun. 8, 1978; "Thank you, Camp Adirondack," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Jun. 13, 1978; "Camp Adirondack hosts open house," *PR*, Jun. 14, 1978; "Community praises camp residents," *PR*, Sept. 2, 1978; "Camp man honored," photo, *PR*, Sept. 2, 1978; "Annual picnic," photo, *PR*, Sept. 13, 1978; "Open House," photo, *ADE*, Feb. 20, 1979; "Racette says Camp Adirondack is still helping people get well," *PR*, Mar. 2, 1979; "Heights of authority," photo, *PR*, Mar. 2, 1979; "Prison slide show offered," *ADE*, Apr. 11, 1979; "Adult center schedules events," *ADE*, Apr. 16, 1979; "Camp Adirondack holds first of three family days," *ADE*, Jul. 9, 1979; "Camp Adirondack plans open house," *PR*, Aug. 21, 1979; "A walk through camp," photo, *PR*, Sept. 5, 1979; and, "New Vocation," photo, *LPN*, Sept. 3, 1987.

¹¹² On inmate outreach, see, "Camp Adirondack inmate group named 'Time,' gave kids good time," *ADE*, Jun. 29, 1977; "Carmelites celebrate 25th anniversary," *NCC*, Sept. 14, 1977; "Personals," *ADE*, Sept. 20, 1977; "Singing for a Captive Audience," photo, *ADE*, Apr. 14, 1982; "Drug Education Program May 5," *LPN*, May 4, 1982; "Explaining the do nots of drugs," photo, *PR*, May 8, 1982; "Talking about abuse," photo, *PR*, Nov. 15, 1982; "Inmates warn students away from alcohol, drugs," *PR*, Nov. 15, 1982; "Elks set program on drug abuse," *PR*, Nov. 12, 1983; "Inside Help," photo, *ADE*, Nov. 15, 1984; "Inmates Aid Ethiopia," photo, *ADE*, Feb. 19, 1985; "Inmates aid starving Ethiopians," *ADE*, Feb. 19, 1985; and, "Inmate expresses gratitude," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Mar. 8, 1994.

Prisoners, who earned on average between \$1.10 and \$4.20 per day, refurbished churches, renovated the offices of civic groups and governmental organizations, cleared vegetation at industrial sites, cut and stacked firewood for the poor, battled forest fires, and assisted with flood control.¹¹³ By the 1980s, this social welfare work became more organized and characterized by formal relationships with local clients. In addition to their outdoor work, prisoners became quasi-regular employees of public schools, fire departments, senior centers, libraries, sports groups, and health organizations.¹¹⁴ The region's many low-income families, in particular, came to depend on free Christmas toys built and repaired through a partnership among inmate workers

¹¹³ On inmates' social welfare work in the 1970s, see, "Camp Adirondack clears industrial park," photo, *PR*, Mar. 15, 1974; "ACTEC residents aiding in 'crisis,'" *PR*, Mar. 15, 1974; "Blocking out," photo, *PR*, Aug. 26, 1977; "Tree surgery," photo, *PR*, Sept. 8, 1977; "Heave Ho!" photo, *ADE*, Oct. 13, 1977; "Campmen provide service to area," letter to the editor, *PR*, Nov. 11, 1977; "Camp Adirondack hosts open house," *PR*, Jun. 14, 1978; "Village completing dam construction," *PR*, Jun. 21, 1978; "Thursday's rain aids volunteers in forest fire," *PR*, Jul. 29, 1978; "Community praises camp residents," *PR*, Sept. 2, 1978; "Woodcutting," photo, *ADE*, Nov. 27, 1978; "Contracts for plumbing, construction awarded," *PR*, Mar. 27, 1979; "The finishing touch," photo, *PR*, Apr. 5, 1979; and, "Area forest fires under control," *PR*, Oct. 25, 1979.

¹¹⁴ On inmates' social welfare work, 1980s-2000s, see, "Adult Center to settle down on Broadway," *PR*, Jan. 15, 1980; "Camp Adirondack inmates enjoy work outdoors," *PR*, Feb. 26, 1980; Photos of convict workers, *PR*, Feb. 26, 1980; "Stacking up," photo, *PR*, Mar. 6, 1980; "Fields need repair from drainage, Games," *PR*, Apr. 11, 1980; "Fields to be inspected; partial use considered," *PR*, Apr. 21, 1980; "DOT field work begins; use again considered," *PR*, May 16, 1980; "Clearing the brush," photo, *PR*, Aug. 1, 1980; "Dig It," photo, *ADE*, Oct. 8, 1980; "An attempt," photo, *PR*, Feb. 12, 1981; "Waters, requests for Red Cross aid on the rise," *PR*, Feb. 19, 1981; "Camp Adirondack commended," *ADE*, Jun. 11, 1981; "Inmates working on bridges in Jay," *PR*, Jul. 25, 1981; "Bloomingdale field day attracts many," photo, *PR*, Sept. 8, 1981; "Finishing touches," photo, *ADE*, Nov. 3, 1981; "Lettermen," photo, *ADE*, Nov. 27, 1981; "It's a Frame," photo, *ADE*, Jun. 15, 1982; "About Town: Bloomingdale," *ADE*, Jun. 15, 1982; "Blooming Berkeley," photo, *ADE*, Jun. 30, 1982; "Work on Walkway Begins," photo, *ADE*, Oct. 13, 1982; "Here's How it Works," photo, *ADE*, Sept. 23, 1982; "Handicapped children aided," *ADE*, Sept. 23, 1982; "Recognition for project sought," *PR*, May 25, 1983; "Industrial site," photo, *PR*, Jul. 1, 1983; "New look for Hubbard Hall," photo, *PR*, Oct. 6, 1983; "Library holds open house," *PR*, Oct. 17, 1983; "Inmates spruce NCCC's Hubbard Hall," *PR*, Jul. 11, 1984; "Library will open Monday: Inmates helped with renovations," *ADE*, Oct. 5, 1984; "Toys to Help Athletes," photo, *ADE*, May 9, 1986; "Pride in a Project," photo, *ADE*, May 13, 1986; "Time Donated to Project," *ADE*, May 13, 1986; "Camp Crews Do Community Work," *LPN*, May 22, 1986; "Inmates join farmers in Franklin County haylift," *PR*, Aug. 18, 1986; "Prison crew helped airport," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Sept. 1, 1987; "New prison shops busy," *PR*, Dec. 15, 1986; "Toys help athletes," photo, *PR*, Jan. 9, 1987; "Advertisement: PBS Channel 57 Arts Auction," *PR*, Jun. 2, 1987; "Helping Hands," photo, *ADE*, Jun. 17, 1987; "Hard at Work," photo, *ADE*, Feb. 4, 1988; "Streamlined Signs," photo, *ADE*, Sept. 11, 1992; "Gardening for needy," *PR*, Jun. 20, 1995; "Saying goodbye," photo, *ADE*, Jul. 15, 2002; "New Girl Scouts Recycling Bin," photo, *ADE*, May 9, 2007; and, "Adirondack Art Chair preview party to be held May 31," *ADE*, May 23, 2008.

and service groups.¹¹⁵ In a region battered by high levels of poverty and unemployment, and during an era of austerity, swelling deficits, and shrinking investments in social programs, inmate labor filled an important void for the North Country's many vulnerable residents.

Inmate workers also labored to preserve the region's recreational resources and infrastructure. Their work proved vital to construction of the bobsled run, cross-country trails, and alpine ski runs at Whiteface Mountain used during the Olympics. Prisoners also renovated parks, skating rinks, and athletic fields in local communities. Having demonstrated its value in the 1970s, inmate labor on recreational projects acquired quasi-official sanction in the 1980s, as conservation and sports groups, philanthropic organizations, and local governments came to rely on prison workers as a dependable, low-cost labor force.¹¹⁶ The most prominent example of

¹¹⁵ On Christmas toy work, see, "Christmas Bureau seeking donations," *PR*, Nov. 30, 1973; "Giving to the United Fund," photo, *PR*, Dec. 13, 1973; "Christmas Bureau seeks \$900 more," *PR*, Dec. 23, 1974; "Santa's Jukebox Donors," photo, *ADE*, Dec. 21, 1976; "Toy repairs may be at Camp Adirondack," *PR*, Oct. 5, 1978; "Toys wanted for camp project," *ADE*, Nov. 21, 1978; "Campmen give toys new life," *PR*, Dec. 18, 1978; "Jackets, mittens given to Elks by youngsters," *PR*, Dec. 19, 1978; "Saranac Lake Lions seek repairable toys, bikes," *PR*, Feb. 28, 1979; "Helping hand," photos, *PR*, May 1, 1979; "Lions deliver toys to camp for repair," *PR*, May 12, 1979; "Street Scenes," *PR*, Nov. 6, 1979; "Cubs hold holiday party," *PR*, Jan. 17, 1980; "At Camp Adirondack: Repairing Toys," op-ed, *ADE*, May 13, 1980; "Camp Adirondack Toy Program," *ADE*, May 30, 1980; "Rotary to collect toys at fire department event," *PR*, Aug. 27, 1980; "Helping Santa helps campmen," *ADE*, Dec. 24, 1980; "Rotary to give cotton candy for toys," *PR*, Sept. 5, 1981; "Santa's Helpers," photo, *ADE*, Dec. 9, 1981; "About Town," *ADE*, Apr. 22, 1982; "Gearing up for Christmas," photo, *ADE*, Apr. 23, 1982; "Toys for Christmas," photo, *ADE*, Dec. 21, 1982; "Toy Program Plaudits," photo, *ADE*, Feb. 25, 1983; "Holiday crafts fair to be held Nov. 27," *PR*, Nov. 18, 1983; "Hand-made toys," photo, *PR*, Nov. 21, 1983; "Helping with Toy Program," photo, *ADE*, Jan. 25, 1984; "Toy Savers," photo, *LPN*, May 17, 1984; "Rotary for Youth," photo, *ADE*, Apr. 10, 1985; "Inmates Create Kids' Christmas Toys," *LPN*, Dec. 12, 1985; "Real Alchemists," editorial, *LPN*, Dec. 1985; "International buffet to aid 'Holiday Helpers,'" *ADE*, Sept. 16, 1986; "Benched," photo, *PR*, Dec. 15, 1986; "Santa cutout inmates' gift to the community," *PR*, Dec. 15, 1986; "Santa's Helpers Get Aid," photo, *ADE*, Dec. 26, 1986; "Holiday Helpers Raffle," photo, *ADE*, Aug. 9, 1988; "Holiday Helpers' International Buffet a success," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Oct. 27, 1988; "Spirited Holiday Helpers made Christmas bright," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Jan. 13, 1989; "Flowers net cash for toy program," *ADE*, May 11, 1989; "Holiday Helpers," photo, *ADE*, Nov. 21, 1989; "Volunteers help provide holiday gifts," *PR*, Dec. 3, 1989; "Holiday Helpers," photo, *ADE*, Dec. 19, 1989; and, "Toys," photo, *ADE*, December (year illegible).

¹¹⁶ On inmate labor on recreational infrastructure, see, "State priority may close minimum security camp," *PR*, Aug. 24, 1973; "ACTEC residents aiding in 'crisis,'" *PR*, Mar. 15, 1974; "Residents of Camp Adirondack do environmental work," *PR*, Jan. 24, 1975; "Expand recreation area," photo, *PR*, Nov. 4, 1975; "Valcour Island is slowly returned to nature," *PR*, Nov. 18, 1975; "Miles of trails," photo, *PR*, Nov. 18, 1975; "Return to the wild," photo, *PR*, Nov. 18, 1975; "Former Seton residence," photo, *PR*, Nov. 18, 1975; "Glimpse of the past," photo, *PR*, Nov. 18, 1975; "Shoreline vistas," photo, *PR*, Nov. 18, 1975; "Dannemora plans for 1976," *PR*, Jan. 23, 1976; "Swiss 4-man sled breaks track record," *ADE*, Feb. 9, 1976; "Built by inmates," photo, *PR*, Jun. 10, 1976; "Field

these semi-official labor agreements involved the Saranac Lake Winter Carnival, an event first held in 1898 to encourage wintertime outdoor activity for tuberculosis patients. Beginning in 1977, carnival organizers enlisted prisoners to build the event's centerpiece, a massive ice palace on the shores of Lake Flower.¹¹⁷ Inmate labor on social welfare and recreation projects, by promoting wellness, closely mirrored the historically health-oriented objectives of the Ray Brook institution. The cause of public health, which unified the community and the correctional facility, helped solidify the institution's legitimacy in its new role as a prison.

work," photo, *PR*, Jul. 2, 1976; "Getting ready for winter," photo, *PR*, Oct. 1976; "Camp Adirondack—Where Realists Get Along," *LPN*, Apr. 13, 1977; "Land-clearing starts for two softball fields," *PR*, Jun. 25, 1977; "Clearing the land," photo, *PR*, Jun. 25, 1977; "A riot of color," editorial, *ADE*, Jun. 27, 1977; "School's tax rate to decrease," *PR*, Aug. 24, 1977; "Trail Work," photo, *ADE*, Oct. 12, 1977; "Ski club fund-raising continues," *PR*, Oct. 27, 1977; "Community praises camp residents," *PR*, Sept. 2, 1978; "Appreciation shown," photo, *PR*, Nov. 2, 1979; "Girl Scouts cite work of Camp Adirondack crews," *PR*, Nov. 2, 1979; "Prisoners save Olympics thousands in labor costs," *The* (New London, CT) *Day*, Dec. 13, 1979; "Intervale ski site to open as summer tourist stop in May," *PR*, Apr. 10, 1980; "Countdown begins," photo, *PR*, Jun. 4, 1980; "Students hike in the woods; it's just in their nature," *PR*, Jul. 8, 1980; "Dental program for school eyed," *PR*, Aug. 11, 1980; "Plans for Triangle Park outlined," *PR*, Oct. 9, 1980; "Clearing the way," photo, *PR*, Oct. 22, 1980; "A high level position," photo, *PR*, Jul. 1, 1981; "Ski hut to be constructed," *PR*, Jul. 11, 1981; "VIS plants flowers, fixes up parks," *PR*, Jul. 23, 1981; "Essex County to open its 133rd fair Tuesday," *PR*, Aug. 7, 1981; "Prisoners help in rescue of man from Haystack," *ADE*, Aug. 12, 1981; "Making plans," photo, *PR*, Sept. 1, 1981; "VIS elects new slate of officers," *PR*, Nov. 11, 1981; "Many are involved in ski trail project," *PR*, Jan. 28, 1982; "With a little help," photo, *PR*, May 14, 1982; "Helping out," photo, *PR*, May 20, 1982; "Public skating rink in village eyed," *PR*, Oct. 13, 1982; "Stairway added at Beaver Park," *PR*, Oct. 15, 1982; "Construction of covered walkway delayed," *PR*, Nov. 6, 1982; "Board OKs skating rink," *PR*, Nov. 23, 1982; "Town funds sought for ice rink," *PR*, Dec. 13, 1982; "Cross country ski building and lighted trails dedicated," *ADE*, Dec. 22, 1982; "A gift to the skaters," photo, *PR*, Feb. 14, 1983; "Field work," photo, *PR*, Jun. 2, 1983; "Clearing the bases," photo, *LPN*, Jun. 16, 1983; "Inmate crews improving ski trails," *PR*, Dec. 8, 1983; "Renovation team," photo, *PR*, Dec. 15, 1983; "VIS sets \$3000 fund-drive goal," *PR*, Aug. 22, 1984; "VIS to plant cedar hedge," *PR*, Dec. 12, 1984; "Prison-Made Furniture," photo, *LPN*, Aug. 31, 1988; "Inmates at State Prison Construct Furniture for Interpretive Center," *LPN*, Aug. 31, 1988; "New Playground," photo, *ADE*, Oct. 11, 1988; "Open for Business," photo, *ADE*, Aug. 21, 1990; "Pisgah's Progress," photo, *ADE*, Nov. 26, 1990; "New building delivered to base of Mt. Pisgah," *ADE*, Nov. 26, 1990; "Piecing Together the Bandshell," photo, *ADE*, May 23, 1981; "Providing a Lift," photo, *ADE*, Oct. 29, 1991; "Snow Shoveling Councilman," photo, *ADE*, Jan. 8, 1992; "A New Place to Skate," photo, *ADE*, Jan. 9, 1992; "Floral Work Detail," photo, *ADE*, Jun. 6, 1997; and, "One Step at a Time," photo, *ADE*, Jun. 9, 1998.

¹¹⁷ On inmate labor at the Saranac Lake Winter Carnival, see, "Streets cleaned by campmen for carnival," *ADE*, Feb. 16, 1977; "Using materials on hand," photo, *ADE*, Feb. 2, 1978; "The icemen make their deliveries," photo, *PR*, Feb. 10, 1978; "The Real Thing," photo, *ADE*, Feb. 10, 1978; "Easing the load," photo, *PR*, Jan. 18, 1979; "Keough again lends expertise to ice palace construction," *PR*, Jan. 18, 1979; "Awaiting construction," photo, *PR*, Jan. 19, 1979; "Ready for storming," photo, *PR*, Feb. 9, 1979; "Ice palace in the mud," photo, *PR*, Jan. 19, 1980; "Ice palace takes shape," photo, *PR*, Jan. 28, 1981; "Saranac Lake parade highlights ongoing 1981 Winter Carnival," *PR*, Feb. 14, 1981; "Art Imitates Life," photo, *ADE*, Feb. 2, 1982; "Going up," photo, *ADE*, Feb. 4, 1982; "Rescue Calls: Saranac Lake," *ADE*, Feb. 4, 1982; "A Helping Hand," photo, *ADE*, Feb. 12, 1982; "A job well done," photo, *PR*, Feb. 17, 1982; "Construction to start on 1983 Ice Palace," *ADE*, Jan. 18, 1983; "Grand opening," photo, *PR*, Jan. 27, 1983; "Getting ready," photo, *PR*, Jan. 31, 1983; "Palace beauty warms winter chill," editorial, *ADE*, Feb. 10, 1983; and, "Camp Adirondack Carpenters," photo, *ADE*, Dec. 11, 1984.

Prisoners' reactions to the social experience of incarceration in Ray Brook included a mixture of frustration and gratitude. Seeing themselves as an elite crop of prisoners, some camp inmates complained that newer criminals "have no scruples" and lamented the apparent demise of "a code—you know, an honor among thieves thing." Seasoned inmates viewed prison camps as breeding grounds for "rats, snitches, and crybabies," complaining that "jacks" (first-time offenders) sent to Ray Brook were "spoiled by coming here" because they "don't know what it is to be miserable" in maximum-security institutions. Though bemoaning heightened cooperation between inmates and officers, prisoners credited the camp's healthful qualities, defined in part by the very harmony they decried, in smoothing their path to rehabilitation. Working in the mountains, prisoners described a "feeling of freedom...being outdoors," and that "it feels free." Others labeled their often backbreaking labor as "healthy" precisely because "you're in the outdoors." Administrators hoped the emotional charge of outdoor work, in concert with positive reinforcement from residents and staff, would renew inmates' focus on the values of labor and personal wellness after release.¹¹⁸

In assessing the facility's relatively smooth transition from hospital to drug rehab center to prison, residents and staff gave most of the credit to the inmates. While some interpreted prisoners' hard work and discipline as a ploy to avoid transfer to Attica or Dannemora, many viewed the inmates as partners in a progressive experiment whose success depended on the good conduct of all participants. Administrators highlighted "a greater degree of trust" where there

¹¹⁸ On inmates' reactions, see, "Camp Adirondack—Where Realists Get Along," *LPN*, Apr. 13, 1977; "Camp Adirondack: unique, but it works," *ADE*, Nov. 8, 1977; "Camp Adirondack: Prisoners like it here," *ADE*, Apr. 2, 1979; "Prisoners save Olympics thousands in labor costs," *The* (New London, CT) *Day*, Dec. 13, 1979; "Camp Adirondack inmates enjoy work outdoors," *PR*, Feb. 26, 1980; "Helping Santa helps campmen," *ADE*, Dec. 24, 1980; "Inmates spruce up NCCC's Hubbard Hall," *PR*, Jul. 11, 1984; "Camp Crews Do Community Work," *LPN*, May 22, 1986; "Riding the perimeter," *ADE*, Feb. 18, 1988; "Inmates at State Prison Construct Furniture for Interpretive Center," *LPN*, Aug. 31, 1988; and, "Prison-Made Furniture," photo, *LPN*, Aug. 31, 1988.

was “no need to enforce basic rules” because the men performed “work which they know has real value,” often undertaking projects “no contractor would touch.” Locals called the inmates a “credit to the community,” and considered them “part of our life in the Adirondacks.” The superintendent, linking the facility’s past and present, offered the ultimate endorsement of the prison when he claimed, “We are still helping people to get well.”¹¹⁹

However, the bureaucratic struggles that had triggered Camp Adirondack’s opening also shaped its long-term development. Propelled by the space needs of the LPOOC and DOCS, officials embarked on a decades-long program of upgrades and expansions. While conversion to medium security in 1981 brought more inmates, employees, and payroll dollars, it also attenuated the partnerships forged between the prison and the community. Constant reminders of the facility’s carceral purposes, including escapes, violence, labor unrest, and struggles with infectious disease, threatened to upend the historically warm relationship enjoyed with its neighbors. Nevertheless, conversion from camp to prison did little to shake residents’ confidence in the institution’s place in their community.

¹¹⁹ On staff and residents’ positive reactions to camp and inmates, see, “Streets cleaned by campmen for carnival,” *ADE*, Feb. 16, 1977; “Camp Adirondack—Where Realists Get Along,” *LPN*, Apr. 13, 1977; “All Have Sinned,” letter to the editor, *ADE*, Jun. 13, 1977; “A riot of color,” editorial, *ADE*, Jun. 22, 1977; “Newspaper Chronicles Prison Life,” *LPN*, Sept. 29, 1977; “Camp Adirondack: unique, but it works,” *ADE*, Nov. 8, 1977; “Campmen provide service to area,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Nov. 11, 1977; “Camp Adirondack hosts open house,” *PR*, Jun. 14, 1978; “Community praises camp residents,” *PR*, Sept. 2, 1978; “Keough again lends expertise to ice palace construction,” *PR*, Jan. 18, 1979; “Racette says Camp Adirondack is still helping people get well,” *PR*, Mar. 2, 1979; “Girl Scouts cite work of Camp Adirondack crews,” *PR*, Nov. 2, 1979; “Appreciation shown,” photo, *PR*, Nov. 2, 1979; “Prisoners save Olympics thousands in labor costs,” *The* (New London, CT) *Day*, Dec. 13, 1979; “Camp Adirondack inmates enjoy work outdoors,” *PR*, Feb. 26, 1980; “Terms Disputed,” letter to the editor, *ADE*, Oct. 13, 1980; “Helping Santa helps campmen,” *ADE*, Dec. 24, 1980; “Camp Adirondack commended,” letter to the editor, *ADE*, Jun. 11, 1981; “Cross country ski building and lighted trails dedicated,” *ADE*, Dec. 22, 1982; “Field work,” photos, *PR*, Jun. 2, 1983; “Handicapped children aided,” *ADE*, Sept. 23, 1983; “Toy Savers,” photo, *LPN*, May 17, 1984; “Inmates spruce up NCCC’s Hubbard Hall,” *PR*, Jul. 11, 1984; “Library will open Monday: Inmates helped with renovations,” *ADE*, Oct. 5, 1984; “Keene Schools Thanks Prison,” letter to the editor, *LPN*, Jul. 4, 1985; “Inmates Create Kids’ Christmas Toys,” *LPN*, Dec. 12, 1985; “Time donated to project,” *ADE*, May 13, 1986; “Camp Crews Do Community Work,” *LPN*, May 22, 1986; “Prison crew helped airport,” letter to the editor, *ADE*, Sept. 1, 1987; “Inmates at State Prison Construct Furniture for Interpretive Center,” *LPN*, Aug. 31, 1988; and, “Volunteers help provide holiday gifts,” *PR*, Dec. 3, 1989.

The opening of Camp Adirondack, as it turned out, had not foreclosed its use for Olympic housing. In early 1977, DOCS had agreed to temporarily move the camp's 200 inmates to other facilities to make way for 1300 Olympic security personnel. Lawmakers appropriated \$6 million to renovate the 73-year-old facility, installing new water, electrical, power, and waste disposal systems, along with upgraded kitchen, laundry, and bathroom amenities. The superintendent praised the makeover, noting, "it indicates we're going to be here," a view confirmed in 1979 as corrections pledged 100 more inmates after the Olympics. Averse "to see a facility like this go to waste," and claiming an insufficient number of minimum-security prisoners to fill the refurbished camp, DOCS planned for security upgrades, and even more prisoners, once the Olympics concluded.¹²⁰

As New York's prisons approached 100% capacity in 1980, correctional officials moved to take full advantage of the modernized Ray Brook facility. Fears of idleness in an inmate population predicted to swell from 200 to 500 spurred creation of new vocational education programs. Seeking to capitalize on its investment and use all available cell space, Corrections announced conversion to a mixed minimum-medium security prison in December 1980. The camp quickly came to more closely resemble a prison, featuring a double security fence, topped by razor wire, and equipped with motion sensors; industrial factories for inmate workers; recreation and maintenance buildings; and guardhouses. Contractors also removed the old

¹²⁰ On upgrades for the Olympics, see, "Troopers to ensure Olympics security," *PR*, Aug. 26, 1977; "Appropriations for North Country area listed," *PR*, Jan. 18, 1978; "Projects on tap for area," *PR*, Apr. 1, 1978; "Local units in for state aid," *PR*, Apr. 4, 1978; "Most Carey requests granted in budget," *ADE*, Sept. 28, 1978; "Over \$8 million coming to area," *ADE*, Sept. 28, 1978; "Supplemental budget has funds for local projects," *PR*, Sept. 30, 1978; "Camp Ad'k getting \$3.9 million redo," *ADE*, Oct. 5, 1978; "Camp Adirondack getting facelift," *ADE*, Jun. 8, 1979; "\$65,000 slated for new PSUC curriculum," *PR*, Jun. 18, 1979; "Olympic quarters called unsafe," *PR*, Nov. 30, 1979; "Agreement on school use by Guard expected soon," *ADE*, Jan. 3, 1980; "Loss of 7 jobs proposed for prison," *PR*, Jan. 22, 1980; "Firm tackles thousands of empty stomachs daily," *PR*, Feb. 18, 1980; "Camp Adirondack population to swell," *ADE*, Mar. 7, 1980; and, "Prison inmates, staff members returning to Ray Brook facility," *PR*, Mar. 10, 1980.

tuberculosis cure porches, replacing them with classrooms and a law library. A sign bearing the prison's new name, Adirondack Correctional Facility (ACF), appeared on Ray Brook Road in October 1981, and by December, all its 485 inmates were classified medium security.¹²¹

Preserving the close-knit relationships forged between camp and community became a challenge amid heightened security. Inmates long accustomed to the freeing qualities of outdoor work found themselves restricted to prison grounds. As the facility's population expanded absent its traditional work programs, Governor Mario Cuomo warned of "critical inmate idleness" that might threaten public safety. In response, lawmakers funded a new visitor center, gymnasium, recreation yard, and vocational education facilities, and workers barred the prison's windows, erected more fencing, installed security cameras, and built special detention cells for disruptive inmates. Legislators also authorized a day care center for workers' children, an employee dining facility, and an interfaith chapel to mitigate the stresses of work in an increasingly crowded and confined environment.¹²²

¹²¹ On upgrade to medium security, see, "Camp Adirondack population to swell," *ADE*, Mar. 7, 1980; "Prisoner population to increase," *ADE*, Aug. 28, 1980; "Local prison plans to expand," *ADE*, Nov. 12, 1980; "State considers camp expansion," *ADE*, Nov. 14, 1980; "Camp Adirondack to double in size," *ADE*, Dec. 4, 1980; "Camp Adirondack due for inmate expansion," *PR*, Dec. 4, 1980; "Tri-Lake future looks brighter," editorial, *PR*, Dec. 6, 1980; "Camp Adirondack to Double Population," *LPN*, Dec. 11, 1980; "Area residents hired for Camp Adirondack," *PR*, Dec. 31, 1980; "Camp Adirondack inmate population expanded," *PR*, May 7, 1981; "Camp Adirondack to Become Medium Security," *LPN*, May 7, 1981; "Prisoners' arrival precedes security," *ADE*, May 8, 1981; "Local prison gets state overflow," *PR*, Jul. 3, 1981; "Tighter security in early at Camp Adirondack," *PR*, Aug. 11, 1981; "Camp Adirondack Becomes Medium Security," *LPN*, Aug. 13, 1981; "Closing the Gap," photo, *ADE*, Aug. 14, 1981; "More guards headed for Camp Adirondack," *PR*, Sept. 19, 1981; "Camp becomes secure prison," *ADE*, Oct. 15, 1981; and, "50 Adk. Correc. Inmates Transferred," *LPN*, Dec. 10, 1981. The Adirondack Park Agency (APA) exercised non-binding advisory review prior to the medium security upgrade, advising DOCS to plant trees and construct berms on the facility perimeter to mitigate the visual impact of the new security features. Reports, maps, and correspondence on the 1981 upgrade can be found in SP80-016 and SP81-001, Camp Adirondack Records, Adirondack Park Agency Records Office, Ray Brook, N.Y.

¹²² On upgrades and expansions after 1981, see, "Legislature moves to restore money lost to cuts," *PR*, Mar. 31, 1982; "Prison in for \$3 million of construction work," *PR*, Dec. 21, 1982; "Bids Received for Work at Camp," *LPN*, Jan. 20, 1983; "More funds targeted for North Country prisons," *PR*, Feb. 1, 1983; "Prison work draws 15 bids," *PR*, Feb. 21, 1983; "Bids being sought for region projects," *PR*, Jun. 1, 1983; "\$1 million bid let for new cells at Camp Adirondack," *ADE*, Jun. 2, 1983; "Altona prison project may top \$12 million," *PR*, Jun. 30, 1983; "Prison change fosters renovations to grounds," *PR*, Sept. 26, 1983; "Prison renovations continue," photo, *PR*, Sept. 26,

At Ray Brook and elsewhere, Corrections had become ensnared in a vicious and illogical cycle of expansions characteristic of modern state planning in New York. To satisfy the twin objectives of security and rehabilitation, planners built new prisons and expanded existing ones. As inmate populations swelled, DOCS hired more staff and planned more renovations. Between 1975 and 1999, the state prison population more than quadrupled, from 16,384 to 71,000. A system comprising 32 prisons in 1981 became a far-flung empire of 70 penal institutions by 1999. And overcrowding? Two decades of expansion left New York's prisons operating at 130% of capacity by 2000, the worst overcrowding in state history. The costs were staggering, as annual budgets at ACF jumped from \$947,500 in 1977 to \$14 million in 1997. The facility's inmate population, 80% black and Hispanic and 18% white, peaked at 713 in 1997. So long as policies dedicated to mass incarceration remained ascendant, these cycles would not be broken.¹²³

1983; "\$1.5 Million Building Bid at State Prison," *LPN*, Nov. 1, 1984; "Wood chips to replace fuel oil at 2 prisons," *PR*, Jan. 22, 1986; "Camp Adirondack to Install Wood-Burning Heat System," *LPN*, Jan. 23, 1986; "Camp Adk. to Test Wood-Chip Burning," *LPN*, Feb. 16, 1986; "New prison shops busy," *PR*, Dec. 15, 1986; "Budget plan has plums, prunes for North Country," *ADE*, Jan. 15, 1988; "First Lady and First Baby," photo, *ADE*, Oct. 23, 1990; "Tendercare Tot opening gives working parents more options," *ADE*, Oct. 23, 1990; "FCI Ray Brook, Camp Ad'k to share composting facility," *ADE*, Dec. 11, 1995; "A view inside the prison walls," *ADE*, Nov. 11, 1997; and, "Interfaith chapel dedicated at Adirondack Correctional," *ADE*, Sept. 20, 2002. As in 1981, the APA exercised non-binding advisory review over several of the upgrade and construction projects undertaken at ACF in the 1980s and 1990s. See reports, maps, and correspondence in SP 83-002, P83-049, P85-25-A, P93-224, P96-216, and P2005-133, Camp Adirondack Records, Adirondack Park Agency Records Office, Ray Brook, N.Y.

¹²³ The prisoner population at ACF doubled from 105 in September 1976 to 210 in October 1977. In December 1980, the prison held 245 inmates, a number which reached 485 by December 1981. After peaking at 713 in November 1997, the population dropped to approximately 600 by 2001. Fluctuations in the ACF population were mirrored statewide. In November 1975, the state prison population stood at 16,384, 90% of capacity. By December 1980, the figure had risen to 21,900, over 99% of capacity. In July 1981, with 23,519 in custody, the state's 32 prisons were at 104% of capacity. By November 1997, over 70,000 inmates were held in New York's 69 prisons, peaking at 130% of capacity. Employment at ACF steadily increased, too. The prison's 81 staff members in January 1977 rose to 357 employees by March 1987. By November 1997, 200 corrections officers statewide were on a waitlist for transfer to ACF. The prison's yearly budget grew from \$947,500 in January 1977 to \$14 million in November 1997. On inmate population increase, see, "Corrections taking over Ray Brook," *ADE*, Aug. 13, 1976; "Camp Adirondack relocates in Ray Brook," *ADE*, Sept. 2, 1976; "Camp Adirondack—Where Realists Get Along," *LPN*, Apr. 13, 1977; "60 more assigned to camp," *ADE*, Jun. 15, 1977; "Camp Population to Double," *LPN*, Jun. 16, 1977; "Camp Adirondack Gets New Superintendent," *LPN*, Oct. 13, 1977; "Camp Adirondack: unique, but it works," *ADE*, Nov. 8, 1977; "Camp Adirondack hosts open house," *PR*, Jun. 14, 1978; "Camp Adirondack 'to stay

Ray Brook's commitment to secure, community-oriented rehabilitation, though, did not preclude the disorder characteristic of prison life generally. Between 1976 and 1982, eleven inmates escaped, prompting searches involving corrections officers, state police, dogs, roadblocks, and helicopters. Inmates used the relatively uncontrolled minimum-security environment to their advantage, climbing out their windows, walking away from work projects, and challenging the prison's social character. Once outside, the unfamiliar environment proved both blessing and curse. While some planned well, including one escapee whose wife came from Long Island to drive the getaway car, most relied on luck during their brief moments of freedom. One prisoner hid inside a hunting camp, while another pair, disguised as hikers and toting stolen camping equipment, claimed membership in a nature club to thwart detection by

as it is," *ADE*, Nov. 8, 1978; "Loss of 7 jobs proposed for prison," *PR*, Jan. 22, 1980; "Camp Adirondack population to swell," *ADE*, Mar. 7, 1980; "Prisoner population to increase," *ADE*, Aug. 28, 1980; "Camp Adirondack to double in size," *ADE*, Dec. 4, 1980; "Camp Adirondack due for inmate expansion," *PR*, Dec. 4, 1980; "Area residents hired for Camp Adirondack," *PR*, Dec. 31, 1980; "Camp Adirondack inmate population expanded," *PR*, May 7, 1981; "Prisoners' arrival precedes security," *ADE*, May 8, 1981; "Local prison gets state overflow," *PR*, Jul. 13, 1981; "Camp Adirondack Becomes Medium Security," *LPN*, Aug. 13, 1981; "More guards headed for Camp Adirondack," *PR*, Sept. 19, 1981; "Camp becomes secure prison," *ADE*, Oct. 15, 1981; "50 Adk. Correc. Inmates Transferred," *LPN*, Dec. 10, 1981; "Prison in for \$3 million of construction work," *PR*, Dec. 21, 1982; "Prison change fosters renovation to grounds," *PR*, Sept. 26, 1983; "New Vocation," photo, *LPN*, Sept. 3, 1987; "Camp Ad'k population up," *ADE*, Sept. 10, 1987; "A view inside the prison walls," *ADE*, Nov. 11, 1997; and, "Inmates concerned," *ADE*, Oct. 11, 2001. On the increasing convict population in New York State, see, "Prison system to be expanded," *ADE*, Nov. 11, 1975; "State prison expansion accounts for \$11 million," *PR*, Jan. 8, 1977; "Camp Adirondack to double in size," *ADE*, Dec. 4, 1980; "State prison population at record level," *PR*, Jul. 1, 1981; "Stafford eyes new prison at Chazy Lake," *PR*, Jan. 30, 1982; "Prisons throughout region boost economy with 2000 employees," *PR*, Jan. 27, 1983; "\$1 million bid let for new cells at Camp Adirondack," *ADE*, Jun. 2, 1983; "Massive expansion to cut overcrowding," *ADE*, Oct. 31, 1983; and, "A view inside the prison walls," *ADE*, Nov. 11, 1997. On increasing employment and budgets at ACF, see, "State prison expansion accounts for \$11 million," *PR*, Jan. 8, 1977; "60 inmates headed for camp," *PR*, Jun. 15, 1977; "Camp Population to Double," *LPN*, Jun. 16, 1977; "Camp Adirondack Gets New Superintendent," *LPN*, Oct. 13, 1977; "Camp Adirondack getting facelift," *ADE*, Jun. 8, 1979; "Loss of 7 jobs proposed for prison," *PR*, Jan. 22, 1980; "Prisoner population to increase," *ADE*, Aug. 28, 1980; "Local prison plans to expand," *ADE*, Nov. 12, 1980; "Camp Adirondack to double in size," *ADE*, Dec. 4, 1980; "Camp Adirondack due for inmate expansion," *PR*, Dec. 4, 1980; "Camp Adirondack inmate population expanded," *PR*, May 7, 1981; "Prisoners' arrival precedes security," *ADE*, May 8, 1981; "Tighter security in early at Camp Adirondack," *PR*, Aug. 11, 1981; "Camp Adirondack Becomes Medium Security," *LPN*, Aug. 13, 1981; "Camp becomes secure prison," *ADE*, Oct. 15, 1981; "Officials, businessmen assess impact of prisons on Tri-Lakes," *ADE*, Jan. 26, 1982; "Prisons throughout region boost economy with 2000 employees," *PR*, Jan. 27, 1983; "Prison benefit figures mark argument's end," editorial, *ADE*, Jun. 28, 1984; "Cuomo budget includes more monies for area," *ADE*, Jan. 15, 1986; "N. Country Towns Compete for Prisons," *LPN*, Mar. 26, 1987; and, "A view inside the prison walls," *ADE*, Nov. 11, 1997.

three teenage boys. Many simply got lost, failing in their efforts to navigate rail lines, roads, and waterways as conduits to freedom, though one desperate inmate briefly imprisoned an elderly couple in their Saranac Lake home in exchange for transportation out of the area. Amid heightened security after 1981, inmates not enamored of prison life directed their transgressive impulses toward both their keepers and each other.¹²⁴

A noticeable increase in violent incidents among inmates and prison employees occurred in the years after imposition of medium-security. Several involved only prisoners, including occasional brawls over which programs to watch on television. Prisoners also attacked officers and staff members, posing constant and significant risks to employees' health and safety.¹²⁵ The

¹²⁴ On escapes from Camp Adirondack, see, "Extradition begins for area absconder," *PR*, Apr. 13, 1974; "Search for 2 convicts enlivened by new leads," *PR*, Sept. 6, 1974; "Two convicts still at large; command post now in Westport," *PR*, Sept. 7, 1974; "Manhunt intensity diminishes," *PR*, Sept. 10, 1974; "Police roving patrols continue manhunt," *PR*, Sept. 11, 1974; "Manhunt gears down in Syracuse area," *PR*, Sept. 13, 1974; "ACTEC inmate sought as absconder," *PR*, Jan. 24, 1975; "ACTEC escapee caught 2 years later," *PR*, Jun. 19, 1976; "Escapee from Ray Brook facility sought," *PR*, Oct. 20, 1976; "Camp Adirondack escapee found in Wilmington camp," *ADE*, Oct. 22, 1976; "Escapee sentence handed down," *PR*, Feb. 24, 1977; "Convict hunt is widening," *ADE*, Jul. 5, 1977; "Camp' escapee captured with shot in the air," *PR*, Jul. 6, 1977; "Escaped Prisoner Says: 'I'd Never Hurt a Person,'" *LPN*, Jul. 13, 1977; "Camp Adirondack escapees caught," *PR*, Aug. 23, 1977; "Captives—Quiet as Lambs," *LPN*, Aug. 25, 1977; "Campman surrenders after holding couple," *ADE*, May 15, 1978; "Camp escapee caught," *PR*, May 15, 1978; "Convict charged with escape," *PR*, May 16, 1978; "For Camp Adirondack: Inmate policy revised," *ADE*, Jun. 16, 1978; "Camp Adirondack inmate walks away from work crew, search on," *PR*, Sept. 7, 1978; "Escaped campman found near Keene," *ADE*, Sept. 8, 1978; "44 Very Costly Hours," *LPN*, Sept. 14, 1978; "Two Camp prisoners missing," *PR*, Jun. 7, 1980; "Convicts escape; guards protest," *ADE*, Jun. 9, 1980; "Search for inmates continues," *PR*, Jun. 10, 1980; "Police Continue Manhunt For Two Escaped Campmen," *LPN*, Jun. 12, 1980; "Escapees nabbed in Keeseville," *PR*, Jun. 17, 1980; "Escapees caught," photo, *PR*, Jun. 17, 1980; "BCI Officer Captures Escaped Campmen," *LPN*, Jun. 19, 1980; "Missing inmate sought," *ADE*, Jul. 23, 1981; "Escaped Campman Eludes Search," *LPN*, Jul. 30, 1981; "Escapee caught," *ADE*, Aug. 12, 1981; "Ray Brook escapee nabbed," *PR*, Aug. 12, 1981; "Escapee captured," *LPN*, Aug. 13, 1981; "Arraignment," photo, *PR*, Aug. 21, 1981; "Convict, girlfriend deny escape charges," *PR*, Aug. 21, 1981; "Camp Adirondack escapee sentenced," *ADE*, Dec. 7, 1981; "Inmates escape from bus; are injured, captured," *PR*, May 1, 1982; "Inmates escape; are caught," *ADE*, May 3, 1982; "Escapee captured," *ADE*, Jun. 1, 1982; "Escaped convict caught Saturday," *PR*, Jun. 2, 1982; and, "This trooper's bite worse than his bark," *PR*, Jul. 6, 1983.

¹²⁵ On inmate violence, see, "Gangland murder? Man released from Camp Adirondack found dead off Northway, exit 19," *ADE*, Oct. 22, 1982; "Body identified as former Ray Brook inmate," *PR*, Oct. 23, 1982; "Body found locally called gang killing," *PR*, Oct. 25, 1982; "Inmate slightly hurt in prison fight," *ADE*, May 2, 1983; "Camp Adk. inmate cut, battered," *ADE*, Jul. 26, 1983; "Inmate convicted of assaulting local guard," *ADE*, Dec. 17, 1991; "Prison brawl erupts over television," *ADE*, Sept. 28, 1992; "Punish criminals, not entertain them," editorial, *LPN*, Sept. 30, 1992; "Cook clocked," *ADE*, Feb. 23, 1999; and, "Inmate indicted for assaulting guards," *ADE*, Nov. 21, 2001.

hazards of prison employment, though, were not restricted to the random whims of wayward inmates. Unionized corrections officers at Ray Brook engaged in an unending struggle with facility administrators and state leaders. Often, the importance of bread-and-butter issues such as salaries and benefits took a backseat to questions about workplace safety and control.

Shifts in union tactics and rhetoric closely paralleled the camp's transition from minimum to medium security. When AFSCME Council 82, the bargaining unit representing New York's correctional officers, struck the state's prisons in April 1979, nearly all of Camp Adirondack's fifty unionized officers in Local 866 joined the picket line. Amid state proposals to end seniority, force use of paid sick time in place of workers' compensation, and reopen salary negotiations after one year, union leaders, in violation of the Taylor Law, struck to force higher pay and to preserve existing workplace protections. While the National Guard maintained security inside the prison, officers outside simultaneously picketed and performed their duties, undertaking surveillance of the unfenced camp's perimeter. Professing concern for the region's economic vitality, strikers also permitted unionized construction workers to cross the picket line and continue pre-Olympic renovations. At the same time, employees who once declaimed affection for the inmates now decried their "lenient" treatment (including vocational, educational, and recreational programs) at the expense of officers and staff.¹²⁶

After 1981, prison employees' struggles for improved benefits and working conditions involved severing the bonds linking inmates to the community. The upgrade to medium security,

¹²⁶ On the 1979 corrections strike in Ray Brook, see, "Emotions running high at Ray Brook walk-out," *PR*, Apr. 21, 1979; "Construction workers honor line," photo, *PR*, Apr. 21, 1979; "Officers confer," photo, *PR*, Apr. 21, 1979; "Workmen cross lines of Ray Brook guards," *PR*, Apr. 24, 1979; "Guards man picket lines in strike's sixth day," *PR*, Apr. 24, 1979; "Ray Brook strikers direct anger at Carey," *PR*, Apr. 24, 1979; "Walkin' the line," photo, *PR*, Apr. 24, 1979; "Prison Guards' Strike Enters Second Week," *LPN*, Apr. 26, 1979; "Picketers continue vigil," *PR*, Apr. 27, 1979; "Guards Vow to Stay on Strike," *LPN*, May 3, 1979; "Awaiting Word," photo, *PR*, May 5, 1979; and, "Accord Reached in Prison Guards Strike," *LPN*, May 10, 1979.

which both reduced public interaction with prisoners and required augmented inmate programming, facilitated unionists' demonization of men once deemed a vital part of local life. Inmates partaking in pricy reform-oriented programs became convenient scapegoats for officers engaged in bread-and-butter conflicts with the state. Unionists soon found themselves in a trap of their own creation: when lawmakers did reduce security and programming budgets, officers warned of violence while acknowledging the vital role of work and educational activities in minimizing inmate unrest.¹²⁷ Similarly, employees' attempts to scapegoat AIDS infected convicts as threats to workplace safety and public health foundered as understanding of the disease improved through the late 1980s.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, prison staff and some locals, who years earlier had hailed the inmates as a "credit to the community," quickly recast them as undeserving competitors in an ongoing contest for largesse.

Believing public sentiment had shifted in their favor, some officers exploited the prison's confined spaces to extract unlawful personal gains. Random drug testing led to numerous officers' suspensions and arrests; another was convicted of raping an inmate in a bathroom; and a superintendent faced forced retirement after embezzling \$18,000 in unearned salary. The most

¹²⁷ On corrections labor issues, 1980s-2000s, see, "Corrections officers to protest state policies," *ADE*, Jun. 6, 1980; "Prison cuts protested," *PR*, Jun. 7, 1980; "Prison Guards Deplore Conditions," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Jun. 9, 1980; "Guards plan picket over death penalty ruling," *ADE*, Jul. 16, 1984; "Guard union calls for pro-safety picketing," *PR*, Jul. 18, 1984; "Local state prison guards protest high court ruling," *ADE*, Jul. 19, 1984; "Guards Protest," photo, *ADE*, Jul. 19, 1984; "Protesting," photo, *ADE*, Mar. 20, 1987; "On the Line," photo, *ADE*, Mar. 20, 1987; "Prison Guards Protest Understaffing; AIDS a Concern," *LPN*, Mar. 26, 1987; "Ray Brook prison guards upset," *ADE*, Feb. 4, 1988; "Angry Prison Guards," photo, *ADE*, Feb. 9, 1988; "Protest," photo, *LPN*, Feb. 10, 1988; "No More Cuts," photo, *ADE*, Dec. 19, 1990; "Local state employees battle for jobs," *LPN*, Dec. 26, 1990; "Irate workers," photo, *LPN*, Dec. 26, 1990; "Prison bigs may get pink slips," *ADE*, Feb. 26, 1991; "Corrections Dept. not ruling out further cutbacks," *ADE*, Mar. 17-19, 1995; "Prison protest," *ADE*, Apr. 7, 2000; "Closure of special units protested," *ADE*, Oct. 10, 2002; and, "Making a Statement," photo, *ADE*, Oct. 10, 2002.

¹²⁸ On AIDS in ACF, see, "Disease kills inmate, another hospitalized," *ADE*, May 11, 1983; "AIDS kills inmate at Clinton," *PR*, Oct. 22, 1983; "Prison officials detail care of AIDS patient," *PR*, Jul. 18, 1984; "The view from inside the wall is not so pretty," *ADE*, Sept. 30, 1985; "AIDS-stricken inmate remains hopeful," *ADE*, Sept. 30, 1985; "Protesting," photo, *ADE*, Mar. 20, 1987; and, "Prison Guards Protest Understaffing; AIDS a Concern," *LPN*, Mar. 26, 1987.

egregious example of corruption, though, came from abuses of ACF's shift-swapping program. By tradition, facilities in New York's prison system developed individual policies allowing officers to trade shifts. An audit revealed ten ACF employees never paying back swapped shifts, and offering others small sums to work for them. In 2001, four officers were arrested, one of whom had served as a local town supervisor, and charged with fraud and official misconduct. After pleading guilty, each paid restitution and faced a lifetime ban from public service.¹²⁹ Though rare, incidents of employee transgression closely paralleled the convict violence and labor unrest that had flared after 1981. With heightened security, Ray Brook's state prison seemed less secure and less controlled from its days as a mere camp.

In 1987, dozens of former tuberculosis patients returned to Ray Brook for a reunion that included a tour of ACF. At a reception, the superintendent intoned the facility's past to rationalize its present, claiming, "It's not that different from when you were here. We too are giving people the opportunity to get better." In a bitter twist of irony, tuberculosis, aided by overcrowding and AIDS infected convicts' weakened immune systems, returned to Ray Brook in the early 1990s, raising anew the health fears sparked by the AIDS crisis.¹³⁰ The anxiety and sense of vulnerability that accompanied the return of TB mirrored the larger institutional

¹²⁹ On ACF employees' transgression, see, "Correction officers suspended," *PR*, Dec. 1, 1994; "4 corrections officers placed on leave, pending drug test results," *ADE*, Nov. 13-14, 1994; "2 COs suspended, others back on job after drug testing," *ADE*, Nov. 30, 1994; "Tupper Lake C.O. arrested for sodomizing inmate," *ADE*, Sept. 17, 1998; "Prison to set shift-swapping rules," *LPN*, Apr. 21, 2000; "Time card corrections," *ADE*, Jun. 29, 2001; "Corrections officers illegally swapped shifts," *ADE*, Jul. 13, 2001; "Guard accusations," *LPN*, Jul. 2001; "Shift-swapping guards plead guilty," *ADE*, Jul. 25, 2001; "Guards plead guilty," *LPN*, Jul. 27, 2001; "Guards sentenced," *LPN*, Oct. 2001; "Shift-swapping guard sentenced," *ADE*, Nov. 21-22, 2001; "Prison guards convicted of misconduct," *LPN*, Dec. 29, 2001; and, "Former Ad'k Correctional superintendent pleads guilty to petit larceny," *ADE*, Feb. 11, 2004.

¹³⁰ On the return of tuberculosis, see, "Vestiges of TB curing days abundant in Tri-Lakes area," *ADE*, Aug. 21, 1987; "Former cure center now a prison," *PR*, Aug. 24, 1987; "TB test results finished for NY guards, inmates," *ADE*, Feb. 11, 1992; "Debate sparks concern over prison TB," *ADE*, May 24, 1996; "TB scare clarified by health officials," *ADE*, Nov. 7-8, 1998; "Second inmate tests positive for TB at Adirondack Correctional Facility," *ADE*, Nov. 19, 1998; and, "Adirondack Correctional Facility officials search for tuberculosis carrier," *ADE*, Nov. 20, 1998.

challenges ACF faced in the years following the medium security upgrade. Though shaken by escapes, violence, labor unrest, corruption, and disease, local residents' strong personal connections to the facility persisted, even as it acquired the attributes of a modern prison. Conversely, area homeowners never developed the same type of attachment to the Federal Correctional Institution (FCI) directly across the road.

FCI-Ray Brook: A 1984 Facility

Residents' feelings of alienation and antagonism toward the federal prison only deepened after its opening in September 1980. Despite pledges to the contrary, FCI officials did little to encourage community involvement in the institution's development. Negative impressions formed in the 1970s hardened, especially as many of STOP's warnings materialized. Only after fifteen years of tension and unrest, punctuated by two failed attempts to build a second federal prison in Ray Brook, did FCI leaders develop an organized program of public participation. Unfortunately, administrators' reluctance to become good neighbors condemned the prison and the community to a condition of permanent estrangement.

In contrast to the expansive outreach initiatives linking Camp Adirondack to surrounding communities, similar efforts at FCI were sporadic, limited, and rarely involved the inmates. Officials held five sparsely attended open house events between 1980 and 1992, offering museum-like tours of the facility with no interactions between residents and inmates. Most activities, though, were irregular and took place outside the penitentiary: staff members held craft sales and holiday parties; a branch of the Jaycees made periodic donations to local charities; staff instructors and professionals offered infrequent lectures on topics ranging from child psychology to women's history; and local residents sometimes utilized prison facilities for

family and social gatherings.¹³¹ FCI's insubstantial, ad hoc attempts at integration in its first fifteen years did little to bridge the gap dividing prison and community.

Further stymieing efforts at community outreach, FCI inmates' medium security status restricted their ability to engage directly with the public. Early on, their outreach activities were sporadic and not directed toward a broader integrative purpose. Prisoners raised money for local playgrounds, Christmas bureaus, and the Red Cross; donated artwork for charity sales and auctions; and recorded books on tape for language students in public schools. Only in the mid-1990s did FCI embark on a coherent program of community collaboration. Officials launched a volunteer program for residents to work with inmates on topics ranging from pre-release counseling to arts and crafts. FCI's Inmate Volunteer Corps, for its part, allowed prisoners to hone their creative talents on projects for charities, philanthropic organizations, and schools. Finally, local high schools sent their students to FCI to hear inmates lecture on the scourges of drug and alcohol abuse.¹³² With its focus on projects emphasizing health and wellness, FCI's

¹³¹ On FCI efforts at integration, 1980-1995, see, "Federal institution in Ray Brook holding an open house next weekend," *PR*, Nov. 29, 1980; "Prison Plans Open House," *LPN*, Dec. 4, 1980; "FCI Auxiliary to Meet Nov. 9," *LPN*, Nov. 4, 1982; "FCI Auxiliary," *ADE*, Dec. 17, 1982; "FCI Christmas Dinner," *LPN*, Dec. 18, 1982; "FCI open house features visit by Sen. D'Amato," *ADE*, Oct. 24, 1984; "A Look Behind the Walls of Ray Brook's Federal Prison," *LPN*, Nov. 1, 1984; "From Inside the FCI," *LPN*, Nov. 8, 1984; "Federal Correction Institute Seeks Indian Applicants," *Akwesasne Indian Times*, May 30, 1986; "Life Flight donation," photo, *LPN*, Nov. 22, 1989; "FCI to hold open house," *LPN*, Sept. 12, 1990; "FCI holding tours on 10th anniversary," *ADE*, Sept. 19, 1990; "FCI Ray Brook sets anniversary open house," *PR*, Sept. 17, 1990; "FCI Ray Brook doubles capacity in first 10 years," *LPN*, Oct. 3, 1990; "FCI Ray Brook open 10 years," *LPN*, Oct. 3, 1990; "FCI recognizing Hispanic month," *ADE*, Oct. 15, 1990; "Parents Come Despite War," photo, *ADE*, Jan. 18, 1991; "Program to honor women's history," *ADE*, Mar. 8, 1991; "St. Armand News," *ADE*, Jul. 23, 1991; "FCI Ray Brook sets open house," *ADE*, Aug. 25, 1991; "Gifts from FCI," photo, *ADE*, Nov. 26, 1991; "Helping the Community," photo, *ADE*, Jul. 7, 1992; "FCI tour slated," *ADE*, Sept. 29, 1992; and, "FCI Ray Brook holds open house," *PR*, Oct. 4, 1992.

¹³² On FCI inmates' outreach and voluntarism, see, "Prison is proud of inmate organization," letter to the editor, *LPN*, Oct. 4, 1989; "FCI inmates, employees raise hurricane funds," *PR*, Sept. 6, 1992; "Prisoners help LP Elementary School students learn to read," *LPN*, May 12, 1993; "Jukebox Plays On," photo, *ADE*, Dec. 6, 1993; "North Country Events," *ADE*, Nov. 12, 1994; "Art show describes hopes and fears trapped behind bars," *LPN*, Nov. 16, 1994; "FCI Open House," photo, *ADE*, Jan. 30, 1996; "Follow Through," photo, *ADE*, Jun. 6, 1996; "Calendar," *ADE*, Mar. 25, 1999; "FCI Ray Brook hosting fourth volunteer fair / open house today," *ADE*, Mar. 26, 1999; "Making a Difference," photo, *ADE*, Apr. 7, 1999; "Prisons to host annual volunteer open house," *ADE*, Mar. 22, 2000; "FCI hosts volunteer open house today," *ADE*, Mar. 24, 2000; "Enriching Experience," photo, *ADE*, Mar. 28, 2000; "FCI celebrates 20th anniversary," *ADE*, Oct. 2, 2000; "Daily Calendar: Today," *ADE*, May 4, 2001; "Ray

efforts toward community integration unwittingly mirrored those of Camp Adirondack and seemed to confirm advocates' earlier view of the institution's consistency with the region's history and nature.

Though crucial to FCI's attempt to gain community acceptance, most prisoners spent their days working as cooks, custodians, groundskeepers, and in a slew of unskilled positions. A large number worked in the facility's Federal Prison Industries (known as UNICOR) factories.¹³³ Intended to instill work habits, reduce idleness, and mitigate the tension resulting from overcrowding, half of FCI's inmates labored in glove, printing, and textile plants.¹³⁴ Depending on skill level and seniority, inmates earned from .44 to \$1.10 per hour, with monthly salaries averaging between \$70 and \$200, substantially higher than their state counterparts across the road. Many remitted their pay to family or saved money to spend in the commissary. Jobs in the printing plant, where inmates could learn skills valuable for post-release careers, were highly

Brook program gets NEA grant," *LPN*, Aug. 30, 2002; "Corrections staff donates to Habitat," *ADE*, Nov. 4, 2002; "Ray Brook FCI to hold volunteer fair and open house Thursday," *ADE*, May 14, 2003; "FCI citizen program awarded," *ADE*, Jun. 9, 2003; "FCI Ray Brook makes volunteers feel special," *ADE*, Jun. 24, 2003; "FCI inmates giving to the community with flower donations," *ADE*, May 31, 1996; "Kids at Risk," photo, *PR*, Oct. 4, 1996; "A field trip to prison," *PR*, Oct. 4, 1996; "'Kids at Risk' program continues with SLHS students at Ray Brook," *ADE*, Feb. 18, 1997; "FCI dares to scare kids off drugs," *ADE*, Mar. 15, 1997; Inmate warns kids of the harsh realities of drug use," *PR*, Apr. 24, 1997; "Kids at Risk," photo, *PR*, Apr. 24, 1997; "Sight-seeing tour through hell," editorial, *PR*, Apr. 28, 1997; "Ray Brook's Inmate Volunteer Corps named point of light," *ADE*, Oct. 16, 2001; and, "Kiwanis contribution," photo, *ADE*, Jul. 7, 2005.

¹³³ Congress established Federal Prison Industries (UNICOR) in 1934 as a for-profit government corporation to provide federal inmates with practical work experience and to reduce idleness in the federal prisons. UNICOR workers manufactured a host of products for sale to federal agencies, with system-wide profits pooled and used to maintain production and pay employees. Many UNICOR facilities' profits also helped fund convict education programs inside federal prisons. By 1987, UNICOR earned an average of \$34 million per year in profits, and by 2005, all 102 penal institutions operated by the BOP contained at least one UNICOR factory. One BOP official estimated that in 1987 alone, without UNICOR, federal taxes would have to be increased by at least \$400 million per year.

¹³⁴ UNICOR had four product divisions: wood metals, textile & leather, electronics, and data graphics. In the printing plant, convicts learned typesetting, darkroom skills, paste-up stripping, plate making, printing press, and copy camera work. The printing plant produced annual reports, brochures, stationery, and accounting pads for the federal government. FCI Ray Brook's UNICOR plants also produced gloves, military dress uniforms, curtains, laundry bags, sheets, comforters, towels, and by the early 2000s, canteen pouches and ammunition cases for soldiers serving in Afghanistan and Iraq.

prized, while glove and textile workers disparaged the repetitive and menial tasks designed solely to keep them busy. Nevertheless, by the early 2000s, FCI Ray Brook's plants, in addition to reducing idleness, returned annual profits of \$4 million.¹³⁵ FCI inmates' labor, in contrast to ACF, did little to advance administrators' amorphous integrative goals. Rather, FCI leaders utilized labor to maintain discipline in an overcrowded and restive institution.

Much like ACF, FCI underwent a host of transformations and expansions after its opening. Among the most significant was an increased inmate population, drawn primarily from federal prisons across the Northeast, Midwest and South. By 1983, FCI held over 700 inmates, far surpassing the designated capacity of 500. This increase did not include 165 Haitian migrants detained from July 1981 to August 1982 while federal courts debated their immigration status.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ On UNICOR plants at Ray Brook, see, "Inmates Work at FCI to Learn Skills, Decrease Tension," *LPN*, Jul. 28, 1983; "Prison Jobs: From Rewarding to Boring," *LPN*, Jul. 28, 1983; "Photo," *LPN*, Jul. 28, 1983; "Hot Hands," photo, *LPN*, Jul. 28, 1983; "From Inside the FCI," *LPN*, Nov. 8, 1984; "Fingertip of FCI inmate severed in 'industrial accident,'" *ADE* Jul. 10, 1987; "Federal prison ceases money-losing industry," *PR*, Sept. 25, 1988; "FCI Ray Brook doubles capacity in first 10 years," *LPN*, Oct. 3, 1990; "Prison study shows work and vocational training helps prisoners after release," *LPN*, Jan. 8, 1992; and, "Inmates make soldiers' pouches," *ADE*, Apr. 14, 2005.

¹³⁶ Thousands of Haitian migrants arrived in the U.S. beginning in 1980, and most were housed in federal prisons and on military bases scattered across the country. Ray Brook's contingent, detained for over a year, began moving in with sponsor families and relatives in August 1982. See, "Haitian detainees arrive at Ray Brook U.S. prison," *ADE*, Jul. 20, 1981; "Hundreds more Haitians may be coming to Ray Brook," *ADE*, Jul. 21, 1981; "Fate of Haitians uncertain," *PR*, Aug. 19, 1981; "Haitian prisoners in strange situation," editorial, *ADE*, Sept. 1, 1981; "Haitians Kept Isolated," *LPN*, Sept. 3, 1981; "Clergymen visit with Haitians," *PR*, Sept. 11, 1981; "Haitians in Ray Brook Face Uncertain, Frightening Future," *LPN*, Sept. 17, 1981; "Local Catholics give sweaters for refugees," *ADE*, Sept. 22, 1981; "Haitians," letter to the editor, *NCC*, Sept. 23, 1981; "Mass celebrated in French for 40 Haitians," *NCC*, Sept. 23, 1981; "Local parishioners visit Haitians," *PR*, Oct. 6, 1981; "Local teacher educating area to plight of Haitians," *ADE*, Oct. 22, 1981; "Haitian refugees coming to Ray Brook; 150 more," *ADE*, Nov. 2, 1981; "125 Haitians put local prison over limit," *PR*, Nov. 3, 1981; "Bishop to visit Haitian refugees," *NCC*, Nov. 4, 1981; "Martin protests northward placement of Haitian refugees," *ADE*, Nov. 6, 1981; "Haitian services office to open," *PR*, Nov. 14, 1981; "Someone ought to welcome the refugees," *NCC*, Nov. 18, 1981; "Haitians Future in Ray Brook Uncertain," *LPN*, Nov. 19, 1981; "Haitian services office gives hope to 165 in Ray Brook," *NCC*, Dec. 9, 1981; "Strange Christmas in Ray Brook, 'Almost Christmas, Almost Free,'" *ADE*, Dec. 24, 1981; "Another Haitian viewpoint," letter to editor, *ADE*, Dec. 29, 1981; "Catholic grant aids Haitians," *ADE*, Jan. 25, 1982; "Letters planned to aid Haitians," *NCC*, Feb. 3, 1982; "Frustrations Mount for Ray Brook's Imprisoned Haitians," *LPN*, Feb. 11, 1982; "Attorneys for Haitians seek to block transfer from here," *ADE*, Mar. 24, 1982; "Drawings by Haitian to Be Shown at CMDA," *LPN*, Mar. 25, 1982; "Haitians deserve their freedom," editorial, *PR*, Apr. 10, 1982; "Haitians from Canada to visit at Ray Brook," *PR*, Apr. 13, 1982; "Local priest calls for justice for Haitian refugees," *NCC*, Apr. 28, 1982; "Congressman urges more aid for refugees," *PR*, Jun. 22, 1982; "Haitians hope for freedom, justify presence in U.S.," *PR*, Jul. 3, 1982; "Processing of Haitians starts," *ADE*, Jul. 29, 1982; "Released Haitians added to welfare rolls," *PR*, Jul. 31, 1982; "First of the Haitians released," *NCC*, Aug. 4, 1982; "First Haitians to leave

As the overcrowding crisis worsened, Ray Brook's prisoner population exploded.¹³⁷ A population of 1000 in 1987 hit a peak of 1245 in 2006.¹³⁸ The demographic profile of the inmates also changed considerably. In 1977, 56% of all federal prisoners were white, while roughly 43% were either African American or Hispanic. By 1990, changes were afoot: Ray Brook's population of white federal inmates stood at 32%, while 66% were either black or

today," *PR*, Aug. 20, 1982; "Haitians sip from freedom's cup," *PR*, Aug. 21, 1982; "First Haitians Released at Ray Brook," *LPN*, Aug. 26, 1982; "Haitians leaving fast," *ADE*, Sept. 16, 1982; "Final Haitians Freed From Ray Brook FCI," *LPN*, Sept. 30, 1982; "Volunteers Honored for Work with Haitians," *LPN*, Nov. 1982; and, "Haitians, Volunteers Plan Reunion Sunday," *LPN*, Aug. 18, 1983.

¹³⁷ The population of the BOP's penal institutions totaled 28,825 in January 1983, rising to over 41,000 by October 1986. The figure hit 47,000 by July 1989, and by March 1990, the system held 54,000, with predictions of 90,000 by 1995. The system operated 66% above capacity by 1990, with no relief in sight. See, "Ray Brook federal prison overcrowded," *ADE*, Jan. 19, 1983; "Ray Brook federal prison almost double capacity," *ADE*, Oct. 9, 1986; "New Ray Brook warden has some plans for the facility," *PR*, Jul. 29, 1989; and, "Prison officials withdraw plans for addition to FCI Ray Brook," *PR*, Mar. 21, 1990.

¹³⁸ On FCI inmate population, see, "Renovation work, interviews at Ray Brook prison continue," *PR*, Oct. 11, 1980; "Prison begins hiring staff; 42 from area so far," *PR*, Dec. 15, 1980; "More prison employees needed as facility readies for opening," *PR*, Jan. 8, 1981; "Reagan's Cuts to Impact Economy," *LPN*, Mar. 12, 1981; "Population of prison slowly grows," *PR*, Mar. 23, 1981; "Ray Brook federal prison overcrowded," *ADE*, Jan. 19, 1983; "Prisons throughout region boost economy with 2000 employees," *PR*, Jan. 27, 1983; "Inmates Work at FCI to Learn Skills, Decrease Tension," *LPN*, Jul. 28, 1983; "FCI Expansion Faces Opposition," *LPN*, Apr. 21, 1983; "Big warehouse planned for Federal prison," *ADE*, Sept. 28, 1983; "Prison shows changes from Olympic Village," *PR*, Oct. 25, 1984; "A Look Behind the Walls of Ray Brook's Federal Prison," *LPN*, Nov. 1, 1984; "From Inside the FCI," *LPN*, Nov. 8, 1984; "Two FCI Ray Brook employees honored for service at prison," *ADE*, Jun. 27, 1985; "Suspect isolated after stabbing incident at FCI," *ADE*, Mar. 31, 1986; "Federal Correction Institute Seeks Indian Applicants," *Akwesasne Indian Times*, May 30, 1986; "More inmates for overcrowded prison," *ADE*, Jul. 15, 1986; "Ray Brook federal prison almost double capacity," *ADE*, Oct. 9, 1986; "N. Country Towns Compete for Prisons," *LPN*, Mar. 26, 1987; "Federal prison losing guards to state," *ADE*, Apr. 22, 1987; "Union President Fired at Fed Prison; He and Prison Administration Differ on Reason," *LPN*, Apr. 30, 1987; "FCI Employees Complain About Prison Policies," *LPN*, May 7, 1987; "FCI Warden Responds to Stories," letter to the editor, *LPN*, May 21, 1987; "School for crime," letter to the editor, *PR*, Sept. 11, 1988; "FCI getting new warden," *ADE*, Apr. 14, 1989; "New Ray Brook warden has some plans for the facility," *PR*, Jul. 29, 1989; "Board defers prison opinion," *ADE*, Dec. 27, 1989; "FCI removes 38 prisoners following racial stabbing," *ADE*, May 2, 1990; "FCI Ray Brook sets anniversary open house," *PR*, Sept. 17, 1990; "FCI Ray Brook doubles capacity in first 10 years," *LPN*, Oct. 3, 1990; "Tri-Lakes Area Business Profiles: Federal Correctional Institution Ray Brook: Career Opportunities Around the Corner," *ADE*, May 29, 1991; "FCI inmates go on food, work strike," *ADE*, Jul. 16, 1991; "80 inmates moved after FCI brawls," *ADE*, Aug. 7, 1992; "Student inmates get no vacation," *PR*, Aug. 27, 1992; "FCI Ray Brook holds open house," *PR*, Oct. 4, 1992; "FCI official says sentencing rules the root of inmate work stoppage," *ADE*, Jan. 13, 1993; "Cubans in FCI may be returned to homeland," *ADE*, Sept. 29, 1993; "FCI gets new warden; Adk correctional to get more inmates," *ADE*, Feb. 22, 1995; "Partial lockdown continues at FCI," *ADE*, Oct. 24, 1995; "ESCAPED," *PR*, Jul. 21, 1996; "'Human error' cited in FCI escape case," *ADE*, Jul. 30, 1996; "Two inmates at FCI Ray Brook are dead," *ADE*, Jun. 1, 1999; "Inmates questioned over stabbing death," *ADE*, Jun. 2, 1999; "Suspect named in connection with inmate stabbing," *ADE*, Jun. 3, 1999; "FCI incident; another inmate stabbed at Ray Brook facility," *ADE*, Jul. 3-4, 1999; "Nalley named warden at FCI," *ADE*, Dec. 31, 2001; "New FCI warden wants inmates, staff involved in community," *ADE*, Apr. 25, 2005; and, "FCI lockdown lifted, but rescue call today could change that," *ADE*, Aug. 30, 2006.

Hispanic. The inmates' offenses, too, mirrored national trends. Narcotics had supplanted auto theft as the single biggest offense (26%) among all federal prisoners by 1977. As FCI Ray Brook entered its second decade, over half its inmates found themselves behind bars for drug-related crimes.¹³⁹

There were no parallel expansions, however, either among professional staff and officers (which averaged 250) or in the amount of available cell space. Many inmates found themselves double- and quadruple-bunked, and programming and employment options designed to occupy their time were often strained beyond capacity.¹⁴⁰ Though overcrowded and understaffed, FCI boasted modern, college campus-like amenities for both prisoners and staff, including a gymnasium, libraries, chapel, and wellness center.¹⁴¹ Increases in the inmate population and educational programs, including high school, college, and vocational training, led to

¹³⁹ On FCI inmate demographics, see, "FCI Ray Brook doubles capacity in first ten years," *LPN*, Oct. 3, 1990; BOP, Inmate Profile (Confined Population), as of Sept. 30, 1977; The Percentage of Population Confined to Institutions By Offense, FY '67 and FY '77; Bureau of Prisons Institution Based Population, 1971-1982; Federal Prisoners Confined, 1973-Present; Offenders Under Federal Supervision—1977; Relative Use of Probation, Fine and Other as a Percent of Total Convictions, FY 1966-1977; Use of Probation by Crime Type, FY 1977; Institution Based Population vs. Capacity, 1970-1990; and, Questions Posed Concerning Ray Brook Facility," in, McEwen Papers, (MSS 25), Box 95-27: Folder—Winter Olympics Youth Correction Center, Ray Brook Memos, Info—Folder 95-27/2168.

¹⁴⁰ On FCI staff figures, see, "FCI Ray Brook: Federal prison employs 87 guards, others," *PR*, Jan. 27, 1983; "Ray Brook federal prison almost double capacity," *ADE*, Oct. 9, 1986; "N. Country Towns Compete for Prisons," *LPN*, Mar. 26, 1987; "Placid housing costly," *PR*, Mar. 27, 1987; "FCI Employees Complain About Prison Policies," *LPN*, May 7, 1987; "Prison employee supports FCI expansion," letter to the editor, *LPN*, Jan. 21, 1990; "FCI awaits budget talks," *ADE*, Sept. 5, 1990; "FCI Ray Brook doubles capacity in first 10 years," *LPN*, Oct. 3, 1990; "FCI gets new warden; Adk correctional to get more inmates," *ADE*, Feb. 22, 1995; and, "New FCI warden wants inmates, staff involved in community," *ADE*, Apr. 25, 2005.

¹⁴¹ On FCI facilities and infrastructural expansions, see, "Big warehouse planned for federal prison," *ADE*, Sept. 28, 1983; "Prison shows changes from Olympic Village," *PR*, Oct. 25, 1984; "A Look Behind the Walls of Ray Brook's Federal Prison," *LPN*, Nov. 1, 1984; "From Inside the FCI," *LPN*, Nov. 8, 1984; "FCI Ray Brook doubles capacity in first 10 years," *LPN*, Oct. 3, 1990; "Prisoner/teacher seeks root of problems," *PR*, Aug. 27, 1992; "FCI Ray Brook holds open house," *PR*, Oct. 4, 1992; "FCI Ray Brook, Camp Adk to share composting facility," *ADE*, Dec. 11, 1995; and, "Ray Brook program gets NEA grant," *LPN*, Aug. 30, 2002.

skyrocketing annual budgets.¹⁴² Operating costs totaling \$7 million in 1983 jumped to over \$20 million per year by 2005.¹⁴³

By the early 1980s, then, many of STOP's earliest warnings began to materialize. By overcrowding the facility without commensurate increases in either staff or living space, the BOP was, in fact, warehousing criminals. The rehabilitative value of educational, recreational, and work programs diminished amid rampantly unhealthful conditions and unrelenting prisoner demand. Increasing tensions among inmates and staff members confirmed critics' earlier fears of another Attica in the making. Exiled in a remote, distant locale, hundreds of miles from family and friends, forced to share cramped quarters with often volatile and unpredictable cellmates, and afforded few opportunities to interact with the public, escapes and outbursts of violence at FCI seemed inevitable.

Convicts planned and executed numerous escapes from FCI during its first quarter century, challenging Bureau promises to operate a safe, country-club style facility. Three breached the fences, razor wire, and electronic sensors surrounding the prison. Officers apprehended FCI's first fugitive after a two-day manhunt in September 1982 following a resident's unusual sighting: a large African American man dressed in hunting gear walking on a Lake Placid road. The escapee, Barrington Stephens, had been convicted of a gang murder in Brooklyn. In 1996, a bank robber and drug trafficker using rough-hewn ladders disguised as flower planters jumped the fence, broke into a nearby home, stole a truck, and led police on a

¹⁴² On educational opportunities at FCI, see, "A Look Behind the Walls of Ray Brook's Federal Prison," *LPN*, Nov. 1, 1984; "From Inside the FCI," *LPN*, Nov. 8, 1984; "Ray Brook inmates hold commencement," *PR*, Jul. 12, 1985; "A former dropout, inmate goes to head of his class," *PR*, May 14, 1987; "Student inmates get no vacation," *PR*, Aug. 27, 1992; and, "A year after cuts, inmate education at a standstill," *ADE*, Sept. 13, 1996.

¹⁴³ On increasing FCI budgets, see, "Prisons throughout region boost economy with 2000 employees," *PR*, Jan. 27, 1983; "N. Country Towns Compete for Prisons," *LPN*, Mar. 26, 1987; "FCI Ray Brook braces for federal budget cuts," *PR*, Sept. 27, 1990; and, "New FCI warden wants inmates, staff involved in community," *ADE*, Apr. 24, 2005.

high-speed chase that ended at a lakeside summer camp. Lightly supervised inmates performing grounds maintenance outside the fence also got away, including four Polish prisoners whose Brooklyn friend drove the getaway car until a disagreement left them stranded in an Indian Lake cemetery. Other prisoners failed in their bids for freedom: one hid in a storage building, another jumped toward a vehicle exiting the prison, a third was caught building a hang glider to fly out, and a Hungarian spy enlisted the help of an officer to break out, guns blazing, with a helicopter.¹⁴⁴

More often, FCI inmates channeled their transgression in acts of protest and violence on the prison grounds. Inmates railed against federal sentencing guidelines, narcotics laws, and parole rules by engaging in work and meal strikes and setting small fires. They employed similar tactics to signal disapproval of the actions of officers and administrators, housing policies, food service, and even television and radio options. These episodes routinely prompted

¹⁴⁴ On escapes and escape attempts from FCI, see, "Killer Escapes Prison," *LPN*, Sept. 30, 1982; "Massive search still on for prison escapee," *PR*, Sept. 30, 1982; "Residents fearful with inmate at large," *PR*, Oct. 1, 1982; "Sighting reported in hunt for escaped murderer," *PR*, Oct. 1, 1982; "Police tipped, nab escapee," *PR*, Oct. 2, 1982; "Dogs contribute superhuman effort," *PR*, Oct. 2, 1982; "Inmate escape probed; security breach admitted," *PR*, Oct. 4, 1982; "Escapee Captured in Placid," *LPN*, Oct. 7, 1982; "Ray Brook inmate pleads not guilty of escape," *PR*, Oct. 22, 1982; "Stephens found guilty of Ray Brook escape," *PR*, Dec. 15, 1982; "Prisoner Found Guilty of Escape from FCI," *LPN*, Dec. 18, 1982; "BULLETIN," *ADE*, May 5, 1983; "Four escapees remain at large," *ADE*, May 6, 1983; "Search continues for federal prison escapees," *PR*, May 7, 1983; "Search for escapees called off," *ADE*, May 9, 1983; "Local manhunt ends for 4 escapees," *PR*, May 10, 1983; "Escapees Out of Area, Police Believe," *LPN*, May 12, 1983; "Escapees sighted," *ADE*, May 13, 1983; "Ray Brook escapees nabbed at Indian Lake," *PR*, May 14, 1983; "Ruse by police lured escapees from hiding," *ADE*, May 16, 1983; "Four Federal Escapees Captured," *LPN*, May 19, 1983; "Captured escapees face arraignment," *PR*, Jun. 1, 1983; "Ray Brook escapees get two years," *PR*, Aug. 5, 1983; "FCI escapees sentenced," *ADE*, Aug. 5, 1983; "Escapees Sentenced To Two Extra Years," *LPN*, Aug. 11, 1983; "Feds foil spy prison escape plan," *PR*, Dec. 10, 1983; "Prison escape plot foiled," *ADE*, Dec. 12, 1983; "FCI inmate attempts escape," *ADE*, Jul. 14, 1988; "Ray Brook inmate failed in escape attempt," *PR*, Dec. 30, 1988; "2 missing from FCI," *ADE*, Jul 20-21, 1996; "ESCAPED," *PR*, Jul. 21, 1996; "Inmates caught after high-speed chase," *ADE*, Jul. 22, 1996; "Escapees face host of charges," *ADE*, Jul. 24, 1996; "'Human error' cited in FCI escape case," *ADE*, Jul. 30, 1996; "Medical care required," *PR*, Jul. 30, 1996; "Inmate faces charges in Ray Brook escape," *PR*, Oct. 30, 1996; "Feds give more details of planned FCI escape," *ADE*, Jan. 22, 1997; "FCI escapee pleads guilty to related charges in county court," *ADE*, Mar. 19, 1997; "FCI inmate sentenced on jail break-related charges," *ADE*, Apr. 18, 1997; "Sentence OK," *PR*, Jul. 15, 1998; "Inmate escapes from FCI Ray Brook," *ADE*, Aug. 24, 2003; and, "Prison releases details about inmate escape," *ADE*, Aug. 30-31, 2003.

lockdown and transfer of disruptive inmates.¹⁴⁵ Frequently, prisoners' grievances resulted in violence. Using homemade knives and other makeshift weapons, fights among inmates and staff occasionally turned bloody. STOP's warnings of racial unrest materialized as Hispanic and African American convicts battled numerous times in common recreation areas. One convict murdered another, and a handful committed suicide in their cells. The most spectacular act of transgression came in 1992, when a convicted arsonist set fire to the staff wellness center, burning the building to the ground.¹⁴⁶

FCI's officers and staff also contended with occupational hazards unrelated to the whims of disgruntled prisoners. Risks to employees' health were ever-present, ranging from slips and

¹⁴⁵ On FCI inmates' protests, see, "Prison beefs up security after protest by inmates," *PR*, Oct. 27, 1983; "Fires set by inmates prompt FCI probe," *ADE*, Feb. 21, 1984; "Inmates call Enterprise; Disgruntled inmates transferred," *ADE*, Mar. 1, 1984; "FCI inmates go on food, work strike," *ADE*, Jul. 16, 1991; "FCI official says sentencing rules the root of inmate work stoppage," *ADE*, Jan. 13, 1993; "Lockdown reported at FCI today," *ADE*, Jan. 10, 1994; "Still in lockdown, FCI officials probe cause of inmate work strike," *ADE*, Jan. 11, 1994; "FCI Ray Brook back to normal," *PR*, Jan. 14, 1994; "FCI ends lockdown," *ADE*, Oct. 18, 1995; "Lock-down," *PR*, Oct. 23, 1995; "Partial lockdown continues at FCI," *ADE*, Oct. 24, 1995; "FCI lockdown," *PR*, Oct. 26, 1995; "Lockdown eased," *LPN*, Oct. 27, 1995; and, "FCI Ray Brook lockdown gradually coming to an end," *ADE*, Oct. 28, 1995.

¹⁴⁶ On violence inside FCI, see, "Former Ray Brook inmates indicted," *PR*, Feb. 25, 1985; "Suspect isolated after stabbing incident at FCI," *ADE*, Mar. 31, 1986; "Ray Brook prison inmate hangs himself," *PR*, Feb. 27, 1987; "Inmate's death apparent suicide," *ADE*, Dec. 23, 1987; "Inmate's death termed suicide," *ADE*, Mar. 28, 1988; "FCI Prisoner Hangs Himself," *LPN*, Mar. 30, 1988; "FCI Ray Brook fracas results in inmate stabbing," *PR*, Apr. 24, 1990; "FCI removes 38 prisoners following racial stabbing," *ADE*, May 2, 1990; "FCI-Ray Brook inmate stabbed," *PR*, Jun. 4, 1990; "Inmate stabbed at FCI over tv room mishap," *LPN*, Jun. 6, 1990; "Battling the blaze," photo, *ADE*, Jul. 2, 1992; "Fire streaks through FCI facility, causing massive damage," *ADE*, Jul. 2, 1992; "FCI fire under probe this week," *ADE*, Jul. 6, 1992; "FCI-Ray Brook fire called 'suspicious,'" *PR*, Jul. 7, 1992; "Investigator: FCI fire suspicious but exact cause still unknown," *ADE*, Jul. 8, 1992; "Inmate held in connection with FCI fire," *ADE*, Jul. 10-12, 1992; "Inmate held in wake of FCI-Ray Brook blaze," *PR*, Jul. 10, 1992; "FCI in lockdown after inmate hurt in brawl," *ADE*, Aug. 4, 1992; "Ray Brook prison locked down," *PR*, Aug. 5, 1992; "80 inmates moved after FCI brawls," *ADE*, Aug. 7, 1992; "Inmates moved in wake of fight," *PR*, Aug. 7, 1992; "Spokesman: TV tiff led to FCI brawl," *ADE*, Aug. 11, 1992; "Inmate indicted in FCI fire case," *ADE*, Jan. 27, 1993; "Ray Brook arsonist sentenced," *PR*, May 29, 1993; "Stabber sought," *ADE*, May 6, 1996; "One suspect identified in assault on guard," *ADE*, May 8, 1996; "Probe of prison stabbing continues," *LPN*, May 10, 1996; "Feds give more details of planned FCI escape," *ADE*, Jan. 22, 1997; "Two inmates at FCI Ray Brook are dead," *ADE*, Jun. 1, 1999; "Inmates questioned over stabbing death," *ADE*, Jun. 2, 1999; "Suspect named in connection with inmate stabbing," *ADE*, Jun. 3, 1999; "FCI incident; another inmate stabbed at Ray Brook facility," *ADE*, Jul. 3-4, 1999; "FCI inmate stabbed," *LPN*, Jul. 9, 1999; "Federal prison in lockdown in wake of fight," *ADE*, Jul. 29, 2005; "FCI Ray Brook back to normal operations," *ADE*, Aug. 6, 2005; "Fight, lockdown at FCI Ray Brook," *ADE*, Aug. 29, 2006; "FCI lockdown lifted, but rescue call today could change that," *ADE*, Aug. 30, 2006; and, "Police and fire calls," *ADE*, Dec. 7, 2007.

falls and kitchen fires to stress-induced heart problems forcing some into early retirement.¹⁴⁷

Workers also faced economic anxiety, including low salaries that compelled many to seek better paying jobs, oftentimes at ACF. Shifts in the nation's political orientation and economic fortunes, too, played havoc with employees' livelihood. The specter of sequestration during the budget crisis of 1990, followed five years later by full-scale government shutdowns, exacted psychological and monetary tolls on workers convinced they held recession-proof jobs.¹⁴⁸

Furthermore, tensions between administrators and officers called into question the institution's "modern orientation." One FCI union leader asserted bosses "ruled by intimidation," and a former employee spoke of a "snitch system" where "the way to do well is to rat on your buddies." Workers' grievances sometimes engendered rogue behavior, including theft of federal property, importation of contraband, and sale of banned items, such as alcohol, to prisoners.¹⁴⁹

Inmates' attitudes seemed to confirm the reality of FCI Ray Brook: a controlled environment whose managers, theoretically committed to rehabilitation, struggled constantly to

¹⁴⁷ On health hazards of FCI employment, see, "Rescue Calls," *ADE*, Apr. 21, 1981; "FCI fire damage estimated at \$15,000," *ADE*, Mar. 7, 1988; "Fire dept.'s thanked for quick response," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Mar. 14, 1988; "FCI Warden Says Thanks To Two Local Fire Chiefs," letter to the editor, *LPN*, Mar. 16, 1988; "Around AuSable," *LPN*, Apr. 2, 1999; "FCI Ray Brook gets a bit of a scare," *ADE*, May 14, 1999; "FCI fire injures two," *LPN*, May 21, 1999; and, "Powder faces quarantine," *ADE*, Nov. 3-4, 2001.

¹⁴⁸ On economic hazards of FCI employment, see, "Low salaries push patrolmen to look elsewhere for work," *PR*, Apr. 11, 1986; "Federal prison losing guards to state," *ADE*, Apr. 22, 1987; "FCI awaits budget talks," *ADE*, Sept. 5, 1990; "FCI Ray Brook braces for federal budget cuts," *PR*, Sept. 27, 1990; "Still Working," photo, *ADE*, Oct. 1, 1990; "Area FCI workers dodge budget axe," *ADE*, Oct. 1, 1990; and, "FCI workers feel impact of shutdown," *ADE*, Dec. 29, 1995.

¹⁴⁹ On rogue employees and workplace grievances at FCI, see, "Ray Brook workers questioned; FBI probing wrongdoing at U.S. prison," *ADE*, Mar. 19, 1982; "Prison union leader fired; claims activism cost him," *ADE*, Apr. 30, 1987; "FCI head denies mass exodus to state prisons," *ADE*, Apr. 30, 1987; "Union President Fired at Fed Prison; He and Union Administration Differ on Reason," *LPN*, Apr. 30, 1987; "Dispute simmers over firing," *PR*, May 2, 1987; "FCI Employees Complain About Prison Policies," *LPN*, May 7, 1987; "FCI Warden Responds to Stories," letter to the editor, *LPN*, May 21, 1987; "Cloutier Does Not Speak For Everyone at FCI," letter to the editor, *LPN*, May 21, 1987; "Other Side of FCI Story," letter to the editor, *LPN*, May 28, 1987; "FCI Union President Answers Letters," op-ed, *LPN*, Jun. 4, 1987; "Guard at FCI in Ray Brook faces extortion, bribery charges," *ADE*, Mar. 21, 1988; "Ex-FCI Ray Brook garage foreman indicted for theft," *ADE*, Dec. 22, 1988; "Former local prison worker pleads guilty to felony theft," *ADE*, Mar. 20, 1989; "Ex-Ray Brook prison garage foreman pleads guilty," *PR*, Mar. 22, 1989; and, "Former worker at FCI sentenced," *ADE*, May 10, 1989.

maintain control. The only facets of prison life worthy of inmates' praise were the opportunities to work and learn. One printing plant employee stated, "someday...I'm going to step out on the streets and use this," while a colleague in the glove factory hailed "the chance to make some dollars that will help me when I get out." The value of prison employment extended to prisoners' loved ones; one worker noted the "need...to help your family's financial situation." Inmates also commended educational and vocational programs as a chance to "do something constructive and earn your way out of jail."¹⁵⁰ Not all prisoners, predictably, held such views. While calling Ray Brook "a nice joint" and "beautiful," one inmate labeled the staff "maniacs" and claimed the prison was "a ticking time bomb." Administrators, according to another, were "devious, vicious people" whose authoritarianism made the officers "so upset that they're ready to quit." A third inmate accused officers of threatening prisoners "like what the Germans did to the Jews in World War II." One prisoner's observation seemed to confirm FCI's anti-modern, anti-progressive qualities: "Everything's a threat at Ray Brook. Instead of doing it the finesse way, it's, "You do this or you're going to the hole," or, "If you don't do that, you're going to the hole." If they'd just do it with finesse, like they do at other prisons, things would be ok."¹⁵¹ Within a short time, the turbulence of FCI Ray Brook discredited Carlson's pledge to promote hope over despair in his "modern" institution.

Residents' views of the prison closely mirrored the inmates' feelings of ambivalence.

Homeowners complimented prisoners' health-oriented work for local charities, service

¹⁵⁰ On inmates' appraisals of FCI prison life, see, "Prison Jobs: From Rewarding to Boring," *LPN*, Jul. 28, 1983; "Ray Brook inmates hold commencement," *PR*, Jul. 12, 1985; "Christmas lonely, depressing time for inmates," *PR*, Dec. 27, 1986; "A former dropout inmate goes to head of his class," *PR*, May 14, 1987; "Federal prison ceases money-losing industry," *PR*, Sept. 25, 1988; "Prisoner/teacher seeks root of problems," *PR*, Aug. 27, 1992; "A field trip to prison," *PR*, Oct. 4, 1996; and, "Inmate warns of the harsh realities of drug use," *PR*, Apr. 24, 1997.

¹⁵¹ "Fires set by inmates prompt FCI probe," *ADE*, Feb. 21, 1984; and, "Inmates call Enterprise; Disgruntled inmates transferred," *ADE*, Mar. 1, 1984.

organizations, and schools, while educators commended prisoners both for excellence in the classroom and their contributions to drug and alcohol education programs.¹⁵² Nevertheless, the contentious relationship between FCI and its neighbors persisted. Escapes were an especially sore point for residents unaccustomed to locking windows and doors. Fugitives lurking in the woods made locals feel “uneasy,” “imposed on,” and “mad.” One resident longed for the time when her family was “able to walk and pick berries and do anything we wanted.” “Now,” she claimed, “we are afraid.” Another local blasted escapees’ ability “to hold a community in terror,” and an Essex County man called FCI “a school for crime” populated by “terrorists, rapists, and murderers” guarded by “novices with no experience or training in handling people or their problems.”¹⁵³ Though disconnected by geography and ideology in the 1970s, the dysfunctional operation of FCI Ray Brook after 1980 unified the once disparate strands of the opposition, strengthening opponents’ hand as the BOP sought to expand.

Antagonism toward FCI came full circle in the wake of Bureau plans to build a second federal prison in Ray Brook. In April 1983, the BOP proposed construction of a \$2.7 million, 150-bed minimum-security prison camp in Ray Brook. Led by a former FCI employee, local opponents remobilized as Concerned Citizens of Ray Brook (CCRB). Leveraging their status as

¹⁵² On residents’ praise of FCI convicts, see, “Student inmates get no vacation,” *PR*, Aug. 27, 1992; “Prisoners help LP Elementary School students learn to read,” *LPN*, May 12, 1993; “FCI inmates giving to the community with flower donations,” *ADE*, May 31, 1996; “A field trip to prison,” *PR*, Oct. 4, 1996; “Inmate warns kids of the harsh realities of drug use,” *PR*, Apr. 24, 1997; and, “Tupper Lake students may visit Ray Brook prison,” *ADE*, Jun. 7, 2006.

¹⁵³ On residents’ negative views of FCI, see, “Residents fearful with inmate at large,” *PR*, Oct. 1, 1982; “Search continues for federal prison escapees,” *PR*, May 7, 1983; “Origins of sewer gas odor still remains a mystery,” *ADE*, Jul. 29, 1987; “Mysterious odor still plagues Pine Street,” *ADE*, Aug. 26, 1987; “Sewer gas odor gone from Pine Street area,” *ADE*, Nov. 6, 1987; “After ultimatum, Ray Brook prison solves sewer odor problem,” *PR*, Nov. 16, 1987; “School for crime,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Sept. 11, 1988; “Nightmarish odor on Pine Street returns to village,” *PR*, May 18, 1989; “ESCAPED,” *PR*, Jul. 21, 1996; “Sentence OK,” *PR*, Jul. 15, 1998; “DEC finds no serious problems at prison firing ranges,” *ADE*, Jan. 17, 2003; and, “DEC: No lead poisoning problem near firing ranges,” *LPN*, Jan. 24, 2003.

landowners and taxpayers, critics complained their community was “already saturated with prisons.” The prospect of an unfenced prison also prompted fear of more escapes. While one young girl’s family had acquired “two German shepherds...because sometimes prisoners escape,” an older resident feared fugitives “would set publicity back years.” Recalling the devastation of the 1970s, opponents threatened litigation if the Bureau failed to safeguard the “human environment.” Even prison cheerleaders at the *Press Republican* joined the opposition, warning the region might “be opening Pandora’s Box by accepting anything to increase its economic standing.” Citing a \$200 billion budget deficit, the Justice Department ultimately canceled the plan in May 1983. CCRB claimed victory and counted Congressman McEwen’s successor, Republican David O’Brien Martin, as an ally in their cause.¹⁵⁴

As federal prison overcrowding worsened, in August 1989 the BOP again sought to build a 150-bed minimum-security prison camp in Ray Brook. CCRB reemerged with a host of objections, warning of impacts on property values, taxes, water, and electricity rates; increased vehicular traffic; added strain on schools and hospitals; possible spread of the AIDS virus; and environmental concerns. Opponents argued, “It would be a crime to further damage this fragile and beautiful ecosystem.” Of particular concern was the aging and overused pipe connecting

¹⁵⁴ On the 1983 FCI prison camp proposal, see, “Ray Brook federal prison overcrowded,” *ADE*, Jan. 19, 1983; “Prisons throughout region boost economy with 2000 employees,” *PR*, Jan. 27, 1983; “FCI Ray Brook: Federal prison employs 87 guards, others,” *PR*, Jan. 27, 1983; “Rethinking our area priorities,” editorial, *PR*, Apr. 5, 1983; “FCI Expansion Faces Opposition,” *LPN*, Apr. 21, 1983; “Funding for prison expansion is denied,” *ADE*, May 16, 1983; and, “No Funds for Expansion of FCI in 1983 Budget,” *LPN*, May 19, 1983. Also, David O’Brien Martin, to Norman Carlson, Mar. 23, 1983; CCRB, “A Sketch Map of the area around the indicated location of a proposed SATELLITE CAMP at the FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION, Ray Brook, New York, April 1983; W. Cole Campbell, to David Stockman, Director, OMB, Apr. 8, 1983; Carlson to Martin, Apr. 13, 1983; Beth Strauss, OMB Director’s Correspondence Unit, to Campbell, Apr. 15, 1983; Ann Hook, to Martin, Apr. 24, 1983; Warner Deitz, to Carlson, Apr. 29, 1983; Sandra and W. Cole Campbell, to Martin, May 3, 1983; Mike Hudson, OMB Assistant Director for Legislative Affairs, to Martin, May 3, 1983; Martin to Hook, May 6, 1983; Martin to Campbells, May 10, 1983; Martin to Stockman, May 10, 1983; Martin to Carlson, May 10, 1983; Carlson to Martin, Jun. 6, 1983; and, Martin to Campbells, Jun. 7, 1983, in David O’Brien Martin Papers (SC-90001), F.W. Crumb Library, Special Collections Department, State University of New York College at Potsdam, Potsdam, New York (hereafter, Martin Papers).

FCI to the Saranac Lake sewage plant. By 1989, Ray Brook's overcrowded prisons sent 250,000 gallons of sewage to the plant each day. Saranac Lake officials reminded FCI that its sewage contract forbade new construction without board approval. The hundreds of signatures gathered on opposition petitions across the region, and dozens of letters sent to Martin's office, signaled widespread antipathy to the project. Officials long supportive of the federal prison quickly changed course. With Martin threatening legislative action to stop the project, the Bureau bowed to local pressure and canceled it in March 1990. CCRB interpreted their victory as a sign that "representative democracy really works."¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ On the 1989-90 FCI camp proposal, see, "Group is formed to oppose new prison plan in Ray Brook," *PR*, Oct. 3, 1989; "North Elba Planning Board," public notice, *LPN*, Oct. 4, 1989; "Reasons for fed prison camp opposition outlined," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Oct. 1989; "Concerned Residents of Ray Brook refuse FCI meet," *ADE*, Oct. 6, 1989; "Warden outlines prison proposal," op-ed, *ADE*, Oct. 1989; "Ray Brook warden defends plan for new prison," *PR*, Oct. 31, 1989; "FCI warden says satellite camp needed, safe," op-ed, *LPN*, Nov. 1, 1989; "N. Elba board says no to prison expansion," *ADE*, Nov. 15, 1989; "SL board supports prison expansion," *ADE*, Dec. 11, 1989; "Board defers prison opinion," *ADE*, Dec. 27, 1989; "Saranac Lake may hold key to prison expansion," *PR*, Dec. 28, 1989; "Prison employee supports FCI expansion," letter to the editor, *LPN*, Jan. 21, 1990; "Prison expansion needed for health of economy," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Jan. 24, 1990; "Expand local jail facility," letter to the editor, *PR*, Jan. 28, 1990; "Ray Brook citizens air concerns over FCI prison expansion," *LPN*, Jan. 31, 1990; "'Not here,' say some in Ray Brook to Bush's call for more prisons," *ADE*, Jan. 31, 1990; "Ray Brook FCI expansion not a certainty," *PR*, Jan. 31, 1990; "Prison officials withdraw plans for addition to FCI Ray Brook," *PR*, Mar. 21, 1990; and, "Martin, residents drive off prison expansion," *LPN*, Mar. 28, 1990. Also, Sandra and W. Cole Campbell, to Martin, Jun. 14, 1989; Martin to Campbells, Jun. 30, 1989; Martin to Carol Crawford, Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs, U.S. Department of Justice, Jun. 30, 1989; Crawford to Martin, Aug. 22, 1989; Martin to Campbells, Aug. 25, 1989; Memo to file, Sept. 5 & 6, 1989; William A. Perrill, FCI warden, letter to the editor, *PR*, Oct. 18, 1989; Perrill to David MacDowell, Community Advisory Board, Community Development Director, Saranac Lake, Oct. 19, 1989; Amy Richardson, to Martin, Oct. 20, 1989; Robert Glennon, Executive Director, APA, to Perrill, Oct. 24, 1989; Martin to Richardson, Oct. 26, 1989; Owen Peacock to Martin, Oct. 28, 1989; Martin to Peacock, Oct. 31, 1989; FCI Community Advisory Board, meeting minutes, Nov. 1, 1989; General Hospital of Saranac Lake, petition, Nov. 7, 1989; CCRB, petition, Nov. 1989; Joseph and Ethel Cox, to Martin, Nov. 14, 1989; Glennon to Matthew Clark, Supervisor, Town of North Elba, Nov. 16, 1989; Martin to Coxes, Nov. 20, 1989; U.S. Government Memorandum: Garry Lanthier, Business Manager, UNICOR, FCI Ray Brook, to John Shook, FCI Ray Brook Executive Assistant, Re: Civilian Salaries and Materials Purchased Locally, Nov. 22, 1989; Shook to MacDowell, Nov. 24, 1989; FCI Ray Brook, N.Y.: Federal Prison Industries/UNICOR, Local Purchases from 10/01/88-11/10/89, Nov. 1989; Institution Fact Sheet, Nov. 1989; William F. Madden, III, Mayor, Saranac Lake, to Martin, Nov. 28, 1989; Perrill to Martin, Dec. 5, 1989; Martin to W. Cole Campbell, Dec. 5, 1989; Peacock to Martin, Dec. 9, 1989; Martin to Peacock, Dec. 12, 1989; Martin to Madden, Dec. 12, 1989; Sandra Campbell to Martin, Dec. 13, 1989; Campbells to Madden, Dec. 14, 1989; Martin to J. Michael Quinlan, Director, BOP, Dec. 15, 1989; Quinlan to Martin, Jan. 23, 1990; CCRB to Martin, Feb. 15, 1990; Martin to Coxes, Mar. 19, 1990; Martin to Peacock and Richardson, Mar. 19, 1990; Martin to Madden, Mar. 19, 1990; WNBZ, Lake Placid radio station, report on FCI decision, Mar. 23, 1990; and, CCRB to Martin, Mar. 26, 1990, Martin Papers.

In stark contrast to ACF, whose efforts toward public engagement left positive impressions with area residents, FCI leaders persisted in seeing the different components of Ray Brook's natural environment as disconnected and unique. For sixteen years, officials forsook outreach opportunities that might have mitigated the harm done by overcrowding, understaffing, escapes, protests, violence, and labor struggles. Instead, administrators viewed these conditions as part of the normal functioning of a federal prison that need not concern the community. Once undertaken, efforts to bridge the gap separating prison from community collided with residents whose bitterness toward the institution had only deepened. The new, *1984*-style ecosystem built by the federal Bureau of Prisons was an unsuitable substitute for the one residents had long lived near, used, and loved. Accordingly, locals displayed only tepid interest in the penitentiary's feeble efforts toward damage control. The disconnected, incoherent view of Ray Brook's people and their environment that had guided BOP planners in 1976 had become reality.

Conclusion

Reckoning the prisons' place in Ray Brook's nature over the course of three decades is as complex a task as understanding the nature of nature itself. Owing to its longevity and prominence in the area's history, culture, and economy, residents readily conceded the naturalness of the institution that would become Adirondack Correctional Facility. Chronic rumors of the hospital's impending closure beginning in the early 1960s triggered resistance that helped ensure its survival. A momentous episode in its long evolution, the penal conversion in 1976 preserved the institution's economic value, thereby reaffirming its esteemed status in the community. Locals' environmental logic, characterized by a seamless flow among built and unbuilt, human and non-human, survived the onslaught of social, political, and disciplinary

problems that afflicted the prison for decades. In a region long accustomed to the travails of correctional life, residents likely construed these challenges, too, as natural.

On the other hand, area dwellers' antagonistic relationship with the federal prison both obscured and revealed complex truths about the land itself. The Bureau of Prisons' environmental logic aimed toward excising the land of its dynamism and fluidity and imposing artificial limits over both its unbuilt and newly built environments. Radical ecological transformations presaged heretofore unprecedented controls on human activity, including fences, razor wire, armed guards, and harsh discipline. Construction of this alien landscape, though, could not extinguish residents' memories of a time when there was no demarcation between built and unbuilt, artificial and natural. However, locals' understanding of the land's naturalness, much like the new prison, had its own limits. Most could not recall the artificial transformations undertaken in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on a tract long considered natural. The trees, vegetation, ski trails, hiking paths, picnic areas, and wildlife were all part of a broader state enterprise to promote conservation and outdoor recreation. Residents' understanding of the intertwined nature of bodily and environmental health pointed to earlier planners' success in constructing a natural-looking landscape. Interestingly, though, even the BOP's environmental logic could not resist the forces of nature. Wintertime frost heaves often pushed the prison's fence posts out of the ground, giving enterprising inmates a possible route to escape.¹⁵⁶ Whether FCI will ever acquire the same natural status as Camp Adirondack or the land's planted trees and stocked fish remains an open question.

¹⁵⁶ "Ray Brook prison marks 25th; FCI 25: born of Olympics, but no games here," *PR*, Sept. 28, 2005.

Essex County Congregational minister Jonathan Tetherly was among the group of anti-prison activists who traversed the federal prison construction site in the summer of 1978. In a letter to Congressman McEwen, Tetherly offered a prophetic vision of changes afoot in the Adirondacks:

People in the North Country of New York are the keepers. We keep people at the very large Clinton Prison in Dannemora. We keep people in Camp Adirondack, in Ray Brook. And now we have an offer to keep more people in a federal prison in Ray Brook. In the North Country, our concept of black people is that they are prisoners; we see black people on television who are not prisoners, but our only personal contact with black people, nearly all of the time, is with prisoners.¹⁵⁷

Within less than a year of FCI's opening, the terms of the growing debate over prisons in the North Country would shift radically away from questions of health, ecological integrity, and public involvement and toward issues of race, culture, and social class. During the Olympic Prison fight, STOP's anxiety over the racial disparities between urban, non-white inmates and their largely white, rural keepers had not acquired currency among most local residents. Unbeknownst to Tetherly in 1978, the question of African Americans' place in Adirondack nature, effectively sidelined after 1980, would take center stage in the nearby hamlet of Gabriels.

¹⁵⁷ Rev. Jonathan Tetherly, to McEwen, May 22, 1978, McEwen Papers, Box 95-27, Folder: 1980 Winter Olympics, Ray Brook Correspondence, 1978.



Figure 3: Entrance to ACF. Taking photographs of the facility is prohibited. Though the prison property is heavily wooded, the fenced facility is clearly visible from the roadway. Photograph by author, Sept. 2007.



Figure 4: Entrance to FCI-Ray Brook. Without permission, this is about as close as one can get to the facility. Planners kept their promise to screen the prison from view. Photograph by author, Sept. 2007.

Chapter 3
“Who is going to live in Gabriels?” Class, Environment, and Prison Building in Gabriels, 1979-2009

Introduction

In May 1981, the New York State Department of Correctional Services (DOCS) drafted a map of a minimum-security prison proposed for the Franklin County hamlet of Gabriels. The map displayed a complex of structures built when the facility operated as a Catholic tuberculosis hospital, as a satellite campus of Paul Smith’s College (PSC), along with new buildings planned for the future prison. DOCS labeled each building according to its intended function, including one called “chapel mosque.” The mosque’s innocuous and miniscule position on the state’s map masked the larger social anxieties it aroused among the community’s affluent residents. Thus, the state’s proposal to expand its Adirondack crimescape a third time spurred the formation of a large, well-organized, and powerful opposition. At a public hearing on the project convened by the Adirondack Park Agency (APA) in January 1982, lawyers representing local prison opponents raised questions about the mosque, to which one Corrections official retorted that he did not see the relevance. The attorney responded, “the relevance is who is going to live in Gabriels.”¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ New York State Department of Correctional Services (DOCS), “Application for Permit,” May 1981; and State of New York, County of Essex, Adirondack Park Agency, “In the Matter of Proposed New Land Use in the Adirondack Park by the Department of Correctional Services: Camp Gabriels,” APA Headquarters, Ray Brook, New York, January 14, 1982, pp.147-148, in SP 81-15, Camp Gabriels Records, Adirondack Park Agency Records Office, Ray Brook, N.Y. (hereafter, Camp Gabriels Records).

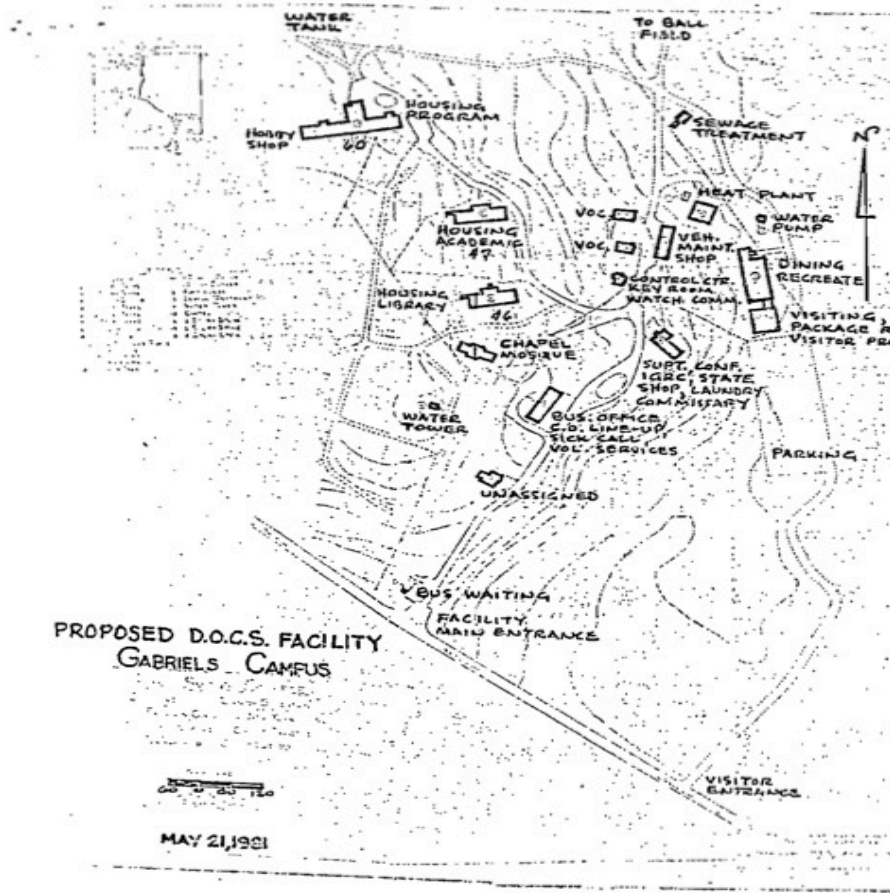


Figure 5: Map of proposed Gabriels Minimum Security Correctional Facility, May 1981, Adirondack Park Agency Records Office, Ray Brook, N.Y.

Gabriels in 1981 was an affluent wilderness enclave populated by permanent and seasonal residents. Many were college employees whose ties to the region stretched back nearly a century. They prized the hamlet as emblematic of the anti-modern and anti-urban Adirondacks treasured by their ancestors: a wild and rugged place set aside for elite, outdoor recreation. Elite residents' moral ecology, therefore, equated preservation of that environment with maintenance of their perceived social superiority. Anxiety about the mosque captured the essence of the controversy that enveloped the planning of the state's new prison. Reworking Gabriels' physical nature in service to correctional expansion, opponents feared, would rupture the Park's

historically rigid social and political boundaries. Uninterested in the broader moral and ethical questions surrounding mass incarceration, foes of the Gabriels prison framed the proposal as an assault on the integrity of their community's carefully constructed social and ecological character. Residents prepared to leverage their wealth, social power, and political influence to prevent the radical transformations portended by further prison expansion.

The potential for escapes and violence frightened men and women who had come to expect tranquility in their isolated community. Numerous escapes from Camp Adirondack in the previous five years, the increasing ubiquity of police roadblocks, and the state's plan not to fence its prison at Gabriels, amplified residents' concerns that the less savory features of urban life were creeping into New York's rural hinterlands.¹⁵⁹ Prison opponents, much like their forebears, expected the Park to function as a safety valve for individuals and families fleeing the social disorder and crime plaguing the cities. Introducing violent criminals as neighbors, they argued, would alter not only the community's social and ecological character, but might pose risks to life and limb as well.

The new penitentiary's position in an economy oriented toward tourism was also the subject of contentious debate. College officials argued that not selling their unused 233-acre Gabriels property to the Corrections Department would harm the local economy. For its part, DOCS cited an increasingly overcrowded prison system as justification for acquiring and converting the facility for penal use. Prison officials promised residents the penitentiary would function as a vehicle for economic growth and revitalization. Gabriels' permanent and seasonal residents, largely insulated from the region's chronic economic woes, did not require the uplift

¹⁵⁹ See, "Camp Adirondack escapee found in Wilmington camp," *ADE*, Oct. 22, 1976; "Convict hunt is widening," *ADE*, July 5, 1977; "Campman surrenders after holding couple," *ADE*, May 15, 1978; and "Escaped campman found near Keene," *ADE*, Sept. 8, 1978.

promised by prison planners. Conversely, critics feared another prison would harm the local economy by deterring tourism and second homeownership. The APA, responsible for managing land use and development in the Adirondacks, echoed opposition fears about the prison's potential to damage the region's unstable tourist trade.

The fusion of interests between the Park Agency and the opposition prevented the Corrections Department from simply purchasing the property and building the prison. Correctional officials labored to convince critics that a penal institution would benefit both the community and wider region. In so doing, DOCS bureaucrats acted as agents of economic development, likening their facilities to any other small business enterprise as a means to pacify a skeptical public. Opponents, though, remained unconvinced that a prison would function like a ski area, campground, or restaurant. Even if the penitentiary fulfilled its planners' promises, opponents feared its presence would tear at the community's social fabric. Someday, they worried, the Park might cease to be a park.

The question of prisons' compatibility with the Park's recreational character, first raised at Ray Brook five years prior, remained unresolved in 1981. Unlike Ray Brook, however, the controversy surrounding Gabriels involved the APA, an agency charged with guarding against incompatible and potentially harmful developments. State law allowed the Agency to exercise non-binding advisory review over state developments inside the Park. Thus, though the APA could not stop the prison, it could help shape the final outcome. Owing to prisons' apparent incompatibility with the Park's historical character, the Park Agency took sides with the opposition. Opponents cast Corrections officials and their allies as urban, anti-nature intruders whose crimescape might destroy the character and nature of their community. They were

therefore determined to use any means possible to thwart the prison's construction in their community.

Unlike the BOP in Ray Brook, state Corrections officials in Gabriels sought cooperative collaboration with their opponents. In addition to promises of economic growth, DOCS offered to surrender two-thirds of the prison property for inclusion in the state Forest Preserve, thus enhancing the Park's recreational character. Corrections officials also promised cash-strapped local communities use of the time, energy, and labor of Gabriels inmates on infrastructure and conservation projects. These concessions, which implicitly acknowledged the prison's incompatibility with Gabriels' existing social and ecological framework, did little to assuage the opposition's concerns. The task of naturalizing the presence of an institution considered antithetical to Adirondack nature was left, unintentionally, in the hands of the prisoners.

For nearly three decades, prisoners from Gabriels labored on public works, conservation, and infrastructure projects in communities across the region. Residents once violently opposed to the presence of these men now measured their value in terms of tax dollars saved on projects that helped preserve their community's social and ecological character. Once castigated as alien to the Adirondacks' social and racial hierarchies, the fruits of inmate labor eventually planted seeds of goodwill among grateful residents and tourists. The inmates' unfree work in the Adirondack wilderness, therefore, made important contributions toward making prisons compatible and natural in a region originally designed for outdoor leisure and recreation. However, their labor also had the added effect of reinforcing the rigid social hierarchies whose preservation had been the focus of men and women opposing the prison in the first place.

Choosing Gabriels

The settlement of Gabriels, a hamlet named for Bishop Henry Gabriels of the Catholic Diocese of Ogdensburg, began in 1892 with construction of housing for workers building the Adirondack and St. Lawrence Railroad. In 1894, on land owned by locally renowned guide, recreation advocate, and hotel owner Paul Smith, the Sisters of Mercy established a tuberculosis sanitarium. The Sisters purchased the property in 1924, and operated the facility until 1963, when widespread use of antibiotics for tuberculosis made the sanitarium obsolete. One account of its closing noted, “the death knell had sounded for the central source of sustenance for workers and the religious community involved in its operation.” The diocese sold the property to PSC, and for seventeen years the college operated Gabriels as a satellite campus. During that time, the number of students living and studying there steadily declined. In 1966, officials began removing structures at the site in favor of investment on the main campus. PSC put the tract up for sale in 1979, and one year later, Corrections leaders expressed interest in the facility.¹⁶⁰

Rumor mills across the Adirondacks churned in the spring of 1981 with news that a prison was coming to Gabriels. Corrections officials indicated Gabriels was low on its list of possible sites, even after meeting with College President Thomas Stainback in April. Stainback, desperate to sell the property, said he had “no indication that they [DOCS] are interested, and joked ‘I wish it were true.’”¹⁶¹ By July 1981, those rumors became reality when the state Senate appropriated \$3.3 million for the purchase, renovation and conversion of the Gabriels facility to a

¹⁶⁰ “Changes loom for Gabriels as prison nears,” *PR*, May 20, 1982; “Questions about Camp Gabriels,” *ADE*, Aug. 21, 1981; “A look inside minimum-security Camp Gabriels,” *ADE*, May 7, 1994; “Hearing on prison draws crowd,” *PR*, July 25, 1981; “Rental at Ray Brook asked; Gabriels considered too,” *ADE*, May 20, 1981. See also “Abstract of Title to Parts 77 & 78, Township 18, Town of Brighton, Franklin County”; and, Thomas Stainback to William Curran, APA, Dec. 4, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records.

¹⁶¹ “Rental at Ray Brook asked; Gabriels considered too,” *ADE*, May 20, 1981.

minimum-security prison camp capable of incarcerating 150 inmates. Those prisoners would be moved from Camp Adirondack, which was being upgraded to medium security to aid in accommodating New York's exploding prison population.¹⁶²

Overcrowding in existing correctional facilities remained the primary factor driving continued prison expansion in the Adirondacks. This problem persisted at both the state and federal levels and continued to worsen even with the two prisons at Ray Brook.¹⁶³ Nearly a decade of enforcement of the Rockefeller drug laws, together with newer statutes mandating harsh punishments for multiple felony offenders and juvenile criminals, swelled New York's prisons past the breaking point. In July 1981, DOCS Commissioner Thomas Coughlin pushed lawmakers for increased cell space to meet what he described as emergency conditions. At that time, New York incarcerated 23,700 inmates in a system designed to hold 22,700. To save both

¹⁶² "150-inmate prison likely for Gabriels," *PR*, July 10, 1981. In 1973, Governor Nelson Rockefeller pushed a program of mandatory minimum drug laws through the State Legislature. Under the Rockefeller drug laws, sale of two ounces, or possession of four ounces, of a narcotic drug was made a Class A felony, carrying a minimum sentence of fifteen years and a maximum of life in prison. While most people convicted of drug crimes were sentenced to lesser prison terms after conviction for Class B, C, or D sales or possession offenses, the Second Felony Offender Law, enacted the same year, mandated a prison sentence for a person convicted of any two felonies within ten years, regardless of the circumstances or nature of the offenses. Other "law and order" measures contributed to an overcrowding crisis in the state prison system over the next two decades. In 1978, the legislature enacted the Violent Felony Act, which lengthened sentences for "violent felony offenders" and "persistent violent felony offenders," along with a passing a new "juvenile offender law" that increased the likelihood that young people convicted of violent crimes would end up in prison. Together, these sentencing laws flooded New York's prisons with people convicted of lower-level drug offenses. Street drug enforcement was intensified from the mid-1980s through the 1990s, and annual drug commitments to prison, which had totaled 470 in 1970, rose to 8,521 in 1999. New York's crack-down on drug crime proved to be extremely expensive, driving the proportion of people in state prison for drug offenses up from just 11 percent when the Rockefeller drug laws were enacted, to a high of 34 percent. And the impact on communities of color was stark: African Americans and Latinos constitute 90 percent of all people incarcerated for a drug offense. See Judith Green and Mark Mauer, "Downscaling Prisons: Lessons from Four States," (Washington, D.C.: The Sentencing Project, 2010); and, Ernest Drucker, "Population Impact of Mass Incarceration Under New York's Rockefeller Drug Laws: An Analysis of Years of Life Lost," *Journal of Urban Health: Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 79, no. 3 (Sept. 2002): pp. 1-10.

¹⁶³ By mid-1981 Ray Brook FCI's population had reached 432, quickly approaching its capacity of 500, and Camp Adirondack housed over 400 state inmates, 25% of whom were classified medium-security, though living in a minimum-security camp. See "Rental at Ray Brook asked; Gabriels considered too," *ADE*, May 20, 1981, and "150-inmate prison likely for Gabriels," *PR*, July 10, 1981.

time and money, Coughlin sought to convert surplus physical plants for correctional use.¹⁶⁴

Governor Hugh Carey approved an expansion plan in August 1981, appropriating \$11 million to build 650 cells at five new locations (including Gabriels), and over \$24 million for renovations at existing facilities. Carey warned the state would need at least 4000 more cells within five years.¹⁶⁵ With future expansion on the horizon, the governor authorized a \$500 million prison construction bond (known as the Security Through the Development of Correctional Facilities Bond Act) to be placed on the ballot in the November election. With voter approval, the bond would fund construction of thousands more cells.¹⁶⁶

By the early 1980s, New York's leaders had abandoned their earlier piecemeal approach to managing prison overcrowding in favor of a defined policy of mass incarceration. Lawmakers argued persistent overcrowding posed a threat to the health and safety of both correctional employees and the general public. Officials urged voters to approve the bond because, as the state Senate noted, "New York must remove violent criminals from its communities." Legislators acknowledged overcrowding had resulted from their decade-long war on crime, which included tougher legislation and longer sentences, but nevertheless pushed for passage of

¹⁶⁴ "Prison hearing draws hundreds," *ADE*, Jul. 24, 1981. See also, State of New York, Department of Correctional Services, "1980-1985 Correctional Services Master Plan," (Albany, N.Y: DOCS, Jan. 1981), and Correctional Association of New York, "The Prison Population Explosion in New York State: A Study of Its Causes and Consequences with Recommendations for Change," (New York: Correctional Association of New York, March 1982).

¹⁶⁵ State of New York, Executive Chamber, Hugh L. Carey, Governor, press release, Aug. 4, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records.

¹⁶⁶ Carey, press release, Aug. 4, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records. Of that amount, \$350 million would finance new construction and renovations to state prisons; \$125 million would be provided as matching grants to localities to aid in the expansion and renovation of local jails and correctional facilities; and the remaining \$25 million would go toward expansion and rehabilitation of detention centers for youth offenders, youth delinquents, and the mentally ill.

the bond to avoid massive tax increases, protect public safety, and ensure secure workplaces for the state's corrections officers and prison staff.¹⁶⁷

Having embraced mass incarceration, state officials moved quickly to expand the Adirondack crimescape. State Senate Majority Leader Warren Anderson proposed that DOCS lease space at the Ray Brook federal prison for state use. Federal officials rejected the idea, as their prison at Ray Brook was projected to reach its capacity of 500 inmates by July 1981.¹⁶⁸ In light of the Bureau of Prisons' inability to share its space, in the fall of 1980 the state Corrections Department drew up plans to expand Camp Adirondack. As discussed in Chapter 2, in March 1981, prison officials notified the APA of their intent to upgrade Camp Adirondack to an unusual mixed minimum and medium security prison.¹⁶⁹

Corrections leaders asserted the expansion of Camp Adirondack would pose no risks to the region's ecological integrity. Coughlin declared that construction of a new fence, parking lots, roads, and blasting to remove rocks and trees, would "not have a significant effect on the environment." The commissioner offered earlier correctional expansion in Ray Brook as adequate justification for further construction: "The long term aesthetic impact of the new

¹⁶⁷ State of New York, "The Bond Issue: Questions and Answers," pamphlet, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records. State officials told voters that since 1978, New York had incarcerated 7000 new criminals. Officials acknowledged that less costly alternatives to mass incarceration, including probation, community service, drug treatment, and restitution programs, operated in cities and towns across New York. However, the state noted dismissively, "use of these alternatives alone will not solve the problem of overcrowded prisons." The continuing threat to public safety, combined with voter demands for law and order, required mass incarceration. Appealing for the support of upper-middle class voters anxious about massive public spending in an age of austerity, officials argued, "the taxpayers of today should not be burdened with the total cost of public improvements designed to last for generations." The state thus promised that each taxpayer's individual share of the prison bond would amount to less than \$6.00 per year to go toward repayment, and that repayment would be spread among taxpayers well into the twenty-first century. See, "The Bond Issue: Questions and Answers," Camp Gabriels Records. See also New York State Senate, "More Prison Space for a Changing Decade," 1981, Camp Gabriels Records.

¹⁶⁸ "Rental at Ray Brook asked; Gabriels considered too," *ADE*, May 20, 1981.

¹⁶⁹ Adirondack Park Agency, "Public Notice: Notice of Project Application Pending: Proposed Improvement to Camp Adirondack," Mar. 12, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records.

security fence and related tree clearing is not significant in light of the tree clearing which has already occurred in conjunction with the ongoing operation of a DOCS facility at this location and the presence of a Federal Correctional Facility within a mile of Camp Adirondack and off the same public road.”¹⁷⁰ Here, Coughlin equated aesthetic and environmental impacts, arguing that prior prison growth had altered the community’s visual appearance in such a way that new construction could not possibly impose harmful impacts. It seemed that once the crimescape overtook this corner of the Park, its naturalness had automatically diminished. Future crimescape expansion, therefore, could not endanger such an unnatural landscape.¹⁷¹

The Prison Advocates’ Masquerade

New York’s policy of mass incarceration acquired new meaning as that project moved from the halls of Albany to the forests of the Adirondacks. Finding adequate cell space proved difficult, as the same men and women clamoring for law and order were loath to share their exclusive suburban enclaves with urban criminals. Prison bureaucrats promptly hunted for sites in the Adirondacks, whose less prosperous residents, they believed, would embrace further correctional expansion. Though likely supportive, in the abstract, of efforts to relieve overcrowding, Gabriels’ affluent permanent and seasonal dwellers had no intention of welcoming the state’s largely non-white and poor prisoners as their new neighbors. Faced with an emergency in New York’s penal institutions, prison advocates at the state and local levels

¹⁷⁰ New York State Department of Correctional Services, “SEQR (State Environmental Quality Review), Negative Declaration: Notice of Determination of Non-Significance,” Apr. 1, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records.

¹⁷¹ “Rental at Ray Brook asked; Gabriels considered too,” *ADE*, May 20, 1981; and, “Hearing on prison plan draws crowd,” *PR*, July 25, 1981. The overcrowding crisis compelled Corrections officials in the spring of 1981 to move 100 medium-security inmates into Camp Adirondack while it was still technically a minimum-security facility. Also, PSC and DOCS formalized a purchase agreement whereby Corrections would purchase the Gabriels facility for correctional use.

masked the proposed prison as a benign institution that would both resuscitate the area economy and do no harm to Gabriels' social and ecological character.

College officials framed the proposal as a natural transition for an institution already implicated in the region's burgeoning prison industry. Further, they argued it would be unwise for Paul Smith's, the community's largest employer, and its surrounding region to reject an institution that might remedy a host of local concerns. Stainback reminded residents, including the college's 180 employees, that maintenance costs on the facility were draining precious resources. With few potential buyers for the large and isolated complex, he argued the college had no choice but to sell to Corrections. Stainback also highlighted the college's existing relationships with the correctional facilities in Ray Brook, including its use of inmate labor from Camp Adirondack, and classes taught by Paul Smith's faculty to prisoners in the federal institution. Stainback also believed Gabriels was naturally suited for a penal institution: "the terrain is in large part level and ideal for additional construction and, in part rolling to higher ground with mountain views...One could easily recognize that conversion for security purposes was always a potential for utilization." Stainback warned that without the prison, the facility's continued deterioration would make it unsellable, potentially harming the economy in the long-term.¹⁷²

Area politicians echoed Stainback's endorsement of the prison as a naturally suited vehicle for economic growth. Brighton Town Councilman Nelson Parker noted the prison's potential to spur consumer demand: "It's bound to bring some money into town. They've [employees] got to eat, they've got to have some place to live."¹⁷³ Karl Griebisch, a member of

¹⁷² Thomas Stainback to William Curran, APA, Dec. 4, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records.

¹⁷³ "Senate funds 'Camp Gabriels,'" *ADE*, Jul. 10, 1981.

the Camp Adirondack Board of Directors, highlighted the monetary value of each inmate’s incarcerated body: “There are 412 prisoners at Camp Adirondack. It costs the state \$17,000 a year for each one—and most of that money is spent right in this area.”¹⁷⁴ The potential for economic improvement also prompted the Franklin County Legislature to unanimously endorse the plan.¹⁷⁵ Local politicians and college officials hoped that the possibility of prison-induced prosperity would assuage the concerns of skeptical residents.

Corrections officials masked the proposed Gabriels prison as a harmless institution that would spur an economic revival across the region. Acting as agents of economic development, DOCS promised to reverse decades of high unemployment; reduce the number of families on public assistance; end long-term population decline; raise depressed salaries and wages; and lift local families out of poverty. The new prison’s 101 jobs, correctional bureaucrats argued, would provide steady employment and higher pay for workers; increased sales for area businesses; and higher tax receipts for cash-strapped towns and counties. The state’s investment in mass incarceration, officials predicted, would also generate new business and job creation in the private sector, further boosting spending and tax revenue in the region.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ “Prison hearing draws hundreds,” *ADE*, Jul. 24, 1981.

¹⁷⁵ “Public hearing set on OTB,” *ADE*, Jul. 28, 1981.

¹⁷⁶ New York State Department of Correctional Services (DOCS), “Answers to Interrogatories Posed by the Adirondack Park Agency in the Matter of Camp Gabriels,” Dec. 1981, pp. 5-7; 10-11; section entitled “Impacts and Benefits of Proposed Facility,” no page number; section entitled “Demographic Characteristics,” no page number; section entitled, “Direct Economic Impact of Camp Gabriels Facility,” no page number; and, section entitled, “Taxation Impacts,” no page number given, Camp Gabriels Records. DOCS cited the following unemployment, population, and income data:

<u>Unemployment: January 1981</u>	<u>Unemployment: August 1981</u>
Franklin County: 17.3%	Franklin County: 8.6%
New York State: 8.3%	New York State: 7.0%

Population in Franklin County, 1950-1980
1950: 44,830

Prison bureaucrats also sought to show that prisons could blend seamlessly into existing communities. Corrections Department studies of prison towns across New York and in other states revealed that, contrary to popular belief, penal institutions often helped raise local property values. Research also uncovered no harmful impacts on new real estate developments, either in prison communities or their surrounding regions. The studies additionally indicated no evidence of increased housing sales or rapid turnover because of penitentiary construction. Looking specifically at Gabriels, DOCS noted that the facility already had its own fire fighting equipment, water supply, and sewage treatment plant. Local politicians had agreed to allow the prison to use area landfills for solid waste disposal; hospitals and public schools signaled their readiness to accept new patients and students; and criminal justice professionals stated they were prepared to manage any escapes or disturbances. Integrating the prison into the community, then, would be a smooth process.¹⁷⁷

This elaborate masquerade reflected both the state's desire to resolve a very real overcrowding problem as well as its implicit acknowledgement of the social, political, economic, and environmental hazards associated with prison expansion in an elite community. Unfortunately, the audience to which these messages were directed was but a small minority in a hamlet dominated by affluent permanent and seasonal residents. The promises of economic

1980: 42,899

Median Family Income (1970)

Franklin County: \$7,870.00

New York State: \$10,617.00

Source: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

¹⁷⁷ DOCS, "Answers to Interrogatories," section entitled "Adjoining and Nearby Land Uses," pp. 52-53; section entitled "Sales Values and Turnover Rates," pp. 53-55; section entitled "New Developments," pp. 57-61; section entitled "Local Government Services," pp. 16-18; and, section entitled "Service Impacts—Summary," no page number, Camp Gabriels Records.

uplift and seamless integration into the community's existing social, political, and environmental framework mattered little to the men and women who sought to preserve Gabriels as an exclusive enclave for their continued use and enjoyment.

Citizens Against More Prisons in the Adirondacks

The proposal to expand the crimescape to Gabriels exposed long-simmering class tensions that helped define the social character of communities across the Adirondacks. Many among the Gabriels elite were descended from the wealthy families that had helped create the Adirondack Park in the late nineteenth century. In a reversal of historical trends, by the early 1980s, it seemed that state officials were siding with the Adirondacks' working class in promoting prisons as a scheme for economic development. Whereas state leaders had aligned themselves with the elite in creating the Park in 1892, by 1981 it seemed they had abandoned their well-heeled allies. The moral ecology of the Gabriels elite therefore faced grave threats from an expanding crimescape. In opposing the prison, Gabriels' permanent and seasonal residents were struggling to maintain a privileged status squarely rooted in their perceived right to determine the contours of their community's social and ecological character.¹⁷⁸

Though prison opponents in Gabriels shared concerns similar to those expressed years earlier at Ray Brook, there were key differences between the two anti-prison movements. Unlike STOP, which drew support primarily from reform organizations and social justice advocates based outside the Adirondacks, Citizens Against More Prisons in the Adirondacks (CAMPA), the group formed to oppose the Gabriels prison, was a distinctly local organization composed of

¹⁷⁸ On moral ecology, see Karl Jacoby, *Crimes against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), and James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

permanent and seasonal residents.¹⁷⁹ Additionally, while opposition to the Olympic Prison emphasized sets of concerns that were not universally shared by STOP and its counterparts in the North Country, CAMPA sought to fuse the two strands of STOP's critique, arguing that the prison's potential social, economic, and environmental hazards had clear and definable moral and ethical dimensions. Finally, unlike STOP, CAMPA forged an alliance with a governmental agency, the APA. This relationship would prove instrumental in delaying the prison and in shaping the final outcome.

In June 1981, concerned Gabriels residents organized and began circulating petitions against the proposal. Diane Peterson, a local property owner who would become co-chair of CAMPA, joined several other women in canvassing the area for support. Peterson highlighted the fears of many residents, arguing the prison would inevitably lead to increased crime and violence in the isolated community. She also criticized local officials who had endorsed the plan, asserting the small number of jobs involved was not worth the potential risks, adding, "I don't think a prison upgrades your community at all."¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ Citizens Against More Prisons (CAMP) was founded in Gabriels in July 1981. The group renamed itself Citizens Against More Prisons in the Adirondacks (CAMPA) in September 1981 to avoid being confused with the national anti-prison organization known as CAMP. See "Public hearings eyed on Gabriels prison plan," *PR*, Sept. 16, 1981. Hereafter, for the sake of clarity, I will refer to this organization as CAMPA.

¹⁸⁰ "Senate funds 'Camp Gabriels,'" *ADE*, Jul. 10, 1981.



Figure 6: Leaders of Citizens Against More Prisons in the Adirondacks, *Adirondack Daily Enterprise*, Aug. 14, 1981. Northern New York Library Network.

The Corrections Department convened a public meeting at Paul Smith's College in July to solicit input on their proposal. Ironically, attendees had to first pass through police roadblocks set up after Dennis Klapthor, an inmate from Camp Adirondack working on ski trails near Saranac Lake, escaped custody that morning. Nevertheless, over 300 residents, mostly opposed to the prison, crowded into the auditorium. Commissioner Coughlin mistakenly appealed to residents' social conscience, arguing that all New Yorkers had a duty to help control prison overcrowding. He blamed lawmakers and downstate politicians whose anti-crime initiatives, he believed, were to blame for the crisis. Stainback, too, seemed unaware of his audience, as he emphasized the prison's potentially positive economic impacts. He dismissed opposition concerns about possible effects on tourism, an industry he claimed was "not likely to improve" in the midst of a recession, and that besides, "tourism here stinks compared to what it was 30 years

ago.” Stainback argued Gabriels needed to diversify its economy and “find growth avenues aside from the tourist industry.”¹⁸¹ The prison advocates seemed to believe that exploiting longstanding regional antipathy toward New York City along with highlighting the area’s chronic economic woes would be enough to convince skeptical residents. The only problem was that many of the audience members that evening were well-to-do New York City residents who did not need the economic boost the state was offering.¹⁸²

CAMPA quickly developed an action plan focused on preventing the college from selling Gabriels to the Corrections Department. Opponents swamped local newspapers, politicians, and the Adirondack Park Agency with letters denouncing the proposal. Their multilayered arguments against the penitentiary concentrated on several broad issues, including: harmful economic impacts; quality of life concerns; and preservation of the ecological integrity of the local environment. CAMPA’s concerns exposed a set of facts that prison planners had either sought to ignore or did not understand; namely, that the community’s sharp social class distinctions dictated residents’ responses both to the prison proposal and the planners arguments’ in its favor. College and Corrections officials had clearly miscalculated in assuming that Adirondack communities were monolithic entities devoid of social difference.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ “Prison hearing draws hundreds,” *ADE*, Jul 24, 1981; and, “Hearing on prison plan draws crowd,” *PR*, Jul. 25, 1981.

¹⁸² “Prison hearing draws hundreds,” *ADE*, Jul. 24, 1981. Diane Peterson presented a petition containing the signatures of over 200 local opponents. At the meeting, opponents took the floor to denounce the state’s plan, highlighting fears about public safety, the tourist trade, and local property values.

¹⁸³ “Anti-prison group started in Gabriels,” *ADE*, Jul. 28, 1981; “Citizens mount campaign to stop Gabriels prison,” *PR*, Aug. 1, 1981. The initial organizers of CAMP, in addition to Diane Peterson, were Peter and Pat Lambert of Gabriels, John Trevor and Nora Newell of Upper St. Regis Lake, Margaret Buckley of Gabriels, and Millie Klose and Diane Griffin of Jones Pond. “Group: state using double standard with prison,” *PR*, Aug. 15, 1981; “Prison protesters voice misgivings,” *ADE*, Jul. 31, 1981; “Reader opposes another prison,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Aug. 5, 1981; and, “And against the prison,” letter to the editor, *ADE*, Jul. 30, 1981.

Opposition concerns surrounding the prison's potential to damage the tourist trade, predictably, were rooted squarely in self-interest.¹⁸⁴ CAMPA members feared further crimescape expansion would drive tourists and second homeowners away from the region, thus crippling an industry upon which many of them depended during their regular visits to the area. Critics also underscored the massive investments tourists made in the area economy, including over \$4 million in sales taxes in Franklin County in 1979 alone. Many opponents, uninterested in either visiting or financially supporting a region that seemed to be dismissing their concerns in favor of building prisons, threatened to stop visiting and to deprive the depressed Adirondacks of much needed revenue if the penitentiary were built.¹⁸⁵

CAMPA supporters deployed their sense of entitlement as a cudgel against officials whom they believed had betrayed them in favor of unworthy prisoners and poor people. After all, as opponents repeatedly stated, they paid taxes! One CAMPA member wrote, "as taxpayers to local jurisdictions in this area, recognition should be given to our opposition to the proposal

¹⁸⁴ CAMP released a detailed list of grievances and demands in the form of a "Statement of Opposition." See, "Group opposes proposed prison," *ADE*, Aug. 11, 1981. The author also examined numerous letters to the editor published in the *Press Republican* and *Adirondack Daily Enterprise*, as well as 98 letters sent to APA headquarters, all concerning the Gabriels prison project. Of the 98 letters mailed to the APA, three expressed support for the prison. Seasonal residents composed 53 of the letters (based on return address), and 45 were written by permanent residents.

¹⁸⁵ "Group opposes proposed prison," *ADE*, Aug. 11, 1981; Mildred Hooker Duncan, to William Curran, APA, Oct. 7, 1981; Donald Coogan, Jr., to Curran, Curran, Nov. 30, 1981; Barbara O'Neill, to Curran, Dec. 7, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records. See also "Prison seeds second thoughts," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Aug. 17, 1981; "Questions about Camp Gabriels," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Aug. 21, 1981; "Against changing the neighborhood," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Aug. 27, 1981; "Prefers status quo," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Sept. 9, 1981; "Vacationers irked at prison proposal," letter to the editor, *PR*, Sept. 16, 1981. The following letters also addressed the issue of tourism: Catherine Mack to Curran, Oct. 7, 1981; Donald Sweeney to APA, Oct. 9, 1981; Diane Griffin to Curran, Oct. 9, 1981; Drs. James & Lynn Kurtz, to Vincent Moore, Executive Director, APA, Nov. 9, 1981; Sylvester Aman to Moore, Nov. 13, 1981; Virginia Volkman, to Curran, Nov. 13, 1981; Marshall Peterson, to Moore, Nov. 17, 1981; Kathryn Coogan, to Curran, Nov. 30, 1981; Anna (no last name given), to Moore, Dec. 5, 1981; Philip Langdon, to Moore, Dec. 6, 1981; Fred Roedel, to Curran, Dec. 7, 1981; Jeffrey Wilkins, to Moore, Dec. 11, 1981; Lyman Phillips, to Curran, Dec. 17, 1981; Marian Rettger, to Moore, Dec. 18, 1981; and, A. Moreland Lazier, to Moore, Jan. 19, 1982, Camp Gabriels Records.

rather than to the convenience of any state institution.”¹⁸⁶ Critics also charged the prison would harm property values, with many warning they would sell their homes and deprive local governments of much needed tax revenue.¹⁸⁷ Foes of the prison saw themselves as indispensable to warding off complete economic collapse in the Adirondacks, reminding state leaders that without their tax dollars, cash strapped permanent residents would face tax hikes to pay for the increased costs of vital public services. By the same token, CAMPA predicted convicts’ families and dependents would follow their incarcerated loved ones to the Adirondacks. Opponents’ description of the costs these individuals might impose on local taxpayers evoked Ronald Reagan’s myth of the welfare queen: “In most cases there are children and wives and the amount of money to dependent children plus the easy life in prison is more attraction to the inmates than outside life. Conjugal visits are just enough to create another member of the family. We, the people, are supporting them, we should have something to say about where they are put.”¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ On opponents’ status as taxpayers, see, Donald Sweeney, to APA, Oct. 9, 1981; Rosalind Baynon, to Moore, Nov. 1, 1981; and Harrison Garrett, to Moore, Nov. 4, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records. The following opponents also emphasized their status as taxpayers in expressing opposition to the prison: Diane Griffin, to Curran, Oct. 9, 1981; Sylvia Diller, to Moore, Nov. 2, 1981; Mr. and Mrs. S. Leonard Kent, to Moore, Nov. 9, 1981; Drs. James and Lynn Kurtz, to Moore, Nov. 9, 1981; Joseph Reiners, Jr., to Moore, Nov. 9, 1981; Mr. and Mrs. Philip Weld, to Moore, Nov. 14, 1981; Donald Coogan, Sr., to Curran, Nov. 30, 1981; Kathryn Coogan, to Curran, Nov. 30, 1981; and, Gulian Hook, to Moore, Nov. 30, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records.

¹⁸⁷ On opposition concerns about property values, see, “Group opposes proposed prison,” *ADE*, Aug. 11, 1981; Joseph Reiners, Sr. to Moore, Nov. 11, 1981; and Mr. and Mrs. Max Klose to APA, Dec. 1981, Camp Gabriels Records.

¹⁸⁸ On opponents’ concerns about the prison’s potential impact on public services, see, “Group opposes proposed prison,” *ADE*, Aug. 11, 1981; “More prison data need,” letter to the editor, *ADE*, Sept. 16, 1981; Lucien LeDuc, to Curran, Nov. 9, 1981; Mr. and Mrs. Max Klose, to APA, Dec. 1981, in Camp Gabriels Records. See also, Joseph Reiners, Jr., to Moore, Nov. 9, 1981; Mr. and Mrs. Philip Weld, to Moore, Nov. 14, 1981; Neil Suprenant, to Moore, Dec. 3, 1981; Anna (no last name given) to Moore, Dec. 5, 1981; and, Thomas Sloan, to Moore, Dec. 7, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records. An APA survey of local public agencies and organizations indicated that the public schools, fire department, and local health care facilities did not foresee any problems resulting from expansion of the crimescape in Gabriels. Town officials in Brighton expressed concern about impacts from increased usage of landfills, schools, housing, recreational facilities, cemeteries, and police services. Leaders in Saranac Lake, whose sewage systems were shared with the two Ray Brook prisons, expressed hesitation when asked about a potential tie-in with Gabriels. See Ernest Seifried, Superintendent, Saranac Lake Central School District, to Curran, Nov. 16, 1981; Arthur Miller,

Accordingly, critics also used their privileged class standing as a prod to dictate the terms of state correctional policy. They charged the Corrections Department with exaggerating the scale of overcrowding, and accused the College of seeking to profit from what CAMPA considered a lie.¹⁸⁹ If there were no crisis, opponents argued it would be financially irresponsible for the state, in the midst of a recession, to continue expanding the crimescape, especially in “such big old buildings in the Adirondacks” where heating costs were “exorbitant.” At the same time, though, opponents noted that if the state *had* to have new prisons, it should build them “nearer the large urban areas.”¹⁹⁰ CAMPA also warned that most of the prison jobs would not go to local residents, but instead to current DOCS employees on seniority and transfer lists. Some opponents indicated their employers planned to leave the area if the prison opened, and others worried that inmates’ dependents moving to the region would further strain an already tight labor market.¹⁹¹

Assistant Chief, Paul Smith’s-Gabriels Volunteer Fire Department, Inc., to Curran, Nov. 13, 1981; John Murphy, Administrator, General Hospital of Saranac Lake, to Curran, Nov. 13, 1981; Stanley Tyler, Supervisor, Town of Brighton, to Curran, Nov. 11, 1981; and, E.J. Lawless, Village of Saranac Lake, to Curran, Nov. 16, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records.

¹⁸⁹ On opposition claims of an exaggerated prison crisis, see, “Against changing the neighborhood,” letter to the editor, *ADE*, Aug. 27, 1981; “Group opposes proposed prison,” *ADE*, Aug. 11, 1981; Mack to Curran, Oct. 8, 1981; Mr. and Mrs. S. Leonard Kent to Moore, Nov. 9, 1981; and, Carol and James Mitchell, to Moore, no date, Camp Gabriels Records.

¹⁹⁰ On opposition fears about financial costs of crimescape expansion, see, Sandra Fisher, to Moore, Nov. 13, 1981; Sylvester Aman, to Moore, Nov. 13, 1981; Douglas Bombard, to Curran, Dec. 6, 1981; Sylvia Diller, to Moore, Nov. 2, 1981; and, Natalie LeDuc, to Curran, Dec. 1981, Camp Gabriels Records. Similar arguments about the use of taxpayer money to locate and build prisons were made in the following letters: Anonymous, to APA, Aug. 29, 1981; Mr. and Mrs. S. Leonard Kent, to Moore, Nov. 9, 1981; Mary Potter Jones, to APA, no date given; Volkman to Curran, Nov. 13, 1981; Donald Coogan, Jr., to Curran, Nov. 30, 1981; Margaret Clapple, to APA, Dec. 7, 1981; and, Lazier to Moore, Jan. 19, 1982, Camp Gabriels Records.

¹⁹¹ On opposition claims about the prison’s economic impact, see, James Coyle, to APA, Dec. 10, 1981; Aman to Moore, Nov. 13, 1981; Virginia West, to Moore, Dec. 11, 1981; Deborah Fletcher, to APA, Dec. 8, 1981; and, N.V.V.F. Munson, to Moore, Nov. 4, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records. See also, Mr. and Mrs. Max Klose, to APA, Dec. 1981, Camp Gabriels Records.

If the prison's potential to hurt the local economy were not bad enough, opponents also highlighted its possibly devastating impacts on the community's social and ecological integrity. Critics charged there were simply too many prisons in the Adirondacks, and that "a fourth prison would be an outrageous saturation of a small area."¹⁹² Many warned if crimescape expansion were not immediately arrested, the Adirondack Park risked becoming a Siberia-style penal colony.¹⁹³ Opponents noted they lived in Gabriels "because of the town's peaceful setting," and enjoying use of a small park, picnic area, playground, athletic fields, skating rink, local waterways, and summer camps, all within vicinity of the prison site. This image of a pristine and calm Adirondack environment stood in stark contrast to Dannemora, the region's first prison town. CAMPA members were anxious that construction of "100 foot light towers," "a barbed wire fence," and "fifty foot concrete walls with spot lights and guard towers...might make a Dannemora out of" Gabriels.¹⁹⁴ With an unfenced prison abutting their homes, CAMPA

¹⁹² On opposition contention that there were enough prisons already, see, "Anti-prison group started in Gabriels," *ADE*, Jul. 28, 1981; "Group opposes proposed prison," *ADE*, Aug. 11, 1981; "Prison seeds second thoughts," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Aug. 17, 1981; "Camp director distressed," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Aug. 31, 1981; "Prefers status quo," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Sept. 9, 1981; "Prison would be devastating," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Sept. 24, 1981. Philip Langdon, to Moore, Dec. 6, 1981; Patricia Castine, to Curran, Dec. 7, 1981; and Carolyn McCormick, to APA, Dec. 1981, Camp Gabriels Records. Opponents made similar points in the following letters: Anonymous to APA, Aug. 29, 1981; Baynon (no first name), to Moore, Oct. 8, 1981; Garrett to Moore, Nov. 4, 1981; Munson to Moore, Nov. 4, 1981; Michael Bird, to Moore, Nov. 10, 1981; Richard Harwood, Jr., to Moore, Nov. 10, 1981; Weld to Moore, Nov. 14, 1981; Marshall Peterson, to Moore, Nov. 17, 1981; Emily Fogarty to Curran, Nov. 21, 1981; Peter Troy to Curran, Nov. 30, 1981; Steven Kidder, Ph.D., to Moore, Dec. 2, 1981; Jim and Ann Kraus, to Curran, Dec. 3, 1981; William Scheefer, to Curran, Dec. 4, 1981; Suzanne Snyder, to Curran, Dec. 5, 1981; Anna, to Moore, Dec. 5, 1981; William Gallagher, to Curran, Dec. 6, 1981; William Hogan, to Curran, Dec. 7, 1981; O'Neill to Curran, Dec. 7, 1981; Jane McAlberg, to Curran, Dec. 9, 1981; Dennis Hitchcock, to Moore, Dec. 10, 1981; Kathleen Corl, to APA, Dec. 1981; Jean Garrison, to Moore, Jan. 12, 1982; and, Lazier to Moore, Jan. 19, 1982, Camp Gabriels Records.

¹⁹³ On opposition comments about Siberia and penal colony fears, see, "Prison protesters picket campus," *ADE*, Aug. 31, 1981; "Unanswered Questions," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Sept. 2, 1981; "More opposition" letter to the editor, *ADE*, Sept. 9, 1981; Anonymous to APA, Aug. 29, 1981; Hook to Moore, Nov. 30, 1981; and, Beulah & George Biddlecombe, to Curran, Dec. 3, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records.

¹⁹⁴ On opposition comments on Dannemora, see, "Senate funds 'Camp Gabriels,'" *ADE*, Jul. 10, 1981; "Group opposes proposed prison," *ADE*, Aug. 11, 1981; "Protesters vent anger," *ADE*, Aug. 14, 1981; "The prison and the college," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Aug. 26, 1981; "Prefers status quo," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Sept. 9, 1981; Fisher to Moore, Nov. 13, 1981; John Sargent, to Moore, Nov. 13, 1981; O'Neill to Curran, Dec. 7, 1981; and, Marian Rettger, to Moore, Dec. 18, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records. See also, Anonymous to APA, Aug. 29, 1981;

members feared the decline of “a lifestyle where one need not be concerned over personal safety and property theft.” Gabriels residents expected the correctional facility to lead to “a loss of our freedom,” a condition they believed should be reserved for criminals. Critics therefore pushed officials to “build your prisons in the city,” because “the forests in this area are easy to escape into.”¹⁹⁵

Anxiety surrounding the prison’s potential to alter the community’s economic, social, and environmental integrity unleashed opponents’ racial and ethnic prejudices. Here, CAMPA revealed its true colors: they were struggling to preserve Gabriels as an exclusive enclave for the leisure and recreational pursuits of white, affluent men and women like themselves. There was a racialized environmentalism that coded prisons, prisoners, and urban areas as non-white, poor, and deprived, and the Adirondacks as white, wealthy, and sophisticated. One critic argued, “New York City should take care of its own problem,” while others castigated inmates as “animals,” “scum,” “humanity’s trash,” “muggers, thieves, rapists, addicts and other undesirables,” “the sordid element of our generation,” and “the undesirable element.” These

Pauline Mayhew, to Curran, Oct. 7, 1981; D. Griffin to Curran, Oct. 9, 1981; Marjorie Hull, to Moore, Nov. 6, 1981; Mr. and Mrs. S. Leonard Kent to Moore, Nov. 9, 1981; Harwood to Moore, Nov. 10, 1981; Aman to Moore, Nov. 13, 1981; D. Coogan, Jr., to Curran, Nov. 30, 1981; Troy to Curran, Nov. 30, 1981; Rev. Edward Coppa, to Curran, Dec. 2, 1981; Kidder to Moore, Dec. 2, 1981; Crowley to Curran, Dec. 5, 1981; Rev. C. John McAvoy, to Curran, Dec. 7, 1981; and, Coyle to APA, Dec. 10, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records.

¹⁹⁵ On opposition fears of escapes and violence, see, “Senate funds ‘Camp Gabriels,’” *ADE*, July 10, 1981; “Prison hearing draws hundreds,” *ADE*, July 24, 1981; “Anti-prison group started,” *ADE*, July 28, 1981; “And against the prison,” letter to the editor, *ADE*, July 30, 1981; “Prison protesters voice misgivings,” *ADE*, July 31, 1981; “Group opposes proposed prison,” *ADE*, Aug. 11, 1981; “Opposes prison,” letter to the editor, *ADE*, Aug. 17, 1981; “Another opponent to the prison,” letter to the editor, *ADE*, Aug. 21, 1981; “Prison protesters picket campus,” *ADE*, Aug. 31, 1981; “Prefers status quo,” letter to the editor, *ADE*, Sept. 9, 1981; “Hearing on prison plan draws crowd,” *PR*, July 25, 1981; “Group: state using double standard with prison,” *PR*, Aug. 15, 1981; and, “Vacationers irked at prison proposal,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Sept. 16, 1981; Kenneth West, to Moore, Dec. 11, 1981; Jones to APA, no date given; and, McCormick to APA, no date given, Camp Gabriels Records. See also, Munson to Moore, Nov. 4, 1981; Joseph Reiners, Jr., to Moore, Nov. 9, 1981; Joseph Reiners, Sr., to Moore, Nov. 11, 1981; Fisher to Moore, Nov. 13, 1981; Mr. and Mrs. Philip Weld, to Moore, Nov. 14, 1981; Neil Suprenant, to Moore, Dec. 3, 1981; Nancy Crowley, to Curran, Dec. 5, 1981; O’Neill to Curran, Dec. 7, 1981; and, Joyce Warner, to Curran, Dec. 14, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records.

“blacks and Spanish speaking persons” were, in the eyes of opponents, “the dregs of New York,” and had no right to share in the Adirondacks’ splendor and beauty. One opponent even compared prisoners to the toxic substances that had destroyed vast swaths of the Park’s aquatic environments: “We have suffered from acid rain long enough. Please don’t introduce another poison into our area.” His solution: “Let’s convert or rehab some of the buildings in New York [City] and keep those people where they originate from.”¹⁹⁶

To prevent these sweeping and possibly irreversible changes, critics demanded the APA come to their defense. Calling the Adirondacks “unique in the eastern United States in providing a public resource for recreation in a wild setting,” opponents asserted the state was obliged to “protect the forest preserve against intrusions and retain those public lands as a wild forest preserve.” Foes of the prison told the Park Agency that failure to stop the penitentiary would unleash an avalanche of economic, social, and ecological disasters in the region.¹⁹⁷ Critics wrote the prison would “destroy the land,” “degrade recreational and living conditions,” and “destroy both a beautiful area and the surrounding community.” They asserted the prison “would be cruel to the environment,” and the changes brought by crimescape expansion would not be “in keeping

¹⁹⁶ On opposition’s racial and ethnic prejudices, see, “Prison hearing draws hundreds,” *ADE*, Jul. 24, 1981; “Prison protesters voice misgivings,” *ADE*, Jul. 31, 1981; and, “Protesters vent anger,” *ADE*, Aug. 14, 1981. Rosalind Baynon, to Moore, Nov. 1, 1981; C. Minot Dole, Jr., to Moore, Nov. 6, 1981; James Cameron, to Moore, Nov. 7, 1981; Drs. James and Lynn Kurtz, to Moore, Nov. 9, 1981; Beulah and George Biddlecombe, to Curran, Dec. 3, 1981; Rettger to Moore, Dec. 18, 1981; Lazier to Moore, Jan. 19, 1982; and Brandon (no last name given), to Moore, no date given, Camp Gabriels Records. See also Anonymous to APA, Aug. 29, 1981; Baynon (no first name) to Moore, Oct. 8, 1981; and, Judith Allen, to APA, Dec. 10, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records.

¹⁹⁷ On opposition pressure on APA, see, “Group opposes proposed prison,” *ADE*, Aug. 11, 1981; “The prison and the college,” letter to the editor, *ADE*, Aug. 26, 1981; “Camp director distressed,” letter to the editor, *ADE*, Aug. 31, 1981; and, “Prefers status quo,” letter to the editor, *ADE*, Sept. 9, 1981. CAMP leaders, in their Statement of Opposition, noted the three categories of state land use in the Park: 1) Lands used to carry on state activities related to the administration of the Park, such as DEC and APA offices; 2) Lands used to provide for recreation and intensive use of the park, such as campsites, ski centers, historical sites; 3) Lands used to provide necessary public services in the park, such as police facilities and state highways. See Adirondack Park Agency, “Adirondack Park State Land Master Plan,” Jun. 1, 1972, and Adirondack Park Agency, “Adirondack Park Land Use and Development Plan and Recommendations for Implementation,” Mar. 6, 1973.

with what the Adirondack Park means to us.”¹⁹⁸ That meaning, of course, was intimately connected to the recreational heritage and character of the Park, enshrined by its founders in the late nineteenth century. Opponents appealed to what they considered the Park’s original intent, as “a constitutionally mandated resort for all the people of New York State.”¹⁹⁹

The anxieties of prison opponents were defined as much by their nostalgia for the Park’s Gilded Age past as by their fears of what the Adirondacks might become. For nearly a century, affluent men and women making homes in the region had practiced a moral ecology that continually reinforced the Park founders’ vision of an exclusive haven for elite outdoor leisure and recreation. Expanding middle class incomes after World War II had opened the door to increased tourism, and the sort of crass commercialism that seemed to tarnish the region’s social and aesthetic integrity. However, the Park’s recreational character remained intact. The introduction of prisons in the 1970s and 1980s, though, posed novel challenges to that upper middle-class vision of the Adirondack Park’s social meaning.

¹⁹⁸ On opposition fears for environmental damage, see, “Group opposes proposed prison,” *ADE*, Aug. 11, 1981; “Another group plans prison opposition,” *ADE*, Aug. 24, 1981; “Against changing the neighborhood,” letter to the editor, *ADE*, Aug. 27, 1981. Diane Griffin, to Curran, Oct. 9, 1981; Arthur and Betty Staebell, to Moore, Nov. 9, 1981; Marjorie Hull, to Moore, Nov. 6, 1981; and Marshall Peterson, to Moore, Nov. 17, 1981; and Fisher to Moore, Nov. 13, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records. See also, Mildred Hooker Duncan, to Curran, Oct. 7, 1981; Fisher to Curran, Oct. 8, 1981; Baynon to Moore, Oct. 8, 1981; Sweeney to APA, Oct. 9, 1981; Justina Ortlieb, to APA, Oct. 10, 1981; Garrett to Moore, Nov. 4, 1981; Mr. and Mrs. S. Leonard Kent, to Moore, Nov. 9, 1981; Virginia Volkman, to Curran, Nov. 13, 1981; D. Coogan, Jr., to Curran, Nov. 30, 1981; Hook to Moore, Nov. 30, 1981; Castine to Curran, Dec. 7, 1981; Wilkins to Moore, Dec. 11, 1981; Ernest Keet, to Curran, Dec. 12, 1981; Rettger to Moore, Dec. 18, 1981; Mr. and Mrs. Max Klose, to APA, Dec. 1981; Lee Robert, to APA, Dec. 1981; and, Brandon (no last name given) to Moore, no date given, Camp Gabriels Records.

¹⁹⁹ On opposition claims about original intent and character, see, Mack to Curran, Oct. 8, 1981; J. Reiners, Jr., to Moore, Nov. 9, 1981; William Scheefer, to Curran, Dec. 4, 1981; Sharon Hayford, to APA, Dec. 7, 1981; Fisher to Curran, Oct. 8, 1981; Thomas Sloan, to Moore, Dec. 7, 1981; and Carol and James Mitchell, to Moore, no date given, Camp Gabriels Records. See also, Diane Griffin, to Curran, Oct. 9, 1981; Robert Griffin, to Curran, Oct. 10, 1981; Ortlieb to APA, Oct. 10, 1981; R. Baynon, to Moore, Nov. 1, 1981; Garrett to Moore, Nov. 4, 1981; Munson to Moore, Nov. 4, 1981; Hull to Moore, Nov. 6, 1981; Mr. and Mrs. S. Leonard Kent, to Moore, Nov. 9, 1981; J. Reiners, Sr., to Moore, Nov. 11, 1981; Sargent to Moore, Nov. 13, 1981; Beulah and George Biddlecombe, to Curran, Dec. 3, 1981; M. Peterson to Moore, Dec. 4, 1981; Clapple to APA, Dec. 7, 1981; McAvoy to Curran, Dec. 7, 1981; O’Neill to Curran, Dec. 7, 1981; K. West, to Moore, Dec. 7, 1981; Allen to APA, Dec. 10, 1981; V. West to Moore, Dec. 11, 1981; Wilkins to Moore, Dec. 11, 1981; and, Jones to APA, no date given, Camp Gabriels Records.

Gabriels residents saw themselves as guardians of the Park's original intent, arguing it would be immoral for the state to alter the region's social and ecological integrity for reasons unrelated to outdoor recreation. Opponents painted a bleak picture of what the Adirondacks might become without them: an isolated penal colony whose communities would be shared by correctional employees, low paid service workers, and the kin of inmates inside the prisons. Racial and social conflict might ensue, especially as higher shares of workers' incomes went toward public assistance and social service programs to support prisoners' families, whom many assumed were averse to work. A new form of moral ecology defined by socio-racial conflict over scarce public resources would replace the elite framework that had prevailed for nearly a century. While many Gabriels residents believed their moral ecology provided a stabilizing influence in the community's social relations, the region's chronic economic woes had long revealed the limitations of a tourism- and recreation-oriented economy.²⁰⁰

Local Support & Attempts at Accommodation

Though overwhelmed by the size, organization, and financial resources of the opposition, a small number of local residents supported the efforts of Corrections, the college, and local politicians to open a prison in Gabriels. Their positions largely mirrored official arguments made in its favor. However, local advocates also came to the prison's defense by appropriating

²⁰⁰ On the influence of upper middle-class New Yorkers in the creation of the Adirondack Park, see, Frank Graham, *The Adirondack Park: A Political History* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1978); Jane Eblen Keller, *Adirondack Wilderness: A Story of Man and Nature* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1980); Philip Terrie, *Wildlife and Wilderness: A History of Adirondack Mammals* (Fleischmanns, N.Y.: Purple Mountain Press, 1993); Terrie, *Forever Wild: A Cultural History of Wilderness in the Adirondacks* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994); Terrie, *Contested Terrain: A New History of Nature and People in the Adirondacks* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press & the Adirondack Museum, 1997); Karl Jacoby, *Crimes against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Barbara McMartin, *Perspectives on the Adirondacks: A Thirty-Year Struggle by People Protecting their Treasure* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002); and David Stradling, *The Nature of New York: An Environmental History of the Empire State* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010).

and reframing several of CAMPA's primary complaints against the project. Corrections officials, though, sought cooperation and collaboration with their opponents. Realizing their earlier defenses of the prison had fallen on deaf ears, prison leaders made concessions designed to persuade critics of the facility's value. Nevertheless, offers of free inmate labor and a vastly expanded Forest Preserve would ultimately be insufficient for the affluent men and women fighting to preserve their community's social and ecological integrity.

Local supporters of the prison praised the planners' promise of jobs and economic uplift. Contrary to opposition fears, boosters complained that without a steady source of employment, Gabriels was "slowly dying out." The community's demise, largely unnoticed by opponents, had been marked by an exodus of young people leaving "because there are no good paying year round jobs to offer." Backers of the facility added that with the prison, local Corrections employees would be able to work closer to home, thereby creating "more taxpayers" with "more taxes going back into the area."²⁰¹ It seemed the new correctional facility would more than compensate for any tax revenues lost if and when CAMPA members decamped from Gabriels.

Second, advocates of the project sought to delegitimize the opposition by highlighting the fact that many opponents were neither permanent residents nor native Adirondackers. Supporters complained that CAMPA did not care "for the economic welfare of us year-round residents," and that they "could care less whether we survive here or not." True, perhaps, since the opponents' moral ecology assumed that local, less prosperous residents would continue in

²⁰¹ On prison advocates' acceptance of economic impact argument, see, "Public hearing set on OTB," *ADE*, Jul. 28, 1981; "Supports Gabriels prison," *PR*, Jul. 31, 1981; "For prison," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Jul. 30, 1981; "Pro-prison, letter to the editor, Aug. 4, 1981; Frederick and Eleanor Klein, to Curran, Nov. 11, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records; and, "Brighton seeks prison study," *ADE*, Dec. 11, 1981. See also "College in jeopardy," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Sept. 4, 1981. The editorial boards of the area's two dominant newspapers also came out in favor of the Gabriels prison, largely for reasons surrounding the purported positive economic impact. See "Anti-prison feelings unfounded," *PR*, July 29, 1981, and, "Gabriels prison, more facts needed," *ADE*, Sept. 3, 1981.

their irregular, low-paying tourism jobs into the foreseeable future. This notion that low-income, year-round residents were relegated to a fixed, servile position in the community's socioeconomic order, led local prison boosters to believe the opponents, and not the prison planners, were actually "trying to destroy Paul Smith's College and the Town of Brighton."²⁰²

Finally, prison advocates highlighted the positive relationships that had been forged among local communities and the Adirondacks' three existing prisons. In addition to providing jobs for hundreds of area residents, supporters expressed gratitude for the work performed by inmate labor crews, which provided valuable savings to local governments on necessary public works improvements and repairs. Proponents also called for compassion and respect for the prisoners, reviving mid-nineteenth century arguments made at Dannemora concerning the healthful and rehabilitative impacts of exposure to Adirondack nature. Rosemarie Nopper, a tuberculosis survivor who had been treated at Gabriels beginning in 1948, argued the inmates needed "the beauty, serenity, and spirit" of the Adirondacks to facilitate their reentry into free society.²⁰³

The moral ecology of less prosperous Adirondack residents was defined primarily by work. Men and women supporting the prison, though small in number, reminded their well-to-do neighbors that their lives in the region were shaped less by play and more by labor. For them, communities like Gabriels were not relics of a Gilded Age past whose social and ecological

²⁰² On prison advocates' critiques of the opposition, see, "For prison," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Jul. 30, 1981; "Speaking out for the Gabriels prison," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Jul. 31, 1981; "Pro-prison," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Aug. 4, 1981; "College in jeopardy," *ADE*, Sept. 4, 1981; and, "In favor of prison," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Sept. 4, 1981.

²⁰³ On prison advocates' comments on the value of prisons in the Adirondacks, see, "For prison," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Jul. 30, 1981; Stanley Ingison, to Curran, Nov. 12, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records; "Speaking out for the Gabriels prison," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Jul. 31, 1981; "College in jeopardy," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Sept. 4, 1981; and, "Prison ground sanctified," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Sept. 22, 1981.

integrity required protection. Rather, they were homes and workscapes being built and continually rebuilt by the hands of inmates, corrections officers, service sector employees, and workers in the tourist trade. For the latter two groups, the climate and capitalist economy were uncontrollable forces that often imposed devastating consequences on a population long accustomed to hardship. Accordingly, many working class residents looked on the prison as a way out of the rigid socioeconomic hierarchy that, they believed, was controlled by affluent permanent and seasonal residents who did not share their struggles, fears, and concerns. Much like the prison's opponents, its advocates applied class-laden meanings to the Adirondack Park that they believed should allow working class men and women to determine their community's future.

With only a small base of local support, the Corrections Department, the college, and area politicians in the fall of 1981 opened the preliminary phases of planning a prison for Gabriels.²⁰⁴ Correctional officials sought to balance the competing interests of both the

²⁰⁴ Citing the emergency conditions facing the state's overcrowded prisons, DOCS and PSC moved quickly to build the prison at Gabriels. Consultants in environmental protection, food service, and security visited Gabriels, and a New York City firm, Ehrenkrantz Group / McKeown & Franz, was hired by DOCS to complete an environmental impact statement prior to construction. PSC officials continued working with DOCS to sell the property through the summer and fall of 1981. In August, Converse Goddard, chair of PSC's Board of Trustees, said it was his "responsibility to maximize the use of college resources and this means selling the property so we will have the money to build other things." To that end, the college and Corrections began developing a legal and financial framework for converting the property to a prison. DOCS officials accepted the college's survey work of the site, and requested an abstract of titles from the college attorney. The Board of Trustees empowered President Stainback to negotiate with DOCS to sell the property. By October 1981, the APA had issued official notices in local newspapers notifying the public of the prison plan. That same month, DOCS released its plan for developing the property as a minimum-security prison. Included in the proposal were a new 2500-square foot visitors' center; two educational buildings; dormitories to house 153 convicts; a dining facility; and a chapel / mosque. DOCS also proposed to demolish four existing structures at the site. Interestingly, the map of the facility, with its scattered buildings connected by internal paths and roadways and surrounded by forests, streams, and lakes, strongly resembled the architectural layout of the Gilded Age "great camps." See, "Anti-prison group started in Gabriels," *ADE*, Jul. 28, 1981; "Another group plans prison opposition," *ADE*, Aug. 24, 1981; "State moving fast on Gabriels prison," *ADE*, Oct. 1, 1981; and, Coughlin to DEC Commissioner Robert Flack, Sept. 10, 1981, in Camp Gabriels Records. In the letter, Coughlin reiterated Corrections' need for exemption from the State Environmental Quality Review Act in building the prison at Gabriels because of the continued overcrowding crisis. DOCS' plans for the prison, including the map, can be found in the "Application for Permit," in Camp Gabriels Records.

opposition and its allies while simultaneously satisfying their need for more cells.²⁰⁵ Corrections leaders disappointed opponents, telling them that it would be impossible not to impose some environmental and social impacts, including: removal of vegetation; effects on migratory osprey and loons; and new restrictions on residents' uses of the environment near the prison site. To compensate for these transformations, penal bureaucrats offered to turn over most of the Gabriels tract to the DEC for inclusion in the Forest Preserve, to be maintained "forever wild" and free from development.²⁰⁶ DOCS also pledged cash strapped local governments free use of inmate labor on conservation, infrastructure, and public works projects across the region.²⁰⁷ To pacify its opponents, New York's prison builders and inmates would become park builders.

The state's concessions did little to satisfy the opposition, which expected the APA to serve as a bulwark against crimescape expansion. Park Agency officials found themselves in a difficult position, as they sought to balance the divergent concerns and anxieties of Gabriels' affluent and working class residents. On one hand, APA leaders knew they could not prevent the prison from being built. On the other, they were obliged to consider, and if possible, act on the opposition's grievances. However, Agency officials also had to listen to the views of less prosperous dwellers, with whom they had shared an often contentious and difficult relationship.

²⁰⁵ Ramon Rodriguez to Vincent Moore, Oct. 15, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records.

²⁰⁶ On environmental and social impacts of building Gabriels prison, see, DOCS, Environmental Assessment Form (EAF), Sept. 29, 1981, Attachment B, "Site Description: Existing Conditions," p. 2; Attachment G, "Energy Use: Electricity & Heating"; Attachment I, "Impact on Visual Resources"; Attachment C, "Impact on Open Space and Recreation"; Attachment K, "Community Issues," p. 6, Camp Gabriels Records. On Corrections' proposal to increase the size of the Forest Preserve, see, George Glassanos, Senior Attorney, DOCS, to Vincent Moore, Oct. 13, 1981; DOCS, "Department of Correctional Services Recommendation for Classification of Gabriels Acquisition," Dec. 16, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records. For more on the discussions surrounding the zoning of the Gabriels site, see Rodriguez to Curran, Oct. 16, 1981; and, Glassanos to John Banta, APA, Nov. 6, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records; "Corrections offers land to DEC," *ADE*, Nov. 24, 1981; and, "State prisons agency changes land-buy plan," *PR*, Jan. 6, 1982.

²⁰⁷ On convict labor, see, DOCS, EAF, Sept. 29, 1981, Attachment K, "Community Issues," pp. 9-10, Camp Gabriels Records.

The APA ultimately decided to offer the opposition two olive branches: public hearings and procedural maneuvering that would delay both the planning process and the prison's opening.

In the fall of 1981, the Park Agency began what might have ordinarily been a rather mundane review of a state project planned for the Adirondack Park. At minimum, the Agency would have to rezone the Gabriels property to reflect its eventual transformation for correctional use, from Resource Management status to State Administrative. Agency counsel noted that two parts of the APA law, Sections 814 and 816, empowered the Park Agency to perform non-binding advisory review over the project to guard against undue adverse impacts on the Park's natural environment and resources.²⁰⁸ Public hearings were not a mandatory component of the review process, and relevant parties understood the Corrections Department could build the prison irrespective of the Park Agency's final conclusions.

The organization, wealth, and influence of CAMPA's membership complicated these seemingly routine exercises in state bureaucratic planning. Through the fall of 1981, the opposition's leaders, Diane Peterson and Dr. Lucien LeDuc, along with their attorney, William Kissel, exerted pressure on the Park Agency to schedule public hearings on "this large and controversial project." CAMPA leaders hired their own team of environmental and scientific consultants, lawyers, and other experts to testify on their behalf. They warned the APA that they were "very serious in our concern over the proposed prison at Gabriels and that we have both the resources and the will to see that all of our concerns are properly addressed." In late September,

²⁰⁸ "Anti-prison group started in Gabriels," *ADE*, Jul. 28, 1981; and, Robert Glennon, Counsel, APA, to Anthony Conde, Assistant Counsel, DOCS, July 23, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records. Section 814 of the APA Act permitted the Agency to perform the non-binding advisory review; Section 816 required the APA to study the DOCS proposal and reclassify the land at Gabriels as it transitioned from private to public ownership.

Park Agency leaders, responding to the pressure, agreed to hold hearings.²⁰⁹ The opposition had successfully leveraged its socioeconomic power and clout in its fight against the prison.

The opponents also prevailed in their effort to insert delay-inducing procedural maneuvering into the review process. Agency counsel Robert Glennon advised that “a clever lawyer” could find ways to slow the process down. In late September, one such APA attorney announced he would require at least two months to review and process paperwork, and bombarded the Corrections Department with dozens of highly detailed questions about the project. APA Chairman Theodore Ruzow cast doubt on planners’ rationale, arguing that since overcrowding was “not a new or sudden development,” it “could not be considered emergency conditions.” Ruzow questioned the legitimacy of DOCS’ claim of exemption from state environmental laws (including preparation of an environmental impact statement), adding, “the public has the right to be heard.” In October, Agency officials notified property owners and residents in the area to soliciting input on the project. As opponents flooded the APA with letters of protest, Executive Director Vincent Moore claimed the Agency had “the weight of public opinion behind it.”²¹⁰ Affluent prison opponents scored their second victory when Corrections

²⁰⁹ Robert Glennon, to Joseph Reiners, Jr., Aug. 6, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records. “Public hearings eyed on Gabriels prison plan,” *PR*, Sept. 16, 1981; Peterson and LeDuc, to Vincent Moore, Sept. 15, 1981; Moore to Peterson and LeDuc, Sept. 28, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records. “Hearings on Gabriels prison set,” *PR*, Sept. 23, 1981; and, “Notice is filed; prison set for Gabriels site,” *PR*, Oct. 2, 1981. In the Sept. 16 *PR* article, Vincent Moore explained how APA non-binding advisory review would work. He said that the APA had authority to provide advisory review over other state agency projects inside the Park. He explained that before final budget approval is given for a new project, a notice of intent must be filed with the APA. After notice is filed and the APA determines it has enough information on the project, the state agency cannot begin work on the project for up to thirty days while the review is in progress. During advisory review, the APA works to determine whether the project will have an undue adverse impact on the natural, scenic, aesthetic, and historic features of the Park. The APA also works to take into account the potential social and economic benefits of the project. If the APA decides the project may have an undue adverse impact, public hearings will be scheduled. Once the hearings are scheduled, the state agency would be required to wait up to ninety days after the first hearing before beginning the project. Moore noted, “the essential purpose of the hearing is to provide full public disclosure and allow public opinion to be expressed.”

²¹⁰ “Hearing on Gabriels prison set,” *PR*, Sept. 23, 1981; “Notice is filed; prison set for Gabriels site,” *PR*, Oct. 2, 1981; Curran to F. Wesley Lampman, DOCS, Sept. 29, 1981, and Rodriguez to Curran, Oct. 5, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records; “Landfill use sought for proposed prison,” *ADE*, Oct. 9, 1981; William Kissel, Counsel, CAMPA, to

officials, bound to submit to the Park Agency's requests, were forced to abandon plans of opening the prison by November 1.

In the fall of 1981, the Adirondack Park Agency and the Department of Correctional Services each attempted to balance the competing moral ecologies of Gabriels' sharply stratified permanent and seasonal populations. Corrections leaders were under no obligation to offer concessions to their opponents, though Park Agency officials were legally mandated to notify and listen to homeowners living adjacent to the sites of proposed developments. It seemed that CAMPA's pressure had led the APA to embrace delaying tactics, though the Park Agency's own actions and words indicate the opposition's moral ecology matched very closely to their own. Thus, the transition from a bland process of rezoning to procedural delays and finally toward scheduling public hearings seemed like a natural course of action for an agency committed to essentially the same goals as Gabriels' homegrown opposition.

The Hearings

The APA convened public hearings on the Gabriels prison beginning on November 16, 1981. More legal maneuvering and delays caused the sessions, which lasted a total of six days, to be stretched out over a period of two months, not ending until January 15, 1982. The first two

Moore, Oct. 13, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records; and, "APA's Moore to schedule prison hearings," *PR*, Oct. 19, 1981. See also, Moore to Glassanos, Oct. 1, 1981; Memo from Curran to APA Members and Designees, Re: Camp Gabriels, Oct. 8, 1981; Edmund Lynch, APA Director of Operations, to Rodriguez, Oct. 13, 1981; APA Notice of Agency Intent to Proceed to Public Hearing, Oct. 20, 1981; Moore to Coughlin, Oct. 21, 1981; Kissel to Moore (2 letters), Oct. 22, 1981; APA Draft Notice of Public Hearing, Oct. 27, 1981; Glennon to Glassanos, Oct. 28, 1981; APA Draft of Hearing Scope and Procedures, Oct. 29, 1981; APA Notice, "To Owners of Land Near the 'Camp Gabriels' Site,'" Oct. 29, 1981; APA, "Notice of Public Hearings on Proposed 'Camp Gabriels' Project and on Related Amendments to the Master Plan for the Management of State Lands Pursuant to Sections 814 and 816 of the Adirondack Park Agency Act," Oct. 29, 1981; APA, "Notice of State Agency Intent Pending Proposed Acquisition and Improvements to Camp Gabriels, Adirondack Park Agency Project Number SP 81-15"; Basic Information Needed from Department of Correctional Services Prior to Public Hearing on Camp Gabriels; and, Moore to Glassanos and Kissel, Nov. 2, 1981, Camp Gabriels Records.

hearings allowed for public comment, and the final four were devoted to testimony from witnesses called by DOCS, the APA, and CAMPA. Lawyers, bureaucrats, scientists, and local residents offered conflicting visions of what crimescape expansion might mean for Gabriels. CAMPA's lawyers and witnesses reemphasized residents' longstanding concerns surrounding preservation of the ecological integrity and social character of their community. Corrections officials, again, sought to balance the concerns of supporters, opponents, and the APA, with its pressing space requirements. Finally, the hearings exposed divisions within the Park Agency, as APA scientists and the Agency's lawyers and administrators came into conflict over the prison's potential environmental impacts.²¹¹

Park Agency scientists presented research warning of the prison's potential to irrevocably damage the region's ecological integrity, aesthetic features, and social character. James Hill, a soil and water engineering specialist, warned of harm to local wetlands, wildlife, and water supplies, in addition to placing increased strain on sewage and waste disposal systems. Betty Ann Hughes, a biological resources analyst for the APA, testified the Gabriels site contained ecologically sensitive wetlands that would likely be damaged by construction. Hughes offered as an alternative, more traditional "uses such as hiking, hunting, and limited timber removal," which, she argued, "would be compatible." Michael DiNunzio, a Park Agency ecologist,

²¹¹ The first two days of the hearings allowed residents and other concerned parties to make statements, many of which repeated both the critical and supportive points made earlier in the year. See, State of New York, County of Franklin, Executive Department, Adirondack Park Agency, "In the Matter of the Proposal by the New York State Department of Correctional Services, to Undertake New Land Use and Development in the Adirondack Park," Transcript of Proceedings, Monday, Nov. 16, 1981, Town Hall, Town of Harriestown, Saranac Lake, New York, and State of New York, Executive Department, County of Franklin, "In the Matter of the Proposal by New York State Department of Correctional Services to Undertake New Land Use and Development in the Adirondack Park," Dec. 14, 1981, Harriestown Town Hall, Saranac Lake, New York, Camp Gabriels Records. Nearly 400 men and women packed the room at the first hearing, and large crowds, composed primarily of opponents, attended the subsequent hearings in December and January. See, "Prison opposition voiced," *ADE*, Nov. 17, 1981; "Public hearing focuses on prison at Gabriels," *PR*, Nov. 18, 1981; and, "Prison for Gabriels debated at meeting," *ADE*, Dec. 15, 1981.

concluded with Hughes, arguing the penitentiary would create “severe conflict with the use of the Park’s natural resources by the public by the very nature of its existence and function.”

DiNunzio asserted the prison would not “exist in harmony with the relatively wild and undeveloped character of the Adirondack Park,” and would therefore constitute a “non-conforming use in the Park region.”²¹²

Park Agency lawyers and bureaucrats, on the other hand, signaled willingness to compromise with prison officials. William Curran, principal project review specialist at the APA, worried that Corrections had given no assurance “that the future visual character” of the region would be preserved. Agency counsel Robert Glennon pressed Corrections environmental consultant Jeff Buck to promise that the prison would have sufficient “vegetative or topographic buffers” to physically shield it from the surrounding community. Buck promised that “natural growth,” including shrubs, grass, and trees, would not be removed and would form a natural wall between the prison and the region.²¹³ The Park Agency in this instance narrowly interpreted the public’s sensory relationship with the prison as being based exclusively on sight. This position, of course, ran contrary to the goals of CAMPA, and the testimony of APA scientists, who feared grave threats to the ecological integrity of the local environment. Nevertheless, APA officials,

²¹² Direct testimony of James A. Hill and Betty Ann Hughes, in State of New York, County of Franklin, Adirondack Park Agency, “In the Matter of the Proposal by the New York State Department of Correctional Services to Undertake New Land Use and Development in the Adirondack Park: Camp Gabriels,” Brighton Town Hall, Brighton, New York, Jan. 5, 1982, pp. 2-4 (Hill), and pp. 2-8 (Hughes), Camp Gabriels Records; and, testimony of Michael DiNunzio, in State of New York, Executive Department, Adirondack Park Agency, “In the Matter of the Proposal of the New York State Department of Correctional Services to Undertake New Land Use and Development in the Adirondack Park,” APA Headquarters, Route 86, Ray Brook, New York, Jan. 15, 1982, pp. 171-174, Camp Gabriels Records.

²¹³ Direct testimony of William J. Curran, in Jan. 5, 1982 APA Hearing, pp. 12-13 of testimony; State of New York, County of Essex, Adirondack Park Agency, “In the Matter of Proposed New Land Use in the Adirondack Park by the Department of Correctional Services: Camp Gabriels,” Adirondack Park Agency Headquarters, Ray Brook, New York, Jan. 13, 1982, pp. 60-63, 102-104, 125-126; and, Jan. 5, 1982 APA Hearing, pp. 102-104, Camp Gabriels Records.

realizing the prison would be built, agreed that reduced visual impact would help maintain the aesthetic, ecological, and social character of the community.

CAMPA remained fervently opposed to the prison, but like the Park Agency, seemed resigned to its eventual construction. Gary Randorf, executive director of the Adirondack Council, a local environmental organization, feared further “encroachment into that area by any kind of man made structures or facilities.” Randorf also worried about the potential impacts of increased artificial lighting on both the social character and wildlife population of Gabriels. Nevertheless, most CAMPA supporters present at the hearings, including Randorf, accepted that screening the facility from public view was the best outcome they could hope for. The fact that questions of the prison’s environmental impact had been reduced to concerns about visual impact indicated critics’ awareness that they had reached the limits of their opposition. Opponents would have to hope that a barrier of natural vegetation would be strong enough to preserve their community’s social and ecological integrity.²¹⁴

Corrections leaders attending the hearings sought to reassure opponents that the correctional facility would fit seamlessly in the community. DOCS official Ramon Rodriguez commented, “it is our history within this area, that we are good neighbors,” and Jeff Buck, the department’s director of facility planning and development, noted that the state considered prisons “a very viable program in the North Country.” Rodriguez argued that struggling Adirondack residents would benefit from the ongoing overcrowding crisis with the prison’s

²¹⁴ Statement of Gary Randorf, in Jan. 5, 1982 APA Hearing, pp. 209-211; Jan. 13, 1982 APA Hearing, pp. 199-201; and Jan. 14, 1982 APA Hearing, pp. 138-141, pp. 251-254, 288-289, Camp Gabriels Records. CAMPA and its allies repeated many of their earlier arguments during the six days of APA hearings. See, Statement of Gary Randorf, in Jan. 5, 1982 APA Hearing, pp. 211-214; Statement of LeRoy Roberts, in Jan. 13, 1982 APA Hearing, pp. 27-29; Statement of Diane Peterson, in Jan. 15, 1982 APA Hearing, pp. 195-205; Jan. 14, 1982 APA Hearing, pp. 236-237, 147-148; and, Statement of Ray Fadden, in Jan. 15, 1982 APA Hearing, pp. 136-137, Camp Gabriels Records.

potential to spur economic growth and revitalization.²¹⁵ Officials repeated pledges to use as little of the property as necessary to operate the institution; to shield it from public view; to minimize ecological impacts; to add over 141 acres of land to the recreation-oriented Forest Preserve; and, finally, to allow local towns and villages to use inmate labor crews on necessary infrastructure, conservation, and public works projects.²¹⁶

Issues surrounding environmental impact that came out during the hearings transformed the tenor and direction of the debate over the Gabriels prison. The meaning of environmental impact shifted considerably as the prison debate moved into public view. As each side realized the limits of their respective positions, concerns surrounding the prison's visual and aesthetic impacts became synonymous with questions about ecological effects. Scientists warning of disastrous consequences for soil, water, vegetation, and wildlife were pushed aside as the Agency's attorneys and administrators, realizing the futility of further resistance, sought ways to reduce the facility's visual impacts. Though no one challenged the scientists' findings, APA officials, facing rooms filled with opponents, supporters, and area corrections officers, had to work with DOCS to find a middle ground acceptable to all concerned parties. Surprisingly, CAMPA signed on to this approach, joining the APA in its efforts to minimize the penitentiary's aesthetic impacts. Having reached what seemed to be a mutually satisfactory outcome for each side, Corrections officials moved quickly to open the prison in Gabriels.

²¹⁵ Statement of Ramon Rodriguez, in Nov. 16, 1981 APA Hearing, pp. 31-32; Buck, quoted in Jan. 13, 1982 APA Hearing, p. 191; Statement of DOCS Counsel George Glassanos, Jan. 5, 1982 APA Hearing, pp. 40-41; and Buck, quoted in Jan. 13, 1982 APA Hearing, pp. 161-163, Camp Gabriels Records. Two local DOCS employees spoke in favor of the Gabriels prison as a job creator at the hearings. See Dec. 14, 1981 APA Hearing, pp. 47-49, and 66-68, Camp Gabriels Records.

²¹⁶ On the issues of visual impact and vegetative buffers, see Jan. 13, 1982 APA Hearing, pp. 60-67, 102-104, 125-126, and Jan. 14, 1982 APA Hearing, pp. 251-254; on DOCS plan to add land to the Forest Preserve, see Jan. 5, 1982 APA Hearing, pp. 38-42, Camp Gabriels Records. On convict labor discussions, see, Jan. 14, 1982 APA Hearing, p. 220; Jan. 5, 1982 APA Hearing, pp. 173-175; Jan. 13, 1982 APA Hearing, pp. 56-57; and Jan. 14, 1982 APA Hearing, p. 218, Camp Gabriels Records.

Opening Camp Gabriels

By mid-January 1982, the Park's Agency's oversight hearings had ended. Prison leaders had offered what they believed was a balanced approach to meeting the state's need for more cell space while simultaneously addressing the concerns of both supporters and critics. Corrections officials counseled patience, arguing that over time, opponents, too, would reap benefits from the prison. In the short term, though, the need for space would trump most of the opposition's concerns. DOCS Commissioner Coughlin told APA Chairman Theodore Ruzow "that society's needs for prison space are immediate and critical," and Governor Carey asked state lawmakers for increased Corrections funding in his 1982 budget.²¹⁷ Though the path to the Gabriels prison seemed clear as winter turned to spring, CAMPA and the APA continued their efforts to shape the outcome.

At the end of January, CAMPA's leaders filed suit against the Corrections Department to compel compliance with the State Environmental Quality Review Act. Opponents demanded Corrections leaders prepare an environmental impact statement (EIS) *prior* to acquisition of the property, something the state had sought to avoid in light of the overcrowding "emergency." Opposition leaders again questioned the legitimacy of that claim, especially after an entire year had passed since DOCS first sought exemption from the requirement and the prison still had not

²¹⁷ Coughlin to Ruzow, Jan. 4, 1982, Camp Gabriels Records; and, "Carey aims to add housing in region," *PR*, Jan. 20, 1982. In his 1982 budget, Governor Carey asked for increased appropriations for the prisons in Dannemora and Ray Brook. The *Press Republican* noted that as of January 1982, Clinton Correctional Facility held nearly 2700 maximum-security inmates, and nearly 1300 employees, and Camp Adirondack at Ray Brook held 290 medium-security convicts. With the move to medium security status, Camp Adirondack increased its number of employees from 120 to 310. Also, by January 1982, the Federal Prison at Ray Brook held 551 men, 51 more than capacity. This number included 159 Haitian refugees. See, "New prison eyed for Franklin County site," *PR*, Jan. 28, 1982, and, "Clinton facility a major force in economy," *PR*, Jan. 28, 1982.

opened.²¹⁸ Simultaneously, Park Agency bureaucrats waded through thousands of pages of documents as they prepared to render a non-binding verdict on the prison project.

By March 1982, Park Agency officials neared conclusion of their advisory review of Camp Gabriels. APA staff analyzed and reviewed all hearing transcripts and documents related to the project, and on March 25, recommended the Agency commissioners reject the prison. The same day, APA Chairman Ruzow abandoned the cooperative tone adopted during the hearings and instead reopened the discussion about the penitentiary's impact on the Adirondacks' social character. Calling prisons in the Park "paradoxical" and "unfortunate," Ruzow lamented the legal constraints that prevented his agency from stopping the prison; the only weapon available to opponents, he noted, was "to marshal public opinion." Popular discontent, though, would be insufficient to stop the Gabriels prison. Ruzow painted a grim picture of what awaited communities like Gabriels: "First, you get minimum security. Then come the wires, the walls and the gun turrets." He feared that crimescape expansion in the Adirondacks would turn the Park "into a great big penal colony," which he called "a great big mistake."²¹⁹

At its meeting in Albany on March 26, the commissioners of the APA voted, 6-2, to reject the state's proposal to build a prison in Gabriels. The staff recommendation to the commissioners had endorsed many of CAMPA's grievances about the project:

²¹⁸ See, State of New York, Supreme Court, County of Franklin, *Citizens Against More Prisons in the Adirondacks (CAMPA), the St. Regis Property Owners Association, Lucien LeDuc and Natalie LeDuc, Kirk Peterson and Diane Peterson, Floyd Hogan and Arlene Hogan, Petitioners, against, New York State Department of Correctional Services, Thomas A. Coughlin, III, Commissioner of the New York State Department of Correctional Services, Respondents*, Notice of Petition, Jan. 26, 1982; and Kissel to Glennon, Jan. 28, 1982, Camp Gabriels Records; "Legal action aimed at Camp Gabriels prison," *PR*, Jan. 28, 1982; and, "Prison opponents file suit," *ADE*, Jan. 29, 1982.

²¹⁹ "Gabriels prison on APA agenda," *ADE*, Mar. 15, 1982; "More evidence wanted in Camp Gabriels case," *PR*, Mar. 22, 1982; "APA chief: Adirondacks may be 'penal colony,'" *ADE*, Mar. 25, 1982; "APA chief warns against prison," *PR*, Mar. 25, 1982; and, "APA committee fails to reach decision on Camp Gabriels plan," *PR*, Mar. 26, 1982.

Parks are created to increase the opportunities for appropriate park-like activities and to limit certain other activities...The Adirondack Park exists because, "...the wild forest, water, wildlife and aesthetic resources of the Park and its open space character...[are] of national and international significance." Activities and enterprises which do not further these values and, in fact, insult them cannot be permitted or entertained. Otherwise, the Park will not remain dedicated to the tenets of the State Constitution...The acquisition of private lands for discordant public activities is yet another attempt to distort the wisdom and meaning of the legislation protecting the preservation of the Park...It is inconceivable that the Agency can fulfill its responsibility to the Park, its history and its people, by recommending construction of this facility. The Agency has fought 765 kV lines, 4 lane expressways, large-head hydro installations, hazardous waste dumps and forest desecration for the long-term good of the State, and therefore the emerging image of the Park as a prime location for prisons cannot be tolerated or justified.

The commissioners also expressed concerns about public safety and impacts on public services, and acknowledged the vast local opposition to the prison. Ruzow saw it as the APA's duty to arrest crimescape expansion before it spiraled out of control: "The question comes to this: if this park accepts this [prison]...will that be an invitation for a fifth, a sixth or even a tenth prison in the park?" Corrections leaders, predictably, ignored the Park Agency's decision and moved ahead with their plan to build the prison.²²⁰

In April 1982 the Corrections Department proceeded to expand the crimescape into Gabriels. Paul Smith's College sold the property to DOCS, and the Park Agency rezoned 92.6 acres of the tract as "State Administrative," with the remainder classified as "Wild Forest," which restricted "land use to recreational and certain other activities which do not change the wild forest character." The APA promptly asked the DEC to add the Wild Forest land to the constitutionally protected Forest Preserve. At the end of April, Corrections Commissioner

²²⁰ "Proposal by the New York State Department of Correctional Services to Undertake New Land Use and Development in the Adirondack Park: Camp Gabriels: SP 81-15," APA Staff Recommendation, Mar. 25, 1982; and, State of New York, Executive Department, Adirondack Park Agency, Minutes of Meeting, Mar. 26, 1982, Camp Gabriels Records; "APA rejects prison plan," *ADE*, Mar. 26, 1982; "No to Gabriels prison—APA," *PR*, Mar. 27, 1982; "State Pushes Ahead on Camp Gabriels," *LPN*, Apr. 8, 1982; and, "News from the NYS Adirondack Park Agency," press release, Mar. 29, 1982, Camp Gabriels Records.

Thomas Coughlin visited the Adirondacks to claim victory. Recalling the hostile response he had received at the July 1981 public hearing, he chose the friendlier Saranac Lake Chamber of Commerce as the venue for a lunchtime address. Coughlin asserted correctional services provided a viable economic development model for a region unattractive to most large businesses. He noted, “Northern New York State has a future with the state service industry and I think we should take advantage of it.” Coughlin asked, “Why not provide services upstate that the state needs?” Of the opposition, the commissioner complained, “I don’t understand why people raise such a fuss.” Addressing Ruzow’s charge that the Park was becoming a penal colony, Coughlin firmly stated, “no more prisons are being planned for the Park.” And he assured local job seekers, “we have never had to close a prison.”²²¹

CAMPA and its allies, though defeated, demanded a voice in the next phase of planning, including preparation of an environmental impact statement. Having claimed emergency exemption from the SEQRA, Corrections officials in May 1982 reversed course and submitted a draft EIS for the Gabriels prison. The draft contained a rehashing of arguments, positions, and data that had been created before and during the hearings. In July, DOCS distributed copies of the draft EIS to area news media outlets, elected officials, and public agencies. CAMPA members complained when they discovered Corrections officials had not sent them copies of the document. Prison officials’ promise of public involvement in the planning process apparently extended only as far as the APA hearings. The Corrections Department submitted a final EIS,

²²¹ “Pact signed; way cleared for ‘Camp’ at Gabriels,” *ADE*, Apr. 16, 1982; “Camp Gabriels closer to reality,” *PR*, Apr. 17, 1982; “State seeks fall opening of prison,” *ADE*, Apr. 19, 1982; “News from the NYS Adirondack Park Agency,” press release, Apr. 26, 1982, Camp Gabriels Records; “Coughlin sees prisons as big employer in region,” *PR*, Apr. 29, 1982; “September opening slated for Gabriels,” *ADE*, Apr. 29, 1982; “Gabriels contract signed,” *ADE*, June 15, 1982; “State to file impact statement on prison,” *PR*, June 17, 1982; “Renovation to start on Gabriels camp site,” *ADE*, July 8, 1982; and, “Camp Gabriels may be operating by November,” *PR*, July 8, 1982.

which was effectively a facsimile of the draft, in December 1982, nearly three months after the prison opened.²²²

The state moved quickly to open Camp Gabriels. In mid-July, inmate labor crews from Adirondack Correctional began working with private contractors to convert the property for penal use. The prisoners cut grass, installed new windows, scraped and applied coats of paint, and performed plumbing work, among other tasks. Corrections officials promised all renovations, including construction of four new buildings, would be complete by November. Nevertheless, the prison opened on August 30, 1982, fifteen months after the state had first expressed interest in the property. New York opened its 36th correctional facility that day, swelling the number of inmates in the prison camp program to over 1000 statewide. Gabriels' new superintendent, John Twomey, welcomed the facility's first 26 permanent residents as they arrived by bus from ACF, promising those on hand that the penitentiary would reach its full complement of 153 inmates by year's end. With the crimescape expanded again, by the end of 1982, over 4000 prisoners would be living in the Adirondack Park's one federal and three state prisons.²²³

²²² "State moving fast on Gabriels prison," *ADE*, Oct. 1, 1981; "Notice is filed; prison set for Gabriels site," *PR*, Oct. 2, 1981; "Panel recommends prison hearing," *PR*, Oct. 16, 1981; "Prison opponents file suit," *ADE*, Jan. 29, 1982; "State to file impact statement on prison," *PR*, Jun. 17, 1982; "Report says Camp Gabriels to help with overcrowding," *ADE*, July 21, 1982; "Prison may bring 24 local jobs," *PR*, July 24, 1982; "Prison opponents riled at not receiving report," *PR*, Aug. 27, 1982; and, "APA, prison opponents file protest statements," *PR*, Aug. 28, 1982. See also, New York State Department of Correctional Services, "Camp Gabriels Correctional Facility: Draft Environmental Impact Statement," prepared by McKeown and Franz, Inc., Environmental Consultants, and The Ehrenkrantz Group, P.C., Architects and Criminal Justice Planners (Albany: DOCS, May 1982); and, New York State Department of Correctional Services, "Camp Gabriels Correctional Facility: Final Environmental Impact Statement," prepared by McKeown and Franz, Inc., Environmental Consultants, and The Ehrenkrantz Group, P.C., Architects and Criminal Justice Planners (Albany: DOCS, December 1982), Camp Gabriels Records.

²²³ "Camp Gabriels may be operating by November," *PR*, Jul. 8, 1982; "Renovation to start on Gabriels camp site," *ADE*, Jul. 8, 1982; "Gabriels opens Monday, warden named," *PR*, Aug. 28, 1982; "Camp Gabriels opens," *ADE*, Aug. 30, 1982; and, "Report says Camp Gabriels to help with overcrowding," *ADE*, Jul. 21, 1982. In July 1982, DOCS released a draft environmental impact statement for Camp Gabriels. Corrections released the final EIS for the project in December 1982. Both texts are nearly identical, and repeat many of the state's earlier claims and arguments in the project's favor. See, New York State Department of Correctional Services, Thomas A. Coughlin,

“A chance to get in touch with outside people”: Inmate Labor and a Naturalized Crimescape

With the Gabriels correctional facility fully operational, critics and supporters alike awaited the revolutionary transformations they had long anticipated. While opposition anxieties about escapes and criminal behavior materialized on several occasions, the vast majority of CAMPA’s fears never came to pass.²²⁴ In addition, the penitentiary failed to spur the economic revival planners had repeatedly promised. Many local residents found steady work in the penitentiary, and a limited number of small, service-oriented businesses opened, but the lofty goals of widespread revitalization and recovery, much as at Dannemora and Ray Brook, went largely unfulfilled. Thus, while the fears and hopes of Gabriels’ divided population quickly evaporated, the community’s incarcerated residents would unwittingly play a central role in helping to naturalize the prison’s presence in the Park.²²⁵

Corrections’ rationale for building prison camps like Gabriels was “to train the men in good work habits.” To that end, inmate labor from Camp Gabriels would serve both the practical and recreational needs of local residents. Inmates painted hallways, cleaned floors, and repaired furniture in public schools; installed insulation in low-income homes; refurbished government

III, Commissioner, “Final Environmental Impact Statement: Camp Gabriels Correctional Facility,” Dec. 1982, Camp Gabriels Records. The final sale price for the property and buildings was \$635,000.

²²⁴ Camp Gabriels’ first escape occurred in early December 1982, only about two months after the prison’s opening. See, “Gabriels residents express prison concerns,” *ADE*, Dec. 2, 1982. See also, “Gabriels convict walks out of jail,” *ADE*, Mar. 14, 1983; “Escapee’s girlfriend arrested for driving him out of area,” *ADE*, Mar. 15, 1983; “Police capture Camp Gabriels escapee,” *ADE*, Apr. 29, 1985; “Search for Camp Gabriels escapee fruitless,” *ADE*, Oct. 21, 1986; “Gabriels inmate still at large,” *ADE*, Oct. 24, 1986; “Prisoner stayed nearby,” *ADE*, Oct. 28, 1986; “Ingolia gets probation in Camp Gabriels case,” *ADE*, Sept. 14, 1994; and, “Gabriels-area officials react to escape,” *ADE*, Sept. 6, 1995. See also, “Study details prison escape data,” *PR*, May 23, 1983, and, “The bids for freedom by inmates,” *ADE*, Sept. 6, 1995.

²²⁵ The inmate labor programs that had become an integral component of New York State minimum-security prison “camps” was prominently featured in the Final Environmental Impact Statement that DOCS prepared and released in December 1982. See, “Final Environmental Impact Statement: Camp Gabriels Correctional Facility,” Part 2, pp. 3 and 16; and Part 4, pp. 4 and 11, Camp Gabriels Records.

buildings; repaired and crafted Christmas gifts for poor children; fought forest fires; built signs for public schools, municipal facilities, and recreational sites; created hand-made plaques and awards for schools, businesses, and service organizations; maintained cemeteries; cut firewood, mowed grass, and shoveled snow for numerous organizations, institutions, and local governments; and gathered surplus crops from local farms for donation to area food pantries. Prisoners at Gabriels even tapped trees on the prison property and produced maple syrup that found its way into the state's public schools and government offices. Inmate labor, therefore, played a vital role in the Adirondacks' cash-strapped counties, towns, and villages. Saranac Lake Village Manager Richard DePuy spoke for many local leaders and residents when he said, "These are things that just wouldn't get done" without the men from Camp Gabriels.²²⁶

Inmate labor left a significant imprint on the recreational infrastructure and character of the Park, helping to ease many opponents' most strongly felt anxieties. Most notably, prisoners became crucial to the success of the Saranac Lake Winter Carnival, an Adirondack tradition that began in 1898. Every winter beginning in 1983, prisoners from Gabriels cut blocks of ice from Lake Flower and performed the delicate work of building the carnival's Ice Palace, which to this day is the centerpiece of the popular event. Inmates also constructed buildings for a ski center in Saranac Lake; built trails for the International Alpo Sled Dog Races held every winter near Gabriels; helped build the Adirondack Park Visitors' Interpretive Center at Paul Smith's;

²²⁶ "Camp Gabriels opens," *ADE*, Aug. 30, 1982; "Looks for the good," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Apr. 1, 1982; "Inmate labor at Camp Gabriels keeps construction costs down," *PR*, Mar. 1, 1983; "Prison good economically," editorial, *PR*, Feb. 3, 1982; "Prison work camp welcomed," editorial, *ADE*, Feb. 4, 1982; "'Toys' Christmas project gets underway," *ADE*, Oct. 18, 1985; "Inmates create Christmas toys," *PR*, Nov. 19, 1987; "Gabriels residents express prison concerns," *ADE*, Dec. 2, 1982; "Firefighters control 10-acre blaze near Derrick," *ADE*, Aug. 14, 1985; "Hub system impact felt," *ADE*, Oct. 18-20, 1991; "Thanking the prison leaders," photo caption, *ADE*, Nov. 25, 1991; "A look inside minimum-security Camp Gabriels," *ADE*, May 7, 1994; "Work crews involved in array of projects," *ADE*, Summer 1996; "Correctional officers cite flexibility of less-restrictive facility," *ADE*, Summer 1996; "Urban inmates find work in the wild," *ADE*, Feb. 9, 2007; and, "Inmates make maple syrup," *PR*, Mar. 20, 1989.

repaired trails and chair lifts at Big Tupper ski center in Tupper Lake; constructed public cross country ski trails across the region; cleaned up local beaches; and even raised pheasants on the prison grounds for donation to fish and game clubs for recreational hunting. Convicts also helped set up summertime field day events in area communities, and prepared the Lake Placid Center for the Arts for its annual gala benefit. Still others worked on logging, trail clearance and construction, and lumber production for cabins, lean-tos, and other facilities at state campsites.²²⁷

The fruits of inmate labor from Camp Gabriels helped generate goodwill between the penitentiary and once skeptical local residents. Prisoners even raised money from their meager wages and donated over \$400 to a cash-strapped Little League team.²²⁸ Grateful residents and politicians acknowledged their work with citations, plaques, and receptions held in their honor. The inmates, too, seemed to appreciate the opportunity to work outside the prison. Matthew Quigley, a Camp Gabriels prisoner who helped build the Ice Palace in 1992, spoke highly of the labor program: “We’re getting valuable training—which will be very helpful when we get out. It

²²⁷ “Major construction planned at Camp Gabriels,” *PR*, Feb. 4, 1985; “Camaraderie warms icy work of building palace,” *PR*, Jan. 27, 1986; “Prisoners do the brunt of the ice palace work,” *LPN*, Feb. 12, 1992; “Ice Palace needs money and volunteers,” *ADE*, Jan. 15, 1985; “Prison’s ice palace workers aspire to get degrees, jobs,” *ADE*, Feb. 9, 1990; “Work crews involved in array of projects,” *ADE*, Summer 1996; “The new facility,” photo, *PR*, May 3, 1982; “Camp Gabriels may be operating by November,” *PR* July 8, 1982; “New inmates force Gabriels expansion,” *PR*, Aug. 4, 1987; “Massive sled dog effort underway; Area crews pitch in to move snow to track,” *ADE*, Jan. 21, 1983; “Big Tupper gets prison help,” *ADE*, June 27, 1986; “Happy Trails,” photo, *ADE*, Feb. 2, 1988; “Killian’s Korner: Bird-hunting prospects excellent,” *PR*, Sept. 28, 1984; “Pheasants growing up behind prison walls,” *PR*, June 18, 1986; “A look inside minimum-security Camp Gabriels,” *ADE*, May 7, 1994; “Correctional officers cite flexibility of less-restrictive facility,” *ADE*, Summer 1996; “Urban inmates find work in the wild,” *ADE*, Feb. 9, 2007; “Getting ready for the big day,” photo, *ADE*, July 17, 1991; “Inmate labor at Camp Gabriels keeps construction costs down,” *PR*, Mar. 1, 1983; “Gabriels residents express prison concerns,” *ADE*, Dec. 2, 1982; “S.L. Rescue,” *ADE*, June 12, 1984; “Inmate cuts off his arm,” *ADE*, Oct. 27, 1988; “Prison crew violates tree-cutting policies,” *ADE*, Sept. 11, 1995; “DEC responds to tree-cutting story,” letter to the editor, *ADE*, Sept. 19, 1995; and, “Don’t blame prison crews,” letter to the editor, *ADE*, Sep. 19, 1995. Some of the earliest inmate labor programs developed at Camp Gabriels involved trail clearance near the prison. Some trees were accidentally removed from state land in early 1983. See, Lucien LeDuc to Edward Lynch, APA, Apr. 25, 1983; Moore to Glassanos, Jun. 10, 1983; Glassanos to Paul Herrmann, Counsel, APA, July 12, 1983; Herrmann to Glassanos, Aug. 3, 1983; LeDuc to Glennon, Sept. 6, 1983; and, Moore to LeDuc, Sept. 14, 1983, Camp Gabriels Records.

²²⁸ “Camp Gabriels prisoners bail out Matty League team,” *ADE*, June 24, 1983.

makes you feel proud to see something you built yourself.” One of his colleagues, Douglas Lowery, said he enjoyed working in the region, and thanked “the two women who faithfully continued to bring us coffee and donuts, every morning.” Lowery added that he was touched by the fact that “civilians treated us as part of the community.” Prisoner Edwin Howell agreed, commenting that though he was paid only 90 cents per day, the work in Park communities gave him “a chance to get in touch with outside people...I see some civilians, okay, they say ‘Hi,’ I greet them back. You know, it gets you ready for the free society, communicating with other people.” Another inmate, Raymond LaBarron, remarked, “There are a lot of nice people around here.”²²⁹

Conclusion

By the late 1990s, crime rates in New York began to decline, and lawmakers relaxed the punitive narcotics laws and sentencing guidelines that had led to overcrowding. The prison population, which in 1999 peaked at 71,000 inmates held in 69 penitentiaries, also started to drop. These conditions stemmed the flow of new prisoners to places like Gabriels. Demand for inmates in Adirondack prisons persisted, though, as a means to preserve both well-paid correctional jobs and free inmate labor crews. By the mid-2000s, Gabriels was operating at less than half capacity, and the shrinking population soon made the facility obsolete. In July 2009, after two years of intense local lobbying to keep the institution open, Camp Gabriels, the community’s largest employer, closed its doors. This prison, which had opened against the wishes of the local population, closed against the wishes of the very same population. Nearly

²²⁹ “Prisoners do the brunt of the ice palace work,” *LPN*, Feb. 12, 1992; and, “One step closer to freedom,” *ADE*, Summer 1996. See also, “Camaraderie warms icy work of building palace,” *PR*, Jan. 27, 1986; “Pheasants growing up behind prison walls,” *PR*, June 18, 1986; “Prison’s ice palace workers aspire to get degrees, jobs,” *ADE*, Feb. 9, 1990; “Work crews involved in array of projects,” *ADE*, Summer 1996; “Correctional officers cite flexibility of less-restrictive facility,” *ADE*, Summer 1996; and, “Urban inmates find work in the wild,” *ADE*, Feb. 9, 2007.

every permanent and seasonal resident had developed some sort of connection to the institution and its inhabitants while it was operational.²³⁰ The inmates of Camp Gabriels had fulfilled the promise of Correctional planners, helping both to naturalize the crimescape and chip away at the rigid social barriers that had long divided insiders and outsiders in the Adirondacks' isolated communities.

Though the impressive results of nearly three decades of inmate labor helped to soften the views of men and women who had opposed the prison's opening, strangely, the penitentiary and its inmates' hard work also helped reinforce the same social order that opponents had struggled to preserve. Maintaining the social and ecological integrity of Gabriels could not be achieved merely through the permanent and seasonal habitation of its affluent residents. The community's social structure, to large degree dependent upon the ecological integrity and aesthetic qualities of

²³⁰ See, DOCS, "DOCS Fact Sheet: Prison Closure," Jan. 2008, pp. 1-2; "New York to Close Correctional Facilities as Part of Continuing Effort to Right-Size State Prison System," Jan. 11, 2008; Governor Eliot Spitzer, 2007 Report to the People of New York State," Jan. 9, 2008, pp. 43-46; "Camp Gabriels closing in January 2009," *PR*, Jan. 12, 2008; "Awful news about Camp Gabriels," editorial, *PR*, Jan. 12, 2008; "Camp Gabriels to close within a year," *ADE*, Jan. 14, 2008; "Tradition of community service at Camp Gabriels," *PR*, Jan. 14, 2008; "Prison closing fallout continues," *PR*, Jan. 14, 2008; "Camp Gabriels employees speak out about prison closing," *PR*, Jan. 16, 2008; "What can be done about Camp Gabriels?" *ADE*, Jan. 16, 2008; "Town assesses impact of prison closure," *PR*, Jan. 22, 2008; "Rally to stave off Camp Gabriels prison closure," *ADE*, Jan. 22, 2008; "Rallying to stop prison's closure," *ADE*, Jan. 25, 2008; "Prison-closure decision protested," *PR*, Jan. 25, 2008; "Plan to Close Prisons Stirs Anxiety in Rural Towns," *NYT*, Jan. 27, 2008; "Prison-closing plan gets public hearing," *PR*, Feb. 1, 2008; "Chamber: Closing Camp Gabriels would cost local economy \$37M/year," *ADE*, Feb. 1, 2008; "Inmates reflect on what may be Camp Gabriels' last ice palace effort," *ADE*, Feb. 1, 2008; "Prison Closings Trouble Upstate New York," *National Public Radio*, Mar. 4, 2008; "Senate budget funds Camp Gabriels; Assembly not in accord," *PR*, Mar. 17, 2008; "In late decision, Camp Gabriels to stay open," *PR*, Mar. 31, 2008; "Camp Gabriels to remain open," *ADE*, Apr. 1, 2008; "Albany abuzz at union rally," *PR*, Apr. 1, 2008; "New programs suggested for minimum-security prison," *PR*, July 24, 2008; "Senators visit Gabriels," *PR*, Mar. 5, 2009; "Camp Gabriels to Close," *PR*, Mar. 30, 2009; "Attempt to save Camp Gabriels fails," *PR*, Apr. 2, 2009; "Reuse options for Camp Gabriels examined," *PR*, Apr. 14, 2009; "Camp Gabriels to close July 1," *PR*, Apr. 15, 2009; "Conversion of fated Camp Gabriels seen as uncertain," *PR*, May 1, 2009; "State issues plan for Camp Gabriels reuse," *PR*, Oct. 1, 2009; "No takers for Camp Gabriels," *ADE*, Oct. 1, 2009; "Local officials rap camp re-use effort," *PR*, Oct. 3, 2009; "Camp Gabriels plan dim," *ADE*, Oct. 3, 2009; "Camp Gabriels up for sale," *PR*, Aug. 30, 2010; "No bids for Camp Gabriels," *PR*, Nov. 18, 2010; "Land use issues arise at Camp Gabriels," *PR*, Jan. 11, 2011; "Prison closure still having impact on Brighton," *PR*, Feb. 14, 2011; and "Camp Gabriels site eyed for veterans cemetery," *PR*, Oct. 17, 2011. In March 2014, the State Office of General Services (OGS) approved sale of Camp Gabriels for \$166,000 to two Hudson Valley investors who plan to renovate the facility for use as a summer camp and winter educational retreat. See, "Camp Gabriels purchase approved," *PR*, Mar. 23, 2014; "Big crowd turns out for Gabriels reuse session," *PR*, Apr. 3, 2014; and, "Camp Hamachane emerges from Camp Gabriels," *PR*, Apr. 3, 2014.

its environment, required constant building, maintenance, and repair. In many cases, prisoners found themselves doing this work, and elite residents expressed gratitude because that labor helped cement their perception of elevated status in the community. So, while it seemed that inmate labor helped naturalize the crimescape in Gabriels, it simultaneously reinforced the region's rigid social and racial hierarchies as well. Affluent residents had unwittingly incorporated the prison and its unfree inhabitants into their vision of the Park's meaning, and Gabriels inmates, grateful for the chance to work outdoors, unfailingly obliged.

Chapter 4
“Serenity shortlived”? Mass Incarceration and the Legacies of Mining in Lyon Mountain, 1967-2011

Introduction

Clarence Jefferson Miller, the author’s great-uncle, was caught unaware on a warm day in July 1963 when a 250-pound rock inside Republic Steel’s mines at Lyon Mountain broke loose, killing him instantly.²³¹ Less than four years later, Lyon Mountain’s iron ore mines, the centerpiece of local life in northern Clinton County since the 1790s, closed for good. After nearly two centuries of corporate management, Lyon Mountain acquired control of its natural resources and destiny. Efforts to revitalize the hamlet by harnessing the productive capacity of nature, however, proved elusive. After the failure of numerous redevelopment schemes, in 1983 the Corrections Department arrived at Lyon Mountain’s door. In contrast to Ray Brook and Gabriels, however, the fates of the crimescape and Lyon Mountain had long been intertwined. Situated twelve miles west of Dannemora, and home to many DOCS employees, Lyon Mountain’s transformation from mining to prison town prompted little uproar. Though some feared disruption of a serenity that had taken hold since the mines closed, time would prove the critics wrong.²³² Far from being a chaotic corollary to the notoriously unstable and unsafe

²³¹ “Iron Worker Killed at Mine,” *PR*, Jul. 31, 1963; and, “Coroner Scores Inadequate Warning Signs At Railroad Crossing Where Two Were Killed,” *PR*, Aug. 21, 1963. See also, Lawrence Gooley, *Out of the Darkness: In Memory of Lyon Mountain’s Iron Men* (Peru, N.Y.: Bloated Toe Enterprises, 2005).

²³² “Lyon Mountain’s serenity shortlived,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Jun. 20, 1983.

mines, the prison served as a stabilizing force that aided Lyon Mountain in its transition away from mining and toward an uncertain future.²³³

The official rationales for opening a prison in Lyon Mountain closely paralleled those offered for the facilities in Dannemora, Ray Brook, Gabriels, and later in Tupper Lake. In addition to alleviating chronic overcrowding, correctional planners repeated well-worn pledges to spur economic and social revitalization in the depressed community. As at Ray Brook and Gabriels, prison officials laboring under “emergency” conditions sought an unused facility that could be cheaply and quickly repurposed for penal use. Lyon Mountain’s fifty-year-old public school campus, shuttered in 1981, seemed to fit the bill.

In contrast to the obstacles encountered in Ray Brook and Gabriels and difficulties on the horizon in Tupper Lake, the Corrections Department found in Lyon Mountain a community naturally amenable for crimescape expansion. Its close proximity to the maximum-security prison in Dannemora had bred a certain comfort and familiarity among residents. Generations of Lyon Mountaineers not engaged in mining had worked in corrections, and even locals not employed at Dannemora knew friends or family who were. By 1983, then, Lyon Mountain had long been implicated in New York’s crimescape, a condition that would smooth the process of integrating the facility into the community.

Significantly, residents’ relationships with the Adirondack environment posed no threat to the designs of correctional planners. Locals had for decades understood nature primarily through the work of mining: they blasted holes, dug tunnels, and built shafts in mountainsides; cut and burned acres of forest; rerouted streams and filled in wetlands; erected a vast, company-

²³³ In over a century of industrial mining in Lyon Mountain and its environs, at least 162 miners lost their lives on the job. Thousands more suffered injuries and disabilities. See Gooley, *Out of the Darkness*.

owned town; installed rail lines; and extracted tons of iron ore to feed the nation's steel industry. Predating the creation of the Forest Preserve and Adirondack Park, mining on private lands in Lyon Mountain persisted well into the twentieth century, contributing to a community identity centered on natural resource extraction. Lyon Mountain thus bore no resemblance to other Park communities such as Ray Brook, Gabriels, and Tupper Lake, whose aesthetically pleasing landscapes invited an influx of tourists and second homeowners. Instead, mining companies exercising total control over the region's natural resources, along with an army of immigrant workers, were the most prominent outsiders to call Lyon Mountain home.²³⁴

The industrial transformation of Lyon Mountain's nature mediated residents' understanding of bodily and environmental health. While many locals enjoyed the popular pastimes of hunting, fishing, and camping, the environmental degradation of their hometown required travel to less developed locales to capture the fish and deer vital to their diets. The mines themselves, where most men spent their workdays, were a constant source of distress, danger, and disease. Explosions, cave-ins, and all sorts of unforeseen accidents could bring death or disability at any time, while inhalation of dirt and dust might portend long-term respiratory ailments. Finally, the economic strain resulting from the mines' closure was

²³⁴ On industrialization, mining, and steel production, see, David Brody, *Steelworkers in America: The Nonunion Era* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1970); Brody, *Workers in Industrial America: Essays on the Twentieth Century Struggle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Mark Chambers, "River of Gray Gold: Cultural and Material Changes in the Land of Ores, Country of Minerals, 1719-1839," Ph.D. diss., Stony Brook University, 2012; Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Herbert Gutman, *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History* (New York: Knopf, 1976); Gutman, *Power and Culture: Essays on the American Working Class* (New York: Pantheon, 1987); Donald Hardesty, *Mining Archaeology in the American West: A View from the Silver State* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010); Andrew Isenberg, *Mining California: An Ecological History* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2006); Maury Klein, *The Genesis of Industrial America, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Bruce Laurie, *Artisans Into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth Century America* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Walter Licht, *Industrializing America: The Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); and, David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865-1925* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989);

seconded only by the mountains of ore tailings, polluted waterways, and broken infrastructure Republic Steel left behind. This unhealthy environment alienated potential visitors, private investors, and residents alike.

By the 1980s, then, there seemed to be few meaningful bonds linking local residents to their environment. Republic Steel and its predecessors had bestowed a legacy of environmental destruction matched only by their neglect of the community's public services and infrastructure. In addition to aquatic pollution, mountains of unsecured ore sand, ravaged forestlands, and the dangers of abandoned industrial infrastructure, Republic Steel left the hamlet with no recreational space, unreliable water and sewage systems, crumbling sidewalks and roads, and an empty school that had once been filled with miners' children. Residents' alienation both from nature and their own community provided Corrections an unusual opportunity to expand the crimescape once more.

Nevertheless, a sense of possibility accompanying the transformation of Lyon Mountain's natural resources from private to public control tempered the harsh realities of postindustrial life. After the mines closed in 1967, local residents and politicians pursued a variety of development alternatives designed to exploit the community's natural bounty. The hamlet's remote locale, aging population, inadequate public services, and scarred landscape figured prominently in private capital's reluctance to put down stakes in Lyon Mountain. More importantly, efforts toward reindustrialization revealed shifting understandings of nature within the community. Residents asserted a vernacular knowledge of their natural resources' value that challenged town officials' efforts to sell them to the highest bidder. Locals' rejection of private development revealed a transformed understanding of public health, linking bodily and environmental well being to the quality and quantity of a firm's potential investment.

Long ensconced in the crimescape, Lyon Mountain dwellers readily welcomed the massive public investments to flow from redeveloping their shuttered school. With resources unmatched by private capital, the state's proposal also dangled the prospect of reversing the hamlet's environmental and infrastructural decline. Viewed as a replacement for neither the school nor the mines, residents looked on the correctional facility as a potential catalyst for the restoration of both community and environmental health. High-paying jobs, free inmate labor, and a constant flow of public funds, locals hoped, might help undo the devastation wrought by two centuries of capitalist exploitation and abuse. Residents would measure the prison's success not by its ability to recreate Lyon Mountain's boom years, but by its potential to rebalance the ruptured relationships between locals and their damaged environment.

Though the planning of Lyon Mountain's prison followed the same legal and regulatory pathways as those proposed for Ray Brook, Gabriels, and Tupper Lake, a host of factors converged to smooth the transition process. The project never attracted controversy, owing to the town's history with the crimescape, a supportive population, and no public opposition. In a hamlet whose population had dropped from 3500 to 800 in less than a century, and where 80 percent of residents were retired, many viewed the correctional facility as the only means of community survival. Furthermore, correctional planners had taken lessons from the challenges of Ray Brook and Gabriels. First, they benefited from Lyon Mountain's lack of affluent homeowners and seasonal visitors who had been instrumental in opposition organizing elsewhere. Second, planners adopted a cooperative posture toward APA and DEC regulators whose oversight would shape the final outcome. Finally, the Corrections Department, buttressed by the Court of Appeals' July 1983 ruling in *Board of Visitors—Marcy Psychiatric Center, et al., v. Coughlin*, began conversion work before the regulatory wheels had a chance to turn.

Accordingly, Lyon Mountain's first prisoners arrived in December 1983, three months *before* the first public hearings and seven months before its official opening.

Corrections officials' promises regarding the Lyon Mountain prison largely matched the hopes and expectations of the hamlet's residents. The facility's modest economic impact allowed most remaining locals to stay and raise their families in or near their hometown; security concerns were not an issue as only one inmate escaped in its nearly three decades of operation; and the labor provided by prisoners on local public works projects proved invaluable. More importantly, though, the prison's 1984 opening spurred town officials to take up the work of natural resource development and community revitalization pushed by homeowners since the mines closed in 1967. In this sense, then, Lyon Mountain's state prison functioned as a bridge between the devastation of the past and the uncertainty of the future.

“Among the world's purest ores”: Mining Lyon Mountain, ca. 1798-1967

Situated in northwestern Clinton County, Lyon Mountain for nearly two centuries attracted swarms of prospectors, migrants, European immigrants, and mining companies grasping at the iron ore that lay in its mountains and hillsides. While the American fleet had drawn ore from the Lake Champlain shoreline during the Revolution, it was not until the late 1790s that extraction commenced in the settlement known originally as Rogersfield. Into the mid-nineteenth century, industrial activity involved only a small number of prospectors mining ore from surface outcroppings and taking their wares for processing to forges along the Saranac

River. Construction of new rail lines across the North Country portended future industrial expansion in the decades after the Civil War.²³⁵

Capitalists' discovery of northern New York's vast supply of untapped natural resources coincided with the corporate industrialization and immigration of the postwar era. Rich stores of iron ore sat astride thousands of acres of forestland, dozens of freshwater lakes, rivers, and streams, and rail lines primed for future expansion. In 1873, a consortium of investors established the Chateaugay Ore & Iron Company (COIC), a corporation controlling 100,000 acres in Clinton and Franklin counties, including Rogersfield. COIC vertically integrated its operations, establishing control over local transportation networks, importing modern mining technology, and erecting company-owned towns. To maximize profits and promote efficiency, COIC consolidated production at Belmont, a planned village built on the Chateaugay River in 1875. Simultaneously, the firm's mining hub at Lyon Mountain steadily grew, providing ever-increasing amounts of raw ore for processing at Belmont.²³⁶

Lyon Mountain and Belmont became the twin axes on which COIC's financial security turned. The Delaware & Hudson Railroad (D&H) acquired majority control of the firm, allowing for plant improvements, more employees, and increased mining and production to feed the burgeoning steel industry. The company's environmental impacts, though, were tremendous: thousands of acres of trees felled, leading to fires, flooding, and pollution, along with the rapid

²³⁵ "Iron Mining Flourished in Area as Early as 1798," *PR*, Jul. 7, 1964; "Benedict Arnold Drew Ore from Port Henry for Fleet," *PR*, Jul. 7, 1964; "Republic Steel closing Lyon Mt. mine June 1," *PR*, Apr. 25, 1967; "Lyon Mountain...proud past recalled," *PR*, Dec. 4, 1971; "Only massive tailings pile hints of once bustling mine," *PR*, Sept. 18, 1988; and, Lawrence Gooley, *Lyon Mountain: The Tragedy of a Mining Town* (Peru, N.Y.: Bloated Toe Publishing, 2004), pp. 1-4.

²³⁶ "Republic Steel closing Lyon Mt. mine June 1," *PR*, Apr. 25, 1967; "Lyon Mountain...proud past recalled," *PR*, Dec. 4, 1971; "Only massive tailings pile hints of once bustling mine," *PR*, Sept. 18, 1988; and, Gooley, *Lyon Mountain*, pp. 4-7.

spread of disease in overcrowded company towns like Lyon Mountain. Nevertheless, by 1880, the North Country produced one quarter of the nation's iron ore, and the forge at Belmont was the world's largest. By the time Lyon Mountain's population peaked at 3500 in 1887, the unsightly mining center had become a popular stop for affluent tourists.²³⁷

COIC's bubble, like all others, eventually burst. Lyon Mountain's first prize for quality iron ore at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair coincided with increasing competition from Minnesota and the financial meltdown of the 1890s, which together decimated the firm's balance sheet. A decade of financial turmoil took its toll, allowing the financially solvent D&H to seize total control of COIC in 1903. New surveys of the region revealed vast, untapped veins of ore lying deep inside Lyon Mountain. With unlimited financial resources, the railroad proceeded to reindustrialize the North Country with operations now centered in Lyon Mountain.²³⁸

In the first half of the twentieth century, Lyon Mountain became a prototypical company town. The nineteenth century empire of forges, kilns, forests, and mines connected by rail lines and waterways gave way to a tightly centralized operation. Desperate for a labor supply willing to do dangerous work for low pay, corporate leaders, armed with promises of free housing and other amenities, recruited immigrants from across Europe, Canada, and Mexico, along with a small number of African Americans. Ethnic enclaves sprang up, fueling interethnic and racial

²³⁷ "Republic Steel closing Lyon Mt. mine June 1," *PR*, Apr. 25, 1967; "Lyon Mountain...proud past recalled," *PR*, Dec. 4, 1971; "Only massive tailings pile hints of once bustling mine," *PR*, Sept. 18, 1988; and, Gooley, *Lyon Mountain*, pp. 7-33.

²³⁸ "Republic Steel closing Lyon Mt. mine June 1," *PR*, Apr. 25, 1967; "Lyon Mountain...proud past recalled," *PR*, Dec. 4, 1971; "Only massive tailings pile hints of once bustling mine," *PR*, Sept. 18, 1988; and, Gooley, *Lyon Mountain*, pp. 34-41. On the Mesabi iron range, see, Paul de Kruif, *Seven Iron Men: The Merritts and the Discovery of the Mesabi Range* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007); Marvin Lampa, *Minnesota's Iron Country: Rich Ore, Rich Lives* (Lake Superior Port Cities, 2004); Charles Kenneth Leith, *The Mesabi iron-bearing district of Minnesota* (Ulan Press, 2012); and, David Walker, *Iron Frontier: The Discovery and Early Development of Minnesota's Three Ranges* (Minneapolis: Minnesota Historical Society, 2004).

conflicts at work and in the neighborhood. Gangs formed, the mafia established a foothold, and by the 1910s, Lyon Mountain had a reputation as a profitable but ungovernable community. With few law enforcement resources, in 1919 the company hired John R. Linney, a former Scranton coal miner, as superintendent at Lyon Mountain. Through a mixture of authoritarianism and welfare capitalism, Linney restored a sense of order and stability that allowed COIC to rule Lyon Mountain with absolute authority.²³⁹

The Great Depression decimated both COIC and the D&H, opening the door for Republic Steel, which acquired the operations at Lyon Mountain in 1939.²⁴⁰ Defense contracts made the hamlet a boomtown again, as facilities hummed with activity twenty-four hours a day during World War II. Wartime prosperity, though, gave way to both the familiar realities of hard work in a hazardous environment and painful truths portending Lyon Mountain's slide toward oblivion.²⁴¹ Collective bargaining and long strikes provided little protection against the seasonal

²³⁹ "Republic Steel closing Lyon Mt. mine June 1," *PR*, Apr. 25, 1967; "Lyon Mountain...proud past recalled," *PR*, Dec. 4, 1971; "Only massive tailings pile hints of once bustling mine," *PR*, Sept. 18, 1988; and, Gooley, *Lyon Mountain*, pp. 41-75. On immigrant life in Lyon Mountain, see Gooley, *Lyon Mountain*, chapter 3, and on Italian mafia activities, chapter 6. On welfare capitalism, see Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Gary Gerstle, *Working Class Americanism: The Politics of Labor in a Textile City, 1914-1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); and, Gerald Zahavi, *Workers, Managers, and Welfare Capitalism: The Shoeworkers and Tanners of Endicott Johnson, 1890-1950* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988). Linney published two books during his 25-year tenure in Lyon Mountain. The first, *A History of the Chateaugay Ore and Iron Company* (1934), was a hagiographic portrayal of his leadership whose publication coincided with an inspection of Lyon Mountain by his bosses at the D&H Railroad. The second text, *The Touch of Human Hands* (Dorrance, 1947), is a fictional account of daily life in an Adirondack mining community, which by all accounts is a pseudo-autobiographical account of Linney's tenure as mine superintendent at Lyon Mountain.

²⁴⁰ On the Republic Steel takeover of Lyon Mountain, see, "Republic Steel Now Operating Lyon Mt. Mines," *The North Countryman* (hereafter, *NC*), Aug. 3, 1939; "Republic Steel Leases Mines at Lyon Mountain," *Chateaugay Record* (hereafter, *CR*), Aug. 4, 1939; "Lyon Mountain Feeling Effects Of New Activities," *CR*, Sept. 1, 1939; and, "Lyon Mountain Booms As Mines Reopen with 500 Workers; New Plant At Port Henry Will Care For Lyon Mountain Ore," *CR*, Dec. 1, 1939.

²⁴¹ On workplace hazards after 1939, see, "Miner Escapes Serious Hurt In Mine Blast; Ernest Brusso Suffers Painful Eye Irritation After Dynamite Discharge," *CR*, Mar. 14, 1941; "H. Dumont Dies From Explosion In Lyon Mt. Mine," *CR*, Oct. 17, 1941; "Cave-in Traps 3 Men in Lyon Mountain Mine," *CR*, Nov. 7, 1941; "F.L. Woodward Is Injured In Mine Accident; Lyon Mountain Man Brought to Local Hospital After Mishap On Tuesday," *CR*, Jul. 7, 1944; "Raymond Brusso Hurt When Chunk Of Ore Falls On Foot," *CR*, Sept. 6, 1946; "Local Man Injured In Mining

layoffs and irregular employment common in the postwar era.²⁴² Ironically, as the mines' future became uncertain amid waning demand, Republic Steel invested millions in new technology and

Saw Mishap," *CR*, Nov. 1, 1946; "Joseph Garsaw, 28, Dies From Injuries In Mine Accident," *CR*, May 11, 1951; "Ralph Porter Killed In Mining Mishap At Lyon Mountain," *CR*, Jun. 1, 1951; "Injured In Mines," *CR*, Jan. 11, 1952; "Republic Steel Boasts Good Accident Record," *PR*, Feb. 11, 1954; "Republic Steel Foremen Hurt in Mine," *PR*, Dec. 30, 1955; "Miner Killed Instantly in Lyon Mt. Mine," *PR*, Mar. 15, 1956; "Lyon Mountain Miner Killed in 200-Foot Plunge," *PR*, Jan. 23, 1957; "Coroner Rules Death of Miner Accidental," *PR*, Jan. 31, 1957; "Mine Explosion in Lyon Mountain," *ADE*, Apr. 22, 1960; "Iron Worker Killed at Mine," *PR*, Jul. 31, 1963; "Coroner Scores Inadequate Warning Signs At Railroad Crossing Where Two Were Killed," *PR*, Aug. 21, 1963; "Father of Nine Killed in Iron Mine Cave-In," *PR*, Apr. 7, 1965; "Ellenburg Man Killed in Mine Mishap," *NC*, Oct. 20, 1966; and, "Under Lyon Mountain, Deadly Accidents 'used to happen all the time,'" *ADE*, Jan. 26, 2006. Also, see chapter 5 of Gooley, *Lyon Mountain*, and Gooley, *Out of the Darkness*.

²⁴² On labor relations at Lyon Mountain under Republic Steel, see, "Northern New York Industries Will Be Affected by Strike," *CR*, Dec. 21, 1945; "Mining Operations Resumed At Mineville Following Walkout," *CR*, Dec. 31, 1945; "Northern Plants May Be Closed By Strikes," *CR*, Jan. 4, 1946; "Sintering Plant, Mill At Port Henry May Reopen," *CR*, Jan. 18, 1946; "Union Head Says Miners' Demands Are Not Changed," *CR*, Jun. 21, 1946; "Lyon Mountain Iron Mine To Remain Closed As Union Rejects Company Offer; Mine May Remain Closed For Eight Year Period," *CR*, Jul. 26, 1946; "Iron Mine Strike Ended," *New York Times* (hereafter, *NYT*), Jul. 29, 1946; "Republic Steel Co. Workers Return to Mines Monday as 6 Month Strike Ends," *CR*, Aug. 2, 1946; Republic Steel advertisement, *CR*, Aug. 2, 1946; "Republic Steel Reopens Long Idle Mine at Fisher Hill," *CR*, Feb. 28, 1947; "Large Layoff Today At Lyon Mountain," *CR*, Jun. 17, 1949; "Unemployment Hits High Figure Here; Layoff At Mines And Sheffields," *CR*, Jul. 1, 1949; "350 Republic Steel Employees Laid-Off At Lyon Mountain," *CR*, Oct. 7, 1949; "Iron Mines Extend Work," *NYT*, Aug. 7, 1950; "100 More Men Are Recalled At Lyon Mountain," *CR*, Aug. 18, 1950; "Republic Reopens Two Iron Mines," *CR*, Mar. 9, 1951; "650 Lyon Mt. Miners Laid Off Tomorrow," *ADE*, Apr. 3, 1952; "Republic Steel Corp. Mine Lays Off 177 Men," *PR*, Mar. 13, 1954; "Lyon Mt. Mine to Shut Down Friday," *PR*, Mar. 16, 1954; "Lyon Mt. Mine Faces Closing," *ADE*, Mar. 16, 1954; "Second Upstate Mine to Close," *NYT*, Mar. 17, 1954; "Lyon Mountain Mine Expected to Be Reopened in 30 Days," *PR*, Mar. 25, 1954; "Upturn in Steel Production May Affect Closed Mines in Area," *PR*, Mar. 29, 1954; "Lyon Mt. Mine to Reopen 'around April 15,'" *PR*, Apr. 8, 1954; "Upstate Iron Mines to Reopen," *NYT*, Apr. 10, 1954; "Republic Steel Reopens Furnace as Business Improves," *PR*, Apr. 15, 1954; "Mines Will Reopen at Lyon Mt. Today," *ADE*, Apr. 16, 1954; "330 To Return to Jobs at Lyon Mountain Mines Monday," *PR*, Apr. 16, 1954; "Miners, Republic Near Pact Agreement," *PR*, Jul. 2, 1954; "3 Largest Employers Not on Full Shifts," *PR*, Jul. 20, 1954; "Lyon Mt. Mine to Shut Down 2 Months," *PR*, Jul. 30, 1954; "Republic Steel Closing Mine," *NYT*, Jul. 30, 1954; "Ore Shipped from Canadian Mines to Republic Steel," *PR*, Aug. 4, 1954; "Steel Official Explains Canadian Ore Mining in Face of Local Layoff," *PR*, Aug. 5, 1954; "U.S. Steel Companies Get First Shipment of Canadian Ore," *PR*, Aug. 6, 1954; "Lyon Mountain Mine to Employ 300 on Sept. 13 Re-Opening," *PR*, Sept. 1, 1954; "Adirondack Iron Miners Join in Novena for 'Just and Speedy' End of Steel Strike," *NYT*, Jul. 9, 1956; "Area Miners Await Return to Work Date," *PR*, Jul. 30, 1956; "1100 North Country Miners Return to Work Monday," *PR*, Aug. 4, 1956; "65 Miners Laid Off in New Cut," *PR*, Nov. 2, 1957; "New Work Cut Affects 700 Republic Steel Employees," *PR*, Nov. 16, 1957; "Republic Steel Announces Third Major Work Cutback," *PR*, Dec. 7, 1957; "210 Employees Idled as Lyon Mountain Mines Close," *PR*, Dec. 23, 1957; "Republic Steel Closes Lyon Mt. Mine," *ADE*, Dec. 23, 1957; "Republic Steel Cuts Back," *NYT*, Dec. 24, 1957; "Idled Miners to Hear Talk," *PR*, May 8, 1958; "Republic Hiring Plans Still in Doubt," *PR*, Aug. 15, 1958; "Republic to Begin 'Limited Operations' at Port Henry," *PR*, Aug. 19, 1958; "500 Republic Steel Employees Go Back to Work Tuesday," *PR*, Aug. 29, 1958; "Strike Spawns Unemployment in Areas of U.S.; Iron Mines Quiet in Adirondacks," *ADE*, Jul. 16, 1959; "Ike Invokes Taft-Hartley Act to Stop 87-Day Steel Strike; Lyon Mt., Mineville Strikers 'Ready to Go,'" *PR*, Oct. 10, 1959; "Mineville, Lyon Mt. Miners Back to Work," *ADE*, Nov. 10, 1959; "Lyon Mt. Mines to Re-Open Oct. 3," *ADE*, Sept. 16, 1960; "Republic Steel Closes at Lyon Mt.," *ADE*, Nov. 11, 1960; "Lyon Mountain Iron Works Are Closed Down Again," *PR*, Nov. 11, 1960; "Iron Mines to Close Again," *NYT*, Nov. 12, 1960; "Seeking New Industry is Urgent Matter," editorial, *PR*, Jan. 28, 1961; "Lyon Mt. Men Await News on Job," *PR*, Feb. 1961; "In Lyon Mountain: Miners Await the Call Back to Work," *PR*, Feb. 1961; "Steel Mine to Reopen at Lyon Mt.," *PR*, Feb. 11, 1961; "200 Miners

facilities in its North Country operations.²⁴³ Nevertheless, as contracts dwindled and the workforce plummeted, local residents, politicians, and civic leaders began to prepare for a future without mining.

Return to Republic Steel Works,” *PR*, Feb. 20, 1961; “Lyon Mt. Seen Working Through May 1,” *PR*, Apr. 7, 1961; “Mine Will Reopen With 4-Day Week,” *PR*, Apr. 1961; “Mine Closing Down at Lyon Mountain,” *PR*, Apr. 29, 1961; “Republic Steel Recalls 400 to Mines,” *PR*, Jun. 7, 1961; “Mine Activity Still Down,” *PR*, Jun. 15, 1961; “Republic Steel to Curtail,” *NYT*, Aug. 30, 1961; “Republic Steel Reopening Port Henry Iron Mines,” *PR*, Oct. 23, 1961; “Mine Reopens,” *ADE*, Nov. 24, 1961; “Lyon Mountain Mine to Reopen But One at Port Henry to Close,” *PR*, Jun. 26, 1962; “Mine to Suspend,” *ADE*, Aug. 29, 1962; “Iron Ore Mine to Close Again,” *PR*, Aug. 29, 1962; “Hanna Iron Ore Mine in Michigan to Shut,” *NYT*, Aug. 29, 1962; “Iron Ore Mine Due to Re-Open,” *PR*, Oct. 30, 1962; “Lyon Mountain Miners Vote to Take Bonus Pay Cut; 230 to Return to Jobs,” *PR*, Jan. 3, 1963; “Mineville Union Workers Indignant Over Claim They Like ‘Idle State,’” *PR*, Feb. 9, 1963; “Let’s Adjust So We Stay Alive Too,” editorial, *PR*, Mar. 26, 1963; “3 Upstate Plants Announce Closings,” *NYT*, Aug. 31, 1963 and, “Republic to Close Lyon Mt. Mines,” *ADE*, Aug. 1965.

²⁴³ On Republic Steel investments in Lyon Mountain, see, “Republic Steel Now Operating Lyon Mt. Mines,” *NC*, Aug. 3, 1939; “Republic Steel Leases Mines At Lyon Mountain,” *CR*, Aug. 4, 1939; “Lyon Mountain Feeling Effects Of New Activities,” *CR*, Sept. 1, 1939; “Lyon Mountain Booms As Mines Reopen With 500 Workers; New Plant At Port Henry Will Care For Lyon Mountain Ore,” *CR*, Dec. 1, 1939; “Report Refers to Mines At Lyon Mountain,” *CR*, Mar. 22, 1940; “Republic Steel Announces Vacation Plan,” *CR*, Mar. 29, 1940; “New Mine Boom Expected At Lyon Mountain,” *CR*, May 10, 1940; “Shaft To Be Sunk Another 600 Feet At Lyon Mountain,” *CR*, Dec. 20, 1940; “Republic Will Expand Mines At Lyon Mountain; And Mineville—Connects With Recent Purchase of New Furnace At Troy,” *CR*, Feb. 14, 1941; “New York’s Adirondack Wilderness Has Big Come-back in Iron Mining,” *CR*, Nov. 5, 1943; “Sale Of Iron Company Approved,” *CR*, Jan. 7, 1944; “Lyon Mountain Residents Pay Affectionate Tribute To The Joseph R. Linneys,” *CR*, Mar. 3, 1944; “Biography Of Joseph Robert Linney, Adirondack District Manager, Republic Steel Corp.,” *CR*, Feb. 2, 1945; “J.R. Linney Resigns; Son To Manage Divided District,” *CR*, Mar. 9, 1945; “Mineville School Receives Gift From Republic Steel Corp.,” *CR*, Aug. 3, 1945; “40 Millions Spent In Adirondack Iron Mines Since 1939,” *CR*, Sept. 28, 1945; “Republic Steel Plans Expansion,” *CR*, May 2, 1947; “Miners At Lyon Mountain On Vacation,” *CR*, Jul. 4, 1947; “Republic Steel’s Oring Mines Set Record For March,” *ADE*, Apr. 13, 1948; “Employment At Mines Still Gains,” *CR*, Sept. 15, 1950; “Republic Steel Acquires New Mining Properties in Minn.; R.J. Linney Gen. Man.,” *NC*, Oct. 12, 1950; “Daddy, Draw Me a Freedom” (Republic Steel advertisement), *ADE*, Feb. 5, 1952; “Republic Steel Corp. Made an All-Time Record in Wages to Employees,” *NC*, Mar. 5, 1953; “Mining Operations at Port Henry Expanded by Republic Steel,” *PR*, Apr. 11, 1953; “Revolutionary War Mining District Furnishes Ore for Newest Type Iron,” *ADE*, Aug. 11, 1953; “\$8.8 Million in Wages Paid to Adirondack Republic Steel Help,” *PR*, Mar. 1, 1954; “Republic Steel Head Outlines Developments,” *PR*, May 21, 1954; “Employment at Pre-War Figure, Lyon Mountain Mine Official Says,” *PR*, Jun. 15, 1954; “Republic Steel Urges Employees to Write Letters to Europe,” *PR*, Oct. 12, 1954; “Let’s Talk About \$130 Million, and What it Means to Your Community” (Republic Steel advertisement), *PR*, Oct. 4, 1955; “‘Safety Day’ to be Observed by Employees of Republic Steel,” *PR*, Oct. 4, 1955; “Chateaugay District of Republic Steel Wins Safety Award,” *PR*, Oct. 17, 1955; “Republic Contributes \$1000 to Workshop,” *PR*, Dec. 29, 1955; “Republic Steel Wage Payments Rise in ’55,” *PR*, Jan. 31, 1956; “Jim Marsh is Applying for a Job Costing \$25,000” (Republic Steel advertisement), *ADE*, Feb. 9, 1956; “Republic Steel Completes Huge Transfer of Residential Property in 2 Counties,” *PR*, Dec. 7, 1956; “109 Parcels of Property Sold in Lyon Mountain,” *PR*, Jan. 9, 1957; “Lyon Mountain Mine Seen Unaffected by Market Drop,” *PR*, Oct. 21, 1957; “Lyon Mountain Life Centers on Mining of Ore Deposits,” *PR*, Jan. 28, 1958; “Steel Officials Say Mineville Operation is ‘Certain For Good Long Time,’” *PR*, Oct. 9, 1959; “Republic Sinking Shaft at Lyon Mountain,” *PR*, Jan. 1960; “Iron Mines at Port Henry, Lyon Mountain Employ 500,” *PR*, Jan. 24, 1962; “Steel Reveals Promotion Plans,” *PR*, Jan. 24, 1962; “\$1 Million Investment Doesn’t Tell Whole Story,” editorial, *PR*, Jun. 5, 1962; and, “Iron Mining Flourished in Area as Early as 1798,” *PR*, Jul. 7, 1964.

Republic Steel announced the shutdown of its Lyon Mountain operations in April 1967. Having furnished tons of steel cables for the George Washington and Golden Gate Bridges, and scores of consumer and industrial products used around the world, the mines succumbed to the pressures of a globalizing and increasingly consumption-oriented economy. Company executives blamed the closure on declining ore supplies, expanding foreign steel imports, falling prices, and rising costs. In quick succession, the D&H, sole carrier of Republic Steel goods from Lyon Mountain, also signaled its intent to end rail service in the area. Driven by fears of financial cataclysm, anxious residents petitioned public officials to ease their community's postindustrial transformation. Amid a tsunami of plant closings sweeping the nation, politicians and bureaucrats from Washington to Albany counseled self-help and individualism. A sense of foreboding mixed with possibility accompanied the departure of Republic Steel's 250 workers as they exited the mines for the last time on June 30, 1967. While some opted for early retirement, others transferred to new operations, with one local uprooting to a mine in Liberia. For those unable to move, there seemed little choice but to heed the call of self-reliance.²⁴⁴

²⁴⁴ On the mines' closure, see, "Republic Steel closing Lyon Mt. mine June 1," *PR*, Apr. 25, 1967; "D&H may remove track on part of Lyon Mt. line," *PR*, Apr. 26, 1967; "Clinton eyes Washington for aid for Lyon Mountain," *PR*, Apr. 28, 1967; "Lyon Mountain Mine Closing Traps Men Too Young to Retire, Too Old to Move," *ADE*, Apr. 28, 1967; "Dannemora: Personals," *CR*, May 11, 1967; "County to seek federal aid for development at Lyon Mt.," *PR*, May 11, 1967; "New Mineral Resource Survey In 5 County Adirondack Region," *CR*, May 1967; "Steel company seeks to help county find use for mine land," *PR*, May 1967; "EDA agent opening study of Lyon Mt.," *PR*, May 1967; "Act quickly on Lyon Mountain issue, federal agent advises Clinton leaders," *PR*, May 1967; "King seeks solution to Lyon Mt. closing," *PR*, May 26, 1967; "EDA official says: Federal aid requires community leadership," *PR*, Jun. 5, 1967; "Lyon Mountain committee organized," *PR*, Jun. 28, 1967; and, "Republic Steel workers go on 'permanent layoff,'" *PR*, Jul. 1, 1967. On deindustrialization, see, Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, *The Deindustrialization of America: Plant Closings, Community Abandonment, and the Dismantling of Basic Industry* (New York: Basic Books, 1984); Bluestone and Harrison, *The Great U-Turn: Corporate Restructuring and the Polarizing of America* (New York: Basic Books, 1990); Jefferson Cowie, *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor* (New York: The New Press, 2001); Cowie, Joseph Heathcott, and Barry Bluestone, eds., *Beyond the Ruins: The Meanings of Deindustrialization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press / ILR, 2003); John Cumbler, *A Social History of Economic Decline: Business, Politics, and Work in Trenton* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989); Steven Dandaneau, *A Town Abandoned: Flint, Michigan, Confronts Deindustrialization* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1996); Thomas Dublin, *When the Mines Closed: The Pennsylvania Anthracite Region in the Twentieth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005); Julia Hell & Andreas Schönle, eds., *Ruins of Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Steven High and David

Lyon Mountain residents, having succumbed to the irresistible vagaries of late industrial capitalism, now inhabited a postindustrial community that could not escape the environmental legacies of its industrial past. The abandonment of private capital bestowed upon the Town of Dannemora both Republic Steel's vast holdings and the task of repurposing those resources for the greater good. With federal and state leaders counseling self-help amid nationwide industrial collapse, local officials labored to determine the value of their new properties while seeking private investors who might make old resources turn a profit once more. However, corporate indifference to the ecological integrity of the local environment and neglect of critical infrastructure, in concert with new environmental regulations governing development inside the Adirondack Park, complicated this work. Nearly two decades after their closure, Lyon Mountain would be no closer to reckoning with the legacies of its industrial history than when the mines shut down.

“Built on a desert of oresand”: The Politics of Redevelopment and Reconstruction, 1967-83

Republic Steel's departure ignited a struggle over the control, use, and meaning of Lyon Mountain's vast new public domain. While local politicians recruited private investment as a hedge against postindustrial decline, residents resisted privatization efforts that underpriced nature's value, threatened public and environmental health, and sought to circumvent popular consent. The near simultaneous end of corporate control and rise of APA land use regulations underscored the tension between locals and their elected leaders. Town politicians' excoriation of APA control found little support among residents whose concerns about health and safety could not be remedied through home rule. Coinciding with heightened national awareness of

Lewis, *Corporate Wasteland: The Landscape and Memory of Deindustrialization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press / ILR, 2007); and, Guian McKee, *The Problem of Jobs: Liberalism, Race, and Deindustrialization in Philadelphia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

issues surrounding ecology and health, deindustrialization transformed residents' relationships with their environment. Long considered a thriving industrial powerhouse, by the 1970s, most locals viewed Lyon Mountain as little more than a wasteland. Determined to rebuild and remain in their community, homeowners by the early 1980s successfully supplanted the town board as the force driving the hamlet's reconstruction.

Anticipating a postindustrial future, local politicians had labored to rationalize and streamline delivery of public resources, including water, electricity, and sanitation, long before 1967. As the region's wealthiest and largest landowner, Republic Steel had maintained a parallel base of power unmatched either by the town's political authorities or residents. Accordingly, consolidating Lyon Mountain's hodgepodge of water and sewage lines, septic tanks, and electrical connections into uniform districts in the mid-1950s had required the firm's blessing.²⁴⁵ Considered a triumph of rational planning, this system of public management and private control of vital services came, inopportunistically, just as Republic began shifting resources away from community infrastructure and toward capital improvements. Such was the degree of disinvestment in Lyon Mountain as a *home* that by 1967 its water, sewage, and electrical systems were in a shambles, leaving residents and political leaders to contend with the practical concerns of everyday living and the existential questions of a future without their only industry.

Into the void entered a disempowered populace and town board suddenly granted sole stewardship of the community and its natural resources. Enticing private capital to fill Republic's shoes proved challenging in an isolated hamlet of one thousand older residents boasting no stores

²⁴⁵ Town of Dannemora, Town Board Meeting Minutes, Feb. 17, 1955, p. 114; Oct. 1, 1955, p. 117; Nov. 10, 1955, pp. 117-118; Dec. 15, 1955, pp. 118-119; and Apr. 10, 1956, p. 158, in Dannemora, N.Y. (Town) Records, 1869-1995, Microfilm: Roll 3: Town Board Minutes, New York State Archives, Albany, N.Y. (hereafter, Dannemora Town Records).

or hotels, dilapidated infrastructure, no other industry, and in a county plagued by high unemployment. Efforts to attract mining companies, resort developers, and enterprises ranging from wood and gun manufacturing to asphalt production failed to gain traction.²⁴⁶ Even short-term proposals, including construction of a public television transmission tower on Lyon Mountain (completed in 1976), conversion of the mines as air raid shelters (scuttled), and temporary employment at the 1967 World's Fair in nearby Montreal (few locals took advantage), paled in comparison to the limitless resources of Republic Steel's corporate juggernaut.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ On failed efforts to attract industry, see, "Clinton eyes Washington for aid for Lyon Mountain," *PR*, Apr. 28, 1967; "Lyon Mountain Mine Closing Traps Men Too Young to Retire, Too Old to Move," *ADE*, Apr. 28, 1967; "Dannemora: Personals," *CR*, May 11, 1967; "County to seek federal aid for development at Lyon Mt.," *PR*, May 11, 1967; "New Mineral Resource Survey In 5 County Adirondack Region," *CR*, May 1967; "EDA agent opening study of Lyon Mt.," *PR*, May 1967; "Act quickly on Lyon Mountain issue, federal agent advises Clinton leaders," *PR*, May 1967; "EDA official says: Federal aid requires community leadership," *PR*, Jun. 5, 1967; "Lyon Mountain committee organized," *PR*, Jun. 28, 1967; "Lyon Mountain awaits US Land plan," *PR*, Jan. 31, 1969; "Dannemora to sell to Carters," *PR*, Jun. 8, 1976; and, "Lyon Mountain may get water fixup, new plant," *PR*, Jul. 16, 1985. Also, Town of Dannemora, Town Board Meeting Minutes, Jul. 11, 1985, p. 390, Dannemora Town Records. Unemployment in Clinton County was 7% in April 1966, falling to 2.8% in August with the onset of the summer tourism season. The figure for February 1967 was 11.6%.

²⁴⁷ On the public television tower at Lyon Mountain, see, "Will We Get Educational Television?" *ADE*, Aug. 15, 1969; "To Enrich Our Area: ETV," editorial, *ADE*, Mar. 10, 1970; "Obstacles Could Slow Up ETV," *ADE*, Aug. 13, 1970; "State Refuses Tower on Whiteface for ETV," *ADE*, Jan. 4, 1971; "Prospects Brighten for ETV," *ADE*, Feb. 5, 1971; "ETV still hopes for transmitter atop Whiteface," *PR*, Feb. 16, 1971; "ETV: 3 obstacles overcome; now convince state agency," *PR*, Feb. 17, 1971; "ETV Still Trying to Get on Whiteface," *ADE*, Aug. 23, 1971; "Speed area ETV decision, Rockefeller directs officials," *PR*, Nov. 24, 1972; "ETV becomes a reality," *ADE*, Jul. 16, 1974; "Educational TV need great in area," letter to the editor, *PR*, Jul. 30, 1975; "Park agency to rule on ETV application," *PR*, Jul. 31, 1975; "Educational TV needs quick ok," editorial, *PR*, Aug. 2, 1975; "Review board urges early ETV hearing," *ADE*, Aug. 8, 1975; "Park agency still to review; ETV station ok'd in principle," *PR*, Aug. 13, 1975; "Consider effect of tower on water," letter to the editor, *PR*, Aug. 21, 1975; "ETV sends plans to Park Agency," *ADE*, Dec. 8, 1975; "APA delays ETV tower decision till Jan. 23," *PR*, Dec. 20, 1975; "ETV tower site decision promised," *ADE*, Dec. 22, 1975; "Why are you doing these things to us?" editorial, *ADE*, Dec. 22, 1975; "Hearing scheduled on ETV tower idea," *PR*, Jan. 19, 1976; "ETV tower approval favorable; county APA watchdog concurs," *PR*, Jan. 21, 1976; "Agency may vote on ETV today," *PR*, Jan. 23, 1976; "Future bright for local ETV," editorial, *PR*, Jan. 28, 1976; "Determination is paying off," editorial, *ADE*, Aug. 31, 1976; "ETV officials, APA confer on 'violations,'" *ADE*, Oct. 4, 1976; "Environmental groups charged with inconsistency on Olympics," *PR*, Jan. 27, 1977; "'76 year of major progress for local ETV station," *PR*, Jan. 27, 1977; "APA still undecided on permit to construct a home on wetland," *PR*, Jan. 28, 1977; "WCFE to air 30,000 North Country homes," *PR*, Feb. 8, 1977; "ETV ready after 9 years of battling man, nature," *PR*, Feb. 9, 1977; "Plattsburgh ETV on air Sunday," *ADE*, Mar. 4, 1977; "WCFE-TV goes on the air without a hitch," *PR*, Mar. 7, 1977; and, "Persico outlines local control options," *ADE*, Mar. 28, 1977. Also, Town of Dannemora, Town Board Meeting Minutes, Feb. 5, 1976, p. 121, and May 6, 1976, p. 4, Dannemora Town Records.

The board's failure at reindustrialization was matched only by its inability to provide for safe and reliable transportation, water, and sewage systems. The loss of \$60,000 in taxes Republic had annually deposited in local coffers exacerbated the financial burden of totally rebuilding the hamlet's infrastructure. Chronically insufficient funds made reconstruction of crumbling streets, bridges, highways, and sidewalks a slow and drawn out process.²⁴⁸ These troubles, though, paled in comparison to the monumental task of repairing the community's waterscape. Corporate dumping of ore tailings both created the land on which Lyon Mountain was built and made groundwater unsafe for consumption.²⁴⁹ Sewage removal, on the other hand, relied on a haphazard network of pipes and septic tanks connected to homes and businesses whose waste discharged directly into area waterways. Establishment of water and sewer districts in the 1950s, while facilitating fee collection, had left unrepaired a nineteenth-century system of pipes, open freshwater reservoirs, and sewage collection tanks.²⁵⁰ By the mid-1970s, local homeowners, unburdened by the weight of corporate rule, more clearly appreciated environmental degradation, infrastructural decay, and threats to public health as the most significant long-term consequences of two centuries of industrial control. Translating these ideas into a political agenda centered on ecologically sensitive development set the stage for clashes with the equally empowered and development minded town board.

²⁴⁸ On transportation infrastructure repairs and improvements, see, "Act quickly on Lyon Mountain issue, federal agent advises Clinton leaders," *PR*, May 1967; "Leases dominate town meeting," *PR*, May 8, 1978; "Dannemoran cites waste, conflict in town project," *PR*, Apr. 25, 1984; and, "Direction from voters seen in referendum on town's future," *PR*, Aug. 13, 1984. Also, Town of Dannemora, Town Board Meeting Minutes, Feb. 16, 1984, p. 343; Apr. 5, 1984, p. 346; May 10, 1984, p. 350; Aug. 2, 1984, p. 360; Feb. 20, 1986, p. 402; Jul. 23, 1987, p. 436; Jul. 27, 1988, p. 460; May 23, 1990, p. 513-514; and, Jul. 24, 1991, p. 563, Dannemora Town Records.

²⁴⁹ Department of Correctional Services, Draft Environmental Impact Statement, (hereafter, Lyon Mountain DEIS) Lyon Mountain Correctional Facility, Prepared by McKeown and Franz, Inc., Environmental Consultants (Albany: DOCS, December 1983), pp. 2-1, 2-2, 3-5, 3-8, 5-12, 5-15, 5-16, 5-17, and 5-18, in SP 83-13 / W83-25, Lyon Mountain prison records, Adirondack Park Agency Records Office, Ray Brook, N.Y. (hereafter, Lyon Mountain Records).

²⁵⁰ Lyon Mountain DEIS, p. 5-18, Lyon Mountain Records.

Plans to upgrade the water and sewage systems coincided with the most promising and potentially lucrative private investments proposed since Republic's closure. In May 1978, Montreal-based Vibra Resources International sought purchase of twenty acres of former Republic land in Lyon Mountain, including underground mines, for conversion to an oil storage facility for the federal Strategic Petroleum Reserve. With a \$110 million investment, Vibra promised construction of an aboveground pipeline to move petroleum in and out of the mines, the creation of 100 new jobs, and an expanded tax base. The town board quickly offered purchase options to Vibra for a final sale price of \$25,000. Several residents feared a rush to redevelop had blinded politicians to potential oil spills and pollution, leading them also to drastically undervalue the property. For reasons unknown, and to the relief of most locals, Vibra held its options with no action for another six years.²⁵¹

Though fixated on development, board members could not escape the rusting pipes, overflowing septic tanks, befouled waterways, and filthy reservoirs that comprised Lyon Mountain's waterworks. Strident, nonbinding resolutions opposing APA zoning and development restrictions received board approval throughout the 1970s, but residents' equally persistent and pragmatic calls for ecologically sensitive reconstruction ultimately carried the day. One town board screed against the APA preserving the Adirondacks "for only the Super Rich," while consistent with the anti-statist tenor of local politics, offered no support for homeowners struggling with a decaying water system. Years of frustration boiled over when residents in the mid-1970s challenged the legality of existing water districts; disputed the board's claim of exclusive right to sell water; and displayed a jar of polluted water, with one homeowner telling

²⁵¹ "Leases dominate town meeting," *PR*, May 8, 1978; "Lyon Mountain mines sought for oil storage," *PR*, May 18, 1978; "Lyon Mountain mines eyed for storage; Bonanza predicted in oil scheme," *PR*, May 18, 1978; "Speculative idea brings hope," editorial, *PR*, May 22, 1978; and, "Lyon Mountain water panel quits," *PR*, Nov. 17, 1978.

officials, “If you want to drink that, go ahead. It’s what I have to drink everyday.” When the town supervisor asked, “Who has the right to sell the water if the town board doesn’t?” the audience replied, “the people.” Residents demanded a referendum to settle the issues, and insisted the town government protect the public’s health.²⁵² With few resources to undertake such a massive project, reconstruction of the water system would not begin for another decade.

With reconstruction and redevelopment stalled, residents and officials did what they could to reconstitute a semblance of civic belonging in the community. Participation in monthly town meetings, including endless debates over control and use of natural resources, reinvigorated the democratic process. Board members matched their anti-regulatory missives with establishment of a planning board empowered to streamline future developments with new zoning rules. The community also sought to improve quality of life by installing tennis courts, picnic areas, playgrounds, and athletic fields, hiring schoolchildren to clean the streets and sidewalks, and encouraging homeowners to help in replanting the region’s once abundant forests. Finally, the board authorized commercial sale of ore tailings to small businesses as a new source of town revenue. Recycling and profiting from industrial waste, though, required banishing young people for whom the mountains of oresand had become the perfect spot to ride their all terrain vehicles.²⁵³ In spite of these relatively modest measures, the funds necessary to prevent the hamlet’s total free fall seemed out of reach as the Reagan era began.

²⁵² Town of Dannemora, Town Board Meeting Minutes, Jan. 4, 1973, p. 19; and, Feb. 7, 1974, pp. 49-50, Dannemora Town Records; “Dannemora board pondering legality of certain water sales,” *PR*, Jul. 13, 1974. Anti-APA sentiment persisted through the 1970s. See, Town of Dannemora, Town Board Meeting Minutes, Jan. 8, 1976, and Jan. 17, 1977, Dannemora Town Records.

²⁵³ On civic life improvements, 1970s to early 1980s, see, Town of Dannemora, Town Board Meeting Minutes, Jan. 4, 1973, pp. 7 & 19; Feb. 6, 1975, p. 76; May 1, 1975, p. 84; May 15, 1975, p. 87; Jan. 8, 1976, p. 119; Jan. 17, 1977; and, Aug. 7, 1980, p. 195. Also, “Dannemora board pondering legality of certain water sales,” *PR*, Jul. 31, 1974; “Dannemora to sell to Carters,” *PR*, Jun. 8, 1976; “Sand, stone profits insufficient for town,” *PR*, Jan. 24,

Inadvertently, actions taken by school district officials and the town board began paving the way for the investments and developments required to secure Lyon Mountain's future. With enrollment dropping, the Northern Adirondack Central School (NACS) District closed the hamlet's school in the summer of 1981. In October, the town board discussed offering the shuttered school for lease or sale, and simultaneously considered a request from Vibra for a three-year extension on their purchase options. Aware of recent prison openings in Ray Brook and ongoing debates in Gabriels, board members in February 1982 proposed conversion of the former school as a minimum-security state prison.²⁵⁴ By 1983, it seemed that massive private and public investments were on the horizon, setting the stage for a final resolution as to whose vision of redevelopment and reconstruction would hold sway in the future.

“I’m not against it and I’m not for it”: Expanding the Crimescape to Lyon Mountain

Much as the collapse of mining had shed new light on the impacts of unrestrained exploitation, so the 1983 proposal to expand the crimescape into Lyon Mountain helped lay the groundwork for the community's future reconstruction. Amid unyielding demand for cell space, resistance to prison building elsewhere, and with the unambiguous sanction of state officials, a desperate Corrections Department knocked at Lyon Mountain's door. Offered the rare opportunity to vote on the proposal, publicly unenthusiastic and ambivalent residents gave the facility near unanimous support. Their endorsement acknowledged both the limits and potential of correctional expansion in a crimescape community struggling to rebuild.

1977; “Fire contract flap called hazard,” *PR*, Jan. 28, 1978; “Leases dominate town meeting,” *PR*, May 8, 1978; and, “Cycle traffic has Dannemora fretting,” *PR*, Apr. 8, 1983.

²⁵⁴ Lyon Mountain DEIS, pp. 3-1 to 3-5, Lyon Mountain Records; Town of Dannemora, Town Board Meeting Minutes, Oct. 1, 1981, p. 245, and Feb. 18, 1982, p. 263.

As in Ray Brook and Gabriels, Lyon Mountain residents learned of the state's interest in building a prison in their community by way of a rumor. During a Sunday Mass in June 1983, the hamlet's Catholic priest leaked details of a conversation wherein Senator Ronald Stafford had revealed the news. Three weeks later, the Corrections Department signaled its intention to invest \$10 million in converting the former school to a 150-bed minimum-security prison. DOCS promised 200 temporary construction jobs, an annual budget of \$3 million, and 126 permanent positions. Corrections officials informed locals at a July hearing that most of the facility's employees would transfer from Dannemora, an unsurprising revelation given Lyon Mountain's position in the crimescape. The Department also predicted daily routines at the new prison mirroring those in Ray Brook and Gabriels, including inmates working on projects in nearby communities and participating in educational and work programs on the prison grounds. In addition to the APA's standard non-binding advisory review, sale of school district property required a referendum, further empowering residents intent on shaping their hamlet's future.²⁵⁵

The Corrections Department chose Lyon Mountain for a variety of reasons, including its proximity to the maximum-security prison in Dannemora; the fact that its school had been renovated shortly before closing; the interest expressed by residents and board members; and, because only months earlier, DOCS had purchased another shuttered NACS school in the village of Altona, 21 miles northeast of Lyon Mountain (outside the Adirondack Park) for conversion to a 300-bed medium-security prison employing 270 workers. With support from politicians and

²⁵⁵ On the Lyon Mountain proposal, see, "Lyon Mountain school eyed as prison," *PR*, Jun. 3, 1983; "NACS officials elated with news state looking at Lyon Mt. school," *PR*, Jun. 4, 1983; "Lyon Mt. school to be state prison," *PR*, Jun. 25, 1983; "School to become state prison," *CR*, Jul. 6, 1983; "Lyon Mountain prison to employ 110 workers," *PR*, Jul. 21, 1983; "Hearing on school sale planned," *PR*, Aug. 3, 1983; and, "Some effect on environment from prison seen," *PR*, Sept. 8, 1983; Theodore Ruzow, APA Chairman, to Thomas Coughlin, DOCS Commissioner, Jun. 6, 1983; and, Coughlin to Ruzow, Jul. 6, 1983, Lyon Mountain records; and, Lyon Mountain DEIS, pp. 2-1 to 2-6, and 3-1 to 3-22, Lyon Mountain Records.

the local news media, 96% of district voters had approved selling the school and 42 acres of land for \$623,000 in an April referendum. By the time DOCS indicated its interest in Lyon Mountain, construction and renovations totaling \$14 million were already underway at Altona.²⁵⁶

Reliance on mass incarceration both as an instrument of punishment and solution to overcrowding intensified through the mid-1980s. In 1983, New York's prisons operated at 116% of capacity, holding 30,324 inmates, with increases projected into the future. Corrections' annual budget ballooned from \$150 million in 1971 to \$550 million by 1983. In addition to the \$10 million earmarked for Lyon Mountain, lawmakers allocated \$100 million for a 1000-bed maximum-security prison in the Bronx, along with 500-bed medium security additions in Attica, Great Meadow, and Albion, at \$30 million apiece. By 1983, the North Country's three state prisons (Dannemora, Ray Brook, and Gabriels) cost just under \$49 million per year, held over 3000 inmates, and employed nearly 1700 workers. Lyon Mountain, though, had not been the Department's first choice. Only after community opposition scuttled acquisition of the New

²⁵⁶ On the medium-security prison at Altona, see, "Status of former Altona school unchanged," *PR*, Jan. 6, 1983; "Prison," *Speak Out, PR*, Jan. 20, 1983; "Former Altona school to be prison site," *PR*, Jan. 21, 1983; "Altona anticipates prison-related boom," *PR*, Jan. 22, 1983; "Good news for Altona," *PR*, Jan. 24, 1983; "Planned prison, grants gladden residents of Altona," *PR*, Jan. 27, 1983; "Altona conversion included in budget," *PR*, Feb. 1, 1983; "Altona school subject of price talks with state," *PR*, Feb. 9, 1983; "School-turned-prison to hire 270 workers," *PR*, Feb. 10, 1983; "Union protests use of convict labor at Altona," *PR*, Mar. 29, 1983; "School district hosts session on building to become prison," *PR*, Apr. 27, 1983; "NACS residents vote today," *PR*, Apr. 27, 1983; "Voters lopsidedly OK sale of Altona school," *PR*, Apr. 28, 1983; "4 local men head prison open in Altona," *PR*, May 3, 1983; "Altona prison to provide local bonanza," *PR*, May 19, 1983; "Number and type of inmates will change in Altona prison," *PR*, May 19, 1983; "Altona prison security to be tough, report says," *PR*, May 20, 1983; "Altona businessman watches coming of prison," *PR*, May 25, 1983; "Lyon Mountain school eyed as prison," *PR*, Jun. 3, 1983; "NACS officials elated with news state looking at Lyon Mt. school," *PR*, Jun. 4, 1983; "Hearing on school sale planned," *PR*, Aug. 3, 1983; "Sale of former school on meeting agenda tonight," *PR*, Sept. 13, 1983; "Schools linked in joining, folding," *PR*, Sept. 16, 1983; "Region welcomes new prisons," *PR*, Jan. 26, 1984; and, "Local prison celebrates 25th anniversary," *PR*, Aug. 24, 2008.

York City Police Department's shuttered retreat at Platte Clove, in Greene County, did Corrections turn its gaze northward once more.²⁵⁷

Successful anti-prison organizing in one community, however, did not foretell an inevitable expansion of the Adirondack crimescape. Only two years earlier, Governor Carey's Executive Advisory Commission on the Administration of Justice, chaired by Judge Arthur Liman, had warned against reliance on mass incarceration as a remedy to overcrowding. Noting, "the public wants prisoners locked up, but not in their own neighborhoods," the Commission warned New York was "drifting toward disaster," including "repetition of the bloodshed at Attica." Calling for heightened use of determinate sentencing, probation, and drug treatment, the Commission echoed New York's nineteenth century prison reformers, arguing, "the best hope for eliminating the crime problem is to eliminate the social conditions that create crime." Liman acknowledged such an approach would "be difficult and expensive and cannot be expected to succeed in this generation," but "the effort to achieve social justice cannot be abandoned by any civilized nation."²⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the administration of Governor Mario Cuomo *chose* to enlarge New York's existing program of mass incarceration as the most *politically* feasible solution to its crime and overcrowding dilemmas.

Corrections sought to justify this choice by invoking the same sense of emergency that had driven the openings of Ray Brook and Gabriels. Successful circumvention of SEQRA

²⁵⁷ "More funds targeted for North Country prisons," *PR*, Feb. 1, 1983; "School district hosts session on building to become prison," *PR*, Apr. 27, 1983; "State will decide soon on purchase for school for prison," *PR*, Jun. 7, 1983; "Lyon Mt. school to be state prison," *PR*, Jun. 25, 1983; "Region welcomes new prisons," *PR*, Jan. 26, 1984; Lyon Mountain DEIS, pp. 4-1 to 4-2, 4-5 to 4-7, and Appendix A-1 (especially pp. 41-53); and, Roger Klingman, "THEN...and NOW: 'Not In My Backyard, You Don't,'" *Empire State Report*, Jan. 1984, pp. 25-28, Lyon Mountain Records.

²⁵⁸ Executive Advisory Commission on the Administration of Justice, Arthur L. Liman, Chairman: Recommendations to Governor Hugh L. Carey Regarding Prison Overcrowding, Jul. 19, 1982, pp. 3, 5-6, 10-13, 47-49, Lyon Mountain Records.

requirements in those communities inspired correctional officials to do the same in Lyon Mountain. However, resistance in places like Gabriels and Platte Clove had altered the political terrain on which prison building occurred. Citing an emergency nearly a decade old, the Department's 1983 attempt to convert part of the Marcy Psychiatric Center near Utica to incarcerate 1200 inmates provoked a lawsuit from the facility's board and patients' families. The case, concerning the legality of both the proposal and the emergency claim, wound its way through the lower courts before the Court of Appeals unanimously approved DOCS' plan in July 1983. Judge Solomon Wachtler's opinion turned the Liman Commission on its head, ensuring overcrowding in perpetuity by endorsing mass incarceration as the only rational solution to the putative environmental and material roots of criminality. Backed by all three branches of state government, the Corrections Department promptly invoked emergency conditions to quickly build a new prison in Lyon Mountain.²⁵⁹

The static condition of Lyon Mountain's physical environment in 1983 was matched only by a decline in its social and economic activity. Surrounding the eleven-acre school campus were clusters of company-built homes, paved roads, Catholic and Methodist churches, a gas station, streams, ponds, forests, and a 23-acre protected wetland. Wildlife populations, including whitetail deer, coyote, beaver, muskrat, and mink remained, and wetland habitats hosted a variety of waterfowl and fish. The 3830-foot-high Lyon Mountain, surrounded by unsightly piles of ore tailings, rusted mining equipment, and abandoned shafts and buildings, literally

²⁵⁹ On the *Marcy* decision, see, "Judge blocks Marcy conversion to prison," *PR*, Jun. 3, 1983; Robert Glennon, APA Counsel, to APA Legal Affairs Committee, Jul. 12, 1983; State of New York, Court of Appeals, In the Matter of *Board of Visitors—Marcy Psychiatric Center, et al., Appellants-Respondents, v. Thomas A. Coughlin, III, Commissioner of the Department of Correctional Services, et al., Respondents-Appellants*, Jul. 6, 1983, pp. 1-8; DOCS, Declaration of Emergency Under the Implementing Regulations of the State Environmental Quality Review Act, Lyon Mountain Correctional Facility, County of Clinton, Town of Dannemora, Aug. 15, 1983; DOCS, SEQR Positive Declaration: Notice of Intent to Prepare an EIS Determination of Significance, Aug. 26, 1983; Coughlin to Ruzow, Sept. 8, 1983; and, Ruzow to Coughlin, Sept. 9, 1983, Lyon Mountain Records.

overshadowed the future prison site. Of the town's 43,000 acres of forestland, over half were part of either the Forest Preserve or state forests open to commercial logging. With no business activity and minimal vehicular traffic, the hamlet's air, water, and general atmosphere were both clean and quiet, and residents enjoyed hunting, fishing, ice skating, and other outdoor activities. The onset of a postindustrial serenity, therefore, had marked an unprecedented shift in this once bustling center of industrial production.²⁶⁰

The demographic shifts in the wake of Lyon Mountain's industrial collapse were equally hard not to notice. In sixteen years, the hamlet's population had declined 20 percent, dropping from 1000 to 800 at the time of DOCS' proposal. Simultaneously, heightened activity at the State University in nearby Plattsburgh, Plattsburgh Air Force Base, and Clinton Correctional Facility helped swell the county's population by 11 percent, an unusual increase amid a four percent decline in the state population from 1970 to 1980. Hope of a prison-induced population and tax boom in Lyon Mountain appeared slim, as most of the new prison's employees already lived in the area and worked for Corrections. Nevertheless, in a region beset by high unemployment, low salaries, and minimal job opportunities, few could resist the promise of additional positions in what had become the Lyon Mountain area's largest employer.²⁶¹

²⁶⁰ Lyon Mountain DEIS, pp. 2-1, 2-2, 2-5, 2-7, 2-9, 3-5, 3-8, 5-2, 5-3, 5-7, 5-10 to 5-12, 5-15 to 5-18, 5-23, 6-1, 6-2, 6-24 to 6-28, Lyon Mountain Records.

²⁶¹ In 1950, Clinton County's population was 53,622, and by 1980 had increased to 80,750. Much of the increase occurred as a result of expansions at SUNY Plattsburgh (full time enrollment increased to 5500 in 1970), Plattsburgh Air Force Base (home to 10,000 personnel and dependents), and at Clinton Correctional Facility (the prison held 960 inmates in 1970, a number that jumped to 2100 by 1982). At the same time, the county suffered from chronically high unemployment, below average incomes, and few well paying permanent jobs. Since 1970, the unemployment rate fluctuated from 8 to 13%, and stayed roughly three points above the national average. In January 1981, nearly 53 percent of county households received gross annual incomes below \$15,000, well above average figures at the state and national levels. Disposable income available to county and town residents was also less than half the state and national averages. While Clinton Correctional was the largest employer in the Lyon Mountain area (1250 employees), those not employed at the prison found jobs in tourism, recreation, retail, pharmaceutical and paper manufacturing, education, and health care. Interestingly, population decreases in the town of Dannemora's were offset by increases in the inmate population at Clinton. By 1980, over 25 percent of the town

Unlike Ray Brook and Gabriels, where powerful constituencies resisted crimescape expansion, Lyon Mountain's position within the crimescape and outside the orbit of Adirondack tourism helped ensure a relatively muted response to the state's proposal. Corrections Department claims that local residents were "strongly in favor" of the prison both because of Dannemora's proximity and the sluggish economy obscured the more nuanced emotions residents felt upon hearing the news. Opposition was scant at best; the ordinarily supportive *Press Republican* editorial board rejected the plan, fearing the North Country was becoming a penal colony in exchange for a handful of jobs. The newspaper warned continued acceptance of prisons might encourage Albany to see the region as a dumping ground suitable for nuclear waste dumps and other, more pernicious forms of development. A few locals lamented area homeowners' lack of "intestinal fortitude" in the face of crimescape expansion by officials who viewed them as "country bumpkins" unopposed to having prisons "dumped in their front yards." Critics feared a return of the disorder that had prevailed before 1967, abruptly terminating their shortlived moment of serenity. A correctional facility, they warned, would demoralize young people yearning for a brighter future, perpetuate an industry already notorious for hazardous conditions, and consign Lyon Mountain to a Dannemora-style future, defined solely by its prison.²⁶²

population was nonwhite, the vast majority of whom were incarcerated in Dannemora. See, Lyon Mountain DEIS, pp. 2-7, 2-8, 3-1, 5-10, 6-1, 6-5, 6-8 to 6-10, 6-12 to 6-15, Lyon Mountain Records; also, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 34, New York* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), pp. 34-15, 34-22, 34-109, and, 34-115; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1970, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 34, New York—Section I* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 34-12, 34-21, 34-24, 34-68, 34-70, 34-72, 34-186, and, 34-197; and, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1980, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Chapter B: General Population Characteristics, Part 34, New York, PC80-1-B34* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982), pp. 34-10, 34-14, 34-17, 34-21, 34-31, 34-36, 34-38, and 34-42.

²⁶² Lyon Mountain DEIS, pp. 2-10, 4-7 to 4-8, Lyon Mountain Records; "What's next a state dump?" editorial, *PR*, Jun. 6, 1983; "Lyon Mountain's serenity shortlived," letter to the editor, *PR*, Jun. 20, 1983; and, "Neighbor doesn't want another prison," letter to the editor, *PR*, Jun. 23, 1983.

More common reactions to the proposal ranged from lukewarm support to widespread ambivalence. Residents knew that conversion of the school alone would not spur a community-wide revival. Nevertheless, some viewed the facility as “the best thing that’s ever happened...since the mines came in,” while most were simply relieved the school would be reused, including a large contingent of corrections officers who commuted daily to and from Dannemora. The majority of locals, though, agreed with homeowner Pat Golovach, who stated, “I’m not against it and I’m not for it.” While many hoped the school might be put to another use, most viewed the prison, once proposed, as a foregone conclusion. They were not wrong. In September 1983, NACS district voters approved sale of Lyon Mountain’s school campus (for \$322,000) to the Corrections Department by a vote of 383 to 23.²⁶³

Voters’ familiarity with the crimescape, combined with new employment opportunities and shorter trips to work, only partially explain the ringing endorsement offered on referendum day. The school, closed for only two years, had never figured in any development or reconstruction scheme. Long accustomed to profiting from nature’s bounty, residents and politicians had struggled in vain to find an ecologically minded replacement for Republic Steel. As an eerie stillness took hold, locals viewed the multimillion-dollar prison proposal as the only way to revive and rebuild their dismembered community. With infrastructural needs matching those of the forlorn hamlet, residents hoped the new correctional facility would yield both jobs and a healthier and better place for them to call home.

²⁶³ “Lyon Mountain school eyed as a prison,” *PR*, Jun. 3, 1983; “NACS officials elated with news state looking at Lyon Mt. school,” *PR*, Jun. 4, 1983; “Settlement mulls prison plans,” *PR*, Jul. 15, 1983; “Lyon Mountain prison to employ 110 workers,” *PR*, Jul. 21, 1983; “Hearing on school sale planned,” *PR*, Aug. 3, 1983; “Sale for former school on meeting agenda tonight,” *PR*, Sept. 13, 1983; “Cash from sale of schools to help keep taxes down,” *PR*, Sept. 16, 1983; “Schools linked in joining, folding,” *PR*, Sept. 16, 1983; and, “New prison seen as route home for guards,” *PR*, Dec. 17, 1983.

“A poor choice”? The Prison, Nature, and the Politics of Civic Reconstruction

The condition of Lyon Mountain’s physical environment, more than its social or economic realities, determined the shape of the state’s prison plan. Corrections planned a miniature Dannemora for its new penitentiary: visible to the public, built on non-contiguous parcels within a residential area, and linked to vital infrastructure. Unlike Dannemora, however, planners had to balance the demands of the carceral state with those of protecting the hamlet’s wetlands. Corrections officials anxious to avoid delays entered Park Agency review confident the *Marcy* decision, an absence of opposition, and pledges to safeguard environmental and public health would ease what had been a challenging process in Gabriels. Though each side dug in its heels, the prison’s July 1984 opening convinced residents that only the state possessed the requisite financial resources and ecological knowledge to improve the health of their run-down community. Voters’ rejection of a multimillion-dollar private development scheme in 1986 only reinforced their preference for public protection of their healthy, postindustrial serenity. Determining the prison’s broader functions *within* Lyon Mountain, on the other hand, took longer to resolve.

With the imprimatur of the state’s highest court, prison planners used the *Marcy* decision to test the limits of environmental law. In an unprecedented move, in the fall of 1983, the Park Agency acceded to Coughlin’s request for temporary suspension of APA review to permit a speedy opening at Lyon Mountain. The first phase of construction, involving renovation of the school’s eleven-acre campus, allowed for the arrival of 70 inmates in December 1983. Projects during phase two included perimeter fencing, a program and support services building, recreation facilities, garage, vehicular parking, access roads, pedestrian paths, and a sewage treatment plant, spread across the school property and on a sixteen-acre tract west of the prison site. With

building complete, Corrections predicted the penitentiary's 150 inmates and 126 employees would be in place for opening in July 1984.²⁶⁴

Of the projects planned for Lyon Mountain, the sewage plant attracted the most attention. Because the existing septic system was insufficient for the prison's needs, DOCS planned to build a new facility in a neighborhood away from the school property. The department pledged to safeguard the ecological integrity of wetlands and freshwater supplies with modern filtration and treatment technologies. Residents and board members hoped the new facility would be large enough to handle sewage from both the prison and private homes. Eager to capitalize on the state's investment, local politicians also anticipated increased revenue from selling town water to the penitentiary.²⁶⁵ Unfortunately for locals, Corrections did not share their view of the prison as a vehicle for infrastructural revitalization. For planners operating *within* an old piece of the crimescape, Lyon Mountain would be just another prison.

Accordingly, the Department's operational plans sounded familiar to observers and participants in the region's burgeoning correctional industry. Like Ray Brook and Gabriels, only

²⁶⁴ Lyon Mountain DEIS, pp. 2-1 to 2-5, 2-9, 3-1, 3-7, 5-11, 5-17 to 5-20, and, 6-27; also, Ruzow to Coughlin, Jun. 6, 1983; Coughlin to Ruzow, Jul. 6, 1983; DOCS, Declaration of Emergency Under the Implementing Regulations of the State Environmental Quality Review Act, Lyon Mountain Correctional Facility, County of Clinton, Town of Dannemora, Aug. 15, 1983; DOCS, SEQR Positive Declaration: Notice of Intent to Prepare an EIS Determination of Significance, Aug. 26, 1983; Coughlin to Ruzow, Sept. 8, 1983; Ruzow to Coughlin, Sept. 9, 1983; and, Ruzow to Coughlin, Sept. 28, 1983, Lyon Mountain Records. Corrections purchased the 16-acre tract from Diamond International Corporation, and eventually abandoned earlier plans to purchase a 0.5-acre residential property for use as an administration building. In addition to the above mentioned renovations and new construction, DOCS upgraded the heating, electric, telephone, and lighting systems; converted old classrooms for cell space; reused the school gym and auditorium for a library and craft shop; installed security screens over existing windows; and planted rows of trees around the new facilities to provide a partial barrier separating the prison from the community.

²⁶⁵ Lyon Mountain DEIS, pp. 5-17 to 5-20; Thomas Turcotte, Supervisor of Technical Services, DOCS Division of Facilities Planning and Development, to Richard McCormick, DEC Senior Sanitary Engineer, Sept. 19, 1983; George Glassanos, DOCS Deputy Counsel, to Robert Glennon, APA Counsel, Sept. 20, 1983; Wiley Lavigne, DEC Regional Water Engineer, and McCormick, to Turcotte, Sept. 22, 1983; Ruzow to Coughlin, Sept. 28, 1983; Glennon to Glassanos, Sept. 28, 1983; Glassanos to Glennon, Sept. 29, 1983; and Glennon to Glassanos, Oct. 3, 1983, Lyon Mountain Records; Town of Dannemora, Town Board Meeting Minutes, Aug. 25, 1983, p. 322; and, Oct. 27, 1983, p. 328; and, "New prison seen as route home for guards," *PR*, Dec. 17, 1983.

inmates with good behavior records and who were within two years of release would reside in Lyon Mountain. Most would work on public works projects outside the prison, while the remainder would participate in work, educational, recreational, and vocational training activities behind the fence. Promising a penal experience conducive to instilling “regular work habits,” planners predicted few disturbances in a bucolic setting of “forested hills, terrain and wetlands” that “contribute to a peaceful, rural character.” These factors, together with new jobs, increased tax receipts, and community outreach activities, led correctional officials to predict a continuation of Lyon Mountain’s postindustrial serenity in its new role as a prison town.²⁶⁶

Echoing assurances offered at Ray Brook and Gabriels, planners pledged to protect the ecological integrity and health of the Lyon Mountain environment. This was welcome news for residents attuned to the fragile connective tissue linking bodily and environmental health. Of particular concern were the aquatic environments abutting properties targeted for correctional expansion. Construction plans called for removal of seven percent of the community’s protected wetlands. Accordingly, Corrections promised to obtain necessary wetland building permits prior to groundbreaking; to erect fences blocking human intrusion in ecologically sensitive areas; and to use berms, mesh netting, and other equipment to prevent a repeat of the disaster at Ray Brook. DOCS also attended to quality of life issues, including protection of wildlife habitat, air quality, outdoor recreation, noise, and visual impacts. Though impossible to screen from view, the Department offered to plant trees around the penitentiary and not to post a sign indicating the prison’s location. Intriguingly, Corrections feared the visual impact of ore tailings piles on

²⁶⁶ Lyon Mountain DEIS, pp. 2-6, 2-10, 3-17, 3-21, 5-24, 5-27, 5-28, 6-25, and 7-1, Lyon Mountain Records; and, “Lyon Mountain school eyed as prison,” *PR*, Jun. 3, 1983; “Lyon Mt. school to be state prison,” *PR*, Jun. 25, 1983; “School to become state prison,” *CR*, Jul. 6, 1983; “Lyon Mountain prison to employ 110 workers,” *PR*, Jul. 21, 1983; “Some effect on environment from prison seen,” *PR*, Sept. 8, 1983; and, “Region welcomes new prisons,” *PR*, Jan. 26, 1984.

nearby Lyon Mountain would diminish an otherwise healthful wilderness experience for inmates and employees alike.²⁶⁷ Nevertheless, opening the prison quickly was the primary objective.

Corrections entered the APA review in the fall of 1983 determined to prevent delays like those experienced in Gabriels. Without organized opposition, the only roadblock would be the Park Agency itself. Though the two sides pledged mutual cooperation, the *Marcy* decision provided DOCS extra leverage in hastening Agency approval of its requests: that the prison be deemed consistent under Section 814 of the APA Land Use Management Plan; that the penitentiary lands be zoned State Administrative under Section 816 of the APA Act; and, that the Agency issue a Freshwater Wetlands Act permit to allow construction on protected lands. Corrections therefore sought to circumvent the normal review process by dividing the project in half and opening the prison before completion of the Agency's work. Inexplicably, Coughlin told Ruzow he would take no action after phase one "which irrevocably leads to the conversion of the Lyon Mountain School to correctional use." Realizing carceral conversion of the school would constitute "correctional use," APA staff applied the brakes and bombarded DOCS with a barrage of questions and information requests. Having reached the limits of its *Marcy*-induced powers, Corrections settled in for a Gabriels-style struggle that extended into the spring of 1984.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷ Lyon Mountain DEIS, pp. 2-2 to 2-5, 3-5, 3-11, 5-2, 5-3, 5-9 to 5-12, 5-18, 6-2, 6-3, and 6-24 to 6-28; DOCS, Lyon Mountain Correctional Facility, Environmental Assessment Form (EAF), Aug. 5, 1983, Lyon Mountain Records; and, "Some effect on environment from prison seen," *PR*, Sept. 8, 1983; and, "Environmental impact of Lyon Mt. prison slight," *PR*, Dec. 24, 1983.

²⁶⁸ On APA review of Lyon Mountain, see, Ruzow to Coughlin, Jun. 6, 1983; Coughlin to Ruzow, Jul. 6, 1983; DOCS, Declaration of Emergency Under the Implementing Regulations of the State Environmental Quality Review Act, Lyon Mountain Correctional Facility, County of Clinton, Town of Dannemora, Aug. 15, 1983; Frank Sheridan, Director of Facilities, DOCS Division of Facilities Planning and Development, and Donald Wrieden, Supervisor Landscape Architect, Office of General Services Design and Construction Group, to Edmund Lynch, APA Director of Operations, Aug. 16, 1983; DOCS, SEQR Positive Declaration: Notice of Intent to Prepare an EIS Determination of Significance, Aug. 26, 1983; Coughlin to Ruzow, Sept. 8, 1983; Ruzow to Coughlin, Sept. 9, 1983; Lynch to

Three months passed between the arrival of Lyon Mountain's first seventy inmates in December 1983 and the public hearing in Dannemora in March 1984. The public's silence was deafening: no residents attended the hearing, and only one adjacent homeowner (a supporter who urged cancellation of the hearing) bothered to participate in the APA comment period. Persistent ambivalence, the fact that the prison had opened, and Corrections' decision not to allow residential use of its new sewage plant help explain the empty chairs in Dannemora that day. At the hearing, APA staff decried the penitentiary in terms reminiscent of Gabriels, warning of irreversible environmental damage, skewering the state's penchant for building prisons in fragile environments, and fearing continued crimescape expansion in the Park. The facility's Dannemoraesque qualities, including highly visible structures in proximity to residential neighborhoods and situated far from inmates' homes, led the Agency to label Lyon Mountain "a poor choice" for penal expansion. Even the ordinarily bullish town supervisor excoriated DOCS for renegeing on the sewage plant and depriving residents of a service more valuable than jobs and economic impact. The Park Agency, too, urged Corrections to expand the facility's capacity and help streamline the hamlet's outdated, broken, and irrational sewage system.²⁶⁹

Sheridan and Wrieden, Sept. 12, 1983; Glassanos to Vincent Moore, APA Executive Director, Nov. 22, 1983; Glassanos to Lynch, Dec. 8, 1983; Glassanos to Lynch, Dec. 14, 1983; DOCS, Recommendation for Classification of Lyon Mountain Acquisition, Dec. 15, 1983; DOCS, Notice of Completion of Draft Environmental Impact Statement, Dec. 15, 1983; Curran and Glennon to Glassanos, Dec. 23, 1983; Sheridan to Curran, Dec. 28, 1983; APA, News Release, Jan. 24, 1984; Lynch to Glassanos and Sheridan, Jan. 30, 1984; Glassanos to Curran, Feb. 21, 1984; Glennon to Glassanos, Mar. 9, 1984; Moore to Glassanos, Mar. 12, 1984; and, Glassanos to Glennon, Mar. 16, 1984, Lyon Mountain Records.

²⁶⁹ The APA review process featured intense discussion of the proposed sewage treatment plant, much of which involved continual Park Agency requests for additional information from Corrections. See, Thomas Turcotte, Supervisor of Technical Services, DOCS Division of Facilities Planning and Development, to Richard McCormick, DEC, Sept. 19, 1983; Glassanos to Glennon, Sept. 20, 1983; Lavigne and McCormick to Turcotte, Sept. 22, 1983; Ruzow to Coughlin, Sept. 28, 1983; Glennon to Glassanos, Sept. 28, 1983; Glassanos to Glennon, Sept. 29, 1983; Wrieden to Lynch, Dec. 29, 1983; Moore to Thomas Monroe, DEC Regional Director, Mar. 26, 1984; and, Donald Corliss, DEC Regional Engineer, to Moore, Apr. 9, 1984, Lyon Mountain Records. On the March 1984 APA Section 814 hearing in Dannemora, see, Lyon Mountain resident (anonymous) to Curran, Jan. 2, 1984; Curran, Memo to Agency Members and Designees, Jan. 11, 1984; and, APA, Notice of Public Hearing on Proposed Lyon Mountain Correctional Facility, Feb. 1984, Lyon Mountain Records; and, State of New York, Adirondack Park

The Agency's April 1984 verdicts on Lyon Mountain reflected the widespread ambivalence surrounding the project since its inception. While the Park Agency granted permits for DOCS to build in protected wetlands, the staff report rejected the prison as inconsistent with Section 814 of the APA Act, fearing an undue, adverse impact on Park resources. However, the APA commissioners overruled the staff and endorsed both the penitentiary project and reclassification of the lands in the State Administrative category. Soon thereafter, Corrections submitted its final environmental impact statement and proceeded with the project's second phase. As construction of the sewage plant neared completion in May, heavy rains damaged a temporary filtration system, leading to pollution of local wetlands and reviving fears of increased harm to an already compromised and damaged environment. Nevertheless, with regulatory review complete, Corrections moved quickly enough to allow nearly 500 local residents to participate in inmate-guided tours of the new prison as it officially opened in July 1984.²⁷⁰

Lured by the potential of a prison-induced boom, Vibra Resources proposed a new development scheme for Lyon Mountain in 1984. After renewing its purchase options, the firm

Agency, In the Matter of the Proposal by New York State Department of Correctional Services, to Undertake New Land Use and Development in the Adirondack Park and its Application for Necessary Permits Pursuant to Section 809 of the Adirondack Park Agency Act and 9 NYCRR Part 578, Transcript of Proceedings held at Dannemora Town Hall, Dannemora, New York, Mar. 20, 1984, pp. 8, 10-13, 18; Curran testimony, pp. 5, 7, 8-11; Testimony of Gary Duprey, Senior APA Adirondack Park Project Review Specialist, pp. 44-47; and, statements of John Kourofsky, Supervisor, Town of Dannemora, pp. 83, 86-87, Lyon Mountain Records. On the completion of Phase One, see, "Prison in Lyon Mountain," photo, *PR*, Feb. 21, 1984; and, "Transformation nearly complete of school into new state prison," *PR*, Feb. 21, 1984.

²⁷⁰ APA, Notice of Public Hearing on Proposed Amendments to the Master Plan for the Management of State Lands Pursuant to Section 816 of the Adirondack Park Agency Act, Mar. 23, 1984; APA, Staff Draft, In the Matter of the Application of the NYS DOCS For Permits Pursuant to 9 NYCRR Part 5878, Project W83-25, At a Meeting of the APA in Ray Brook, New York, Apr. 13, 1984; APA, Staff Draft, Agency Determination on State Agency Project After Public Hearing, in the Matter of the Proposal of the NYS DOCS to Undertake New Land Use and Development in the Adirondack Park, State Project No. SP 83-15, At a Meeting of the APA in Ray Brook, Apr. 14, 1984; Curran to Glassanos and Wrieden, Apr. 17, 1984; DOCS, Notice of Completion of Final Environmental Impact Statement, Apr. 25, 1984; and, James Hill, APA Soil and Water Engineering Specialist, to McCormick, May 18, 1984, Lyon Mountain Records; "Bids received for state projects," *PR*, May 3, 1984; "Low-risk short-timers seen for new prison," *PR*, May 5, 1984; "Lyon Mountain lists fire phone numbers," *PR*, Jun. 22, 1984; "Prison slates an open house," *PR*, Jul. 20, 1984; and, "Prison doors opened in Lyon Mountain Sunday," *PR*, Jul. 24, 1984.

in 1985 announced a \$100 million project to purchase land, mineral rights, and underground mines for compressed air storage to produce electric power. Rumors that Vibra planned to store toxic waste in the mines fueled residents' fears of pollution and possible explosions. Moreover, locals assailed the \$25,000 sale price as a cynical form of corporate welfare in a community recovering from decades of private control. Though contractually obligated to sell the properties to Vibra, by the mid-1980s the board had abandoned its zealous pursuit of development in favor of protecting public and environmental health. Once the prison opened, there was little enthusiasm for investment that might harm a healing environment. Accordingly, the board authorized a referendum on the Vibra sale, which voters rejected 235 to 49 in July 1986. Board members then endorsed this ecological ethos with new rules mandating popular referenda before either sale or development of town properties. Vibra's perplexed CEO could not comprehend local indifference to the prospect of 260 jobs and promised economic growth.²⁷¹

Once Lyon Mountain ceased to function as a self-sustaining economic unit, preserving its social and ecological integrity had become residents' primary objectives. Stripped of its identity as a mining settlement, the prison more firmly secured the hamlet's place within the crimescape. Unburdened by critics and willing to thwart environmental regulation by fiat, Corrections officials displayed an authoritarian streak reminiscent of the hamlet's late corporate rulers. The promise of ecologically minded public investment, however, blunted the impact of the state's

²⁷¹ Town of Dannemora, Town Board Meeting Minutes, Apr. 5, 1984, p. 346; Apr. 18, 1985, p. 382; Feb. 20, 1986, p. 402; and, Nov. 13, 1986, p. 421; "Dannemoran cites waste, conflict in town project," *PR*, Apr. 25, 1984; "Abandoned mines may someday store power," *PR*, Sept. 4, 1985; "Townpeople protest sale of Lyon Mountain mine," *PR*, Sept. 23, 1985; "Project will make ecosystem safer," letter to the editor, *PR*, Nov. 4, 1985; "Town ultimately responsible for water district," *PR*, Feb. 24, 1986; "Dannemora OKs sale of mines pending possible referendum," *PR*, Apr. 23, 1986; "Referendum set on mine sale," *PR*, May 20, 1986; "July 15 vote set to decide mine sale," *PR*, Jun. 26, 1986; "Yersh: investors interested," *PR*, Jun. 26, 1986; "Referendum on mine sale Tuesday," *PR*, Jul. 14, 1986; "Sale of mines voted down," *PR*, Jul. 16, 1986; "Water system removed from town's mine plot," *PR*, Jul. 21, 1986; "Vibra seeks \$14,000 from town," *PR*, Sept. 5, 1986; "Dannemora chlorination to be in before winter," *PR*, Sept. 23, 1986; "Dannemora to lessen liability risks," *PR*, Oct. 20, 1986; and, "County hike may overshadow tax decrease in Dannemora," *PR*, Nov. 18, 1986.

highhanded methods on a vulnerable population. Equally, residents' rejection of a new set of capitalist masters indicated a preference for the relatively safe harbor of public control. Nevertheless, local aspirations and state plans for the new prison evolved in very different directions.

An Unhappy Marriage: The Prison and Lyon Mountain's Struggle to Rebuild

The environmental factors that had informed the planning process also helped determine the prison's broader social and economic functions. As at Ray Brook, planners viewed Lyon Mountain not as an interconnected ecosystem, but rather as a patchwork of human and nonhuman, built and unbuilt, and carceral and non-carceral environments. Accordingly, Corrections sought to improve only its twenty-seven acres, to the exclusion of the wholesale community rebuilding homeowners had expected. Modernizing the infrastructure without DOCS' support therefore required town officials to cultivate close ties with the prison, petition for inmate labor, and seek out government grants and loans. Locals accustomed to corporate paternalism were frustrated by a state bent only on mass incarceration and indifferent to their everyday concerns. With its modern infrastructure, the penitentiary stood out as the prime beneficiary of state control. Local residents, on the other hand, contended with the vestiges of corporate rule long after the prison's opening.

Though operationally similar to its sibling institutions, the authoritarianism of Dannemora and Ray Brook was notably absent in Lyon Mountain. Administrators created a penal environment devoted less to discipline and more to helping prisoners adjust to post-prison life. At Lyon Mountain, inmates moved about freely without constant surveillance, took furloughs to visit family and look for jobs, and received help obtaining necessary documents for

employment, housing, and education upon release. Prisoners could also complete high school, vocational training, and college courses, study in the library, work out in the gym, and relax at night watching television or working in the art studio.²⁷² As at Ray Brook and Gabriels, the penitentiary and community also engaged in mutual outreach. The prison hosted health programs, concerts, and charity fundraisers, and nonprofit groups held parties for inmates and helped with prisoners' vegetable gardens, among other activities. Two inmates even recruited the singer Jon Bon Jovi to warn young people against narcotics use in a program at nearby Saranac High School. Finally, in a sign of diminished interest in privatizing its natural resources, the town leased former mining property for use as a prison firing range for one dollar per year.²⁷³

Corrections' faith in the rehabilitative powers of manual labor, of course, required inmates to spend most of their waking hours at work. Roughly half of Lyon Mountain's 150

²⁷² On general operations, see, "Transformation nearly complete of school into new state prison," *PR*, Feb. 21, 1984; "Prison doors opened in Lyon Mountain Sunday," *PR*, Jul. 24, 1984; "Program helps inmates prepare for release," *PR*, Dec. 10, 1984; "Joins prison community," photo, *PR*, Jan. 24, 1985; "Lyon Mountain prison brings jobs to area," *PR*, Jan. 24, 1985; "Construction," photo, *PR*, Jun. 17, 1985; "Prison recreation, classroom building going up," *PR*, Jun. 17, 1985; "Lyon Mountain, Altona prisons expanding," *PR*, Jan. 23, 1986; "Head of Lyon Mountain prison named," *PR*, Aug. 26, 1986; "Rehabilitation now means something, prison chief says," *PR*, Sept. 4, 1986; "Instructor cited at Lyon Mountain," *PR*, Sept. 20, 1986; "Local economic impact of prisons is immense," *PR*, Jan. 22, 1987; and, "Lyon Mountain prison," photo, *PR*, Jul. 1, 1987.

²⁷³ On outreach efforts, see, "Prison slates an open house," *PR*, Jul. 20, 1984; "Prison doors opened in Lyon Mountain Sunday," *PR*, Jul. 24, 1984; "Lyon Mountain prison brings jobs to area," *PR*, Jan. 24, 1985; "A Day of Health Awareness at Lyon Mountain," *CR*, Sept. 26, 1985; "Hundreds attend local AIDS forums," *PR*, Feb. 5, 1986; "Profiles: Court Our Lady of the Snows 1548, CDA, Lyon Mountain, N.Y.," *PR*, Feb. 21, 1986; "Rock star speaks out against drugs," *PR*, Mar. 12, 1986; "Local hospice opens arms to AIDS patients," *PR*, Jul. 17, 1987; "Barbershoppers," *PR*, Oct. 29, 1987; "Hospice worker offers support, counseling, care for the dying," *PR*, Nov. 9, 1987; "Newsmakers," *PR*, Feb. 4, 1988; "Local inmates raise money for Child Find," *PR*, Apr. 5, 1988; "Inmates' pride grows along with their gardens," *PR*, Aug. 25, 1989; Photo of inmates' gardens, *PR*, Aug. 25, 1989; "Lions Club cites donors," letter to the editor, *PR*, Oct. 5, 1989; PHOTOS, *CR*, Feb. 14, 1990; "Health awareness," *PR*, Aug. 29, 1990; "Vegetable Gardens Judged," *CR*, Sept. 6, 1990; "Lyon Mountain prison plans health program," *PR*, Sept. 25, 1990; "Thanking the Prison Leaders," photo, *ADE*, Nov. 25, 1991; "Alumni affair set," letter to the editor, *PR*, Aug. 25, 1992; "Northern Adirondack to hold benefit," *PR*, Mar. 25, 1993; "NAC to hold benefit basketball games," *PR*, Mar. 31, 1993; "Prison to host child-identification program," *PR*, Oct. 21, 1994; "United Way drive at 47 percent of goal," *PR*, Nov. 10, 1994; "State workers increase donations," *PR*, Jan. 6, 1996; "United Way campaign now at 84% of goal," *PR*, Dec. 7, 1996; "North Country holiday helpers touch many," *PR*, Jan. 9, 1998; and, "Correctional facilities to kick off gardening season," *ADE*, May 25, 1998; Town of Dannemora, Town Board Meeting Minutes, May 25, 1988, p. 456; Jul. 27, 1988, p. 460; Nov. 28, 1990, p. 533; Dec. 28, 1990, p. 536; and, Apr. 24, 1991, p. 552.

prisoners served on labor crews that had become ubiquitous in the region since the 1970s.

However, because Lyon Mountain was not organized as a camp, inmates performed little of the environmental work common at Ray Brook and Gabriels. Instead, they renovated and rebuilt a variety of public spaces in towns and villages struggling to adjust to postindustrial life. Inmates fixed up and built playgrounds, athletic fields, fairgrounds, skating rinks, and holiday toys for low-income families; spruced up churches, libraries, schools, fire departments, and medical facilities; landscaped and helped build other local prisons; and assisted with recycling programs, flood control, surplus agricultural crop gleaning, and debris removal after a devastating ice storm in January 1998.²⁷⁴ Earning the same low wages paid in Ray Brook and Gabriels, Lyon

²⁷⁴ On inmate workers' recreational projects, see, "Bellmont Town Board meeting highlights," *CR*, Mar. 26, 1984; "Dannemorans cite waste, conflict in town project," *PR*, Apr. 25, 1984; "Direction from voters seen in referendum on town's future," *PR*, Aug. 13, 1984; "Jobs range from church steps to garage," *PR*, Oct. 2, 1984; "More room," photo, *PR*, Jan. 24, 1985; "Inmate work crews help with local projects," *PR*, Jan. 23, 1986; "Rehabilitation now means something, prison chief says," *PR*, Sept. 4, 1986; "Lyon Mountain inmates finish interior of addition," *PR*, Jan. 22, 1987; "Fit for the Fair," photo, *PR*, Aug. 7, 1987; "Field day to benefit Jaws of Life drive," *PR*, Sept. 9, 1987; "Calling all Santa Clauses," *PR*, Dec. 5, 1987; "Barbershoppers will salute Disney," *PR*, May 19, 1988; "Job well done," photo, *PR*, Sept. 13, 1988; "Toyland," photo, *PR*, Dec. 8, 1990; "Work crew," photo, *PR*, Aug. 1, 1993; "Making a difference," photo, *PR*, Oct. 22, 1994; and, "North Country holiday helpers touch many," *PR*, Jan. 9, 1998; Town of Dannemora, Town Board Meeting Minutes, Jul. 12, 1984, p. 353; and, Aug. 22, 1990, p. 525. On inmate workers' public service and environmental projects, see, "New Sign in the Community," *CR*, May 2, 1984; "American Legion Dedication Ceremonies," *CR*, May 2, 1984; "Burke firehouse expanding," *PR*, Jul. 3, 1984; "New addition at Burke Fire Dept.," *CR*, July 1984; "Inmate construction," photo, *PR*, Oct. 2, 1984; "Jobs range from church steps to garage," *PR*, Oct. 2, 1984; "Lyon Mountain prison brings jobs to area," *PR*, Jan. 24, 1985; "More room," photo, *PR*, Jan. 24, 1985; "Prison recreation, classroom building going up," *PR*, Jun. 17, 1985; "Paint job," photo, *PR*, Oct. 25, 1985; "Inmate work crews help with local projects," *PR*, Jan. 23, 1986; "Steps rebuilt," photo, *PR*, Jan. 23, 1986; "Rehabilitation now means something, prison chief says," *PR*, Sept. 4, 1986; "Lyon Mountain inmates finish interior of addition," *PR*, Jan. 22, 1987; "Many hands build wheelchair ramp," *PR*, Mar. 28, 1987; "Help at the top," photo, *PR*, Aug. 21, 1987; "Peru Free Library completes roomy addition," *PR*, Jan. 28, 1988; "Zoning laws being considered in Dannemora," *PR*, Jul. 10, 1988; "Pool painted," *PR*, Aug. 18, 1988; "Job well done," *PR*, Sept. 13, 1988; "Mooers senior housing project modified," photo, *PR*, Sept. 22, 1988; "Many helped raise money," letter to the editor, *PR*, May 14, 1989; "Dannemora board appoints new town justice," *PR*, Jun. 1, 1989; "Major improvement," photo, *PR*, Aug. 28, 1989; "Ellenburg school cleanup continues, total loss unknown," *PR*, Dec. 6, 1989; "Ice jams ready for blasting," *PR*, Jan. 27, 1990; Photos, *CR*, Feb. 14, 1990; "Part IV: Fifty Years Pass," *CR*, Mar. 21, 1990; "Gleaners: Project has grown since 1989," *PR*, Sept. 16, 1990; "NACS fire cleanup tops \$1 million," *PR*, Sept. 29, 1990; "Moving day," photo, *PR*, Jan. 19, 1991; "ARC getting into recycling newspapers," *PR*, Mar. 12, 1991; "Recycling program now in area schools," *PR*, Apr. 2, 1991; "Reconstruction of NACS gym progressing," *PR*, May 12, 1991; "Dodge Memorial Library to get repair funding," *PR*, Aug. 19, 1991; "Thanking the Prison Leaders," photo, *ADE*, Nov. 25, 1991; "Malone-area gleaners now growing own produce," *PR*, Aug. 4, 1992; "Northern Adirondack to hold benefit," *PR*, Mar. 25, 1993; "NAC to hold benefit basketball games," *PR*, Mar. 31, 1993; "LCPA prepares land for new animal shelter," *PR*, Jul. 24, 1993; "Sprucing Up," photo, *PR*, Aug. 27, 1994; "Inmates spiff up fire station," *PR*, May 12, 1996; "New annex to house CCC technology program," *PR*, Aug. 1, 1997; "HUD OKs \$12 million storm aid for area," *PR*, Jan. 16, 1998; "Storm cleanup

Mountain's inmate workers saved local governments untold sums on vital projects that might otherwise have never been completed and helped draw the prison and its host community closer together.

However, the relatively seamless integration of the prison and its inmates into the crimescape did not provide relief for locals struggling to fund expensive infrastructural repairs. Dreams of a large-scale, market-oriented reindustrialization of Lyon Mountain's former mining lands had ended with the defeat of Vibra's electric power plan in 1986. In keeping with the newly established political framework surrounding commercial development within the town, board members authorized selling off the massive piles of oresand left behind when the mines closed. Ore tailings long considered waste acquired new value as raw materials for entrepreneurs producing asphalt and roofing shingles. To lure buyers willing to sign long-term contracts, town officials offered low, fixed rates based on tonnage. While generating a small stream of revenue for the town, these limited development schemes met the more important goals of safeguarding the hamlet's ecological integrity, protecting public health, and helping restore the vitality of a damaged landscape.²⁷⁵

Rebuilding the community's recreational and transportation infrastructure, however, required sums vastly exceeding the town's shrinking sources of revenue. After an initial burst of enthusiastic proposals following the prison's opening, the board settled on inmate labor and not-

continues," *PR*, Feb. 4, 1998; "Correctional facilities to kick off gardening season," *ADE*, May 25, 1998; "Flooding Tidbits," *PR*, Jun. 30, 1998; and, "Dinner Held for Workers," *CR*, Jan. (year illegible); Town of Dannemora, Town Board Meeting Minutes, Apr. 18, 1985, p. 382.

²⁷⁵ On private redevelopment after 1984, see, "'Lyon Mountain may get water fixup, new plant," *PR*, Jul. 16, 1985; "Lyon Mountain man wants road cleared," *PR*, Nov. 3, 1987; "Contract to sell mine sand could net town a windfall," *PR*, Nov. 16, 1993; and, "Last of mining landmarks fading fast," *PR*, Jun. 13, 2010; Town of Dannemora, Town Board Meeting Minutes, Jul. 11, 1985, p. 390; Apr. 28, 1993, p. 38; and, Adirondack Park Agency, Memo to Adirondack Mayors, Supervisors, Planning Board Chairpersons, from Barbara Sweet, Chair, Economic Affairs Committee, Re: Local Review of the Light Industry in the Adirondack Park, Sept. 27, 1994.

always-reliable grant funding to maintain its recreational facilities. As ore tailings became a precious commodity, board members issued increasingly strident warnings to recreational vehicle enthusiasts whose four-wheeler and dirt bike rides on the piles threatened a reliable source of hard cash.²⁷⁶ A simultaneous, prison-inspired groundswell of support for fixing Lyon Mountain's crumbling roads and sidewalks collided with the limited resources available to undertake such endeavors. State and federal road construction grants arrived slowly, and mending pedestrian pathways remained a perennial source of complaint. The board sought whatever means possible to resolve the dilemmas, including establishment of state responsibility for maintaining roads, curbing, and sidewalks, and employing schoolchildren to keep transit networks clear of debris.²⁷⁷ The construction of Lyon Mountain's prison, and the reconstruction of the hamlet itself, thus proceeded along separate tracks. While handsomely paid construction workers modernized the penitentiary facilities, poorly compensated children and prisoners worked on projects in the community that many had anticipated would be funded *and* completed by Corrections. Self-help ruled the day.

Modernization of Lyon Mountain's water and sewage systems met mixed results under the correctional regime. The prison's advanced infrastructure inspired construction of a parallel system for residents, and town leaders drew up grant and loan applications, proposed new water districts, and paid to restore polluted waterways. Residents frustrated by endless delays refused

²⁷⁶ On town efforts to renovate recreational facilities, see, "Cycle traffic has Dannemora fretting," *PR*, Apr. 8, 1983; "Dannemorans cite waste, conflict in town project," *PR*, Apr. 25, 1984; "Dannemora vows crackdown on tailings-pile riders," *PR*, May 16, 1984; "Dannemora board appoints new town justice," *PR*, Jun. 1, 1989; and, "Last of mining landmarks fading fast," *PR*, Jun. 13, 2010; Town of Dannemora, Town Board Meeting Minutes, Apr. 19, 1984, p. 348; May 10, 1984, p. 350; Jul. 12, 1984, p. 353; Oct. 25, 1984, p. 366; Nov. 15, 1984, p. 368; May 16, 1985, p. 384; May 23, 1990, p. 514; Jun. 27, 1990, p. 516; and, Apr. 28, 1993, p. 38.

²⁷⁷ On town efforts to improve transportation infrastructure, see, "Dannemorans cite waste, conflict in town project," *PR*, Apr. 25, 1984; and, "Direction from voters seen in referendum on town's future," *PR*, Aug. 13, 1984; Town of Dannemora, Town Board Meeting Minutes, Feb. 16, 1984, p. 343; Apr. 5, 1984, p. 346; Apr. 19, 1984, pp. 348-349; May 10, 1984, p. 350; Aug. 2, 1984, p. 360; Apr. 18, 1985, p. 382; Feb. 20, 1986, p. 402; Apr. 17, 1986, p. 406; Jul. 23, 1987, p. 436; Jul. 27, 1988, p. 460; May 23, 1990, pp. 513-514; and, Jul. 24, 1991, p. 563.

to answer water district surveys and prevented town equipment from entering their properties for the cleanup *they had requested*. When locals complained in 1985 of ruptured septic tanks and pipes, irritated board members told them to find a solution on their own. Meanwhile, the town undertook what became the only effort to repair the freshwater system by employing inmates to clean its aging reservoirs. To fix the sewage problems, in 1988 the DEC offered its Self-Help Program, whereby the state would help the town secure workers and material to build an eco-friendly wastewater treatment system. In 1990, the Department of Housing and Urban Development approved construction of a senior housing complex in Lyon Mountain, along with a modern sewage network to serve the entire hamlet. Strangely, only a year later, board members denounced their DEC benefactors for imposing new development restrictions in area wetlands, and anti-APA screeds remained regular features of town meetings. Anti-regulatory bluster aside, without big government filling the role big business had left empty in 1967, the long awaited reconstruction of Lyon Mountain's vital infrastructure would never have occurred.²⁷⁸

After the difficulties in Ray Brook and Gabriels, Lyon Mountain satisfied planners' desire for a community amenable to crimescape expansion where rationalizing the prison's

²⁷⁸ On reconstruction of the water and sewage systems, see, "Town plans to drain, clean pond," *PR*, Jun. 3, 1985; "Prison recreation, classroom building going up," *PR*, Jun. 17, 1985; "Lyon Mountain may get water fixup, new plant," *PR*, Jul. 16, 1985; "County hike may overshadow tax decrease in Dannemora," *PR*, Nov. 18, 1986; "Water reservoir gets scrubbed by inmates," *PR*, Jan. 22, 1987; "DEC to help Lyon Mountain stop dumping raw sewage," *PR*, Aug. 31, 1988; "Lyon Mt. sewer-treatment cost is big question," *PR*, Sept. 19, 1988; "Town begins tackling Lyon Mountain sewage woes," *PR*, Mar. 3, 1989; "Councilman steps down; new water chief sought," *PR*, Aug. 29, 1989; Town of Dannemora, Town Board Meeting Minutes, Aug. 25, 1983, p. 322; Oct. 27, 1983, p. 328; Dec. 8, 1983, p. 332; Jan. 26, 1984, p. 333; Feb. 16, 1984, p. 343; Mar. 8, 1984, p. 344; Apr. 5, 1984, p. 346; Apr. 19, 1984, p. 348; May 10, 1984, p. 350; Jul. 12, 1984, p. 353; Aug. 2, 1984, p. 361; Oct. 25, 1984, p. 366; Nov. 15, 1984, p. 368; Dec. 27, 1984, p. 370; May 16, 1985, p. 384; Jul. 11, 1985, p. 390; May 23, 1990, p. 513; Jun. 27, 1990, p. 516; Aug. 22, 1990, pp. 524-525; Nov. 28, 1990, p. 533; Dec. 28, 1990, p. 536; Town of Dannemora, Resolution # 95 of the Town of Dannemora Requesting that the NYS Dept. of Environmental Conservation Withdraw the Tentative Freshwater Wetland Maps Noticed in June 1991; New York State Department of Environmental Conservation, to Town Clerk of Dannemora, Jun. 5, 1991; Jul. 24, 1991, p. 562; Town of Dannemora, Town Board Regular Meeting, Resolution Requesting that the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation Delay Proposed Action on Wetlands, May 27, 1992; Apr. 28, 1993, p. 38; and, Aug. 24, 1994, p. 99.

broader social and economic functions seemed unnecessary. With little opposition, Corrections' biggest challenges would come in adhering to environmental regulations and ensuring water and sewage connections for the penitentiary. Based on prior experience, the latter concerns appeared relatively simple: Ray Brook's prisons shared the same freshwater supply, and each piped sewage to the municipal facility in Saranac Lake, while on-site freshwater and wastewater systems in Gabriels had required only minor upgrades. Though DOCS would have to build a new sewage plant in Lyon Mountain, planners had not anticipated residents' expectations would exceed the Department's usual promises of jobs, outreach, and inmate labor. Locals looked on with disbelief as their putative big government savior showered unlimited funds on the prison while ignoring the larger social, economic, and ecological ruins of deindustrialization. The Corrections system was too big to fail, and Lyon Mountain was too small to save. Preventing the hamlet's summary execution required a town board able to navigate funding alternatives that resembled, in their hodgepodge complexity, the very infrastructure they were intended to rebuild.

Conclusion

For much of its twenty-seven year existence, the minimum-security prison in Lyon Mountain was remarkable mostly for its strict adherence to the state's original plan. Its inmate population rarely exceeded 150; the physical plant and cellblocks did not expand; and the hamlet maintained its prized postindustrial serenity. Compared to the constant growth and disturbances witnessed at facilities in Ray Brook, Gabriels, and Dannemora, Lyon Mountain's crimescape experience could seem relatively insignificant, and even boring. However, by generating renewed interest in the community's health, well being, and future as a home for its residents, the correctional facility played a larger role than its quiet existence might otherwise indicate.

The penitentiary's only major disturbance occurred in August 2009, when a convicted burglar from Long Island walked out before the evening headcount. Authorities quickly launched a massive search, including helicopters, dogs, and police roadblocks. After spending twelve hours hiding in the surrounding woods, an off-duty Lyon Mountain corrections officer spotted a man wearing a green prison uniform about three miles from the prison, on Route 374. After ignoring commands to stop and put up his hands, State Police shot 23-year-old Scott Adkins and took him into custody. At his sentencing hearing for felony escape, Adkins told of growing up with his primary caregiver incarcerated and of suffering depression after arriving in Lyon Mountain in 2008. For his twelve hours on the lam, Adkins faced fines, court fees, and six years of disciplinary confinement.²⁷⁹

Inadvertently, this singular interruption of the hamlet's postindustrial calm occurred only months before Governor David Paterson announced the closure of Lyon Mountain's prison in January 2010.²⁸⁰ New York's prison population had declined steadily since peaking at 71,538 in

²⁷⁹ "Escaped Lyon Mountain inmate shot, captured," *PR*, Aug. 25, 2009; "Authorities continue to probe Lyon Mountain prison escape," *PR*, Aug. 26, 2009; "Inmate charged with escape from Lyon Mountain," *PR*, Jan. 15, 2010; and, "Inmate escaped for Lyon Mountain escape," *PR*, Jun. 3, 2010.

²⁸⁰ At the time, Governor Paterson also announced the closure of the Moriah Shock Incarceration Facility in Essex County, which like Lyon Mountain, had at one time been a company town owned and controlled by Republic Steel. As of March 2014, the shock facility in Moriah is still operating. See, "Job-hungry Moriah goes after state prison," *PR*, Apr. 15, 1986; "Supervisors support prison in Moriah," *PR*, Apr. 23, 1986; "Moriah's hope for a prison turned down by corrections," *PR*, May 15, 1986; "Prison would fulfill promise of jobs," *PR*, Dec. 11, 1986; "Moriah, Malone in hunt for prisons," *PR*, Dec. 11, 1986; "New prisons not promised to Malone nor Mineville," *ADE*, Dec. 17, 1986; "Essex County residents back prison in Moriah," *PR*, Dec. 23, 1986; "Moriah targeted as prison site," *PR*, Jan. 22, 1987; "Prison bill's impact here in question," *ADE*, Jul. 9, 1987; "Moriah readies for impact of new state prison," *PR*, Feb. 6, 1988; "Moriah shock camp ruled out," *PR*, Apr. 1, 1988; "Lawmakers fought to keep prison," *PR*, Apr. 4, 1988; "Moriah prison almost lost, but work should now begin this July," *PR*, May 2, 1988; "Prison space needed," *LPN*, Aug. 17, 1988; "Construction begins at prison in Moriah," *PR*, Sept. 4, 1988; "Essex Co. board tries to keep expenses in check," *ADE*, Dec. 29, 1988; "Shock incarceration planned," *LPN*, Jan. 4, 1989; "Shock incarceration saves state \$5.1 million," *PR*, Jan. 12, 1989; "Camp Moriah to open soon," *PR*, Feb. 11, 1989; "First 'shock' inmates graduate," *PR*, Feb. 22, 1989; "Moriah shock inmates: 'We'll never be back!'" *PR*, Sept. 22, 1989; "Shock troops work road at site of famed bear fight," *ADE*, Oct. 27, 1990; "Locals flee," *ADE*, Mar. 12, 1992; "Banking on a river flow," *ADE*, Mar. 29, 1994; "Forest fire contained," *ADE*, Jul. 7, 1995; "State calls off search for Moriah inmate," *ADE*, Feb. 10, 1997; "Work parties scheduled for trail," *ADE*, Oct. 16, 1997; and, "Authorities press search for Moriah prisoner," *ADE*, Nov. 8, 1997.

December 1999, leaving fewer than 59,000 inmates in the DOCS system. State leaders highlighted a 30 percent drop in crime since 2000, which, combined with sentence reductions, early releases, and increased use of residential substance abuse treatment, greatly reduced Corrections' need for minimum-security facilities. The state predicted a savings of \$7.2 million in annual operating costs and \$950,000 in planned construction and renovations at Lyon Mountain alone. Though the Department promised the facility's 91 employees equivalent positions in other state penitentiaries and sought new cell space for its 135 inmates, in keeping with past practice, it did little to help the tiny hamlet adjust to its post-prison future.²⁸¹

In short order, residents' frustration with Corrections' seeming indifference toward their community boiled over once more. Homeowners' contradictory and somewhat schizophrenic reactions to the penitentiary's closure indicated a subconscious understanding of the morally fraught condition of using prisons for economic development. Their complaints, many of which closely mirrored those espoused in Gabriels, revealed Lyon Mountain's deepened incorporation into the political framework of the crimescape. With 80 percent of its population retired, town leaders worried about possible tax increases once the prison ceased paying its annual \$28,000 water bill and removed its inmate labor crews. The pragmatic concerns ended there, as locals alternatively praised and attacked the state, the Corrections system, and the prisoners themselves. Residents accused the state of privileging inmates' desires to be closer to their homes over assisting the North Country economy, while simultaneously taking credit for teaching prisoners work ethics and vocational skills that helped them in their post-prison lives. In the same breath, locals repeated nineteenth century arguments surrounding the supposedly healthful and

²⁸¹ "DOCS Planning for Additional Closures, Consolidation in 2010-11 as Inmate Population Continues to Decline," *DOCS Today*, Winter 2010, pp. 1, 5; "Two local prisons tagged for closure," *PR*, Jan. 19, 2010; and, "Four prisons, including three in the North Country, up for closure," *ADE*, Jan. 20, 2010.

rehabilitative qualities of non-urban environments, suddenly claiming to care for prisoners whose desire to be closer to their families they had so easily dismissed. Finally, residents demanded state compensation in exchange for the economic damage and decreased political clout sure to come from the prison's closure.²⁸²

Though a crowd of 200 residents stood in the winter cold to protest Lyon Mountain's closure, the state proceeded to shut the facility down in January 2011. Much like the public school it had replaced, the penitentiary had undergone nearly \$3 million in renovations in 2006, and as of 2010 had an assessed value of \$5 million. Two-and-a-half years after its closure, New York State auctioned off the penitentiary in the same Dannemora Town Hall where the only APA hearing on the prison project had been held, amid a sea of empty chairs, thirty years before. Bidding began at \$140,000, and the only bidder in the room that day, a businessman from Quebec, won the 27-acre facility, including 23 buildings, several acres of undeveloped land, and the sewage plant that had once been the subject of so much grief. As of 2014, the fate of Lyon Mountain's former prison remains undetermined. In the meantime, the town is attempting to

²⁸² "Two local prisons tagged for closure," *PR*, Jan. 19, 2010; "Four prisons, including three in the North Country, up for closure," *ADE*, Jan. 20, 2010; "Prison priorities," editorial, *ADE*, Jan. 28, 2010; "Rally today to support Lyon Mountain correctional," *PR*, Feb. 3, 2010; "Crowd: Save prison jobs," *PR*, Feb. 4, 2010; "Union: Prison closures 'absolutely devastating,'" *PR*, Feb. 9, 2010; "NYSCOPBA blasts plan to close local DOCS prisons," *ADE*, Feb. 9, 2010; "Inevitability in prisons' future," editorial, *PR*, Feb. 13, 2010; "Rouses Point supports prison effort," *PR*, Feb. 18, 2010; "Prisoner count change could reduce North Country's clout," *ADE*, Mar. 4, 2010; "Lyon Mountain gets high marks," op-ed, *PR*, Mar. 6, 2010; "Duprey, Kimmel have similar views on prison closures," *ADE*, Mar. 10, 2010; "Facing reality in right-sizing New York's prison system," op-ed, *ADE*, Mar. 17, 2010; "Officials gearing up for Lyon Mountain closure," *PR*, Aug. 12, 2010; "Grateful for efforts," letter to the editor, *PR*, Oct. 24, 2010; "Lyon Mt. prison reuse studied," *PR*, Nov. 22, 2010; "N.Y. Gov. Threatens to Mothball More Prisons," *NPR*, Jan. 27, 2011; "As Republicans Resist Closing Prisons, Cuomo Is Said to Scale Back Plan," *NYT*, Jan. 28, 2011; "Future of Lyon Mountain prison property pondered," *PR*, Jan. 29, 2011; and, "New York Has Some Prisons to Sell You," *NYT*, May 27, 2012.

raise tonnage rates on its sale of ore sand from the tailings piles that still cast a long shadow over a community whose serenity has gained a new lease on life.²⁸³



Figure 7: Lyon Mountain, New York. Former prison at left. Republic Steel company houses at right. Abandoned mining facility on hillside above houses. Public television tower atop Lyon Mountain in center of image. Photograph taken by author, June 2012.

²⁸³ “Former prison to be sold at auction,” *PR*, Jun. 28, 2013; “Lyon Mountain prison sold,” *PR*, Jul. 11, 2013; and, “Town may raise rates for ore sand,” *PR*, Jan. 27, 2014.

Chapter 5
“This town will die”: Community Prison Building and Environmental Politics in Tupper Lake, 1980-2006

Introduction

From the road, it is difficult to see the facility that sits just south of the Village of Tupper Lake. Turning off the highway, a gravel road leads to a lot where employees and visitors park their vehicles. Thick brush and trees obscure the entrance, which is reached by walking down a paved path. Once inside, security personnel await in a large, sunlit entrance hall, with corridors off to the left and right. Visitors must wear small green tags on their chests to identify themselves, and there are strict limits on the times and days outsiders may enter the facility. The institution is surrounded by dense forest, lakes, ponds, and streams, and sits astride the Raquette River, New York’s second longest. In many ways, this seemingly unnatural building is designed to blend in with the Adirondacks’ natural environment.

The facility, of course, is the Natural History Museum of the Adirondacks (known as the Wild Center), opened in Tupper Lake in July 2006. If local residents and politicians had had their way in the 1980s and 1990s, though, this museum would never have been built. Instead, a few miles away, a massive state maximum-security prison holding 1500 inmates and employing nearly 400 men and women would be operating on land owned by International Paper (IP) and used for commercial logging and paper production. These plans, though, whereby Tupper Lake would have become yet another piece of the Adirondack crimescape, never came to fruition.

Tupper Lake occupies a unique place in the history of prison building in the Adirondacks as the only community whose organized efforts to join the crimescape failed every time.

Political and business leaders toiled for two decades to convince prison planners that Tupper Lake was the best place to build. The town's leaders engaged in community prison building, a process whereby local elected officials sought to direct and control the spending of state funds on correctional expansion in their jurisdiction. Each of their efforts toward this objective, though, encountered opposition from local residents and suspicion and ambivalence from state officials. In the 1980s, concerns surrounding the AIDS epidemic, APA regulation, and difficulties acquiring land for the prison created headaches for prison advocates. In the 1990s, those headaches worsened as state budget problems, a recession, and a persistent and determined opposition stood in the prison's way. By 1997, though, Tupper Lake's community prison builders appeared to have achieved their goal, when state officials agreed to fund a penitentiary in Franklin County. In the end, though, New York's investment in environmental protection trumped construction of a prison in Tupper Lake. The museum would be a consolation prize once New York slammed the door on further crimescape expansion in the Adirondack Park.

Unlike the controversy over Ray Brook's Olympic prison, which revolved around ethics, morality, land use, and public health, and the debate at Gabriels, which shed new light on simmering class and racial divisions, the fights in Tupper Lake centered primarily on environmental protection. Prison boosters argued the state owed them a prison after a two-decade lobbying effort, proposing an enormous correctional facility be built on forestland adjacent to both fragile wetlands and lavish second homes and wilderness retreats. The project's opponents, on the other hand, argued that their investments in the region as tourists, seasonal residents, and second homeowners amounted to social and political power that permitted them a free hand in determining the town's future. Concerns about environmental damage spurred the intervention of environmental groups that committed to stopping the prison. This development,

in turn, generated a fierce response from prison advocates, who cast their environmentalist opponents as left-wing zealots bent on dispossessing local residents and depopulating the Park. Though each side came to the fight armed with seemingly irrefutable knowledge of the penitentiary's potential environmental impacts, state officials opted to move the prison outside the Park to prevent the environmental damage opponents feared and to avoid Gabriels- and Lyon Mountain-style delays in building the prison. The penitentiary would be built, but in a location whose aesthetic, scenic, and ecological integrity possessed less social and political value.

Origins of community prison building, 1980-1992

By the end of 1980, the Adirondack crimescape had tripled in size. In addition to the 135-year old maximum-security penitentiary in Dannemora, there were two new prisons in the Lake Placid area: the state minimum-security Camp Adirondack, opened in 1976, and the medium-security Ray Brook Federal Correctional Institution (FCI), opened in 1980. Struggling communities across the Adirondacks looked on with envy as Dannemora and Ray Brook bore the fruit of millions of dollars of state and federal investments in crimescape expansion. The Village of Tupper Lake, in the southwestern Franklin County town of Altamont, was one such community.²⁸⁴ Up to this point, none of the prisons in the region had been built as a result of local pressure or lobbying. As discussed in Chapter 3, by early 1981 Corrections officials had targeted the hamlet of Gabriels as the site for their next prison. Instead of waiting for DOCS to find them, Tupper Lake officials began an effort to sell their community as the best spot for New York's next penitentiary. If prisons could work economic magic in places like Dannemora and

²⁸⁴ In 2004, Altamont voters approved renaming their town Tupper Lake.

Ray Brook, then surely the same would be true in Tupper Lake, a community that was struggling to survive.

Tupper Lake in 1980 was a shadow of its former self. Empty storefronts, boarded-up homes, an aging and shrinking population, and a palpable sense of despair were a constant presence as the village struggled to redefine itself in the wake of enormous loss. Life in Tupper Lake, though, had not always been so gloomy. French Canadian fur trappers trekked into the region in the early nineteenth century, and by the early 1900s, Tupper Lake was a booming logging town. In the late 1920s, the state built a veterans' hospital, and after World War II, the area became popular with tourists. By the 1950s, Tupper Lake counted thirty-nine bars and restaurants, a dozen hotels, a rail line, four sawmills, and numerous shops and retail outlets. The collapse, though, came quickly. New environmental regulations and market forces pushed out most of the logging companies. Tourist tastes also changed, as visitors flocked to Olympic host Lake Placid and the High Peaks, bypassing Tupper Lake. The veterans' hospital closed, reopening in the 1960s as the Sunmount Developmental Disabilities Center, an inpatient facility for the mentally ill. With 700 employees, the state facility was the area's largest employer, but by 1980, Tupper Lake's boom times were long gone.²⁸⁵

Tupper Lake's political and business elite quickly embraced correctional services as a potential solution to their economic and social problems. There was an unusual proposal in the history of the Adirondack crimescape: no community had ever lobbied state or federal officials to build a prison in their midst. Typically, correctional leaders would locate suitable sites, and then work with local officials and residents through the planning and building process. Tupper

²⁸⁵ "Prison in the Forest," *NYT*, Sept. 16, 1997; and, Dan McClelland, "Ron Stafford delivers on his prison promise," letter to the editor, *Tupper Lake Free Press*, Aug. 6, 1997 (hereafter, *TLFP*). See also, Louis Simmons, *Mostly Spruce and Hemlock* (Tupper Lake, N.Y., 1976).

Lake's leaders, though, did not want to tempt fate by waiting for the state to find them.

Accordingly, between late 1980 and 1992, village leaders embarked on four separate campaigns to attract a prison to Tupper Lake. The community's first prison effort was unorganized and existed primarily in the realm of ideas. Their next three attempts, though, were more coherent and specific, and spurred the organization of a small but vocal opposition that successfully raised doubts about the proposal. That opposition, combined with state ambivalence about building in Tupper Lake, helped scuttle prison bids made between 1986 and 1992. In each case, widespread local support for the proposal was insufficient to convince planners to do as local leaders asked.

Tupper Lake officials first proposed a prison both to revive the fading logging industry *and* to introduce a stable source of employment. In late 1980 and early 1981, local leaders learned that two state agencies were seeking space for new facilities. The Power Authority of the State of New York (PASNY) sought to construct a wood-fired electrical plant to provide energy-efficient steam power to businesses and homeowners struggling with high energy prices and inflation. Simultaneously, the Department of Correctional Services (DOCS) continued its search for prison space to relieve chronic overcrowding. Local politicians told PASNY and DOCS that Tupper Lake would be an "excellent location" owing to its "abundant wood supply." They argued that "the two projects go hand in hand," noting the electric plant could provide excess power to the proposed prison, saving the state money on energy in the new facility. Local Assemblyman Glenn Harris said the plan "would certainly be a much-needed shot in the arm for the North Country in terms of new jobs, a potential savings in fuel consumption, and a general

boosting of the economy.” This prison proposal, designed to midwife the rebirth of the area’s defunct logging industry, went nowhere.²⁸⁶

A more organized lobbying campaign began in August 1986. Republican Dean Lefebvre had won election as Altamont town supervisor in November 1985 on the promise to secure a state prison during his term. Lefebvre wasted little time in laying the groundwork for his effort to locate a prison in Tupper Lake. He garnered endorsements from the local Board of Education, Chamber of Commerce, and numerous town and village boards; enlisted scores of local corrections officers to lead petition drives; and created a task force composed of business and political leaders whom he charged with lobbying state leaders. By December 1986, the task force had identified three possible sites for the prison, including one on commercial logging land owned by International Paper (IP), on Pitchfork Pond Road, which met the approval of Corrections officials. Task force leaders abandoned the idea of using a prison as a vehicle to revive the logging trade, arguing instead that the prison alone, with its stable jobs and incomes, could restore community and family ties ruptured with the collapse of the old economy.²⁸⁷

Not everyone in the region, though, was enthusiastic about the prospect of Tupper Lake becoming a prison town. An October 1986 escape from Gabriels spurred creation of an organized opposition to community prison building in Tupper Lake. Alarmed by police roadblocks and the ensuing manhunt, concerned residents gathered to discuss the prison proposal, expressing concerns about impacts on public services, property values, safety, and the

²⁸⁶ “New state prison urged for Tupper Lake,” *ADE*, Jan. 15, 1981; and, “Tupper Lake eyed as prison site,” *PR*, Jan. 16, 1981. After exhaustive research, the author found no further evidence or information concerning this particular proposal.

²⁸⁷ “Lefebvre: Don’t waste tax dollars on prison study,” *ADE*, Oct. 1, 1986; “Altamont seeking prison for town,” *PR*, Oct. 28, 1986; “Possible Tupper prison sites eyed,” *ADE*, Nov. 29, 1986; “Corrections officials suggest Tupper Lake find better sites for possible prison,” *ADE*, Dec. 19, 1986; and, “Only 1 Tupper site deemed suitable for prison,” *PR*, Dec. 22, 1986.

potential public health threat posed by AIDS-infected inmates. In January 1987, the opposition formally organized as Tupper Lake Concerned Citizens (TLCC), and released a fourteen-point list outlining their concerns, including anxiety about potential negative economic impacts; the effects of prisoners' families visiting or relocating to Tupper Lake; and possible effects on the housing market, quality of life, and tourism.²⁸⁸ Reluctantly, task force leaders agreed to hold public hearings on their proposal.

Prison advocates in Tupper Lake convened two informational sessions on their proposal. The first, in October 1986, was little more than a pep rally, with task force members fielding softball questions (and praise) from a room filled with corrections officers and their allies. By early 1987, though, prison boosters had to contend with an organized opposition, which likely stirred uncomfortable memories of past struggles at Ray Brook and Gabriels. Lefebvre called further public involvement "unnecessary" and "a waste of taxpayers' money," but nevertheless organized another meeting in March 1987. Task force members extolled what they viewed as the positive effects of crimescape expansion, including increased job opportunities; more, not fewer, tourists; the prisons' invisibility in the landscape; the possibility of a housing boom and increased assessments; and an annual infusion of \$22 million into the local economy.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁸ "Councilmen call for study of prison impact," *PR*, Nov. 14, 1986; "Any local opposition seems to have faded," *PR*, Dec. 22, 1986. Following the October 1986 escape of a convict from Camp Gabriels, Tupper Lake resident Fran Collier noted that her husband, a forester with IP in Lake Placid, had to pass through two State Police roadblocks during his commute home. She also claimed that when her seven-year old son heard of the escape, his fear prevented him walking alone to the school bus stop. Also, "Altamont seeking prison for town," *PR*, Oct. 28, 1986; "Lefebvre: Don't waste tax dollars on prison study," *ADE*, Oct. 1, 1986; "Writers express fear of what might happen if prison comes to Tupper Lake," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Jan. 22, 1987; and, "Anti-prison folks object to editorial," *ADE*, Jan. 27, 1987. Along with Tupper Lake, there were several other communities lobbying for a state prison in late 1986 and early 1987. These included Ogdensburg, Malone, Cape Vincent, Massena, Moriah, Brasher Falls, Dannemora, Moravia, Union Springs, Wolcott, Fulton County, and Livingston County. See, "Corrections officials suggest Tupper Lake find better sites for possible prison," *ADE*, Dec. 19, 1986.

²⁸⁹ "Lefebvre: Don't waste tax dollars on prison study," *ADE*, Oct. 1, 1986; "Altamont seeking prison for town," *PR*, Oct. 28, 1986; "Prison plan forum in Tupper produces support and criticism," *ADE*, Mar. 26, 1987; and, "Tupper Lake residents quiz officials about prison," *PR*, Mar. 28, 1987. The prison task force panel at the March 25, 1987

Prison critics, on the other hand, focused on the potential public health hazard of potentially AIDS-infected prisoners moving to Tupper Lake. With knowledge of the disease's origins and modes of transmission still evolving, opponents worried that walls, barbed wire, and guard towers would not be enough to contain the deadly pathogens lurking inside the inmates' bodies. Opponents referenced protests by corrections officers at Adirondack Correctional, one of whom had held a sign asking, "How would you like to work with downstate men with AIDS?" Chip Briant, a former respiratory therapy technician at Saranac Lake General Hospital noted he had "lost count at 15 (on) the number of ones who died with AIDS, all of them prisoners." Adirondack Correctional superintendent James Racette acknowledged the problem, but argued AIDS did not affect "the community, except for the prison...and the hospital." He stated that his prison's first case was in 1981, but that the disease had not spread by sexual contact. Rather, Racette noted that most convicts at Adirondack had contracted AIDS through intravenous drug use. He called AIDS "a scary disease," but added, "all the information says you can't get it by casual contact." Interestingly, though Racette argued the public health threat was minimal, he indicated DOCS was negotiating with Santa Clara Hospital in New York City to care for the state's incarcerated AIDS patients.²⁹⁰

Though a task force sponsored report indicated the prison would generate widespread economic benefits, IP's refusal to sell its land led the Corrections Department to reject Tupper

public meeting included James Racette, superintendent of Camp Adirondack; Ronald Moses, deputy superintendent of Camp Adirondack; John Murphy, Administrator of Saranac Lake General Hospital; Dan McClelland, publisher of the *Tupper Lake Free Press*; Sue Dyer, Executive Director of the Saranac Lake Area Chamber of Commerce; Matt Clark, Supervisor of the Town of North Elba; and Ernest Hohmeyer, head of the Adirondack Economic Development Corporation.

²⁹⁰ "Prison plan forum in Tupper produces support and criticism," *ADE*, Mar. 26, 1987; "Tupper Lake residents quiz officials about prison," *PR*, Mar. 28, 1987; and, "AIDS victims called health threat," *PR*, Mar. 28, 1987.

Lake's bid in June 1987.²⁹¹ However, Lefebvre's defenses of the project were at odds with some painful realities. First, a decade of crimescape expansion had not stemmed the region's chronic economic woes. Second, though tourists continued to visit, even task force members knew that building more prisons (even ones not resembling Dannemora) might reduce the flow of badly needed outside revenue. Third, anxiety about AIDS posed a strong challenge to the vision of project advocates focused solely on the community's fiscal health. Taking cues from their counterparts in Ray Brook, Gabriels, and Lyon Mountain, TLCC reframed the prison issue as a question of public health and safety that was impossible to ignore.

Nevertheless, Governor Mario Cuomo's 1989 call for more penitentiaries inspired Lefebvre's task force to try again. Included on Cuomo's list of thirteen potential sites were several Adirondack communities, including Tupper Lake. The task force reopened negotiations with IP to purchase the land on Pitchfork Pond Road; enlisted Republican State Senator Ronald B. Stafford of Plattsburgh, "to pull in some favors" done for IP in order to acquire the tract; asked Franklin County lawmakers for \$50,000 to purchase the property; and pressured local town and village boards to endorse the proposal. After inspecting several Tupper Lake properties containing rock and soil types that would make construction prohibitively expensive, Corrections officials in June 1989 approved a 100-acre tract in the middle of the 4500-acre IP property as suitable for construction. IP, for its part, was skeptical about a prison operating within its valuable forestland, cautioning the facility would be adjacent to "some valuable

²⁹¹ Among the first actions taken by TLCC after its formation in October 1986 was to request that Lefebvre and his task force conduct a study of the prison's potential impact on life in Tupper Lake. The study, conducted by the Adirondack Economic Development Corporation and the Technical Assistance Center at the State University of New York at Plattsburgh, was released in June 1987. Based on a theoretical 700-bed medium security prison, the study predicted an infusion of \$62 million into the local economy during construction; the creation of 380 jobs at the prison, with an annual economic impact of \$23 million; and the opening of new businesses in the region that would create at least 380 new private sector jobs. See, "Many uses seen for Altamont's evaluation of prison impact," *ADE*, Jun. 12, 1987; and, "Prison effort revived in TL," *ADE*, Feb. 22, 1989.

recreation property.” Though the firm pledged to cooperate and “be good corporate citizens,” Stafford reminded Lefebvre the land issue would have to be “squared away,” because “that was the problem Tupper Lake has had in the past.”²⁹²

Advocates’ perennial property problems were second only to the dogged determination of their opponents, who reemerged in 1989. Though outnumbered by prison supporters at a town meeting, one critic reminded the audience, “there is still some active opposition,” and TLCC leader Christine Randolph claimed the proposal was deeply unpopular: “This idea of broad-based support is not true. It’s really a special-interest group (prison guards), supported by the town officials.” TLCC cheered in April when the North Elba Town Board declined to endorse the bid, with one board member complaining, “We’ve got better things to do...than bring in another prison.” Opponents promptly shifted the debate, invoking Dannemora as a cautionary tale for skeptical locals: “a prison would overwhelm the town and adversely affect its rural, small-town atmosphere. We don’t have a lot of the problems associated with a city. There are things about a prison that change the feeling of a town. Over time, you get the reputation as a prison town.” To prevent such a development, TLCC called on APA Executive Director Robert Glennon, who feared potential ecological damage from building on undeveloped forestland and called for *binding* review of state projects in the Park: “If a prison moves in here, it means the state sets up

²⁹² In his January 1989 State of the State address, Governor Cuomo told lawmakers that stiffer penalties for crack and cocaine possession, combined with more effective policing, had led to an increased criminal population. Accordingly, the governor called for more prison cells to be built. In June, the legislature authorized construction of twelve new correctional facilities: four large prisons, six smaller penitentiaries (200 beds apiece) designed to house inmates with drug and alcohol addiction, and money for two prisons to be built sometime in the future. Bonds from the Urban Development Corporation (UDC) would fund the construction. North Country communities on Cuomo’s list of thirteen potential prison sites included Tupper Lake, Chateaugay, Champlain, Ellenburg, and Chesterfield. See, “Prison effort revived in TL,” *ADE*, Feb. 22, 1989; “4 new prisons likely; other plans too,” *PR*, Jun. 22, 1989. Also, “Tupper, Altamont finally agree on landfill,” *PR*, Feb. 23, 1989; “Altamont renews effort to secure a state prison,” *PR*, Mar. 14, 1989; “Altamont eyes highway projects, weigh limits,” *PR*, Jun. 14, 1989; and, “One Altamont prison site still in the running,” *PR*, Jun. 23, 1989.

rules and regulations, but can break them whenever it pleases. It should come under APA guidelines. They should face the same reviews everyone else who lives here faces.”²⁹³

Failure to acquire the IP land was not the only reason Corrections passed over Tupper Lake for a prison in June 1989, as officials noted the influence of TLCC and the APA. None of the penitentiaries authorized for construction were located within the Adirondack Park, indicating DOCS’ reluctance to participate in a drawn-out, Gabriels-style review. Though the task force vowed to press on, TLCC expressed “relief” and indicated its “long term objective is to make sure Tupper Lake never gets a prison.”²⁹⁴ The task force, it seemed, had again fallen victim to its narrow-minded conception of development, determined to pursue *only* a penitentiary on *only* one piece of land *only* in pursuit of economic prosperity. Advocates’ tunnel vision blinded them to their project’s potentially harmful impacts, allowing TLCC to form a valuable alliance with the much-maligned Park Agency. Learning from past failures, adopting a more expansive vision of economic development, and compromising with critics might have yielded positive outcomes for the task force in 1989. But Lefebvre had taken a different path.

²⁹³ “Tupper, Altamont finally agree on landfill,” *PR*, Feb. 23, 1989; “Altamont renews effort to secure a state prison,” *PR*, Mar. 14, 1989; “Board refuses to support Altamont jail,” *Lake Placid News*, Apr. 19, 1989 (hereafter, *LPN*); “Anti-prison group mobilizes in Tupper,” *PR*, Jun. 23, 1989; and, “Disappointed with policy,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Jun. 29, 1989. Glennon stated that the APA would review plans for any future prisons slated for construction in the Adirondack Park. In the case of Tupper Lake, Glennon noted that IP would require a subdivision permit from the APA in order to sell any of its land to the state for a prison site.

²⁹⁴ “Tupper passed over in prison sitings,” *ADE*, Jun. 26, 1989; and, “Altamont officials disappointed at not receiving nod for prison,” *PR*, Jun. 26, 1989. By this time, New York’s fifty correctional facilities were operating at 118% of capacity. The \$887 million prison expansion bill passed in June 1989 called for the construction of thirteen new prison designed to hold 7100 inmates. Though Tupper Lake was not chosen, state planners did award prisons to two other North Country communities: Gouverneur, in St. Lawrence County, and Chateaugay, in Franklin County. Through the summer and fall of 1989, Tupper Lake’s prison task force negotiated with IP to acquire the land at Pitchfork Pond Road, even after the June rejection. In November 1989, IP made a verbal agreement with town officials to sell 200 acres of its Tupper Lake holdings for correctional use. See, “Altamont awaits word on land for prison,” *PR*, Jul. 14, 1989; “Altamont supervisor running on board’s record,” *PR*, Oct. 25, 1989; and, “Altamont OKs controversial amendment to town zoning law,” *PR*, Nov. 14, 1989. Lefebvre won reelection in November 1989, largely on his promise to continue working to bring a prison to Tupper Lake.

Unsurprisingly, Tupper Lake's fourth prison bid began once Lefebvre began his second term as Altamont town supervisor in January 1990. That month, IP agreed to sell 200 acres to the state should it decide to build a prison in Tupper Lake, and the task force began planning for a 1000-bed medium-security facility, predicting 566 new jobs. Lefebvre commented, "We still feel that we have the best site in the state, and we know that this community wants a correctional facility." A nationwide recession and New York's swelling budget deficit, however, killed Tupper Lake's prison dreams in 1990 and 1991, as the state could not afford to expand the crimescape. With nudging from Senator Stafford, Corrections announced in 1992 that an \$18 million alcohol and substance abuse treatment correctional facility would be built in Tupper Lake, once the state found money to pay for it. Lefebvre remained optimistic: "What this means is that if at some point in time the state decides to build this facility it will be built in Altamont." The town and village boards quickly, and dutifully, endorsed resolutions supporting Tupper Lake's unfunded, nonexistent prison.²⁹⁵

In the spring of 1992, all that stood between Tupper Lake and the dreams of its prison advocates was an improved economy. Sensing the village would never get a prison, opposition activity remained limited. Local business owner and prison critic Peter Day, however, asserted a climate of repression and intimidation created by the task force had given a false impression of

²⁹⁵ In January 1990, Governor Cuomo proposed a \$282 million expansion of the correctional system, but Senate Republicans balked, arguing that residents deserved a tax cut instead. Cuomo administration officials and DOCS leaders disagreed over how to approach prison expansion at a time when the state budget deficit was close to \$1.5 billion. DOCS asked the legislature to authorize 3000 new cells by expanding capacity at five medium security prisons. Corrections officials wanted to secure the maximum number of new spaces in the least amount of time. State Comptroller Edward V. Regan, however, proposed cutting DOCS staff as a way to reduce the deficit. Regan also argued that if the state had to expand capacity, that building new, larger prisons would be more cost effective because their staff members could more efficiently administer prison programs. See, "Budget battle to determine prison funds," *ADE*, Jan. 29, 1990; "Prison reports have TL worried," *ADE*, Mar. 30, 1990; and, "Drug unit targeted for Altamont," *PR*, Mar. 31, 1992. The prison awarded to Tupper Lake in March 1992 had originally been slated for construction in Brasher Falls, in St. Lawrence County. DOCS decided to move the site after the DEC discovered the proposed Brasher Falls site was in a reforestation zone, where construction is not allowed. Senator Stafford played a key role in moving the site to Tupper Lake, commenting, "We wanted to keep that facility in the North Country."

widespread public support, arguing, “the majority of our citizens don’t want these types of facilities and the problems they will bring to our community.” Fearing a downturn in tourism “as we become the dumping grounds for the state,” Day called for more public hearings on the proposal. Lefebvre stated enough meetings had been held, claimed possession of a petition containing 800 signatures in favor of the prison, and said phone calls from residents ran fifty-to-one in support of the proposal. Confident their day would come, Tupper Lake’s prison boosters traveled in May 1992 to the two-year-old drug and alcohol treatment center in the northern Franklin County hamlet of Chateaugay to get a sense of what their facility might look like.²⁹⁶

By 1992, the prison task force had achieved several objectives: they had garnered support from scores of local residents, politicians, state officials, and corrections officers; had secured property on which to build the prison; and had Corrections’ assurance that a prison would someday be built in Tupper Lake. The statewide economic troubles that prevented construction in 1992, however, contradicted advocates’ endless invocations of prisons’ “recession-proof” and “stable” jobs. Even with the prison system operating at 118% of capacity, and with crime rates still high, correctional facilities and the jobs they created were not immune from the capitalist economy. The irony of this vulnerability acquired even sharper focus as task force members consistently equated a prison to any other type of capitalist enterprise. The same economic forces applied equally to logging companies, restaurants, hotels, bars, *and* penitentiaries, a fact that suited prison opponents just fine.

²⁹⁶ “Faction opposes Tupper Lake prison projects,” *PR*, Apr. 15, 1992; and, “Tupper area officials take tour of Chateaugay facility,” *ADE*, May 13, 1992.

The Final Push: 1996-1998

In May 1996, fifteen years after the first prison bid, Tupper Lake embarked on the final phase in its experiment in community prison building. Though Corrections had not opened the prison promised in 1992, Lefebvre won a third term as supervisor in 1993 by promising to finally get it built. The grim coincidence of an improving state economy and increasingly overcrowded prison system aided the task force in this effort. However, enthusiasm for yet another expensive, exhausting, and rancor-filled prison campaign had begun to wane. Lawmakers in Saranac Lake, for instance, summarily rejected Lefebvre's request for an endorsement, with some officials expressing concern about the potential long-term consequences of unending crimescape expansion. Unbeknownst to Lefebvre, this small act of defiance offered a preview of difficulties to come.²⁹⁷

In January 1997, New York's prison system held nearly 70,000 inmates and operated at a record high 130 percent of capacity, prompting Governor George Pataki to endorse a new round of penal construction. The task force predicted the village would "be in for some good times" as the facility "would bring back to the North Country some of our corrections officers," thus keeping the promise to rebuild Tupper Lake's shredded social fabric. In July 1997, the legislature approved construction of a 750-cell, 1500-inmate maximum-security prison. Joseph

²⁹⁷ "Lefebvre seeks support for prison from H'town Board," *ADE*, May 27, 1996. While members of the Harrietstown Town Board in Saranac Lake were generally supportive of Lefebvre's proposal, many were concerned about the prospects of hosting yet another prison in the Adirondacks. Board member Peter Donnelly said he did not "necessarily want another prison," and predicted that correctional employees "moving into the area to work at the prison won't have a tremendous impact" on the economy. Donnelly agreed with Lefebvre, though, that "there would be great growth potential" and that the region needed "economic help, because we are currently sitting in a mud hole doing nothing." Board member Joseph Pickering urged Lefebvre "to look into the details and economic aspects more carefully," and resident Shirley Colin told Lefebvre that the region was "starved economically," and the prison would only harm the region, where "private enterprise is already being killed locally." Colin worried that "everybody is trying to make the Adirondacks a prison community." Town Supervisor Bill Gallagher tabled consideration of Lefebvre's proposal, an unprecedented move in the ten years of Tupper Lake prison lobbying.

Bruno, the Republican Senate majority leader, chose Franklin County as its location. Senator Stafford acknowledged the prison as a gift from his old friend, colleague, and patron: “I worked hard; I put a lot of effort into this. I’ve known Joe Bruno since 1966 when I had a primary and he was a young Republican who supported me. He made the decision. It was a very sensitive issue. It came my way and I am most appreciative.” The text of the bill did not name Tupper Lake, but the task force celebrated anyway. The supervisor commented, “It’ll be about the biggest economic change here in about 70 years. It’s a great day for Tupper Lake and the north country!”²⁹⁸

Corrections planned a maximum-security prison in Franklin County to discipline and punish prisoners convicted of committing crimes inside other correctional facilities. Inmates at Green Haven Correctional Facility (near Poughkeepsie) would manufacture the cells individually. Once built, the concrete-and-steel structures would be loaded onto flatbed trucks for transport into the Adirondacks. There, inmates and construction workers would assemble them and piece the two-story prison together. Two prisoners would share each 105-square foot room, and cells would connect to individual fenced-in recreation areas (accessible by an interior, electronically operated door), along with a toilet, shower, and sink. Inmates would be confined

²⁹⁸ In January 1997, Governor Pataki proposed the largest prison expansion in New York since Governor Franklin Roosevelt built the prison in Attica in 1929. Pataki proposed spending \$635 million to build three 1500-cell maximum-security prisons and to add 2500 beds at existing prisons, for a total of 7000 new cells. The situation seemed dire, as a report published that month indicated that if current trends continued, New York’s prison population would reach 84,000 by 2002. See, DOCS, press release, “Budget agreement OKs Governor’s plan for largest cell expansion in 70 years,” Jul. 30, 1997, SP 97-248, Tupper Lake Records, Adirondack Park Agency Records Office, Ray Brook, N.Y. (hereafter, Tupper Lake Records); “Franklin County eyes state budget for prison in Tupper,” *ADE*, Jan. 13, 1997; “Pataki budget proposes 7000 more prison cells,” *TLFP*, Jan. 15, 1997; “Community leaders buoyed by prison plan; is it Tupper’s year?” *TLFP*, Jan. 22, 1997; and, “County backs prison idea for TL,” *ADE*, Jan. 25, 1997. The Franklin County Legislature approved a resolution supporting a prison in Tupper Lake in January 1997. The resolution contained figures on potential economic impact. According to the resolution, the prison would generate an \$18 million annual payroll, which would contribute to \$27 million in additional consumer spending each year in the Tupper Lake area. “Closed-door prison talks to be intense,” news analysis, *PR*, Jul. 31, 1997; “Stafford wins prison for Tupper,” *PR*, Aug. 3, 1997; “Crime-and-corrections spending plan passed,” *PR*, Aug. 4, 1997; “In Albany, Deals Struck in Late Sprint,” *NYT*, Aug. 4, 1997; “Prison coming to Tupper Lake!” *TLFP*, Aug. 6, 1997; and, “Summary of Major Actions in the 220th Session of the Legislature,” *NYT*, Aug. 10, 1997.

to their cells for twenty-three hours per day and allowed one hour of outdoor recreation. Of the 1500 inmates, 300 would work on jobs within the facility, while the other 1200 would remain in their cells. Unlike the region's other correctional facilities, inmates and employees in Tupper Lake would rarely encounter one another. Upon completion of the disciplinary sentence, prisoners would be returned to their home penitentiaries to complete their original sentences. State officials planned for a June 1999 opening.²⁹⁹

To facilitate speedy construction, prison advocates had sought to neutralize the opposition by fostering a cooperative relationship with the APA. To this end, in the summer of 1996, the task force had invited the Agency to analyze potential environmental impacts at the IP land on Pitchfork Pond Road in preparation for building. An APA biologist reported the site, much like that chosen in Lyon Mountain thirteen years earlier, contained 67 acres of protected wetlands.³⁰⁰ This small detail, contained in a memo to prison advocates, went unnoticed for over a year, as the task force, Corrections Department, APA, and even some environmental groups jumped on what appeared to be an unstoppable prison bandwagon.

Twenty-one years of crimescape expansion had done little to improve the economic condition of most Park residents. The exodus of men and women from the region that had started in the 1960s continued unabated through the end of the century. Altamont's population dropped two percent between 1980 and 1990, while the Village of Tupper Lake lost nearly nine percent of its residents, declining from nearly 4500 in 1980 to just over 4000 a decade later. The

²⁹⁹ "Community leaders buoyed by prison plan; is it Tupper's year?" *TLFP*, Jan. 22, 1997; "Prison coming to Tupper Lake!" *TLFP*, Aug. 6, 1997; and, "Tupper prison plan minimizes inmate contact," *PR*, Aug. 11, 1997. A thorough and detailed description of the prison plan can be found in "Adirondack Park Agency Application for Permit, Project No. 40614, 40552, and 40570: Maximum Security Facility: Housing Units, Support Buildings, & Infrastructure: Proposed Franklin County Facility, Tupper Lake, New York," prepared for New York State Department of Correctional Services by New York State Office of General Services, September 1997, Tupper Lake Records.

³⁰⁰ Daniel Spada, Project Analyst, Biological Resources, APA, to James LaValley, LaValley Real Estate, Tupper Lake, Aug. 8, 1996, Tupper Lake Records.

poverty rate in Franklin County was almost 16 percent in 1990, three points above the state average. A draft environmental impact statement published in anticipation of the prison's construction illustrated the bleak economic picture:

The region in which the proposed facility is located is a sparsely settled region that is primarily a mixture of small villages, rural areas, and a mountainous wilderness. With a strong linkage to the summer recreational season, a lack of major employers and a limited transportation network, the area has substantial seasonal swings in job and unemployment levels throughout the year, with unemployment rates generally higher than the statewide average....The region has double-digit unemployment rates in the winter months and rates below the statewide average in the summer.

Unemployment in the region remained stubbornly higher than the state average, especially in non-summer months, while household incomes in Franklin County were far below the statewide rate.³⁰¹ For the area's increasingly small and older permanent population, times remained tough as the new millennium approached.

In a sharp reversal from the prior fifteen years, skeptical prison officials finally endorsed prison task force rationales for the project. Much as at Dannemora, Ray Brook, and Gabriels, state planners promised the prison would generate an economic revival in Tupper Lake. Officials pledged 367 new jobs at the penitentiary alone, including 65 in support services, 223 in security, 52 in program services, and 27 in health services. Corrections predicted a host of economic impacts, including \$56 million in wages and salaries during construction and an annual

³⁰¹ New York State Department of Correctional Services, South Franklin CF Draft Environmental Impact Statement, (Albany: DOCS, 1997), pp. 9, 10, and 19, Tupper Lake Records. Interestingly, planners appear to have given the new prison a name prior to construction, as the title of the draft EIS indicates. Tupper Lake's population in 1940 had been 5451, illustrating more clearly just how far the village had fallen. In terms of racial makeup, the 1960 Census indicated one African American in the village, a number that declined to zero by 1970, and grew to two in 1980. See, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 34, New York* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), 34-15, 34-124, 34-126; *Census of Population: 1970, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 34, New York—Section I* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), 34-16, 34-26, 34-71, 34-202; and, *Census of Population: 1980, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Chapter B: General Population Characteristics, Part 34, New York, PC80-1-B34* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982), 34-16, 34-19, 34-37, 34-40

payroll of \$12 million. Expanded incomes, prison officials argued, would spur demand for local goods and services, which, in turn, would help create new businesses and private sector jobs. Choosing to ignore recent history, state leaders invoked well-worn claim that prison jobs were immune to the often-volatile swings of the broader economy. As such, young people would not have to move, thus increasing the tax base and enabling local governments to provide vital services in a timely and reliable manner. For Tupper Lake's beleaguered residents, it must have sounded like a dream.³⁰²

Despite the employment opportunities offered to residents through two decades of crimescape expansion, the Adirondacks' economic woes persisted. This painful reality, though, did not prevent state and local prison planners from repeating the same rationales that had become standard fare in local prison building projects. Many residents of Tupper Lake, aware that new plans were afoot to build a prison in their community, expressed renewed skepticism. As prison advocates and state officials moved toward groundbreaking, the opposition reemerged and expanded. Faced with their gravest challenge in sixteen years, growing number of locals aligned with seasonal residents, tourists, and second homeowners to stand in the crimescape's way.

In 1997, the prison opposition unexpectedly found itself outmanned and outgunned. Lefebvre had forged valuable alliances with former skeptics at the Corrections Department and Park Agency. Opponents were equally alarmed to discover several local environmental groups had opted either to remain neutral or had endorsed the project. In August 1997, the fragmented remains of TLCC seemed to be all that stood between Tupper Lake and the crimescape. In an

³⁰² DOCS, South Franklin CF Draft EIS, pp. 5-6, 19-22, Tupper Lake Records.

atmosphere tinged with inevitability, prison boosters saw no need to accommodate a weakened opposition whose efforts had continually undermined their objective.

With few options, prison foes commenced a Gabriels-style insurgency, flooding the mailboxes of Park Agency officials and other state leaders with letters expressing anxiety about the prison. The opposition opened its renewed assault with a plea for inclusion and preservation of democratic principles. Many opponents, overwhelmed by the powerful alliance of pro-prison interests and their attempts to silence critics, felt compelled to remind state officials that, even in the face of intimidation, an opposition to community prison building did exist.³⁰³ Having asserted their existence, opponents highlighted the task force's seemingly antidemocratic tendencies. Lefebvre refused to hold hearings and resisted answering any critical questions about the project. Opponents argued that if the state were to fund Tupper Lake's prison, it had an obligation to oversee a fair and inclusive discussion among advocates and critics.³⁰⁴ Prison

³⁰³ Joyce Moody, to APA Commissioner James Frenette, Nov. 3, 1997, Tupper Lake Records; Sarah and Doug Bencze, to William Curran, APA Director of Regulatory Programs, Oct. 31, 1997, Tupper Lake Records; Carol Richer, letter to the editor, "Secret ballot is in order," *TLFP*, Aug. 27, 1997; John Quenell, to DOCS Commissioner Glenn Goord, Nov. 22, 1997, Tupper Lake Records; and "Tupper residents anticipate prison," *PR*, Oct. 19, 1997. See also, Mr. and Mrs. Rick King, to Curran, Sept. 24, 1997; Christine Randolph, to Curran, Oct. 18, 1997; Russell Randolph, to Curran, Oct. 20, 1997; William and Janet Rochow, to Gov. George Pataki, Oct. 20, 1997; Andrew Patterson, to Curran, Nov. 1, 1997; Lois Rockcastle, to Curran, Nov. 10, 1997; and Anonymous, to Curran, no date, Tupper Lake Records; and "Tupper Lake prison not good news," letter to the editor, *Times Union* (Albany, N.Y.), Aug. 18, 1997 (hereafter, *TU*); and, Michelle Gannon, letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Dec. 10, 1997.

³⁰⁴ Richard Purdue, Supervisor, Town of Indian Lake, N.Y., "Statement to the Adirondack Park Agency at the their meeting of September 12, 1997," Purdue, "Statement to APA," Oct. 10, 1997; and Sarah and Doug Bencze to Curran, Tupper Lake Records; Frenette quoted in "APA commissioner wants prison hearing," *PR*, Nov. 14, 1997; and Anonymous to Curran, Tupper Lake Records. See also, Mr. and Mrs. Rick King, to Curran; Adirondack Council, News Release, "Environmental Organizations Call on Park Agency to Reject Tupper Lake Prison Application as Incomplete," Oct. 14, 1997; Christine Randolph to Curran; William and Janet Rochow to Pataki; Charles and Mary Ritchie, to APA Executive Director Dan Fitts, Oct. 22, 1997; Joyce Moody, to Curran, Oct. 23, 1997; John H. Underhill, Jr., President, Big Wolf Lake Association, to Curran, Oct. 23, 1997; Residents' Committee to Protect the Adirondacks (RCPA), "Position Statement on Proposed Construction of a Maximum Security Prison in the Town of Altamont by the State of New York Department of Corrections," Oct. 28, 1997; Betty Howard, to Fitts, Oct. 28, 1997; Lefebvre et Lefebvre, to Curran, Adirondack Council, and Pataki, Oct. 28, 1997; Purdue to Curran, Oct. 30, 1997; Glenn Poirier, to Curran, Nov. 3, 1997; Wendy Pierce, to Curran, Nov. 4, 1997; Lefebvre et Lefebvre, to Pataki, Nov. 13, 1997; and Adirondack Council, "Resolution on Proposed Prison in Franklin County, 1997," Tupper Lake Records; also, "Wrong Place for a Prison," *NYT*, Aug. 11, 1997; "Tupper Lake prison not good news," *TU*, Aug. 18, 1997; "Secret ballot is in order," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Aug. 27, 1997; "Visitor jumps on

foes pointed to specific actions taken to silence critics, including threatening letters and phone calls, harassment at board meetings, and acts of petty retribution, including one critic finding their freshly washed laundry thrown from a clothesline into the mud.³⁰⁵ Endorsing a project shaped in a manner contrary to the principles of democratic government, opponents warned, could place the state in potential legal jeopardy.

It is unlikely, however, that inclusion in the planning of Tupper Lake's prison would have changed its critics' minds. To the contrary, given a free hand, TLCC would never have permitted prison advocates' views to see the light of day. Seasonal residents and second homeowners in the opposition believed they were entitled to shape the region's future, with many highlighting property ownership and family ties to the Adirondacks dating to the nineteenth century.³⁰⁶ These investments of time and money, they argued, amounted to a form of political capital that allowed them a voice in planning decisions. This power (whether real or imagined), they argued, should translate to preservation of an Adirondack environment whose

the bandwagon," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997; Letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Dec. 10, 1997; and, Peter Bauer, Executive Director, RCPA, "Several factors conspired against prison," op-ed, *PR*, Jan. 2, 1998.

³⁰⁵ Christine Randolph to Curran, Tupper Lake Records; Russell Randolph to Curran, Tupper Lake Records; Trivieri quoted in "Prison in the Forest," *NYT*, Sept. 16, 1997; Liza Frenette, "Tupper Lake prison not good news," letter to the editor, *TU*, Aug. 18, 1997; and Richard Ferro, "Visitor jumps on the bandwagon," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997. See also, Purdue, "Statement to APA," Oct. 10, 1997; Moody to Frenette; Sierra Club, Press release, "Sierra Club Joins with Tupper Lake Residents to Hire Former APA Chief to Fight Prison," Nov. 19, 1997; and Anonymous to Curran, Tupper Lake Records; also, "Tupper residents anticipate prison," *PR*, Oct. 19, 1997; TLCC, full page advertisement, *TLFP*, Oct. 29, 1997; Letter to the editor, *TU*, Aug. 18, 1997; and, "Secret ballot is in order," Letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Aug. 27, 1997.

³⁰⁶ Robert Stout, to Dick Jarvis, APA Project Review Officer, Sept. 25, 1997; John Underhill, Jr., to Curran; Peter Lourie, to Curran, Oct. 26, 1997; Robert Merrill, to Curran, Oct. 28, 1997; Bruce and Martha Blanchard, to APA, Oct. 29, 1997; Marilyn and Morten Petersen, to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; Lois Rockcastle to Curran, Nov. 10, 1997; William and Janet Rochow to Pataki; Elizabeth Moore, to Curran, Nov. 2, 1997; and Toni Viertel, to Curran, Nov. 4, 1997, Tupper Lake Records. See also, Moody to Curran; Peter and Rhoda Curtiss, to Curran, Oct. 27, 1997; William Balfour, to Curran, Oct. 30, 1997; Phyllis Pierce, to Curran, Oct. 31, 1997; Caroline DeClerque, to Curran, Oct. 31, 1997; Robert Underhill, to Curran, Oct. 31, 1997; Patterson to Curran; Richard Lockhart, to Curran, Nov. 2, 1997; Wendy Pierce to Curran; Edmund Merrill, to Curran, Nov. 5, 1997; Thomas Small, to Curran, Nov. 6, 1997; Hilary Harp, to APA Chairman Greg Campbell, no date; and, opposition form letter, to Curran, Oct. 21, 1997, Tupper Lake Records.

physical shape and social character remained geared toward their leisure and recreation. It was necessary, therefore, to avoid developments like a prison, which they feared might transform the region's rustic, natural character into an environment resembling the suburbs and cities that many of them called home.³⁰⁷ Critics also worried that a modernized Adirondacks defined increasingly by prisons would destroy property values and alienate tourists and second homeowners like themselves.³⁰⁸ In essence, prison foes asserted the Adirondacks *belonged* to people like them, and not to the dangerous men who would inhabit the prison.³⁰⁹ For opponents, the debate was less about the prison and more about who should control of the Adirondacks' social, political, economic, and environmental future. Though they complained bitterly about the

³⁰⁷ Mr. and Mrs. Rick King to Curran; Christine Randolph to Curran; Residents' Committee to Protect the Adirondacks (RCPA), Position Statement, Oct. 28, 1997; Lourie to Curran; John Quenell, to Pataki, Oct. 18, 1997; Marilyn and Morten Petersen to Curran; and Sarah and Doug Bencze to Curran, Tupper Lake Records; "Don't take it for granted," letter to the editor, *Press Republican*, Dec. 19, 1997; and "Malone would welcome Tupper prison," *PR*, Nov. 21, 1997. See also, Richard Purdue, "Statement to the APA," Sept. 12, 1997; Adirondack Council, news release, Oct. 14, 1997; Robert Johnson, to Pataki, Oct. 24, 1997; Robert Merrill to Curran; DeClerque to Curran; Robert Underhill to Curran; Patterson to Curran; Moore to Curran; Judith and M. Parker Blatchford, to Curran, Nov. 3, 1997; RCPA, to Pataki, Nov. 3, 1997; Poirier to Curran; Viertel to Curran; Small to Curran; Barbara Cornejo, to Pataki, Nov. 9, 1997; Douglas Ward, to Campbell, Nov. 18, 1997; and Sierra Club, press release, Nov. 19, 1997, Tupper Lake Records. Also, "Tupper Lake prison not good news," letter to the editor, *TU*, Aug. 18, 1997; "Opposes prison 'epidemic,' letter to the editor, *LPN*, Oct. 17, 1997; and, "Tupper residents anticipate prison," *PR*, Oct. 19, 1997.

³⁰⁸ Russell Randolph to Curran; Charles and Mary Ritchie to Fitts; Bruce and Martha Blanchard to APA; and Moore to Curran, Tupper Lake Records; "Supervisor critical of Tupper prison," *PR*, Sept. 13, 1997; DeClerque to Curran, Tupper Lake Records. On quality of life issues, see also, Christine Randolph to Curran; John Underhill to Curran; Marilyn and Morten Petersen to Curran; Rockcastle to Curran; Sierra Club, press release, Nov. 19, 1997; and Hilary Harp, to Pataki, no date, Tupper Lake Records; "Tupper Lake prison not good news," letter to the editor, *TU*, Aug. 18, 1997; "Environmentalists debate Tupper prison," *PR*, Aug. 18, 1997; "Prison in the Forest," *NYT*, Sept. 16, 1997; and "Tupper residents anticipate prison," *PR*, Oct. 19, 1997. On tourism concerns, see also, Richard Purdue, "Statement to the APA," Sept. 12, 1997; Quenell to Pataki; Christine Randolph to Curran; Russell Randolph to Curran; Balfour to Curran; Jim and Colleen Lourie, to Campbell, Nov. 4, 1997; Lefebvre et Lefebvre, to Pataki; and, Lefebvre et Lefebvre, to Curran and Robert Glennon, Dec. 15, 1997, Tupper Lake Records; "Tupper Lake prison not good news," letter to the editor, *TU*, Aug. 18, 1997.

³⁰⁹ Richard Purdue, "Statement to the APA," Sept. 12, 1997; Richard Purdue, "Statement to APA Commissioners," Sept. 25, 1997; Richard Purdue, "Statement to the APA," Oct. 10, 1997; Robert Johnson to Pataki; Lefebvre et Lefebvre to Curran; DeClerque to Curran; Moore to Curran; Edmund Merrill to Curran; Cornejo to Pataki; and anonymous to Curran, Tupper Lake Records; "Decries Tupper Lake prison," letter to the editor, *LPN*, Aug. 8, 1997; "Tupper Lake prison not good news," *TU*, Aug. 18, 1997; "Opposes prison 'epidemic,'" *LPN*, Oct. 17, 1997; and "Supervisor critical of Tupper prison," *PR*, Sept. 13, 1997. See also, Charles and Mary Ritchie to Fitts; John Underhill, Jr. to Curran; and Sierra Club, press release, Nov. 19, 1997, Tupper Lake Records; and, "Visitor jumps on the bandwagon," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997.

anti-democratic actions of the task force, if given the chance, it seems the opponents might have behaved exactly the same way.

Opponents' sense of entitlement spurred them to suggestions solutions on how to solve the prison dilemma. They pointed to a crimescape that had neither ended overcrowding nor fulfilled the promise of economic uplift. Critics warned more prisons would mean more prisoners, more correctional employees, continued high unemployment and poverty, and more prisons, perpetuating a vicious cycle. They also worried the prison might deter private investment, thus reinforcing the dominance of service-oriented trades with low wages and few benefits. However, outside the Adirondack Park, TLCC and its allies viewed corrections as a potential goldmine. Opponents argued that places like Malone, in northern Franklin County and outside the Park, would reap enormous economic benefits from the prison. This was a strange argument, since property values, incomes, and employment levels were all lower in Malone than in Tupper Lake. Nevertheless, opponents, motivated by self-interest, insisted that Malone, already home to two large state prisons, needed a third.³¹⁰

³¹⁰ On continued crimescape expansion, see Richard Purdue, "Statement to the APA," Sept. 25, 1997; Stout to Jarvis; Christine Randolph to Curran; Charles and Mary Ritchie to Fitts; RCPA, "Position Statement," Oct. 28, 1997; DeClerque to Curran; Sarah and Doug Benzze to Curran; Lockhart to Curran; and Edmund Merrill to Curran, Tupper Lake Records. Also, "Tupper Lake prison not good news," letter to the editor, *TU*, Aug. 18, 1997; and "Opposes prison 'epidemic,'" letter to the editor, *LPN*, Oct. 17, 1997. On the prison's negative economic impact, see Richard Purdue, "Statement to the APA," Sept. 12, 1997; John Underhill, Jr. to Curran; Moore to Curran; and Edmund Merrill to Curran, Tupper Lake Records. Also, "Secret ballot is in order," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Aug. 27, 1997; "Questions Stafford's ability," letter to the editor, *LPN*, Aug. 29, 1997; "Prison in the Forest," *NYT*, Sept. 16, 1997; "A Corrections Facility in Tupper Lake? Do You Have Any Doubts?," full page advertisement for TLCC, *TLFP*, Oct. 22, 1997; "Tupper Lake area group slams prison proposal in Altamont," *ADE*, Oct. 23, 1997; and, "Visitor jumps on the bandwagon," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997. On moving the prison outside the Adirondack Park, see Stout to Jarvis; Adirondack Council, news release, Oct. 14, 1997; Quenell to Pataki; Robert Johnson to Pataki; Peter Lourie to Curran; RCPA, "Position Statement," Oct. 28, 1997; Lefebvre et Lefebvre to Curran, Adirondack Council, and Pataki; Robert Merrill to Curran; Balfour to Curran; Phyllis Pierce to Curran; Patterson to Curran; Moore to Curran; Judith and M. Parker Blatchford to Curran; Small to Curran; Lefebvre et Lefebvre to Pataki; Lefebvre et Lefebvre to Curran and Glennon; Quenell to Goord; Harp to Campbell; Harp to Pataki; and, Adirondack Council, "Resolution on Proposed Prison in Franklin County, 1997," Tupper Lake Records. The village of Malone hosted two prisons. After successful lobbying by local residents and politicians, the 700-bed medium-security Franklin Correctional Facility opened in August 1986, and the 700-bed medium security Bare Hill

Opponents also expressed grave concerns about potential harm to the ecological integrity and aesthetic qualities of the local environment. They worried about the importation of 1500 inmates to a massive new prison built on an ecologically sensitive and never-before-inhabited tract of land. The pressures imposed by a nearly 50 percent increase in Tupper Lake's population, opponents feared, would be too much for the land and waterways to bear.³¹¹ Critics also worried about the modernizing impact of new and renovated infrastructure planned for the area. New power lines, sewage pipes, light poles, and paved roads seemed antithetical to the rustic, rugged aesthetic prized by opponents as emblematic of *their* Adirondacks. Finally,

Correctional Facility opened in November 1988. See, "Jobs prompt Malone to ask for prison," *PR*, Sept. 21, 1983; "Guards, officials answer questions about prisons," *PR*, Nov. 5, 1983; "Malone to jointly seek new prison," *PR*, Jan. 6, 1984; "Malone-Chateaugay prison out of budget," *PR*, Jan. 17, 1984; "Coughlin: no Malone prison now," *PR*, Apr. 7, 1984; "Stafford predicts Malone prison," *PR*, Jan. 23, 1985; "Plans for Malone prison in budget," *PR*, Apr. 4, 1985; "More prisons eyed for North Country," *ADE*, Jun. 21, 1985; "Malone wins 700-bed prison," *PR*, Jun. 27, 1985; "Malone prison design given," *PR*, Aug. 5, 1985; "Prison site to be picked soon," *PR*, Sept. 13, 1985; "Severe weather slows prison construction," *PR*, Jan. 28, 1986; "Walls going up," photo, *PR*, Jan. 28, 1986; "Malone prison to be ready Aug. 1," *PR*, Apr. 21, 1986; "Ire raised over lack of prison jobs," *PR*, Apr. 24, 1986; "Prison work site," photo, *PR*, Apr. 24, 1986; "Franklin prison opens for business," *PR*, Aug. 23, 1986; "Malone state prison opens," *ADE*, Aug. 27, 1986; "Franklin County asks for second prison," *PR*, Sept. 17, 1986; "Cuomo, Coughlin see Malone, prison," *PR*, Sept. 19, 1986; "Coughlin: drugs build prisons," *PR*, Sept. 19, 1986; "Prison in Malone fails to bring business boom," *PR*, Jan. 22, 1987; "Residents already campaigning for second prison in Malone," *PR*, Jan. 22, 1987; "Malone's second prison to open this autumn," *PR*, Jan. 28, 1988; "Franklin County unemployment lowest in memory," *PR*, May 28, 1988; Photo of Bare Hill construction, *Awkwesasne Indian Time*, Aug. 12, 1988; "Franklin County to offer help for AIDS victims," *PR*, Oct. 19, 1988; "Lacy to be Bare Hill superintendent," *PR*, Oct. 24, 1988; "Bare Hill prison to get inmates soon," *PR*, Nov. 11, 1988; "Bare Hill Correctional Facility opens in Malone," *PR*, Nov. 22, 1988; "Bare Hill uprising reveals corrections department's flaws," editorial, *ADE*, Mar. 23, 1990; "Malone mayor wants local prison as 'hub,'" *PR*, Mar. 18, 1991; "Officials advocate prison construction," *PR*, Jun. 24, 1997; and, "Court OKs pickup of prison garbage," *PR*, Aug. 18, 1997.

³¹¹ On the effects of population increase, Marilyn and Morten Petersen to Curran; and Purdue to APA Commissioners, Sept. 25, 1997, Tupper Lake Records. Also, Stout to Jarvis; Purdue to APA, Oct. 10, 1997; RCPA Position Statement, Oct. 28, 1997; Lefebvre et Lefebvre to Curran, Adirondack Council, and Pataki; Sarah and Doug Bencze to Curran; Robert Underhill to Curran; Moore to Curran; Viertel to Curran; Frederick Pierce, II, to Curran, Nov. 4, 1997; Jim and Colleen Lourie to Campbell; Louis Dwyer, to Curran, Dec. 22, 1997; Anonymous to Curran; and opposition form letter, to Curran, Oct. 21, 1997 (signed by 13 opponents), Tupper Lake Records. On prison wastewater disposal issues, Ed and Judy Fuller, to Curran, Nov. 11, 1997, Tupper Lake Records. Also, Mr. and Mrs. Rick King to Curran; Stout to Jarvis; Moody to Curran; John Underhill to Curran; RCPA Position Statement, Oct. 28, 1997; Marilyn and Morten Petersen to Curran; Sarah and Doug Bencze to Curran; Robert Underhill to Curran; Patterson to Curran; Moore to Curran; Poirier to Curran; Viertel to Curran; Frederick Pierce, II, to Curran; Jim and Colleen Lourie to Campbell; Wendy Pierce to Curran; Rockcastle to Curran; Lefebvre et Lefebvre to Pataki; Douglas Ward, to Campbell, Nov. 18, 1997; Sierra Club, press release, Nov. 19, 1997; and Harp to Pataki, Tupper Lake Records; "Environmentalists debate Tupper prison," *PR*, Aug. 18, 1997; "Prison in the Forest," *NYT*, Sept. 16, 1997; and, "DEC seeks APA consent on prison," *PR*, Oct. 10, 1997.

opponents pointed to two urbanizing impacts experienced in other prison communities as a cautionary tale. Increased artificial light from the facility combined with more vehicular traffic, they feared, would help create a quasi-urban environment in the Adirondack wilderness. The prison, they believed, might transform *their* Adirondacks from a park to a suburb and, in the future, maybe even into a city. The ecological and aesthetic integrity of the region, therefore, required a robust defense against continued crimescape expansion.³¹²

Opponents' environmental concerns revolved around potential impacts on their sensory relationships with nature: the sight of power lines, paved roads, cars, a prison, and fewer stars in the sky at night; the smells of sewage, garbage, and untreated wastewater; the possible taste of polluted water; the sounds of traffic, construction workers, and heavy machinery; and the ability to touch the concrete, steel, and asphalt that would be the most vivid evidence of an environment transitioning from wild to domestic, and toward an uncertain future. Opponents' strong sense of entitlement and self-interest blinded them to the fact that their use and habitation of homes, camps, and estates in the area continued to be facilitated by the same modern infrastructure.

Thus, as at Gabriels, the brewing conflict at Tupper Lake would turn over conflicting visions of

³¹² On proposed infrastructural and modernizing impacts, Stout to Jarvis, Tupper Lake Records. Also, Purdue, Statement to APA, Sept. 12, 1997; Quenell to Pataki, Oct. 18, 1997; Christine Randolph to Curran; Marilyn and Morten Petersen to Curran; Sarah and Doug Bencze to Curran; Jean Craighead George, to Curran, Nov. 7, 1997; and Anonymous to Curran, Tupper Lake Records; "A Corrections Facility in Tupper Lake? Do You Have Any Doubts?" TLCC advertisement, *TLFP*, Oct. 22, 1997; "Opposes prison epidemic," letter to the editor, *LPN*, Oct. 17, 1997; and "Don't take it for granted," letter to the editor, *PR*, Dec. 19, 1997. On increased noise and traffic, John Underhill to Curran; Marilyn and Morten Petersen to Curran; Poirier to Curran; Jim and Colleen Lourie to Campbell; Wendy Pierce to Curran; and Harp to Pataki, Tupper Lake Records. On artificial light concerns, Patterson to Curran; Rockcastle to Curran; and Dr. Richard Handler, to Curran, Nov. 24, 1997, Tupper Lake Records. Also, Stout to Jarvis; John Underhill to Curran; Marilyn and Morten Petersen to Curran; Balfour to Curran; Robert Underhill to Curran; Moore to Curran; Viertel to Curran; Frederick Pierce, II, to Curran; Wendy Pierce to Curran; Ward to Campbell; and opposition form letter to Curran, Oct. 21, 1997, Tupper Lake Records; "Environmentalists debate Tupper prison," *PR*, Aug. 18, 1997; "Prison in the Forest," *NYT*, Sept. 16, 1997; and "Corrections eyes additional prison sites," *Legislative Gazette*, Oct. 20, 1997. On aesthetics, Purdue, Statement to the APA, Sept. 12, 1997; John Quenell to Pataki, Oct. 18, 1997; Russell Randolph to Curran; John Underhill to Curran; Bruce and Martha Blanchard to APA; Sarah and Doug Bencze to Curran; Edmund Merrill to Curran; Harp to Campbell; and Harp to Pataki, Tupper Lake Records; "Prison in the Forest," *NYT*, Sept. 16, 1997; "Wrong Place for a Prison," *NYT*, Aug. 11, 1997; and, "Questions Stafford's ability," letter to the editor, *LPN*, Aug. 29, 1997.

the social character of the Adirondack Park: one devoted to the perpetuation of the values, uses, and activities of affluent opponents, or one geared toward correctional use and crimescape expansion. Prison foes could not reconcile the competing values and objectives of these seemingly contradictory propositions. In the long-drawn-out war over land use and open space in the Adirondacks, prison opponents, even after two decades of crimescape expansion, could envision only one outcome. Tupper Lake's leaders, though, dreamt of something quite different.

Aware that the prison was not a foregone conclusion, the task force circled the wagons and enlisted the support of area politicians, corrections officers and their families, and business leaders. Advocates recycled arguments that they considered effective in past prison fights, namely, that another correctional facility, screened from view, would not harm the region's tourist industry, but instead would provide a new source employment *and* be the centerpiece of a revitalized and thriving community.³¹³ Boosters also articulated several new arguments unique

³¹³ On the promise of economic revival, see Donald Earlin, to Curran, Oct. 22, 1997; M. Dan McClelland, to Curran, Oct. 31, 1997; Briggette Hughes, to Curran, Nov. 4, 1997; Roger Hassler, to Curran, Nov. 6, 1997; Jon Bombard, to APA, Nov. 12, 1997; Frances Fortune, to Curran, Nov. 20, 1997; Gerald Martin, to Curran, Nov. 23, 1997; Sidney "Jay" Ward, III, to Fitts, Nov. 24, 1997; Jack Vitvitsky, to Curran, Dec. 6, 1997; Robert Purdy, to Pataki, Dec. 12, 1997; Daniel Maloney, quoted in form letter to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 31, 1997; Form letter to Curran, dated October 1997; and Form letter to Pataki, dated November 1997, Tupper Lake Records; "Prison would only strengthen Tupper's diverse economy," editorial, *TLFP*, Jan. 29, 1997; "Sen. Stafford does it again," editorial, *PR*, Aug. 6, 1997; "Prison Over Wolves," letter to the editor, *NYT*, Aug. 12, 1997; "Good planning is imperative as new developments begin," editorial, *TLFP*, Aug. 13, 1997; "It's the right place for a prison," editorial, *PR*, Aug. 22, 1997; "APA prison plan review is necessary," editorial, *Daily Gazette* (Schenectady, N.Y.), reprinted in *Legislative Gazette*, Oct. 20, 1997; "Tupper Lake needs a prison," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Oct. 22, 1997; "Letter to the Editor," *TLFP*, Oct. 29, 1997; "Let's speak up and support the prison," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Oct. 29, 1997; "Concerns over utility rate hikes because of new prison unfounded," editorial, *TLFP*, editorial, *TLFP*, Nov. 5, 1997; "Supervisor responds to recent media articles," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 19, 1997; "Letter to the Editor," *TLFP*, Nov. 19, 1997; "Are we going to sit by and let tree-huggers uproot our prison?" editorial, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; "Prison would be more beneficial than harmful," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; "Supports the prison and freedom of speech," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997; "Consider those who live here," letter to the editor, *PR*, Dec. 19, 1997; "Tupper residents anticipate prison," *PR*, Oct. 19, 1997; "Village board urges prison support," *TLFP*, Nov. 19, 1997; "Malone would welcome Tupper prison," *PR*, Nov. 21, 1997; "Adirondack communities give Tupper's prison push their unanimous support," *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; "Tupper Lake rally: 'We need this prison!'" *ADE*, Dec. 1, 1997; "Residents say bring the jobs," *ADE*, Dec. 1, 1997; and, "Huge pro-prison rally draws nearly 1500," *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997. On issues concerning tourism, see Laurie Drasye, to APA, Oct. 23, 1997; McClelland to Curran; Hassler to Curran; Bombard to APA; Fortune to Curran; Susan Martin, to Curran, Nov. 22, 1997; Gerald Martin to Curran; Ward to Fitts; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 30, 1997; and, Form letter to Curran, dated October 1997, Tupper Lake Records; "Prison would only

to their latest prison quest, many of which interestingly paralleled those put forward by the opposition.

Supporters argued Tupper Lake was entitled to the correctional facility for which they had toiled so long and hard. They interpreted the labor invested in the project over nearly two decades as a form of political capital that allowed them (and not project critics) a say in deciding where to locate the facility. Ann Seymour of Tupper Lake wrote that residents had “worked very hard...to be selected as a site,” and implored the APA to not “let our hard work go to waste.” Scores of supporters echoed these sentiments, with many asserting the prison, and by extension its unfree inhabitants, *belonged* to Tupper Lake and its residents. Donna Lonergan summed up the feelings of many boosters, telling the APA, “give us our prison.”³¹⁴ The proposed facility, it

strengthen Tupper’s diverse economy,” editorial, *TLFP*, Jan. 29, 1997; “Let’s speak up and support the prison, letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Oct. 29, 1997; “If Tupper Lake’s prison goes, what’s next?” column, Matt Smith, *PR*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Common sense goes a long way,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Letter to the Editor,” *TLFP*, Dec. 10, 1997; and “Huge pro-prison rally draws nearly 1500,” *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997. On the invisibility of Adirondack prisons, see Drasye to APA; McClelland to Curran; Drasye to Curran, Nov. 5, 1997; Hassler to Curran; Diane Lewandowski, to Curran, Nov. 13, 1997; Fortune to Curran; Susan Martin to Curran; Gerald Martin to Curran; Ward to Fitts; Vitvitsky to Curran; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 31, 1997; and Form letter to Curran, dated October 1997, Tupper Lake Records; “Prison would only strengthen Tupper’s diverse economy,” editorial, *TLFP*, Jan. 29, 1997; “It’s the right place for a prison,” editorial, *PR*, Aug. 22, 1997; “Environmentalists wrong in their call for halt to APA prison review process,” editorial, *TLFP*, Oct. 22, 1997; “Prison is just what the economy ordered,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Oct. 27, 1997; “Let’s speak up and support the prison,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Oct. 29, 1997; “Big Wolf Lake folks should stay out of the prison issue,” editorial, *TLFP*, Nov. 5, 1997; “Stay strong, Governor,” editorial, *TLFP*, Nov. 19, 1997; “If Tupper Lake prison goes, what’s next?” column, Matt Smith, *PR*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Corrects erroneous statements,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Prison would be more beneficial than harmful,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Letter to the Editor,” *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Letter to the Editor,” *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997; “Letter to the Editor,” *TLFP*, Dec. 10, 1997; “Consider those who live here,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Dec. 19, 1997; “Prison in the Forest,” *NYT*, Sept. 16, 1997; and, “Saranac backs Tupper Lake’s prison plans,” *PR*, Nov. 28, 1997.

³¹⁴ Ann Seymour to Fitts, Oct. 30, 1997; John Dewyea, Jr., to Curran, Oct. 31, 1997; Fortune to Curran; and Donna Lonergan, to APA, Nov. 11, 1997, Tupper Lake Records. See also, Marjorie Gilbert, to APA, Oct. 28, 1997; Darlene Willette, to APA; no date; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 30, 1997; and, Form letter to Curran, Oct. 31, 1997, Tupper Lake Records; “It’s the right place for a prison,” editorial, *PR*, Aug. 22, 1997; “APA prison plan review is necessary,” editorial, *Daily Gazette*, reprinted in *Legislative Gazette*, Oct. 20, 1997; “Environmentalists wrong in their call for halt to APA prison review process,” editorial, *TLFP*, Oct. 22, 1997; “Prison is just what the economy ordered,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Oct. 27, 1997; “Let’s speak up and support the prison,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Oct. 29, 1997; “Supervisor responds to recent media articles,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 19, 1997; “It’s time to take a stand, Tupper Lake,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 19, 1997; “Stay strong, Governor,” editorial, *TLFP*, Nov. 19, 1997; “Are we going to sit by and let tree-huggers uproot our prison?” editorial, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997;

seemed, had been bought and paid for by the task force; it was therefore the state's duty to build *their* correctional facility in Tupper Lake.

Advocates' sense of entitlement the prison, they believed, conferred on them the exclusive privilege of helping to plan the facility. In so doing, they sought to exclude the opposition from involvement in the project. However, as debate intensified, Lefebvre and his allies accused the opposition of employing antidemocratic tactics to stop the prison. Boosters asserted that by trying to scuttle the project, opponents were circumventing the will of voters and elected officials who wanted the facility built. Supporters appealed to state leaders to ignore the opponents, who they asserted were motivated purely by self-interest.³¹⁵ Instead, boosters encouraged officials to continue down the path toward crimescape expansion, without which they feared for the future of Tupper Lake and its residents.

"Prison would be our salvation," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; "Rally support impressive; letters, calls now needed," editorial, *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997; "Letter to the Editor," *TLFP*, Dec. 10, 1997; "Prison supporters must unite!" *TLFP*, Nov. 12, 1997; "Conflict of interest," *PR*, Nov. 20, 1997; "Malone would welcome Tupper prison," *PR*, Nov. 21, 1997; "Supporters mobilize for prison," *PR*, Nov. 30, 1997; "Tupper Lake rally: 'We need this prison!'" *ADE*, Dec. 1, 1997; "Residents say bring the jobs," *ADE*, Dec. 1, 1997; "Huge pro-prison rally draws nearly 1500," *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997; "Stafford, Ortloff, Maroun press supporters to continue the push," *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997; and, "Council 82 supports Tupper site," *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997.

³¹⁵ Earlin to Curran; Drasye to APA, Oct. 23, 1997; Drasye to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; Hughes to Curran; Drasye to Curran, Nov. 5, 1997; Marjorie Gilbert, to Curran, Nov. 10, 1997; Lonergan to APA; Bombard to APA; Lewandowski to Curran; Preston Burl, to Pataki, Nov. 17, 1997; Gary and Rita (last name illegible), to Curran, Nov. 22, 1997; Joan Fox, to Curran, Nov. 24, 1997; Purdy to Pataki; Edith Martin to Curran; Willette to APA; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; and, Form letter to Curran, Oct. 30, 1997, Tupper Lake Records; "On Purdue, Siy & the prison issue," editorial, *ADE*, Oct. 3, 1997; "APA prison plan review is necessary," editorial, *Daily Gazette*, republished in *Legislative Gazette*, Oct. 20, 1997; "Environmentalists wrong in their call for halt to APA prison review process," editorial, *TLFP*, Oct. 22, 1997; "Tupper Lake needs a prison," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Oct. 22, 1997; "Big Wolf Lake folks should stay out of the prison issue," editorial, *TLFP*, Nov. 5, 1997; "Supervisor responds to recent media articles," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 19, 1997; "It's time to take a stand, Tupper Lake," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 19, 1997; "Disturbed by message," letter to the editor, *PR*, Nov. 23, 1997; "Support for the prison," letter to the editor, *PR*, Nov. 26, 1997; "Are we going to sit by and let tree-huggers uproot our prison?" editorial, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; "Prison would be more beneficial than harmful," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; "Rally support impressive; letters, calls now needed," editorial, *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997; "A scientific classification of an endangered species—people," editorial, *LPN*, Dec. 12, 1997; "Consider those who live here," letter to the editor, *PR*, Dec. 19, 1997; "So what's in the future for this community?" editorial, *TLFP*, Jan. 14, 1998; "Town supervisor still wants prison in Tupper Lake," letter to the editor, *LPN*, Jan. 16, 1998; "Conflict of interest," *PR*, Nov. 20, 1997; "Prison backers organize rally in Tupper Lake," *PR*, Nov. 24, 1997; "Pro-Prison Rally Saturday," *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; "Supporters mobilize for prison," *PR*, Nov. 30, 1997; and, "Huge pro-prison rally draws nearly 1500," *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997.

At the dawn of the new millennium, the social environment of Tupper Lake was in a state of perpetual decline. Prison supporters, much like opponents, expressed concerns about the social and economic future of this once bustling community. Advocates pointed with sadness to a community whose aesthetic presented a grim tableau of collapse, marked by “a Main St. with no business, houses for sale everywhere you look,” along with “failed businesses, empty stores,” and “for sale signs” that never seemed to disappear. Gary Levesque warned simply, “This town will die without the prison.”³¹⁶ The aesthetic collapse of Tupper Lake provided an outward, physical reminder of the broken, divided, and graying families struggling to remain in their homes. Young people seeking economic security to build families of their own had been fleeing the Adirondacks since the 1960s. They left behind a smaller, older population whose tax dollars were insufficient to maintain public services and vital infrastructure. Boosters therefore argued that by allowing young people to return and for future generations to remain, the prison would stabilize and rebuild Tupper Lake’s social and economic environment.³¹⁷ The same would hold

³¹⁶ On aesthetics, see Drasye to Curran; Lonergan to APA; Levesque, quoted in Form letter to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; Earlin to Curran; Dewyea to Curran; McClelland to Curran; Hughes to Curran; Gilbert to Curran; Moroz to Fitts; Lewandowski to Curran; Burl to Pataki; Fortune to Curran; Vitvitsky to Curran; Willette to APA; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 30, 1997; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 31, 1997; and, Form letter to Pataki, Nov. 1997, Tupper Lake Records; “Prison would only strengthen Tupper’s diverse economy,” editorial, *TLFP*, Jan. 29, 1997; “Good planning is imperative as new developments begin,” editorial, *TLFP*, Aug. 13, 1997; “It’s the right place for a prison,” editorial, *PR*, Aug. 22, 1997; “Letter to the Editor,” *TLFP*, Oct. 29, 1997; “Concerns over utility rate hikes because of new prison unfounded,” editorial, *TLFP*, Nov. 5, 1997; “Prison would be our salvation,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Letter to the Editor,” *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997; “Supports prison and freedom of speech,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997; “Letter to the Editor,” *TLFP*, Dec. 10, 1997; “Supports prison for Tupper Lake,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Dec. 10, 1997; “A scientific classification of an endangered species—people,” editorial, *LPN*, Dec. 12, 1997; “Consider those who live here,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Dec. 19, 1997; “Much unfairness in the world,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Jun. 9, 1999; “Tupper Reacts,” *PR*, Aug. 3, 1997; “Prison in the Forest,” *NYT*, Sept. 16, 1997; “Tupper residents anticipate prison,” *PR*, Oct. 19, 1997; “Conflict of interest,” *PR*, Nov. 20, 1997; “Supporters mobilize for prison,” *PR*, Nov. 30, 1997; and, “Residents say bring the jobs,” *ADE*, Dec. 1, 1997.

³¹⁷ On family concerns, see Drasye to APA; Bombard to APA; Lewandowski to Curran; Burl to Pataki; Purdy to Pataki; Edith Martin to Curran; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; and, Form letter to Curran, Oct. 30, 1997, Tupper Lake Records; “Prison in the Forest,” *NYT*, Sept. 16, 1997; “Tupper Lake needs a prison,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Oct. 22, 1997; “Prison is just what the economy ordered,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Oct. 27, 1997; “If Tupper Lake prison goes, what’s next?” column, Matt Smith, *PR*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Residents say bring the jobs,” *ADE*, Dec. 1, 1997; “Supports prison for Tupper Lake,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*,

true for area corrections officers, many of whom had been compelled by civil service seniority rules to endure long commutes to and from other state prisons. Advocates argued that a Tupper Lake penitentiary would allow local correctional employees to live and work closer to home, thus ending long and expensive periods of separation.³¹⁸ In time, the state's investment in the facility would revitalize Tupper Lake's broken families, homes, and businesses. The aesthetic of collapse, boosters believed, would be replaced by one of renewal.

By the fall of 1997, Tupper Lake's prison debate, much like those in Ray Brook and Gabriels, had exposed the community's social fissures as each side claimed control over its shape and future. Critics crafted a wide-ranging critique with the objective of preserving nature for their use and enjoyment. Their concerns, however, extended only as far as the boundaries of their vacation homes and estates. Opponents cared little about the continued physical, social, and economic collapse of Tupper Lake. Their concerns revolved around saving IP's forest from the sort of construction that might permanently alter the environment that provided meaning and significance to their annual visits. Prison advocates, on the other hand, articulated social concerns that they believed could be remedied only through manipulation of that same forestland. Preserving nonhuman nature was less of a concern for boosters; in order to rebuild

Dec. 10, 1997; "A scientific classification of an endangered species—people," editorial, *LPN*, Dec. 12, 1997; "Consider those who live here," letter to the editor, *PR*, Dec. 19, 1997; and, "Much unfairness in the world," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Jun. 9, 1999.

³¹⁸ On impact on local DOCS employees, see Paul Maroun, to Stephen Dutton, Executive Director, Franklin County Industrial Development Agency, Oct. 17, 1997; Drasye to APA; Drasye to Curran; Vitvitsky to Curran; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 30, 1997; and, Form letter to Pataki, Nov. 1997, Tupper Lake Records; "Prison is just what the economy ordered," letter to the editor, *PR*, Oct. 27, 1997; "Let's speak up and support the prison," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Oct. 29, 1997; "Are we going to sit by and let tree-huggers uproot our prison?" editorial, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; "Common sense goes a long way," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; "Tupper prison may end work commute," *PR*, Aug. 8, 1997; "Prison in the Forest," *NYT*, Sept. 16, 1997; "Tupper residents anticipate prison," *PR*, Oct. 19, 1997; "Guard union backs Tupper prison site," *PR*, Nov. 26, 1997; "Huge pro-prison rally draws nearly 1500," *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997; and, "Stafford, Ortloff, Maroun press supporters to continue the push," *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997.

Tupper Lake, IP's tree farm would have to give way. Accordingly, the prison debate quickly evolved into a battle over the shape and future of the region's natural environment.

Debating the “Nature” of Tupper Lake's Prison

The final chapter of Tupper Lake's prison drama revolved around environmental politics. Social and economic anxieties went onto the backburner as state officials took the first concrete steps toward building a prison. Without authorization, in September 1997 workers armed with shovels and driving bulldozers began reshaping the long-sought IP tract. Environmentalists promptly threatened to sue the state if the APA did not halt its review of the project. Seeking to avoid litigation, Corrections and the Park Agency abandoned the prison task force and joined the opposition, providing an opening for advocates to attack environmentalists and the APA as meddling outsiders seeking to control their future. Ultimately, by exercising *its* sole authority to fund and construct correctional facilities and its power to protect fragile environments, the state of New York ended Tupper Lake's long experiment in community prison building. However, by essentially taking its cues from the opposition, state officials' denial of a Tupper Lake prison unintentionally reinforced local fears of all encompassing and irresistible state power.

Though cooperative with the prison boosters, neither the Park Agency nor DOCS were enthusiastic about a penitentiary in Tupper Lake. Corrections leaders stressed that Tupper Lake was not the only site under consideration; that they would not build without APA approval; and that they were exploring alternative sites outside the Park. But since it *appeared* Tupper Lake would be the site, Corrections Commissioner Glenn Goord promised to design the prison “in recognition of the unique nature of the Adirondacks,” with light poles, water towers, and buildings at lower-than-usual heights, and with wide vegetative buffers to screen the facility

from view. Despite their hesitation, Corrections began fieldwork and testing in September. To the consternation of prison boosters, DOCS demanded public involvement through “every step of this process.”³¹⁹

Simultaneously, the APA embarked on its traditional non-binding advisory review of the project. Upon receipt of the Corrections Department’s permit application in October, Agency officials promised the prison would “get a thorough review.” APA leaders indicated that while they had placed the prison “on the fast track,” they expected Corrections to build the facility “in such a manner as not to occupy or disturb any freshwater wetlands.” However, in an indication of its concerns about the project, APA leaders concurred with Corrections officials by insisting

³¹⁹ Robert Dunn and Francis Sheridan, Director, Division of Facilities Planning and Development, DOCS, to Curran, Oct. 6, 1997; DOCS, press release, “Commissioner seeks Adirondack Park Agency OK for Tupper Lake prison,” Oct. 9, 1997; John Hart, Director, Cultural Resource Survey Program, New York State Museum, to George Glassanos, DOCS Deputy Counsel, Oct. 23, 1997, Tupper Lake Records; “Town may hold hearing on prison plan,” *ADE*, Aug. 12, 1997; “I.P. still owns land to be used for prison,” *ADE*, Aug. 1997; “Prison contracts coming in January,” *PR*, Aug. 21, 1997; “State crews taking samples at Pitchfork Pond prison site,” *TLFP*, Aug. 27, 1997; “Tupper plans utility upgrade for prison,” *PR*, Sept. 17, 1997; “Prison site not official but likely settled,” *PR*, Oct. 4, 1997; and, “DOC seeks APA consent prison,” *PR*, Oct. 10, 1997. As of August 1997, IP still owned the tract at Pitchfork Pond Road that DOCS had first identified as suitable for prison use in December 1986. That month, Lefebvre reported that town officials had offered IP \$69,000 to purchase 150 acres of the property. Lefebvre also suggested that if IP did not want to sell, he would encourage state officials to open condemnation proceedings. IP officials responded that they preferred to negotiate directly with the state on a possible sale. The fieldwork and testing that began in September 1997 (while IP retained ownership of the property) included taking soil samples; excavations for possible historical artifacts; and tests for visual impact. The DOCS press release announcing the notice of intent to build in Tupper Lake included the following context: “The new prison is part of Governor George E. Pataki’s 3100-bed prison expansion plan approved by the Legislature earlier this year. The new maximum-security beds are needed because Governor Pataki’s anti-crime reforms are sending violent felons to prison for longer terms, while denying them parole and barring them from all early release programs. Governor Pataki’s anti-crime initiatives contributed to the U.S. Department of Justice’s October 3 announcement that violent crime decreased in New York State last year by 13.4 percent, more than double the national average. The Department of Justice also reported violent crime in New York has decreased by nearly 25 percent since Governor Pataki took office.” The same press release indicated that two potential prison sites in Altamont had already been rejected, one “because of substantial wetlands, the other because it is located too close to commercial and residential property.” As part of the work being done at the site, state historians and archaeologists excavated 2000 shovel test pits, recovering two artifacts, and clearing one more hurdle for the prison planners. In September and October, officials used satellite imagery to plot the property’s contours, drilled test wells for water and soil samples, and floated tethered balloons above the site to test for possible visual impacts. All of this work was done while DOCS officials insisted that they would not build at Tupper Lake without APA approval. For details on the visual impact tests, see New York State Office of General Services, “Visual Impact Assessment: 750 Cell Maximum Security Correctional Facility, Town of Altamont, Franklin County, New York,” Prepared by Environmental Design & Research, P.C., Syracuse, N.Y. (Oct. 1, 1997), Tupper Lake Records.

on public involvement in the planning and construction phases.³²⁰ By October, the APA and DOCS, though nominally aligned with the prison advocates, were clearly attempting to placate both sides. This bureaucratic fence sitting, though, would not last for long.

The cooperative relationship between the APA and DOCS ruptured in mid-October, when Corrections leaders submitted an incomplete permit application to the Park Agency. APA officials were troubled by unanswered questions surrounding potential environmental impacts, and quickly demanded that Corrections submit the required answers. Environmentalists stepped in and assailed both the APA and DOCS. The Adirondack Council described the site selection process as “a sham,” asserting that Corrections had done nothing “to look outside the park for a site.” The Adirondack Mountain Club attacked the APA for what it considered an attempt “to short-circuit, to shortcut the review process.” In mid-October, the Sierra Club and the Association for the Protection of the Adirondacks joined the other two groups in accusing state officials of rushing construction without adequate environmental reviews. They threatened to sue the state if the APA authorized construction without completing a full review, including public hearings.³²¹

³²⁰ “APA promises a thorough review of project,” *PR*, Oct. 15, 1997; Curran to Glassanos & Dunn, memo, Oct. 2, 1997; Greg Campbell, chair, APA Regulatory Programs Committee, memo to Agency members and designees, Oct. 9, 1997; and, Curran, to New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Oct. 20, 1997, Tupper Lake Records. Curran noted in his memo that the APA had reviewed two other sites in Altamont besides the IP property. Campbell’s memo to APA members and designees confirmed DOCS’ failure to commit to Tupper Lake, noting, “There are no plans certain it will be located in the Tupper Lake area.” Campbell also indicated that because of the nature of the local environment, APA review would be extensive, involving freshwater wetlands, and land use areas designated Resource Management and Low Intensity Use. Campbell made an important point about the nature of the prison site: “One concern of staff from the beginning is how would the project area needed to facilitate impact to freshwater wetlands. There are some wetlands on the site. Details of the project inside and outside of the fence will not involve the occupancy or disturbance of freshwater wetlands. There has been consideration of alternative layouts and how the applicant came to the design of how not to impact wetlands.”

³²¹ Robert Dunn, Senior Landscape Architect, Division of Design, Office of General Services, to Curran, Oct. 21, 1997; and, APA, “Notice of Incomplete Application and Request for Additional Information” (Project 97-248, DOCS), Oct. 24, 1997, Tupper Lake Records; “Corrections eyes additional prison sites,” *Legislative Gazette*, Oct. 20, 1997; “DOC seeks APA consent prison,” *PR*, Oct. 10, 1997; “APA promises a thorough review of project,” *PR*,

Simultaneously, the opposition reemerged, invigorated by the environmentalists' threats and advocates' increasing isolation. Critics urged the APA to hold hearings and permit the sort of public involvement that Lefebvre had successfully stifled for ten years. The Park Agency's seemingly cozy relationship with the Corrections Department, though, angered the opposition. Many lectured Agency officials on how to do their jobs, and others expressed anxiety about the APA abandoning its mission and allowing a potentially disastrous development to be railroaded into the heart of the Park. Opponents realized, though, that their letters and complaints (even if backed up by decades of investment in the community) would not be enough to stop the prison. The task of publicly challenging the project would be left to the better financed and more politically influential environmental groups.³²²

Environmentalists' views of the prison evolved from ambivalence toward skepticism and eventually to outright hostility between the summer and fall of 1997. In August, representatives from Albany-based Environmental Advocates, the Adirondack Council, and the Residents' Committee to Protect the Adirondacks declared they had no intention of opposing the prison. As fieldwork commenced in the fall, though, environmentalists voiced increasing skepticism. Environmental Advocates labeled the penitentiary "a step backwards for the community," and

Oct. 15, 1997; and, "Strict Review is Sought for Adirondack Prison Plan," *NYT*, Oct. 15, 1997. Dunn indicated to Curran that "no significant potential for environmental impact will be caused by the infrastructure development" associated with the prison.

³²² Purdue, Statement to APA, Sept. 12, 1997; Purdue, to APA Commissioners, Sept. 25, 1997; Stout to Jarvis; Purdue, to APA, Oct. 10, 1997; Christine Randolph to Curran; Russell Randolph to Curran; Joyce Moody to Curran; John Underhill, Jr., to Curran; Robert Johnson to Pataki; Peter Lourie to Curran; Peter and Rhoda Curtiss to Curran; Howard to Fitts; Marilyn and Morten Petersen to Curran; Purdue to Curran, Oct. 30, 1997; Balfour to Curran; Phyllis Pierce to Curran; DeClerque to Curran; Sarah and Doug Bencze to Curran; Robert Underhill to Curran; Patterson to Curran; Moore to Curran; Lockhart to Curran; Judith and M. Parker Blatchford to Curran; Poirier to Curran; Viertel to Curran; Jim and Colleen Lourie to Campbell; Peggy Purdue, to APA, Nov. 4, 1997; Peggy Staats, to APA, Nov. 13, 1997; Douglas Ward, to Campbell, Nov. 18, 1997; Ward, to Richard Terry, APA counsel, Nov. 21, 1997; and, Form letter to Curran, Oct. 21, 1997, Tupper Lake Records; "Opposes prison epidemic," letter to the editor, *LPN*, Oct. 17, 1997; "Supports letter by Joyce Moody," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Oct. 29, 1997; and, "Letter to the Editor," *TLFP*, Dec. 10, 1997.

argued the region's "natural resources" should be harnessed "to boost the economy without this prison." They called prisons "notorious for pollution problems," and worried the state's decision would "make the Tupper Lake area so dependent on this prison that it will have a long-time negative effect on the community." The Residents' Committee, though, believed the prison would cause no ecological harm because "the site is not near a natural resource" and "the area is already in industrial use." The Adirondack Council called building the prison "no different from siting any other major industrial facility," effectively endorsing the scheme as a matter best left to residents and their elected leaders.³²³ Early in the process, then, local environmental groups, possibly sensing resistance would be futile, decided either to embrace neutrality or endorse the prison as environmentally sound. At least one outside group, Environmental Advocates, adopted a more skeptical approach. By October, as crimescape expansion swung into full gear, local environmentalists' early skepticism would become opposition.

Environmentalists called on the APA to reject DOCS' permit application. The previously prison-friendly Adirondack Council stated that while it was not morally or ethically opposed to prisons, the APA, through its complicity with the Corrections Department, had violated the public's trust in a fair review process. In particular, the Council cited the Park Agency's decision to "fast track" the project and reluctance to schedule public hearings. Council officials called on the APA to halt its review and urged state officials to move the facility to a Franklin County location outside the Park. The Council noted: "This is a Park. It should never be our first choice for the site of a prison, let alone the only place considered." Even the Residents' Committee, which had asserted the prison would pose no environmental threats, stated that its

³²³ "Town may hold hearing on prison plan," *ADE*, Aug. 12, 1997; "Environmentalists debate Tupper prison," *PR*, Aug. 18, 1997; "Few oppose prison plan," *ADE*, Aug. 1997; and, "Prison in the Forest," *NYT*, Sept. 16, 1997.

members were now “very concerned” about the penitentiary.³²⁴ The APA’s seeming abandonment of its legal mandate coupled with the possibility of ecological damage pushed local and outside environmentalists firmly into the opposition camp.

In mid-October, the Corrections Department added fuel to the fire when it confirmed that its workers and bulldozers had gone onto the IP tract “to identify boundaries and wetlands.” An Adirondack Council official flew over the site and captured photographs revealing extensive grading and excavation work, including the removal of trees and vegetation to prepare for construction. In early November, the Council called on the APA to investigate Corrections for

³²⁴ “DOC seeks APA consent prison,” *PR*, Oct. 10, 1997; “APA promises a thorough review of project,” *PR*, Oct. 15, 1997; and, “Strict Review is Sought for Adirondack Prison Plan,” *NYT*, Oct. 15, 1997; “Corrections eyes additional prison sites,” *Legislative Gazette*, Oct. 20, 1997; Adirondack Council, news release, “Environmental Organizations Call on Park Agency to Reject Tupper Lake Prison Application as Incomplete,” Oct. 14, 1997; Residents’ Committee to Protect the Adirondacks, “Position Statement on Proposed Construction of a Maximum Security Prison in the Town of Altamont by the State of New York Department of Corrections,” Oct. 28, 1997; and, RCPA, to Pataki, Nov. 3, 1997, Tupper Lake Records. According to Burke, the opposition’s fears about a conspiracy among local prison advocates, the Corrections Department, and the APA were proven true after the DOCS submitted its permit application on October 9. Burke noted, “The presentation and application to the APA weren’t even mentioned in the APA’s October meeting agenda, which was handed out to the public just minutes before the meeting began. If someone came to the APA the day of the meeting to see if the APA was considering the prison, he would never have known it would be discussed at all. That shows a callous disregard for the rights of the public on the part of both agencies. In addition, it is completely inappropriate for the APA to hand over sole authority on whether a public hearing will be held to Chairman Campbell, who is a political appointee beholden to the Governor for his job. That only makes it easier for the public to assume the fix is in. It would be only natural for the public to expect that they will have no voice whatsoever in the decisions about where the prison will be located and how it will be constructed. That’s just plain wrong.” In its position statement and letter to Governor Pataki, the RCPA complained about the incomplete permit application, and that “little detailed information has been made available about this project.” RCPA leaders highlighted the expanded crimescape, noting, “There is a total of 19 prisons in the North Country that house approximately 19,000 inmates.” Committee leaders also expressed concern about the project’s environmental impact: “The proposed Town of Altamont facility is one of the largest developments ever proposed for the Adirondack Park and may be inconsistent with the APA Land Use and Development Plan. The RCPA believes such a facility—and development of this magnitude—may have a deleterious effect on the environment of the Adirondack Park.” RCPA accordingly called for public hearings, rigorous APA review of possible social and environmental impacts, and consideration of alternative sites outside the boundaries of the Adirondack Park. Committee leaders argued, “No site should be selected within the Adirondack Park unless it can be proven that the proposed maximum security prison shall not have an adverse impact on the environment or rural community character of the Adirondack Park.”

undertaking work without a permit. Council officials argued the APA would have to stop its review if it discovered DOCS had broken the law.³²⁵

The seemingly overzealous and possibly illegal activity undertaken by the Corrections Department, coupled with the Park Agency's complicity in the project, compelled the larger, wealthier, and more influential Sierra Club to assume primary leadership in the opposition. Amid the specter of litigation, Club officials hired former APA Executive Director Robert Glennon to serve as lead counsel, and made clear that Glennon would serve "on behalf of the Club and local residents," a clear sign that environmentalists were leading the opposition. The Sierra Club articulated a wide-ranging, and sometimes contradictory, critique of the prison proposal. Club leaders bypassed the Park Agency, calling on Governor Pataki to intervene and force the APA to do "its job to protect the Adirondack forests, lakes and wetlands, from the Department of Corrections bulldozer." The Sierra Club also argued that DOCS' actions had destroyed public trust in the project's environmental soundness. However, in the same breath, they called for state leaders to focus "attention and resources on promoting a healthy timber economy instead of spending \$130 million on bringing 1500 of the most violent felons in New York State to Tupper Lake." At the same time, though, Club leaders complained that local prison advocates had prevented public involvement in the project, suggesting the prison might

³²⁵ Adirondack Council, press release, "Adirondack Council Calls on Park Agency to Investigate Dept. of Corrections for Potential Violations of Park Development Rules," Nov. 5, 1997; and, Timothy Burke, Executive Director, Adirondack Council, to Daniel Fitts, Executive Director, APA, Nov. 5, 1997, Tupper Lake Records. In the press release, Burke appeared perplexed by the Corrections Department's actions: "Why on earth would anyone need a bulldozer to find a wetland? APA has been delineating wetlands for decades, but not with a bulldozer. And I have never heard of anyone using a bulldozer to mark a boundary line in a forest. Surveyors normally use little flags and a hatchet to clear limbs when marking a boundary. There already appears to be a political bulldozer behind this proposal. We don't need a real one making things worse. The APA regulations allow for test pits and for the marking of lot boundaries. But they do not allow an applicant to begin bulldozing in preparation for the project's construction and they do not allow for any major disturbance of the site connected to its proposed new use. The Corrections Department seems unaware, or unwilling to recognize, that this is a Park and must be treated with the respect it deserves. Following the rules on development is more important here than in any other part of New York State. Yet the department continues to act as if the APA's review was simply a formality."

have been acceptable if planned using democratic processes.³²⁶ Contradictions notwithstanding, the power and prestige of the Sierra Club prompted the Park Agency and Corrections Department to switch course.

By Thanksgiving, the Corrections Department was actively pursuing alternative sites in Malone, outside the Park boundaries. DOCS officials stated firmly that the prison system, operating at 130% of capacity, could not withstand further delays in expanding capacity. One Corrections leader added, “We’re not married to that site [Tupper Lake]. We just need a prison.” The Sierra Club warmly welcomed the Corrections Department as an ally in its struggle to keep the prison out of Tupper Lake. Club officials agreed that Malone would be more suitable, especially since that community had already “adjusted to prisons,” and that “a prison in Tupper Lake will have a much greater environmental effect than many people realize.”³²⁷ To avoid an expensive and drawn-out court fight, the Corrections Department ended its tense relationship with the boosters and formed an even stranger alliance with environmentalists who had earlier called for their heads.

³²⁶ Sierra Club, press release, “Sierra Club Joins with Tupper Lake Residents to Hire Former APA Chief to Fight Prison,” Nov. 19, 1997, Tupper Lake Records; “Tupper prison opposed,” *PR*, Nov. 19, 1997; “Lawsuit threat could relocate Tupper prison,” *PR*, Nov. 20, 1997; and, “Malone would welcome Tupper prison,” *PR*, Nov. 21, 1997. Other environmentalists praised the Sierra Club’s decision to hire Glennon. Eric Siy of Environmental Advocates commented, “If there’s any individual capable of stopping this prison, it’s Bob Glennon; that’s a fact. Nobody knows the agency’s rules and regulations better than he does. Remember, he helped write a lot of them.”

³²⁷ “Tupper prison trouble,” *PR*, Nov. 1, 1997; “Lawsuit threat could relocate Tupper prison,” *PR*, Nov. 20, 1997; “Malone would welcome Tupper prison,” *PR*, Nov. 21, 1997; “Sierra Club enters fray; pledges to stop prison,” *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; and, “Tupper reacts to possibility of Malone prison,” *PR*, Dec. 3, 1997; Glennon, to New York State Comptroller H. Carl McCall, Dec. 1, 1997, Tupper Lake Records. In late October, the DOCS approached Richard LaVigne, a Malone businessman who had been instrumental in bringing two prisons to Malone in the 1980s, asking for suggestions on possible sites if the Tupper Lake site had to be changed. LaVigne called Malone the state’s “insurance policy” if the Tupper Lake site fell through. He added that Corrections officials had already visited two privately owned properties in Malone and performed surveying and test drilling on each site. LaVigne also noted, “Corrections has been in contact with all the individual landowners to determine price and which sites they would prefer based on the monetary costs and other considerations.” Malone Mayor Joyce Tavernier said that Malone was “not in competition with Tupper Lake, but we are willing to take this prison if the Tupper Lake site is no longer viable.”

The prison boosters quickly found themselves in a bind out of which there were no easy exits. The tenuous alliance forged among enthusiastic local prison advocates, cautious Park Agency officials, and overeager Corrections leaders had broken down within the space of one month. Environmentalists had been performing their watchdog role as this alliance formed and its efforts bore fruit. Outside groups had sounded the first alarms about the project's potentially damaging impacts, while local environmentalists had, in some ways, sought to accommodate what appeared to be a *fait accompli*. Once it became clear that the APA had given extralegal sanction to potentially illegal activity, all bets were off. As Corrections' bulldozers changed the land, environmentalists changed sides. The boosters, who once had proclaimed there was no opposition to their proposals, found themselves surrounded by critics. Environmentalists had shifted the terrain of the prison fight from one centered on social and economic concerns to one squarely focused on the ecological integrity of the environment and the public health of its residents. This was a fight for which Lefebvre and his allies had not prepared.

By late November, Tupper Lake's experiment in populist, community-based prison building had failed. Even if there had been no opposition, the advocates needed the Corrections Department to get the prison built. A community, by itself, could not finance, construct, and operate a correctional facility. Thus, while the Sierra Club welcomed DOCS officials into a rather odd anti-prison alliance, Lefebvre and his supporters began looking for scapegoats. Naturally, the Sierra Club and its environmentalist allies filled that role quite nicely. With nothing left but rage, boosters went on the attack. However, couched within that attack was a vernacular, local knowledge of nature that posited a more positive and harmonious relationship between crimescape and landscape. This knowledge, of course, stood in stark contrast to

environmentalists' warnings of impending disaster. With each side claiming authoritative understandings of Adirondack nature, the question ultimately became, which side was right?

Booster attacks on environmentalists were colored by the anti-statist, anti-outsider rhetoric that had long been a staple of local politics in the Adirondacks. Many of the criticisms were personal in nature, with supporters castigating environmentalists as “arrogant,” “negative idiots,” “extremists,” “wishy-washy,” “tree-huggers,” “intruders,” “zealots,” “militants,” and “radical oppressionists,” to name a few.³²⁸ This name-calling and personal animosity, of course, was rooted in a keenly felt sense of social and political inferiority among local residents resentful of the wealthy outsiders whose money and influence played such an outsized role in the sparsely populated and impoverished region. Permanent residents had long been aware of their devil’s bargains forged with wealthy tourists, second homeowners, real estate developers, and captains of the tourism industry, bargains which had pushed many out of the region and kept most others hanging by on a thread. Now, at the very moment locals believed prosperity might be around the corner, these same individuals and groups were laboring to snatch the prison out from under their feet. Advocates vociferously reasserted their claim of home rule and attacked the “rich,” “affluent,” “powerful,” and “wealthy” individuals and groups possessed of “mountains of

³²⁸ On personal attacks directed at environmentalists, see, “Prison in the Forest,” *NYT*, Sept. 16, 1997; “Village board urges prison support,” *TLFP*, Nov. 19, 1997; McClelland to Curran; Gary and Rita, no last name given, Bloomingdale, to Curran; Fox to Curran; Vitvitsky to Curran; Willette to APA; and, Form letter to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997, Tupper Lake Records; “Good planning is imperative as new developments begin,” editorial, *TLFP*, Aug. 13, 1997; “On Purdue, Siy & the prison issue,” editorial, *ADE*, Oct. 3, 1997; “Environmentalists wrong in their call for halt to APA prison review process,” editorial, *TLFP*, Oct. 22, 1997; “Tupper Lake needs a prison,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Oct. 22, 1997; “It’s time to take a stand, Tupper Lake,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 19, 1997; “Disturbed by message,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Nov. 23, 1997; “If Tupper Lake prison goes, what’s next?” column, Matt Smith, *PR*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Are we going to sit by and let tree-huggers uproot our prison?” editorial, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Prison would be more beneficial than harmful,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Rally support impressive; letters, calls now needed,” editorial, *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997; “Plattsburgh supervisor supports prison,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Dec. 10, 1997; “Letter to the Editor,” *TLFP*, Dec. 10, 1997; “A scientific classification of an endangered species—people,” *LPN*, Dec. 12, 1997; “Conflict of interest,” *PR*, Nov. 20, 1997; “Guard union backs Tupper prison site,” *PR*, Nov. 26, 1997; and, “Huge pro-prison rally draws nearly 1500,” *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997.

money” that, they believed, were determined to keep them poor.³²⁹ Blinded by rage, boosters also conflated environmentalists and the APA, despite the fact that the Sierra Club and other groups had been critical of the Park Agency’s close ties to Corrections.³³⁰ Finally, supporters expressed fears that the underlying motivation of environmentalists trying to stop the prison was to dispossess Park residents and eventually depopulate the Adirondack Park.³³¹ For prison advocates, the prison fight was about more than just the immediate concerns of environmentalists. Tupper Lake’s final prison battle opened the door to a discussion of long-standing grievances surrounding social class, political power, and local control.

Prison supporters couched these familiar grievances within a framework of local and vernacular knowledge of nature and the local environment. This knowledge, rooted in economic, social, and political self-interest, asserted that a maximum-security prison would pose no

³²⁹ On class politics and environmentalism, see, Earlin to Curran; Drasye to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; Drasye to Curran, Nov. 5, 1997; Gilbert to Curran; Bombard to APA; Vitvitsky to Curran; Edith Martin to Curran; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; and, Form letter to Curran, Oct. 30, 1997, Tupper Lake Records; “APA prison plan review is necessary,” editorial, *Legislative Gazette*, Oct. 20, 1997; “Environmentalists wrong in their call for halt to APA prison review process,” editorial, *TLFP*, Oct. 22, 1997; “Tupper Lake needs a prison,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Oct. 22, 1997; “Prison is just what the economy ordered,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Oct. 27, 1997; “Stay strong, Governor,” editorial, *TLFP*, Nov. 19, 1997; “Support for the prison,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Are we going to sit by and let tree-huggers uproot our prison?” editorial, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Corrects erroneous statements,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Prison would be more beneficial than harmful,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Common sense goes a long way,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Prison would be our salvation,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Consider those who live here,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Dec. 19, 1997; “Conflict of interest,” *PR*, Nov. 20, 1997; “Supporters mobilize for prison,” *PR*, Nov. 30, 1997; “Residents say bring the jobs,” *ADE*, Dec. 1, 1997; and, “Huge pro-prison rally draws nearly 1500,” *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997.

³³⁰ On conflation of APA with environmentalists, see, Drasye to Curran, Nov. 5, 1997; Purdy to Pataki; and, Willette to APA, Tupper Lake Records; “APA prison plan review is necessary,” editorial, *Legislative Gazette*, Oct. 20, 1997; “Supervisor responds to recent media articles,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 19, 1997; “Prison would be our salvation,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; and, “Supports the prison and freedom of speech,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997.

³³¹ On fears of dispossession, see, “Good planning is imperative as new developments begin,” editorial, *TLFP*, Aug. 13, 1997; “Environmentalists wrong in their call for halt to APA prison review process,” editorial, *TLFP*, Oct. 22, 1997; “Tupper Lake needs a prison,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Oct. 22, 1997; “Prison is just what the economy ordered,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Oct. 27, 1997; “Are we going to sit by and let tree-huggers uproot our prison?” editorial, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; “What do the environmentalists want?” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; “A scientific classification of an endangered species—people,” editorial, *LPN*, Dec. 12, 1997; “Prison backers organize rally in Tupper Lake,” *PR*, Nov. 24, 1997; and, “Pro-Prison Rally Saturday,” *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997.

ecological or public health threat to either the environment or residents. Many advocates also seemed to argue that the IP tract was no longer nature, owing to its commercial ownership, usage, and industrial zoning. Drawing on two decades of crimescape expansion, boosters also argued prisons were the least offensive form of industry one could hope for, repeatedly using the word “clean” when referring to the proposed facility.³³² Of course, crimescape expansion had exacted significant ecological tolls on the region, especially at Dannemora and Ray Brook. With each side articulating contradictory ideas about nature and the region’s amenability to correctional expansion, politicians and scientists would have to render the final verdict.

The prison supporters’ war on environmentalists echoed the cries of anti-statist Sagebrush rebels in the American West who had risen up at the time of the crimescape’s mid-1970s expansion.³³³ Boosters’ social and political grievances, however, echoed a century of

³³² On local environmental knowledge and the cleanliness of prisons, see, Gilbert to APA; Dewyea to Curran; McClelland to Curran; Stuart Nichols, to Curran, Nov. 3, 1997; Hughes to Curran; Hassler to Curran; Fortune to Curran; Susan Martin to Curran; Sidney “Jay” Ward, III, to Fitts; Vitvitsky to Curran; Purdy to Pataki; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 29, 1997; Form letter to Curran, Oct. 30, 1997; and, Form letter to Curran, Oct. 31, 1997, Tupper Lake Records; “Ron Stafford delivers on his prison promise,” editorial by McClelland, *TLFP*, Aug. 6, 1997; “Good planning is imperative as new developments begin,” editorial, *TLFP*, Aug. 13, 1997; “It’s the right place for a prison,” *PR*, Aug. 22, 1997; “Environmentalists wrong in their call for halt to APA prison review process,” editorial, *TLFP*, Oct. 22, 1997; “Tupper Lake needs a prison,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Oct. 22, 1997; “Prison is just what the economy ordered,” letter to the editor, *PR*, Oct. 27, 1997; “Stay strong, Governor,” editorial, *TLFP*, Nov. 19, 1997; “Prison would be more beneficial than harmful,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; Photograph of pro-prison rally, Editorial page, *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997; “Plattsburgh supervisor supports prison,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Dec. 10, 1997; Letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Dec. 10, 1997; “Guard union backs Tupper prison site,” *PR*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Supporters mobilize for prison,” *PR*, Nov. 30, 1997; “Tupper Lake rally: “We need this prison!” *ADE*, Dec. 1, 1997; “Huge pro-prison rally draws nearly 1500,” *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997; “Support for Tupper Lake prison grows,” *PR*, Dec. 4, 1997; and, “Wilmington honors departing board members, justice,” *LPN*, Dec. 12, 1997.

³³³ On environmental politics and anti-environmentalism, see R. McGregor Cawley, *Federal Land, Western Anger: The Sagebrush Rebellion & Environmental Politics* (Wichita: University Press of Kansas, 1993); John Echevarria & Raymond Both Eby, eds., *Let the People Judge: Wise Use and the Private Property Rights Movement* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1995); Robert Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1993); Samuel Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Hays, *A History of Environmental Politics since 1945* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000); David Helvarg, *The War Against the Greens: The “Wise-use” Movement, the New Right, and the Browning of America* (Boulder, CO: Johnson Books, 2004); Hal Rothman, *The Greening of a Nation? Environmentalism in the United States since 1945* (Orlando: Harcourt Brace, 1998); Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Green Revolution: The American Environmental Movement*,

struggle in the Adirondacks, and their assertions of a locally centered knowledge and understanding of nature, and of what would constitute ecologically compatible and appropriate development, recall what Karl Jacoby has termed “moral ecology.” Unlike the Sagebrush rebels, though, Tupper Lake’s prison advocates could not afford to indulge in the same kind of strident anti-statist rhetoric. Community prison building, after all, still required state planning and financing. So, the Sierra Club became the surrogate for the real target of advocates’ ire: the state.

Crimescape’s End

The final battle over the Adirondack crimescape culminated in a raucous pro-prison rally held on Saturday, November 29. Inside a high school gymnasium, nearly two thousand supporters gathered in one final, desperate show of support for *their* prison. The event, which quickly devolved into little more than a series of jingoistic, anti-environmentalist rants, allowed advocates to rally the troops and impress upon state leaders the public’s yearning for crimescape expansion. Rally organizers attracted news media attention, which relayed stories of the event via newspaper, television, radio, and internet across the state. For a moment that Thanksgiving weekend, it seemed the boosters, though alone in the fight, might yet prevail over their well-financed opponents.³³⁴ Within three weeks, the yells, cheers, and applause of that night would be long forgotten, as Tupper Lake’s final prison dream evaporated.

1962-1992 (New York: Hill & Wang, 1993); Philip Shabecoff, *A Fierce Green Fire: The American Environmental Movement* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2003); and, James Morton Turner, *The Promise of Wilderness: Environmental Politics since 1964* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012).

³³⁴ See, “Prison backers organize rally in Tupper Lake,” *PR*, Nov. 24, 1997; “Pro-Prison Rally Saturday,” *TLFP*, Nov. 26, 1997; “Prison rally tonight in TL,” *ADE*, Nov. 29-30, 1997; “Supporters mobilize for prison,” *PR*, Nov. 30, 1997; “Tupper Lake rally: ‘We need this prison!’” *ADE*, Dec. 1, 1997; “Residents say bring the jobs,” *ADE*, Dec. 1, 1997; “Huge pro-prison rally draws nearly 1500,” *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997; “Stafford, Ortloff, Maroun press supporters to continue the push,” *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997; and, “Rally coverage going state-wide,” *TLFP*, Dec. 3, 1997.

In early December, Corrections moved ahead with plans to build the prison in Malone. Lefebvre complained that DOCS leaders were “sending mixed messages to this town,” and that residents were becoming “nervous and antsy” at the prospect of losing the prison. Boosters, painfully aware that the Sierra Club’s threats had borne fruit, remained undeterred. Local businessman Tim Larkin asserted, “If the prison is an environmental problem here, then it’s an environmental problem anywhere.” However, County Legislator Paul Maroun could see the handwriting on the wall, acknowledging, “if environmentalists file a lawsuit against the state, then Corrections wants to be able to move rapidly in Malone.”³³⁵ The lawsuit never materialized, but the second part of Maroun’s prediction came to pass.

On December 18, Frank Bifera, general counsel of the Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC), labeled the Tupper Lake site “both environmentally and legally problematic.” Bifera noted the high risks for environmental damage posed by construction at Pitchfork Pond Road, including soil and chemical runoff into waterways and wetlands, both before and after construction. Bifera also noted the presence of two large aquifers adjacent to and under the site, warning “there will be a significant impact on this water resource which may be needed for future potable water supplies.” Accordingly, the DEC recommended Corrections move to Malone. Bifera wrote, “It does not appear...that similar problems would be encountered at the Malone site. Given this set of facts, the State Environmental Quality Review Act demands the alternative site be chosen.” The Corrections Department quickly accepted these findings and agreed to move the penitentiary to Malone, the most heavily concentrated prison community in the crimescape. Commissioner Goord noted, “With these issues now being identified,

³³⁵ “Malone details prison needs,” *PR*, Dec. 12, 1997; and, “Tupper reacts to possibility of Malone prison,” *PR*, Dec. 13, 1997.

environmental protection requires that I build elsewhere.” Environmentalists rejoiced. John Stouffer of the Sierra Club commented, “We feel vindicated,” and John Sheehan of the Adirondack Council explained, “The Department of Corrections clearly did not do its homework.”³³⁶ Perhaps, but Tupper Lake’s prison advocates were not finished yet.

Supporters complained that the decision had been made because of politics, and not environmental protection. Lefebvre claimed the DEC’s conclusions were “totally in direct opposition to what I have been told by people over the last four months. Everybody feels the site here is as good or better than they have in Malone.” Lefebvre added, “the last thing we want to see now is what a lot of us consider Albany political shenanigans.” Maroun stated residents felt “tricked by the environmentalists,” and Dan McClelland asserted, “There’s something quite un-American about environmentalists coming in and telling us what we can and cannot have.” Lefebvre agreed, accusing state leaders of giving “in to the environmentalists” who “don’t want good jobs.” McClelland worried that “Tupper Lake is on the beginning of a decline into nothing.” Advocates decided to turn their anger into action. Lefebvre proposed Tupper Lake and other Franklin County communities inside the Adirondack Park politically separate from the non-Park northern half of the county and create a new county. Lefebvre argued that as a separate county, the towns inside the Park could save money by not contributing tax dollars to services and infrastructure outside the Blue Line. Local officials also demanded state leaders provide Tupper Lake financial compensation to make up for the lost economic impact from moving the prison. Some even threatened to sue the Sierra Club for “loss of economic opportunity.” Finally, in a fit of rage, town leaders removed a plaque from the front of the Town Hall that had

³³⁶ “Top DEC official pans Tupper prison,” *PR*, Dec. 19, 1997; “Pressed by Environmentalists, Pataki Drops Prison Plan,” *NYT*, Dec. 20, 1997; “State caves; Malone gets Tupper prison,” *PR*, Dec. 20, 1997; and, “Tupper Loses Prison!!!” *TLFP*, Dec. 24, 1997.

been donated years earlier by a group of second homeowners to mark Tupper Lake's centennial. Having fallen out of favor in the prison fight, Lefebvre could no longer bear the sight of a monument that had symbolized the close relationships once forged between permanent residents and the "outsiders" who also called Tupper Lake home.³³⁷

In early January 1998, the prison advocates seemingly discovered the evidence they needed surrounding environmental impact that had needed during the fight with the Sierra Club. Having consulted maps from the federal Department of the Interior, Lefebvre announced the DEC's analysis had been incorrect. The maps indicated the Tupper Lake site was further removed from sensitive wetlands and aquifers than had been previously understood. In addition, they revealed that the site in Malone actually sat atop an aquifer. Suddenly, Lefebvre and his allies became environmentalists, arguing, "The state needs to study the environmental impact on the Malone site. Obviously, more environmental damage will occur in Malone than in Tupper Lake." The supervisor noted the proximity of the Malone site to the Salmon River, a popular

³³⁷ "Top DEC official pans Tupper prison," *PR*, Dec. 19, 1997; "Pressed by Environmentalists, Pataki Drops Prison Plan," *NYT*, Dec. 20, 1997; "Tupper Lake upset, disappointed by loss," *PR*, Dec. 20, 1997; "Altamont looks for options after losing prison," *PR*, Dec. 23, 1997; "Tupper Loses Prison!!" *TLFP*, Dec. 24, 1997; and, "Town leaders angry, frustrated, but also ready to move ahead," *TLFP*, Dec. 24, 1997. See also, "Malone delighted with switch," *PR*, Dec. 20, 1997; "Pataki disappointed with prison switch," *PR*, Dec. 23, 1997; "Tupper loses \$130 million state prison to Malone," *LPN*, Dec. 26, 1997; "Prison idea open for public comment," *PR*, Dec. 30, 1997; "Healing the Park's economic woes," letter to the editor, *ADE*, Dec. 31, 1997; "Several factors conspired against prison," Op-Ed by Peter Bauer, Executive Director, Residents' Committee to Protect the Adirondacks, *PR*, Feb. 9, 1998; "Bad sign for park's economy," editorial, *PR*, Dec. 23, 1997. In the wake of the DEC memo and the DOCS' decision to move the prison to Malone, many Tupper Lake prison advocates revived their anti-environmentalist rhetoric, concerns about home rule, and fears about dispossession. Many even called for Tupper Lake to work toward reviving its defunct tourist trade. See, "The prison is gone, so let's move on!" editorial, *TLFP*, Dec. 24, 1997; Bob and Mary Lyle, "Letter to the Editor," *TLFP*, Dec. 24, 1997; Jeff Lamere, "Letter to the Editor," *TLFP*, Dec. 24, 1997; "Very dismayed, disappointed," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Dec. 24, 1997; Randall Rolley, "Letter to the Editor," *TLFP*, Dec. 24, 1997; Marjorie Gilbert, "Letter to the Editor," *TLFP*, Dec. 24, 1997; Dennis Pickering, "Letter to the Editor," *TLFP*, Dec. 24, 1997; "Supervisor calls on community to work together on new goals," *TLFP*, Dec. 24, 1997; Frank Morrison, "Letter to the Editor," *TLFP*, Dec. 24, 1997; Joy Graton, "Letter to the Editor," *TLFP*, Dec. 24, 1997; Dale French, "Letter to the Editor," *TLFP*, Dec. 24, 1997; "Tupper Lake now needs to tout tourism," editorial, *LPN*, Dec. 26, 1997; "Council deceitful," letter to the editor, *PR*, Dec. 31, 1997; "Twin blows," news analysis, *PR*, Jan. 2, 1998; "Regarding 'The Grinch' that stole the prison," letter to the editor, *LPN*, Jan. 2, 1998; "So what's in the future for this community?" editorial, *TLFP*, Jan. 14, 1998; "Tupper supporter speaks out on prison issue," letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Jan. 14, 1998; "More thoughts on the prison," editorial, *TLFP*, Jan. 28, 1998; and, "Time cost Tupper Lake prison," editorial, *PR*, Feb. 1, 1998.

fishing spot, and close to homes dependent on wells for freshwater. However, in the same breath, Lefebvre barked, “It’s time the environmentalists stop lying to the public. If they don’t want a prison in Tupper Lake, then they should just say that.” The supervisor and his allies sent copies of the maps to journalists and state officials, hoping to see the decision reversed in Tupper Lake’s favor, and flooded Stafford’s office with one final form letter, which read, in part:

I believed, as did many Tupper Lakers, that you had the power and influence to guarantee our community the prison... To allow the Governor to simply put it in Malone without some type of public fight on your part for us is really disheartening... What about the aquifer on the Malone site? Why is it that this aquifer is not a problem in Malone and yet an aquifer was supposed to have been such a big problem in Tupper Lake? The question now is whether you will do something to bring the prison back to us in Tupper Lake or not. I expect you to represent me on this very crucial issue for our community and the other communities within the Adirondack Park. Please, Senator, you must use every bit of influence that you have to win back the prison.

Dean Lefebvre’s conversion to environmentalism along the road to Malone was not enough for Corrections officials who bluntly stated, “that prison is definitely not going to Tupper Lake.”³³⁸ After two decades, the prison fight was over.

Conclusion

As Corrections officials planned construction of Malone’s third prison, leaders in Tupper Lake began to think about a future centered on an industry that had already failed them: tourism. By the end of January 1998, local officials opened discussions about organizing a revived tourist trade around a new history museum. Eight and a half years later, that vision became reality. In July 1999, Tupper Lake’s prison boosters grimaced as *their* prison opened in Malone.³³⁹ As

³³⁸ “Even in wake of prison site switch supporters here continue to fight,” *TLFP*, Jan. 7, 1998; “Prison backers pin hopes on aquifer,” *PR*, Jan. 8, 1998. See also, “Harness Altamont’s aquifer,” letter to the editor, *TLFP*, Dec. 24, 1997, and, “Town supervisor still wants prison in Tupper Lake,” letter to the editor, *LPN*, Jan. 16, 1998.

³³⁹ The APA concluded in January 1998 that the DOCS had not broken the law by beginning site preparation work at the proposed prison site. See, Emily Tyner, APA Enforcement Officer, to Timothy Burke, Executive Director,

New York's prison population began to shrink in the early twenty first century, and the need for cell space diminished, the era of crimescape expansion that had first begun in the 1840s, accelerated in the mid-1970s, and lasted all the way to the end of the twentieth century, had finally drawn to a close.

Tupper Lake's failed experiment with community prison building revealed, ultimately, the power of New York's environmental regulations and the increasing popularity and influence of environmentalists on issues surrounding natural resource protection in the Adirondacks at the turn of the millennium. However, for all their power and influence, state regulators and lay activists, like the prison advocates, were prone to incoherence, contradiction, and hypocrisy. Corrections officials repeatedly claimed Tupper Lake was not their only option, and that they would not build a prison there without APA approval, but began building anyway. When the possibility of litigation nearly became reality, DOCS backed away in the name of environmental protection. In much the same way, Park Agency leaders promised a thorough review and insisted on public involvement, only to fast track the project and stand by while Corrections broke ground. Finally, the Sierra Club threatened to sue if the governor did not force the APA to carry out a full review of the project, and claimed that prisons were incompatible for a park dedicated to leisure and recreation. In the same breath, the Club called for a revival of the Adirondacks' logging trade, and complained that prison boosters had stifled the voices of

Adirondack Council, and Glennon, Jan. 12, 1998. See also, DOCS, press release, "New prison at Malone, formally named 'Upstate,' is 30 percent complete," Aug. 13, 1998; and, DOCS, press release, "Upstate Correctional Facility opens with first round of inmate transfers," July 7, 1999, Tupper Lake Records. Also, "Tupper looks to restore its past," *PR*, Jan. 24, 1998; "New prison dubbed Upstate Correctional Facility," *PR*, Aug. 14, 1998; "Museum seen as Tupper Lake economy boost," *PR*, Oct. 7, 1998; "Budget OKs largest cell expansion in 70 years," *DOCS Today*, Jan. 1998; "State swaps Tupper for Malone as prison site," *DOCS Today*, Feb. 1998; "Bids awarded on maximum-security prison as work continues on eight new SHU's," *DOCS Today*, Apr. 1998; "Work begins on new prison in Franklin County," *DOCS Today*, May 1998; and, "New prison, named Upstate, is now 40% complete," *DOCS Today*, Nov. 1998.

opponents. Since nearly everyone involved in this fight had staked out a position by 1997, there was little imperative for coherence or consistency. The sides had already been drawn.

It would be easy to stop here and simply call these people shortsighted, thoughtless, and self-interested, and for many of them, these would be accurate characterizations. The long prison fight at Tupper Lake, though, illuminated, once again, a significant problem that Park residents and state leaders continue to confront: economic development and zoning. The fact that Tupper Lake's leaders felt compelled to spend twenty years pushing for a prison reveals a significant failure in state planning, especially since development options in the area are restricted not only by geographic location but also by APA and DEC regulations. Tupper Lake leaders' almost immediate reversion to reviving a dead tourist trade after the prison defeat provides more evidence of this problem. This is not to suggest that regulations should be relaxed or lifted, or to reinforce the false choice between environmental protection and economic development. Rather, it may be time to reexamine the place of people and human habitats inside an area designated as a park. Such a discussion may stoke fears of dispossession and depopulation; however, this may be a risk worth taking, especially since voluntary depopulation has been ongoing for fifty years, and unemployment and poverty persist at levels well above state averages.

Whither Tupper Lake? The property at Pitchfork Pond Road remains in the hands of International Paper, and any evidence that state planners had started building a prison there has long been covered over. The community's downtown is quiet and largely empty, a condition observed during the author's most recent visit in June 2012. The Natural History Museum of the Adirondacks, a glittering facility on the outskirts of town, attracted many high-profile donors during the planning and construction phases, and continues to draw tourists and residents twelve

months of the year. Upstate Correctional Facility in Malone, the prison that had been planned for Tupper Lake, is overcrowded and understaffed, a condition plaguing many New York prisons in an age of austerity. A new development, though, has come in the form of the Adirondack Club and Resort, a massive development of second homes, camps, and recreational facilities that the APA approved in early 2012. Robert Glennon has reemerged, along with a group of Tupper Lake property owners, to challenge this development in court. Though the case remains unsettled, the Adirondack crimescape began its slow and long period of contraction at Tupper Lake.



Figure 8: Front entrance of the Natural History Museum of the Adirondacks, Tupper Lake, New York. Photograph by author, June 2012.

Conclusion

In July 2013, Governor Andrew Cuomo announced the closure of Chateaugay Correctional Facility, a 250-inmate medium-security drug and alcohol substance abuse prison originally opened in northern Franklin County in October 1990. Much like their counterparts in Tupper Lake, Chateaugay's prison boosters had spent years lobbying state (and federal) prison officials to help their depressed local economy by locating a penal institution in their community. After being rejected on at least three separate occasions between 1983 and 1988, Chateaugay's task force pressed ahead, finally securing the facility in 1989. Thirty-five acres of farmland went under the plow, not to plant hay, but to support the new prison's seventeen buildings and 159 employees. Unlike the region's other correctional facilities, however, planners designated Chateaugay's prison to provide counseling, therapy, and treatment to inmates convicted of offenses related to alcohol use and drug addiction. After a six-month stay, they would report directly to state-run work release centers and continue court-mandated substance abuse treatment programs. Though a seemingly progressively oriented institution, the state's declining prison population and continued budget troubles have impelled its closure, now slated for July 2014. Chateaugay residents and prison employees, much like their counterparts in Gabriels and Lyon Mountain just a few years earlier, have unsuccessfully resisted the state's decision. One corrections officer framed the issue simply: "It's not about saving the jail, it's about saving the community."³⁴⁰

³⁴⁰ "Chateaugay interested in prison," *PR*, Dec. 5, 1983; "Forum to gauge interest in prison," *PR*, Dec. 9, 1983; "Chateaugay again lobbies for state prison," *PR*, Jan. 23, 1988; "Chateaugay village candidates count state prison among issues," *PR*, Mar. 11, 1988; "Chateaugay seeking federal prison," *PR*, Aug. 17, 1988; "Chateaugay out of running for federal prison," *PR*, Aug. 22, 1988; "Franklin County still hopeful for Chateaugay prison," *PR*, Nov. 17,

The impending closure of Chateaugay, the shuttering of Gabriels and Lyon Mountain, and near annual discussions regarding the future of the state shock incarceration facility in the Essex County hamlet of Moriah, all seem to indicate a dim future for the Adirondack crimescape. Only thirty-two years ago, Corrections Commissioner Thomas Coughlin had sought to reassure residents still skeptical of building a prison in Gabriels, noting the state had never had to close a prison. Of course, amid a decades-long overcrowding emergency and continually increasing crime rates, it was hard to foresee a day when individual prisons, or mass incarceration itself, might become obsolete. However, if we explore the crimescape's end through the lens of the Adirondacks' other defunct or struggling industries, including logging, mining, and tourism, it is perhaps easier to see that the correctional trade, like those that came before it, was destined for a unpleasant future. With penal institutions on the wane, it seems the ground is clearing for a discussion of the point raised at that pro-prison rally in Chateaugay: what have been the costs of using prisons to prevent Adirondack communities from meeting a similar fate?

The financial costs and benefits of building a prisonland in the Adirondacks have been clear for everyone to see. In addition to paying handsome salaries and generous health benefits to thousands of area residents, the region's eleven correctional facilities also allowed many

1988; "Chateaugay task force lobbies for state prison," *PR*, Nov. 19, 1988; "Chateaugay may be at top of list for prison," *PR*, Nov. 25, 1988; "Chateaugay's prison hopes take nosedive," *PR*, Jan. 6, 1989; "Chateaugay may be next in line for prison," *PR*, Feb. 7, 1989; "County will likely renew Chateaugay prison support," *PR*, Feb. 23, 1989; "Chateaugay drug annex OK'd," *PR*, Jun. 25, 1989; "Chateaugay prison bids delayed," *PR*, Dec. 16, 1989; "Construction begins on Chateaugay drug prison," *PR*, Feb. 13, 1990; "Work on Chateaugay prison progresses; job fair scheduled," *PR*, May 2, 1990; "Citizens committee tours Chateaugay treatment site," *PR*, Aug. 4, 1990; "Chateaugay enjoys building boom," *PR*, Sept. 5, 1990; "Inmates arrive at Chateaugay prison," *PR*, Sept. 5, 1990; "Chateaugay must find way to deal with growing pains," *PR*, Oct. 1, 1990; "Chateaugay picketers decry layoffs at prison," *PR*, Dec. 12, 1990; "Inmates rehabilitated in Chateaugay," *PR*, Feb. 29, 1992; "Assembly targets Chateaugay prison," *PR*, Mar. 22, 2013; "Chateaugay prison spared," *PR*, Mar. 22, 2013; "Hundreds rally against Chateaugay prison closure," *PR*, Oct. 6, 2013; "600 rally to save state prison in Chateaugay, organizers say," *ADE*, Oct. 7, 2013; "Clock is ticking on Chateaugay prison shutdown," *ADE*, Jan. 22, 2014; "Chateaugay prison top topic at forum," *PR*, Mar. 1, 2014; "Fight goes on to keep local prison open," *PR*, Mar. 15, 2014; "Impact of prison closure debated," *PR*, Mar. 15, 2014; "Prison reuse ideas vary," *PR*, Mar. 30, 2014; and, "State budget: Ed funds up; Chateaugay prison left out," *PR*, Apr. 1, 2014.

would-be migrants to stay in the area, thus contributing to the creation of a new middle class whose financial security was dependent on a constant flow of new inmates. Though unemployment and poverty rates remained above average, class politics in the Adirondacks, for so long neatly caricatured as an unending war pitting poor locals against rich city people, acquired new texture with the emergence of a crimescape-generated middle class. As this dissertation has sought to demonstrate, stable public employment and higher salaries did not always translate to an embrace of “big government.” The “state,” writ large, remains a convenient political punching bag for locals whose dependence on state-produced prisoners and state-generated paychecks is conveniently obscured by an insistence that prisons are a social imperative that must be built somewhere. Thus, area homeowners find it relatively easy to bite the hand that feeds when it serves their political and economic purposes.

The social and human costs of the crimescape are more difficult to untangle. For tens of thousands of inmates exiled hundreds of miles from their loved ones, it is impossible to calculate the enormous psychological, financial, and emotional toll. For the prisons’ employees, the stresses of correctional employment metastasized through their bodies, homes, and communities: mental anguish; coronary problems; terminal illnesses; marital stresses; familial estrangement; and premature death. Nevertheless, anyone who has visited, lived in, or even just passed through the North Country carries a piece of the crimescape with them. Prisoners and their families, correctional employees, and residents living in and near the area’s prison towns have experienced the most direct connections. However, tourists, seasonal visitors, and homeowners living in communities far removed from the penitentiaries would be hard pressed to find a piece of public infrastructure or a slice of the region’s natural environment that was not touched by the hands of inmate workers.

As the Adirondacks' prisonland begins to contract, public memory of these institutions' positions within their host communities and the wider region is acquiring newfound importance. In 2009, Clinton County schoolchildren created a mosaic marking the 400th anniversary of Samuel de Champlain's first visit to the region and the lake that bears his name. Among the tiles on the mosaic detailing the area's history are the original prisoners sent to Clinton State Prison in Dannemora, seen mining ore, producing iron, and working outdoors in the clean, mountain air. Acknowledging this often-painful history is an important first step toward building a sustainable future for North Country residents free of the crimescape's grip.



Figure 9: Mosaic on Clinton County Government Center. Photograph by author, August 2009.



Figure 10: Clinton State Prison inmates on Clinton County Government Center mosaic. Photograph by author, August 2009.

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

Archival and Manuscript Collections

Adirondack Park Agency Records Office, Ray Brook, New York

Adirondack Correctional Facility Records

Camp Adirondack Records

Gabriels Correctional Facility Records

Lyon Mountain Correctional Facility Records

Tupper Lake Records

New York Public Library, Stephen A. Schwartzman Building, Manuscripts and Archives Collection, New York, New York

Prison Association of New York, Annual Reports, 1844-1863.

New York State Archives, Albany, New York

Dannemora, N.Y. (Town) Records, 1869-1995, Microfilm: Roll 3: Town Board Minutes.

New York State Department of Environmental Conservation Records Office, Ray Brook, New York

Joint DEC-DOCS Prisoner Labor Program, Camp Adirondack and Camp Gabriels, Records, 1970s-1990s.

New York State Library, Albany, New York

New York State Department of Correction, Annual Reports.

St. Lawrence University, Owen D. Young Library, Frank and Anne Piskor Special Collections
Department, Canton, New York

Robert McEwen Papers (MSS 25)

S.T.O.P. (Stop the Olympic Prison) Collection (MSS 54)

XIII Olympic Winter Games, Lake Placid, 1980, Oral History Collection (MSS 90)

State University of New York at Albany, M.E. Grenander Department of Special Collections &
Archives, Albany, New York

Council 82 Strike Records

Ronald B. Stafford Papers (APAP-217)

State University of New York at Potsdam, F.W. Crumb Library, Special Collections Department,
Potsdam, New York

David O'Brien Martin Papers (SC-90001)

Periodicals

Adirondack Daily Enterprise

Adirondack Life

Albany Times-Union

Chateaugay Record

DOCS Today

Lake Placid News

New York Times

North Country Catholic

North Countryman

Press Republican

Tupper Lake Free Press

Watertown Daily Times

Books, Reports and Articles

Adirondack Park Agency. "Adirondack Park Economic Profile." Ray Brook: Adirondack Park Agency, 1976.

_____. "Adirondack Park Land Use and Development Plan and Recommendations for Implementation." Ray Brook: Adirondack Park Agency, 1973.

- _____. "Adirondack Park State Land Master Plan." Ray Brook: Adirondack Park Agency, 1972.
- _____. "Balancing Environmental Quality and Economic Vitality in the Adirondack Park." Albany: Adirondack Park Agency and Center for Technology in Government, 1995.
- Anonymous. "The Clinton State Prison, Clinton County, New York." *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*. November, 1845: 345-52.
- _____. *Prison Labor, with Tables Showing the Proportion of Convict to Citizen Labor, in the Prisons of the State of New York, and of the United States*. Albany, NY, 1845.
- _____. "These Are Your N.Y. State Correctional Institutions...Clinton Prison, Part I." *Correction*. February, 1949: 3-13.
- _____. "These Are Your N.Y. State Correctional Institutions...Clinton Prison, Part II." *Correction*. March, 1949: 2-18.
- _____. *The Opening of the Adirondacks*. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1865.
- Benedict, Farrand. "The Wilds of Northern New York." *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* 4. July-December, 1854.
- Bodge, William. *Echoes from the Living Grave*. New York, 1869.
- Bonn, John. *Gates of Dannemora*. New York: Doubleday, 1951.
- Brice, James. *Secrets of Mount Pleasant State Prison*. Albany: Brice, 1839.
- Burr, Levi. *A Voice from Sing Sing*. Albany, 1833.
- Chittenden, Lucius Eugene. *Personal Reminiscences, 1840-1890, including some not hitherto published of Lincoln and the war*. New York: Richmond, Croscup, & Co, 1893.
- Coffin, Nathaniel Wheeler. *The Forest Arcadia of Northern New York: Embracing a View of Its Mineral, Agricultural, and Timber Resources*. Boston: Burnham, 1864.
- Colt, S.S. *The Tourist's Guide through the Empire State, Embracing All the Cities, Towns and Watering Places*. Albany: privately printed, 1871.
- Commission on the Adirondacks in the Twenty-First Century. *The Adirondack Park in the Twenty-First Century*. Albany: State of New York, 1990.
- _____. *The Adirondack Park in the Twenty-First Century: Technical Reports*. Albany: State of New York, 1990.
- Correctional Association of New York. "The Prison Population Explosion in New York State: A Study of its Causes and Consequences with Recommendations for Change." New York: Correctional Association of New York, 1982.

- _____. "State of the Prisons: Conditions Inside the Walls: Executive Summary." New York: Correctional Association of New York, 1986.
- Economic Development Administration. *Final Environmental Impact Statement for 1980 Olympic Winter Games*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1977.
- Employment and Payrolls in the Adirondack Park*. Albany: Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government, Center for New York State and Local Government Studies, 1994.
- French, John H. *Gazetteer of the State of New York*. Syracuse, 1860.
- Geisler, Charles. *Mobile Home Growth, Regulation, and Discrimination in the Hinterland*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1987.
- Green, Judith, and Mark Mauer. "Downscaling Prisons: Lessons from Four States." Washington, D.C.: The Sentencing Project, 2010.
- Guynup, Andrea. "The Largest Maximum Security Prison in New York." *All Points North*, August 2006.
- Hammond, Samuel. *Hills, Lakes, and Forest Streams; or, a Tramp in the Chateaugay Woods*. New York: JC Derby, 1854.
- _____. *Wild Northern Scenes; or, Sporting Adventures with the Rifle and the Rod*. New York: Derby and Jackson, 1857.
- Hammond, Samuel, and L.N. Mansfield. *Country Margins and Ramblings of a Journalist*. New York: Baker and Scribner, 1849.
- Hand, Douglas. "Correctional Officers on Strike: The 1979 Walkout in New York and its National Implications." 1980.
- Headley, Joel Tyler. *The Adirondack; or, Life in the Woods*. New York: Baker and Scribner, 1853.
- Hoffman, John T. *The Work of the Prison Association of New York: Its Character and Results: Addressed to the Citizens of New York*. New York: MacDonald & Palmer 1870.
- House of Representatives, 93rd Congress, 2nd Session. *Report No. 93-1182, Endorsing Lake Placid, N.Y., as the Site of the 1980 Winter Olympic Games*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974.
- _____. *Hearing before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, on H. Con. Res. 443 and H. Con. Res 444, Expressing the Sense of Congress in Support of Lake Placid, N.Y., as the Site of the 1980 Winter Olympic Games*, May 8, 1974. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974.

- Hurd, Duane Hamilton. *History of Clinton and Franklin Counties, New York*. Plattsburgh: Clinton County Bicentennial Commission, 1880/1978.
- Ives, Martin Van Buren. *Through the Adirondacks in Eighteen Days*. New York: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford, 1899.
- Johnson, Walter Rogers. *Experiments on Two Varieties of Iron: Manufactured at the Adirondack Works Directly from the Magnetic Ore of McIntyre, Essex County, New York*. Washington, D.C., 1838.
- King, Ryan, Marc Mauer, and Tracy Huling. "Big Prisons, Small Towns: Prison Economics in Rural America." Washington, D.C.: The Sentencing Project, 2003.
- Lake Placid Olympic Organizing Committee. *Fifth Report of the Lake Placid 1980 Olympic Winter Games Organizing Committee for the Executive Committee of the International Olympic Committee, Barcelona, Spain, October, 1976*. Lake Placid: LPOOC, 1976.
- _____. *Twelfth Report of the Lake Placid Olympic Organizing Committee to the Executive Committee of the International Olympic Committee, San Juan, Puerto Rico, June 29-30, 1979*. Lake Placid: LPOOC, 1979.
- _____. *Thirteenth Report of the Lake Placid Olympic Organizing Committee to the Executive Committee of the International Olympic Committee, Nagoya, Japan, October, 1979*. Lake Placid: LPOOC, 1979.
- _____. *Final Report: XIII Olympic Winter Games, Lake Placid, N.Y., February 13-24, 1980*. Lake Placid: LPOOC, 1980.
- _____. *Information on the 1980 Olympic Winter Games, Prepared by the Lake Placid Olympic Organizing Committee for the Congress of the United States*. LPOOC: Lake Placid, 1975.
- _____. *Lake Placid Olympian*, Vol. 2, No. 11. August 1979.
- Lane, Horace. *Five Years in State Prisons*. New York: Luther Pratt and Sons, 1835.
- Lawes, Louis. *Life and Death in Sing Sing*. New York: Garden City Publishing Co., 1928.
- _____. *Twenty Thousand Years in Sing Sing*. New York: A.L. Burt, 1932.
- _____. *Cell 202 Sing Sing*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1935.
- Lawrence, Sarah, and Jeremy Travis. "The New Landscape of Imprisonment: Mapping America's Prison Expansion." Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Justice Policy Center, 2004.
- Longstreth, T.M. *The Adirondacks*. New York: Century Company, 1917.
- Luckey, John. *Life in Sing Sing*. New York: N. Tibbals & Co., 1860.

- Lundy, J.P. *The Saranac Exiles; or, a Winter's Tale of the Adirondacks*. Philadelphia, 1880.
- MacKenzie, Ronald. "Lake Placid: 'Olympic City.'" Lake Placid, N.Y.: Lake Placid Olympic Organizing Committee, 1977.
- Marsh, George Perkins. *Man and Nature*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1864.
- Mauer, Marc, and Ryan King. "Uneven Justice: State Rates of Incarceration by Race and Ethnicity." Washington, D.C.: The Sentencing Project, 2007.
- Maxwell, John F., Raymond J. Richardson, and Patricia S. Olin. *The Economic Impact on the Lake Placid Area of hosting the 1980 Olympic Winter Games*. Plattsburgh, N.Y.: Technical Assistance Center, 1974.
- Merriam, Clinton Hart. *The Mammals of the Adirondack Region*. New York: Henry Holt, 1886.
- Murray, William H.H. *Adirondack Tales*. Boston: Golden Rule Publishing Co., 1877.
- . *Adventures in the Wilderness; or, Camp-Life in the Adirondacks*. Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co., 1869.
- Nelson, James. "Disproportionate Minority Confinement in New York State: Phase II, Assessment." Albany: New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services, Office of Justice Systems Analysis, Bureau of Research and Evaluation, 1997.
- New York State Department of Correction. *Rules and Regulations*. New York: DOC, 1958.
- . *Your New York State Department of Correction and its Institutions*. Albany: DOC, 1952.
- New York State Department of Correctional Services. *Master Plan, 1980-1985*. Albany: DOCS, 1981.
- . "Admissions and Releases, 1992-1998." Albany: DOCS, 1992-1998.
- . "A Chronological Summary of Past and Present Trends." Albany: DOCS, 1974.
- New York State Legislature, Legislative Commission on Expenditure Review. "State Correctional Industries: Program Audit." Albany: The Commission, 1988.
- Northrup, A. Judd. *Camps and Tramps in the Adirondacks, and Grayling Fishing in Northern Michigan: A Record of Summer Vacations in the Wilderness*. Syracuse: Davis, Bardeen, 1880.
- Number 1500. *Life in Sing Sing*. New York: Bobbs Merrill, 1904.
- Papson, Stephen, and Alan Schwartz. *Lake Placid and the 1980 Olympic Games: Community Attitudes and the Planning Process*. Canton, N.Y.: Environmental Studies Program and The North Country Research Center, St. Lawrence University, 1977.

- Pinchot, Gifford. *The Adirondack Spruce: A Study of the Forest in Ne-Ha-Sa-Ne Park*. New York: Critic Co., 1898.
- Potler, Cathy. *State of the Prisons: Conditions Inside the Walls*. New York: Correctional Association of New York, 1986.
- Prison Association of New York. *A Brief Statement of the Objects and Results of the Prison Association of New-York, During the Seventeen Years of Its Existence*. New York: John A. Gray, 1862.
- Prusko, Richard, and William Saunders. *1980 Winter Olympic Games, Lake Placid, New York: Economic Impact Study*. Plattsburgh, N.Y.: Technical Assistance Center, 1977.
- Public Safety Performance Project. "Public Safety, Public Spending: Forecasting America's Prison Population, 2007-2011." Washington, D.C.: Pew Charitable Trusts,
- Redfield, William C. "Some Account of Two Visits to the Mountains in Essex County New York, in the Years 1836 and 1837; With a Sketch of the Northern Sources of the Hudson." *American Journal of Science and Arts*, Vol. 33. July-December, 1837.
- Simms, Jephtha. *Trappers of New York*. Albany: J. Munsell, 1850.
- Stoddard, Seneca Ray. *The Adirondacks: Illustrated, Containing Narrative of a Trip through the Wilderness*. Glens Falls, 1883.
- . *Old Times in the Adirondacks: The Narrative of a Trip into the Wilderness in 1873*. Burlington, VT: George Little Press, 1971.
- Street, Alfred. *Woods and Waters; or, the Saranacs and Racket Lake*. New York: M. Doolady, 1860.
- . *The Indian Pass*. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1869.
- Sylvester, Nathaniel Bartlett. *Historical Sketches of Northern New York and the Adirondack Wilderness*. Troy, NY: William H. Young, 1877.
- Temporary Study Commission on the Future of the Adirondacks. *Forest, Minerals, Water and Air: Technical Report 3*. Albany, 1970.
- . *The Future of the Adirondack Park*. Albany, 1970.
- . *Wildlife: Technical Report 2*. Albany, 1970.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, and Gustave de Beaumont. *Du système pénitentiaire aux États-Unis et de son application en France*. Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1833 (reprint, 1964).

United States Bureau of the Census. *U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population. Part 34, New York*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963.

_____. *Census of Population: 1970, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part-34, New York—Section I*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

_____. *Census of Population: 1980, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Chapter B: General Population Characteristics, Part 34, New York, PC80-1-B34*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982.

United States Senate, 93rd Congress, 2nd Session. *Report No. 93-771, 1980 Winter Olympic Games at Lake Placid, N.Y.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974.

Wallace, Edwin R. *Descriptive Guide to the Adirondacks, (Land of the Thousand Lakes) and to Saratoga Springs; Schroon Lake; Lakes Luzerne, George, and Champlain; the Ausable Chasm; Massena Springs; and Trenton Falls*. Syracuse: Gill, 1894.

Whipple, Gurth. *Fifty Years of Conservation in New York State, 1885-1935*. Albany, NY: James B. Lyon, 1935.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Aber, David Foster, and John, eds. *Forests in Time: The Environmental Consequences of 1000 Years of Change in New England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Aber, Ted. *Adirondack Folks*. Prospect, NY: Prospect Books, 1980.

Abrams, Kathleen, and W. Lyons. *Impact of Correctional Facilities on Land Values and Public Safety*. North Miami, FL: FAU-FIU Joint Center for Environmental and Urban Problems, 1987.

Adams, Laurel, et al. *Contemporary Correctional Industries for the New York State Department of Correctional Services*. Boston: Arthur D. Little, Inc., 1974.

Agrawal, Arun. *Environmentality: Technologies of Government and the Making of Subjects*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005.

Aguirre, Carlos. *The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds: The Prison Experience, 1850-1935*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005.

Aikman, Walter Montieth. "To Us It's Home: Confrontation and Community Change in the Adirondack Property Rights Movement." Ph.D. diss., SUNY College of Environmental Science and Forestry, 1998.

Aitchinson, Cara, Nicola Macleod, and Stephen Shaw. *Tourism and Leisure Landscapes*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

- Aldrich, Michele La Clerque. "New York Natural History Survey, 1836-1845." Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1974.
- Alexander, Michelle. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: The New Press, 2010.
- Allin, Craig. *The Politics of Wilderness Preservation*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982.
- Amigo, Eleanor, Mark Neuffer, & Elwood Maunder, eds., ed. *Beyond the Adirondacks: The Story of St. Regis Paper Company*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980.
- Ammons, David, Richard Campbell, and Sandra Somoza. *Selecting Prison Sites: State Processes, Site-Selection Criteria, and Local Initiatives*. Athens, GA: Carl Vinson Institute of Government, University of Georgia, 1992.
- Anbinder, Tyler. *Five Points: The Nineteenth Century New York City Neighborhood that Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections and Became the World's Most Notorious Slum*. New York: Plume, 2002.
- Anderson, Sven, and Augustus Jones. "Iron in the Adirondacks." *Economic Geography* 21, no. 4 (October 1945): 276-285.
- Andrews, Thomas. *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Angus, Christopher. *The Extraordinary Adirondack Journey of Clarence Petty: Wilderness Guide, Pilot, and Conservationist*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002.
- Arnold, David. *The Problem of Nature: Environment, Culture, and European Expansion*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999.
- Aron, Cindy. *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Arthur, Erika. "Citizens and Criminals: Mass Incarceration, 'Prison Neighbors,' and Fear-Based Organizing in 1980s Rural Pennsylvania." M.A. thesis, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, 2012.
- Asbury, Herbert. *The Gangs of New York: An Informal History of the New York Underworld*. New York: Hippocrene, 1989.
- Baldwin, Peter. "How Night Air Became Good Air, 1776-1930." *Environmental History* 8, no. 3 (July 2003): 412-429.
- Banner, Lois. "Religious Benevolence as Social Control: A Critique of an Interpretation." *Journal of American History* 60 (1973): 23-41.

- Barrett, J.W. "The Northeastern Region." In *Regional Silviculture of the United States*, edited by J.W. Barrett. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1980.
- Barringer, Mark Daniel. *Selling Yellowstone: Capitalism and the Construction of Nature*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002.
- Bartlett, Richard. *Nature's Yellowstone*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989.
- Barton, Gregory. *Empire Forestry and the Origins of Conservationism and Environmentalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Beale, Calvin. "Cellular Rural Development: New Prisons in Rural and Small Town Areas in the 1990s." Unpublished paper presented at the Rural Sociological Society annual meeting, 2001.
- _____. "Rural Prisons: An Update." *Rural Development Perspectives* 11, no. 2 (1996).
- Beinart, William. *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock, and the Environment, 1770-1950*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Bethke, Robert. *Adirondack Voices: Woodsmen and Woodslore*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981.
- Billington, Ray. *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism*. P. Smith Publishers, 1938/1953.
- Birch, M. Diffenderfer & D. "Bioregionalism: A Comparative Study of the Adirondacks and the Sierra Nevada." *Society and Natural Resources* 10: 3-16.
- Bird, B.K. *Caulked Shoes: Life in Adirondack Lumber Camps*. Prospect, NY: Prospect Books, 1952.
- Blackmar, Elizabeth, and Roy Rosenzweig. *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- Blackmon, Douglas. *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II*. New York: Anchor Books, 2009.
- Bluestone, Barry, and Bennett Harrison. *The Deindustrialization of America: Plant Closings, Community Abandonment, and the Dismantling of Basic Industry*. New York: Basic Books, 1984.
- _____. *The Great U-Turn: Corporate Restructuring and the Polarizing of America*. New York: Basic Books, 1990.
- Bocking, Stephen. *Nature's Experts: Science, Politics, and the Environment*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004.

- Bond, Hallie. *Boats and Boating in the Adirondacks*. Blue Mountain Lake, NY: Adirondack Museum, 1995.
- Botkin, Daniel. *Discordant Harmonies: A New Ecology for the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Bourcier, Paul. *History in the Mapping: Four Centuries of Adirondack Cartography*. Blue Mountain Lake, NY: Adirondack Museum, 1986.
- Boyer, Paul. *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Branch, Michael P., ed. *Reading the Roots: American Nature Writing before Walden*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004.
- Braz, Rose, and Craig Gilmore. "Joining Forces: Prisons and Environmental Justice in Recent California Organizing." *Radical History Review* 96 (Fall 2006): 95-111.
- Britton, Dana M. *At Work in the Iron Cage: The Prison as Gendered Organization*. New York: New York University Press, 2003.
- Brody, David. *Steelworkers in America: The Nonunion Era*. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1970.
- _____. *Workers in Industrial America: Essays on the Twentieth Century Struggle*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Brooks, Karl Boyd. *Public Power, Private Dams: The Hells Canyon High Dam Controversy*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.
- Brown, Beverly A. *In Timber Country: Working People's Stories of Environmental Conflict and Urban Flight*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995.
- Brown, Dona. *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995.
- Brown, Eleanor F. *The Forest Preserve of New York State: A Handbook for Conservationists*. Glens Falls: Adirondack Mountain Club, 1985.
- Brown, Henry A.L. *John Brown's Tract: Lost Adirondack Empire*. Canaan, NH: Phoenix Publishing, 1988.
- Brumley, Charles. *Guides of the Adirondacks: A History: A Short Season, Hard Work, Low Pay*. Utica, NY: North Country Books, 1994.
- Buell, Lawrence. *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1995.

- Buerger, Robert, and Thomas Pasquarello. "The Adirondack Park: Changing Perceptions of Residents Towards Park Land Issues." *Journal of Recreation and Leisure* 13 (Spring 1993).
- Bukowczyk, John, Nora Faines, David Smith, and Randy William Widdis, eds. *Permeable Border: The Great Lakes Basin as Transnational Region, 1650-1990*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005.
- Bullard, Alice. *Exile to Paradise: Savagery and Civilization in Paris and the South Pacific, 1790-1900*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Bullard, Robert. *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality*. Westview Press, 2000.
- Burkett, Paul. *Marx and Nature: A Red and Green Perspective*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Burnham, Philip. *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2000.
- Butlin, Noel George. *Forming a Colonial Economy: Australia 1800-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Cafaro, Philip. *Thoreau's Living Ethics: Walden and the Pursuit of Virtue*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005.
- Caldwell, Mark. *Saranac Lake: Pioneer Health Resort*. Saranac Lake, N.Y.: Historic Saranac Lake, 1993.
- Calloway, Colin. *The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990.
- Canton, Sadie, Melba Wrisley, Marilyn Cross, and Sonja Aubin. *Growing Up Strong: Four North Country Women Recall Their Lives*. Elizabethtown, NY: Pinto Press, 1995.
- Carlson, Katherine. "Doing Good and Looking Bad: A Case Study of Prison/Community Relations." *Crime & Delinquency* 38, no. 1 (1992): 56-69.
- Carr, Ethan. *Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.
- Carrier, James, ed. *Confronting Environments: Local Understanding in a Globalizing World*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2004.
- Carson, Russell M.L. *Peaks and People of the Adirondacks*. Glens Falls, NY: Adirondack Mountain Club, 1973.
- Catton, Theodore. *Inhabited Wilderness: Indians, Eskimos, and National Parks in Alaska*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997.

- Cawley, R. McGregor. *Federal Land, Western Anger: The Sagebrush Rebellion and Environmental Politics*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993.
- Chambers, Mark C. "River of Gray Gold: Cultural and Material Changes in the Land of Ores, Country of Minerals, 1719-1839." Ph.D. diss., Stony Brook University, 2012.
- Chase, Alston. *Playing God in Yellowstone: The Destruction of America's First National Park*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1986.
- Chase, Robert. "'Slaves of the State' Revolt: Southern Prison Labor and a Prison-Made Civil Rights Movement." Robert Zieger, ed., *Life and Labor in the New South*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012.
- Chiang, Connie. "Imprisoned Nature: Toward an Environmental History of the World War II Japanese American Incarceration." *Environmental History* 15, no. 2 (April 2010): 236-267.
- _____. *Shaping the Shoreline: Fisheries and Tourism on the Monterey Coast*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.
- Christensen, Bonnie. *Red Lodge and the Mythic West: Coal Miners to Cowboys*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002.
- Christianson, Scott. *With Liberty for Some: Five Hundred Years of Imprisonment in America*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998.
- Chuang, Su Chong. "The Distribution of Texas State Prisons: Economic Impact Analysis of State Prison Siting on Local Communities." Ph.D. diss., University of Texas-Arlington, 1998.
- Clement, Douglas. "Big House on the Prairie." *FedGazette: A Publication of the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis* (January 2002).
- Cohen, Lizabeth. *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Cohen, Michael. *The Pathless Way: John Muir and the American Wilderness*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984.
- Cohen, Shaul. *Planting Nature: Trees and the Manipulation of Environmental Stewardship in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Coleman, Annie Gilbert. *Ski Style: Sport and Culture in the Rockies*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004.
- Colvin, Mark. *Penitentiaries, Reformatories, and Chain Gangs*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

- Conley, John A. "Prisons, Production, and Profit: Reconsidering the Importance of Prison Industries." *Journal of Social History* 14, no. 2 (1980): 257-275.
- Conover, Ted. *Newjack: Guarding Sing Sing*. New York: Vintage, 2001.
- Conrad, Rebecca. *Places of Quiet Beauty: Parks, Preserves, and Environmentalism*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1997.
- Conway, Melvyn Stokes and Stephen, ed. *The Market Revolution in America: Social, Political, and Religious Expressions, 1800-1880*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996.
- Coolidge, Guy Omeron. *The French Occupation of the Champlain Valley from 1609 to 1759*. Fleischmanns, N.Y.: Purple Mountain Press, 1938.
- Cowie, Jefferson. *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor*. New York: The New Press, 2001.
- Cowie, Jefferson, Joseph Heathcott, and Barry Bluestone, eds. *Beyond the Ruins: The Meanings of Deindustrialization*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press / ILR, 2003.
- Cox, Thomas. *The Park Builders: A History of State Parks in the Pacific Northwest*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988.
- Cox, Thomas, Robert Maxwell, Phillip Drennon Thomas, and Joseph Malone. *This Well-Wooded Land: Americans and their Forests from Colonial Times to the Present*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985.
- Cranz, Galen. *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982.
- Crawford, William. *Report on the Penitentiaries in the United States*. Montclair, NJ, 1969.
- Crespino, Joseph. *In Search of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative Counterrevolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Cressey, Donald. *The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961.
- Cronon, William. "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative." *The Journal of American History* (1992): 1347-1376.
- _____. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.

- _____. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1991.
- _____, ed. *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1995.
- Crowley, William. *Seneca Ray Stoddard: Adirondack Illustrator*. Blue Mountain Lake, NY: Adirondack Museum, 1982.
- Cumbler, John. *A Social History of Economic Decline: Business, Politics, and Work in Trenton*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989.
- _____. *Reasonable Use: The People, the Environment, and the State, New England, 1790-1930*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Curtin, Mary Ellen. "State of the Art: The New Prison History." *Labor* 8, no. 3 (2011): 97-108.
- Damoussi, Joy. *Depraved and Disorderly: Female Convicts, Sexuality and Gender in Colonial Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Damsky, Ellen. "A Way of Life: Saranac Lake and the 'Fresh-Air' Cure for Tuberculosis," Ph.D. diss., Binghamton University, 2003.
- Dandaneau, Steven. *A Town Abandoned: Flint, Michigan, Confronts Deindustrialization*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1996.
- Darlington, James. "Peopling the Post-Revolutionary New York Frontier." *New York History* 74, no. 4 (October 1993): 340-381.
- Davis, David Brion, ed. *Ante-Bellum Reform*. New York: Harper Collins, 1967.
- Davis G.G., and R.A. Liroff. *Protecting Open Space: Land Use Control in the Adirondack Park*. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1981.
- Davis, George. *Man and the Adirondack Environment: A Primer*. Blue Mountain Lake, NY: Adirondack Museum, 1977.
- Dawson, Michael. *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890-1970*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004.
- de Kruif, Paul. *Seven Iron Men: The Merritts and the Discovery of the Mesabi Range*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.
- D'Elia, Anthony. *The Adirondack Rebellion*. Onchiota, NY: Onchiota Books, 1979.
- Deloria, Philip. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

- Demars, Stanford. *The Tourist in Yosemite, 1885-1985*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991.
- Dewey, Scott Hamilton. *Don't Breathe the Air: Air Pollution and U.S. Environmental Politics, 1945-1970*. Texas A&M University Press, 2000.
- di Chiro, Giovanna. "Nature as Community: The Convergence of Environment and Social Justice," in William Cronon, ed. *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1995.
- Dietz, Karen Ann. "A Home in the Woods: Summer Life in the Adirondacks." Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992.
- Dilsaver, Larry. *Cumberland Island National Seashore: A History of Conservation Conflict*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004.
- DiNunzio, Michael. *Adirondack Wildguide: A Natural History of the Adirondack Park*. Elizabethtown, NY: Adirondack Conservancy Committee and Adirondack Council, 1984.
- Dodds, Gordon B. "The Stream Flow Controversy: A Conservation Turning Point." *The Journal of American History* 56, no. 1 (1969): 59-69.
- Donaldson, Alfred. *A History of the Adirondacks*. Fleischmanns, NY: Purple Mountain Press, 1992 (reprint).
- Dorsey, Bruce. *Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.
- Dorsey, Kurk, and Jeffry Diefendorf, eds. *City, Country, Empire: Landscapes in Environmental History*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005.
- Doyle, Timothy. *Environmental Movements in Majority and Minority Worlds*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004.
- Doyle, Zanetta. "Does Crime Pay? Pros and Cons of Rural Prisons." *Economic Development Digest*. Washington, D.C.: National Association of Development Organizations, 2002.
- Drucker, Ernest. *A Plague of Prisons: The Epidemiology of Mass Incarceration in America*. New York: The New Press, 2011.
- _____. "Population Impact of Mass Incarceration Under New York's Rockefeller Drug Laws: An Analysis of Years of Life Lost." *Journal of Urban Health: Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 79, no. 3 (September 2002): 1-10.
- Dublin, Thomas. *When the Mines Closed: The Pennsylvania Anthracite Region in the Twentieth Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.

- Dubofsky, Melvyn. *Hard Work: The Making of Labor History*. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2000.
- Dulles, Foster Rhea. *A History of Recreation: America Learns to Play*. New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1965.
- Dumm, Thomas. *Democracy and Punishment: Disciplinary Origins of the United States*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.
- Dunaway, Finis. *Natural Visions: The Power of Images in American Environmental Reform*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Durant, Kenneth. *Guide-Boat Days and Ways*. Blue Mountain Lake, NY: Adirondack Museum, 1963.
- Dyreson, Mark. "Marketing National Identity: The Olympic Games of 1932 and American Culture." *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* 4 (1995): 23-48.
- Earley, Lawrence S. *Looking for Longleaf: The Fall and Rise of an American Forest*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
- Ekirch, Arthur. "Franklin B. Hough: First Citizen of the Adirondacks." *Environmental Review* 7 (Fall 1983).
- _____. *Man and Nature in America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.
- Ellison, David. *Healing Tuberculosis in the Woods: Medicine and Science at the End of the Nineteenth Century*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994.
- Evenden, Matthew D. *Fish versus Power: An Environmental History of the Fraser River*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Evernden, Neil. *The Social Creation of Nature*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.
- Farber, David. *The Rise and Fall of American Conservatism: A Short History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.
- Farrell, Patrick. *Through the Light Hole: A Saga of Adirondack Mines and Men*. Utica, NY: North Country Books, 1997.
- Fasanella, R. Marc. "The Environmental Design of Jones Beach State Park: The Ecological and Aesthetic Aspects of the Park's Architecture and Landscape." Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1991.
- Feldberg, Georgina. *Disease and Class: Tuberculosis and the Shaping of Modern North American Society*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1995.
- Fink, Leon. "Editor's Introduction." *Labor* 8, no. 3 (2011): 1-3.

- Fishman, Robert. *American Planning Tradition: Culture and Policy*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2000.
- Flader, Susan. "Citizenry and the State in the Shaping of Environmental Policy." *Environmental History* 3, no. (1998): 8-24.
- Flagg, Jeffrey Burke. "The Road toward Wisdom: The Development of Land Ethical Attitudes in the Adirondack State Park." Ph.D. diss., Bowling Green State University, 1999.
- Flateau, John. *The Prison Industrial Complex: Race, Crime & Justice in New York*. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Medgar Evers College Press, 1996.
- Flores, Dan. "Place: An Argument for Bioregional History." *Environmental History Review* 18, no. 4 (1994): 1-18.
- Foresta, Ronald A. *America's National Parks and Their Keepers*. Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future, 1984.
- Forester, Jeff. *The Forest for the Trees: How Humans Shaped the North Woods*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2004.
- Forman, Richard. *Land Mosaics: The Ecology of Landscapes and Regions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Formisano, Ronald. *Boston Against Busing: Race, Class, and Ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
- Forster, Colin. *France and Botany Bay: The Lure of a Penal Colony*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996.
- Foster, David. *Thoreau's Country: Journey through a Transformed Landscape*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Foster, Edward Halsey. *The Civilized Wilderness: Backgrounds to American Romantic Literature, 1817-1860*. New York: Free Press, 1975.
- Foster, John Bellamy. *Marx's Ecology: Materialism and Nature*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000.
- Foster, Sheila, and Luke Cole. *Environmental Racism and the Rise of the Environmental Justice Movement*. New York: New York University Press, 2001.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage, 1979.
- Fowler, Albert. *Cranberry Lake from Wilderness to Adirondack Park*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1968.
- Fox, Stephen. *John Muir and His Legacy: American Conservation Movement*. Madison: Little, Brown, 1981.

- Fox, William F. *History of the Lumber Industry in the State of New York*. Harrison, NY: Harbor Hill Books, 1976.
- Freeman, L., and Robert Gangi. *Following the Dollars: Where New York State Spends its Prison Moneys*. New York: City Project, 2000.
- Freeman, Richard. "The Ecofactory: The United States Forest Service and the Political Construction of Ecosystem Management." *Environmental History* 7, no. 3 (2002): 632-658.
- Freedman, Estelle. *Their Sisters' Keepers: Women's Prison Reform in America, 1830-1930*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981.
- Freyfogle, Eric. *The Land We Share: Private Property and the Common Good*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2003.
- Friedman, Lawrence. *Crime and Punishment in American History*. New York: Basic Books, 1993.
- Garvey, T. Gregory. *Creating the Culture of Reform in Antebellum America*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006.
- Gerstle, Gary. *Working Class Americanism: The Politics of Labor in a Textile City, 1914-1960*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Gezon, Susan, and Lisa Paulson, eds. *Political Ecology across Spaces, Scales, and Social Groups*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004.
- Gibson, Mary. "Global Perspectives on the Birth of the Prison." *American Historical Review* 116, no. 4 (October 2011): 1040-1063.
- Gilborn, Craig. *Adirondack Camps: Homes Away from Home, 1850-1950*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000.
- . *Durant: The Fortunes and Woodland Camps of a Family in the Adirondacks*. Utica, NY: North Country Books, 1981.
- Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.
- Goddard, Donald. *Saving Wildlife: A History of Conservation*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995.
- Gold, John. *Olympic Cities: City Agendas, Planning, and the World's Games, 1896-2016*. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Goldsmith, Larry. "History from the Inside Out: Prison Life in Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts." *Journal of Social History* 31 (1997): 109-125.

- _____. "Penal Reform, Convict Labor, and Prison Culture in Massachusetts, 1800-1880." Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1994.
- Gooley, Lawrence. *Lyon Mountain: The Tragedy of Mining Town*. Peru, N.Y.: Bloated Toe Enterprises, 2004.
- _____. *Out of the Darkness: In Memory of Lyon Mountain's Iron Men*. Peru, N.Y.: Bloated Toe Enterprises, 2005.
- Gordon, Robert. *American Iron, 1607-1900*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Gottlieb, Robert. *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1995.
- Gottschalk, Marie. *The Prison and the Gallows: The Politics of Mass Incarceration in America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Graham, Frank. *The Adirondack Park: A Political History*. New York: Random House, 1978.
- Griffin, Clifford S. *Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1960.
- Grob, Gerald. *Mental Institutions in America: Social Policy to 1875*. New York: Free Press, 1973.
- _____. *The Deadly Truth: A History of Disease in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Grove, Richard. *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens, and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Grusin, Richard. *Culture, Technology, and the Creation of America's National Parks*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Guha, Ramachandra. *Environmentalism: A Global History*. New York: Longman, 2000.
- _____. *The Unquiet Woods: Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in the Himalaya*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Gutman, Herbert. *Power and Culture: Essays on the American Working Class*. New York: Pantheon, 1987.
- _____. *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History*. New York: Knopf, 1976.
- Hallinan, Joseph. *Going up the River: Travels in a Prison Nation*. New York: Random House, 2001.
- Hallock, Thomas. *From the Fallen Tree: Frontier Narratives, Environmental Politics, and the*

- Roots of a National Pastoral*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- _____. "Male Pleasure and the Genders of Eighteenth-Century Botanic Exchange: A Garden Tour." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (2005): 697-718.
- Halper, Louis. "'A Rich Man's Paradise': Constitutional Preservation of New York State's Adirondack Forest, a Centenary Consideration." *Ecology Law Journal* 19 (1992): 193-267.
- Hardesty, Donald. *Mining Archaeology in the American West: A View from the Silver State*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010.
- Hardin, Garrett. "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science* 162 (1968): 1243-1248.
- Hardy, Philip James. "The Iron Age Community of the J. And J. Rogers Company, Ausable Valley, N.Y.: 1825-1900." Ph.D. diss., Bowling Green State University, 1985.
- Harris, Glenn. "The Hidden History of Agriculture in the Adirondack Park, 1825-1875." *New York History* 83, no. 2 (2002): 165-202.
- Harrison, Blake Andrew. "Tourism and the Reworking of Rural Vermont, 1880s-1970s." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 2003.
- Harvey, Mark. *A Symbol of Wilderness: Echo Park and the American Conservation Movement*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.
- Hawes, Joseph M. "Prisons in Early Nineteenth-Century America: The Process of Convict Reformation," in *Law and Order in American History*. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1979: 37-52.
- Hays, Samuel. *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959.
- _____. *A History of Environmental Politics since 1945*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000.
- Hays, Samuel, and Barbara Hays. *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Heale, M.J. "Humanitarianism in the Early Republic: The Moral Reformers of New York, 1776-1825." *Journal of American Studies* 2, no. 2 (1968): 161-175.
- _____. "The Formative Years of the New York Prison Association, 1844-1862." *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (1975): 320-347.
- Hell, Julia, and Andreas Schönle, eds. *Ruins of Modernity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.

- Heller, Murray. *Call Me Adirondack: Names and Their Stories*. Saranac Lake, NY: Chauncy Press, 1989.
- Helvarg, David. *The War Against the Greens: The "Wise Use" Movement, the New Right, and Anti-Environmental Warfare*. Johnson Books, 2004.
- Herman, Daniel. *Hunting and the American Imagination*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001.
- Herring, Scott. *Lines on the Land: Writers, Art, and the National Parks*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004.
- Higgs, Eric. *Nature by Design: People, Natural Process, and Ecological Restoration*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003.
- High, Steven, and David Lewis. *Corporate Wasteland: The Landscape and Memory of Deindustrialization*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press / ILR, 2007.
- Hill, Rebecca. "'The Common Enemy Is the Boss and the Inmate': Police and Prison Guard Unions in New York in the 1970s and 1980s." *Labor* 8, no. 3 (2011): 65-96.
- Hirsch, Adam. *The Rise of the Penitentiary: Prisons and Punishment in Early America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Hirt, Paul. *A Conspiracy of Optimism: Management of the National Forests since World War II*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994.
- Hochschild, Harold. *Life and Leisure in the Adirondack Backwoods*. Blue Mountain Lake, NY: Adirondack Museum, 1962.
- . *Lumberjacks and Rivermen in the Central Adirondacks, 1850-1950*. Blue Mountain Lake, NY: Adirondack Museum, 1962.
- . *Township 34: A History with Digressions, of an Adirondack Township in Hamilton County, in the State of New York*. New York, 1952.
- Holmes, Timothy. *The Future of the Adirondacks: A Survey of Attitudes*. Saranac Lake, NY: Timothy Holmes and Associates, 1990.
- Horrell, Jeffrey Lanier. "Seneca Ray Stoddard and the Adirondacks: Changing Perceptions of Wilderness." Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University Press, 1995.
- Hughes, Robert. *The Fatal Shore: A History of the Transportation of Convicts to Australia, 1787-1868*. New York: Vintage, 1988.
- Hurley, Andrew. *Environmental Inequalities: Class, Race, and Industrial Pollution in Gary, Indiana, 1945-1980*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

- Huth, Hans. *Nature and the America: Three Centuries of Changing Attitudes*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957.
- Hyde, Floy. *Adirondack Forests, Fields, and Mines: Brief Accounts and Stories Concerning Lumbering, Forest-Related Products, Farm Specialties, and Mining*. Saranac Lake, NY: Chauncy Press, 1991.
- Igler, David. *Industrial Cowboys: Miller and Lux and the Transformation of the Far West, 1850-1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- _____. "When Is a River Not a River? Reclaiming Nature's Disorder in *Lux v. Haggin*." *Environmental History* 1, no. 2 (1996): 52-69.
- Ignatieff, Michael. *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1790-1850*. New York: Pantheon, 1978.
- Irland, Lloyd. *The Northeast's Changing Forests*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- _____. *Wildlands and Woodlots: The Story of New England's Forests*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1982.
- Irwin, William. *The New Niagara: Tourism, Technology, and the Landscape of Niagara Falls*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996.
- Isenberg, Andrew. *Mining California: An Ecological History*. New York: Hill & Wang, 2006.
- Jacobs, James B. *Stateville: The Penitentiary in Mass Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Jacobs, James, and Lynn Zimmer. "Challenging the Taylor Law: Prison Guards on Strike." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 34, no. 4 (1981): 531-544.
- Jacobs, Nancy. *Environment, Power, and Injustice: A South African History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Jacoby, Karl. "Class and Environmental History: Lessons from the 'War in the Adirondacks.'" *Environmental History* 2, no. 3 (1997): 324-342.
- _____. *Crimes against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Jakle, John. *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985.
- Jamieson, Paul. *The Adirondack Reader*. Glens Falls, NY: Adirondack Mountain Club, 1982.
- _____. "Emerson in the Adirondacks." *New York History* 39, (July 1958).

- Janssen, Volker. "When the 'Jungle' Met the Forest: Public Work, Civil Defense, and Prison Camps in Postwar California." *Journal of American History* 96, no. 3 (December 2009): 702-726.
- Johnson, Benjamin Heber. "Conservation, Subsistence, and Class at the Birth of Superior National Forest." *Environmental History* 4, no. 1 (1999): 80-99.
- Johnson, Paul. *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1978.
- Johnston, Norman. *Eastern State Penitentiary: Crucible of Good Intentions*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1994.
- Jones, William P. *The Tribe of Black Ulysses: African American Lumber Workers in the Jim Crow South*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005.
- Josephson, Paul. *Industrialized Nature: Brute Force Technology and the Transformation of the Natural World*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2002.
- _____. *Resources under Regimes: Technology, Environment, and the State*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Judd, Richard. *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Northern New England*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Jupp, James. *The English in Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Kaiser, Harvey. *Great Camps of the Adirondacks*. Boston: David R. Godine, 1982.
- Kandell, Jonathan. "Adirondacks Style." *Smithsonian*. (October 2004): 96-109.
- Keith, Herbert. *Man of the Woods*. Blue Mountain Lake, NY: Adirondack Museum, 1972.
- Keller, Jane Eblen. *Adirondack Wilderness: A Story of Man and Nature*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1980.
- _____. "Olympics Illuminate the Long War over Future of the Adirondacks." *Smithsonian*. (November 1980): 42-51.
- Ketchledge, Edwin H. *Trees of the Adirondack High Peak Region*. Glens Falls, NY: Adirondack Mountain Club, 1967.
- Klein, Maury. *The Genesis of Industrial America, 1870-1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Klinge, Matthew. "Spaces of Consumption in Environmental History." *History and Theory* 42 (2003): 94-110.

- Klyza, Christopher. *Who Controls Public Lands? Mining, Forestry, and Grazing Policies, 1870-1990*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
- Knobloch, Frieda. *The Culture of Wilderness: Agriculture as Colonization in the American West*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
- Knott, Catherine Henshaw. *Living with the Adirondack Forest: Local Perspectives on Land Use Conflicts*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- . "Views of the Forest: Local People and Indigenous Knowledge in the Adirondack Park Land-Use Conflict." Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1993.
- Kranz, Marvin. "Pioneering in Conservation: A History of the Conservation Movement in New York State, 1865-1903." Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1961.
- Kronstadt, Sylvia. "The Prison Guards: An Unhappy Lot." *New York Affairs* 2, no. 2 (1974): 60-77.
- Kruse, Kevin. *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Kuntz, William F. *Criminal Sentencing in Three Nineteenth Century Cities: Social History of Punishment in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, 1830-1880*. New York: Garland, 1988.
- Lamppa, Marvin. *Minnesota's Iron Country: Rich Ore, Rich Lives*. Lake Superior Port Cities, 2004.
- Landrum, Ney. *The State Park Movement in America: A Critical Review*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004.
- Langston, Nancy. *Forest Dreams, Forest Nightmares: The Paradox of Old Growth in the Inland West*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996.
- Lapping, Mark, and Peter Gore. "Environmental Quality and Social Equality: Wilderness Preservation in a Depressed Region, New York State's Adirondacks." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 35, no. 4 (1976): 349-60.
- Lassiter, Matthew. *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Laurie, Bruce. *Artisans Into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth Century America*. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1997.
- LeFlouria, Talitha. "'The Hand that Rocks the Cradle Cuts Cordwood': Exploring Black Women's Lives and Labor in Georgia's Convict Camps, 1865-1917." *Labor* 8, no. 3 (2011): 47-63.

- Lehman, Tim. *Public Values, Private Lands: Farmland Preservation Policy, 1933-1985*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
- Leith, Charles K. *The Mesabi iron-bearing district of Minnesota*. Ulan Press, 2012.
- Leopold, Aldo. *For the Health of the Land: Previously Unpublished Essays and Other Writings*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2000.
- _____. *A Sand County Almanac, and Sketches Here and There*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1949.
- Lepore, Jill. *The Whites of their Eyes: The Tea Party Revolution and the Battle over American History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.
- Lewis, Tom. *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways, Transforming American Life*. New York: Viking Press, 1997.
- Lewis, W. David. "Fiasco in the Adirondacks: The Early History of Clinton Prison at Dannemora, 1844-1861." *New York History* 49, no. 3 (1968): 284-305.
- _____. *From Newgate to Dannemora: The Rise of the Penitentiary in New York, 1796-1848*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965.
- _____. "Newgate of New York: A Case History (1796-1828) of Early American Prison Reform." *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 47, no. 2 (1963): 137-172.
- Licht, Walter. *Industrializing America: The Nineteenth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.
- Lichtenstein, Alex. "A 'Labor History' of Mass Incarceration." *Labor* 8, no. 3 (2011): 5-14.
- Lien, Carsten. *Olympic Battleground: The Power Politics of Timber Preservation*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1991.
- Limerick, Patricia Nelson. *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1987.
- Lindner, Robert M. *Stone Walls and Men*. New York: Odyssey Press, 1946.
- Lines, William J. *The Great South Land: A History of the Conquest of Nature in Australia*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1999.
- Lofgren, Orvar. *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Long, David, and Patrick Wrobel. *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001.

- Louter, David. *Windshield Wilderness: Cars, Roads, and Nature in National Parks*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.
- Lowenthal, David. *George Perkins Marsh: Prophet of Conservation*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.
- MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books, 1976.
- Mackay, David. *A Place of Exile: The European Settlement of New South Wales*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Mackinnon, Anne. "Welcome to Siberia." *Adirondack Life* (November/December 1997): 40-51.
- Magoc, Chris. *Yellowstone: The Creation and Selling of an American Landscape, 1870-1903*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999.
- Maher, Neil. *Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- _____. "A New Deal Body Politic: Landscape, Labor, and the Civilian Conservation Corps." *Environmental History* 7, no. 4 (2002): 435-461.
- Manning, Robert, and Ben Minteer, eds. *Reconstructing Conservation: Finding Common Ground*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2003.
- Manning, Roger. *Hunters and Poachers: A Social and Cultural History of Unlawful Hunting in England, 1485-1640*. Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Marks, Stuart. *Southern Hunting in Black and White: Nature, History, and Ritual in a Carolina Community*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Marx, Leo. *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Mason, Kathy. *Natural Museums: US National Parks, 1872-1916*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004.
- Masur, Louis. *The Rites of Execution: Capital Punishment and the Transformation of American Culture, 1776-1865*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Mauer, Mark. *Race to Incarcerate*. New York: The New Press, 1999.
- Mauer, Marc, and Meda Chesney-Lind, eds. *Invisible Punishment: The Collateral Consequences of Mass Imprisonment*. New York: The New Press, 2002.
- McEleney, Barbara Lavin. *Correctional Reform in New York: The Rockefeller Years and Beyond*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985.

- McCombs, W. Douglas. "Therapeutic Rusticity: Antimodernism, Health and the Wilderness Vacation, 1870-1915." *New York History* 76, no. 4 (1995): 409-28.
- McGirr, Lisa. *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- McKee, Guian. *The Problem of Jobs: Liberalism, Race, and Deindustrialization in Philadelphia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- McKelvey, Blake. *American Prison: A History of Good Intentions*. Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith, 1977.
- McClelland, Linda Flint. *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- McLennan, Rebecca. "Punishment's 'Square Deal': Prisoners and Their Keepers in 1920s New York." *Journal of Urban History* 29, no. 5 (2003): 567-619.
- . *The Crisis of Imprisonment: Protest, Politics, and the Making of the American Penal State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- McCullough, Robert. *The Landscape of Community: A History of Communal Forests in New England*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1995.
- McEvoy, Arthur. *The Fisherman's Problem: Ecology and Law in the California Fisheries, 1850-1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- McGhee, Robert. *The Last Imaginary Place: A Human History of the Arctic World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- McGreevy, Patrick. *Imagining Niagara: The Meaning and Making of Niagara Falls*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994.
- McKinsey, Elizabeth. *Niagara Falls: Icon of the American Sublime*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- McMahon, Felicia Faye. "Forging the Adirondacker." *Western Folklore* 50, no. 3 (1991): 277-95.
- . "Regional Sports: 'Playing' with Politics in the Adirondacks." *New York Folklore* 19, no. 3-4 (1993): 59-73.
- McMahon, Felicia Romano. "Wilderness and Tradition: Power, Politics, and Play in the Adirondacks." Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992.
- McMartin, Barbara. *The Great Forest of the Adirondacks*. Utica: North Country Books, 1994.

- . *Hides, Hemlocks, and Adirondack History: How the Tanning Industry Influenced the Region's Growth*. Utica: North Country Books, 1992.
- . *Perspectives on the Adirondacks: A Thirty-Year Struggle by People Protecting Their Treasure*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002.
- McMurry, Sally. "Evolution of a Landscape from Farm to Forest in the Adirondack Region, 1857-1894." *New York History* 80, no. 2 (1999): 116-52.
- McNeill, John R. *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2001.
- McShane, Marilyn, Frank Williams, and Carl Wagoner. "Prison Impact Studies: Some Comments on Methodological Rigor." *Crime and Delinquency* 38, no. 1 (1992): 105-120.
- Medeiros, Paul. "A Proposal for an Adirondack Primeval." *Wild Earth* (1992): 32-43.
- Meine, Curt. *Aldo Leopold: His Life and Work*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.
- . *Correction Lines: Essays on Land, Leopold, and Conservation*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2004.
- Melnick, Robert, and Arnold Alanen, eds. *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.
- Melosi, Martin. *Coping with Abundance: Energy and Environment in Industrial America*. New York: Knopf, 1985.
- . "Equity, Eco-Racism, and Environmental History." *Environmental History Review* no. 4 (1995): 1-16.
- Meranze, Michael. *Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution, and Authority in Philadelphia, 1776-1835*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
- Merchant, Carolyn. *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1980.
- . *Earthcare: Women and the Environment*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- . *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender, and Science in New England*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
- . *Reinventing Eden: The Fate of Nature in Western Culture*. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- . "Shades of Darkness: Race and Environmental History." *Environmental History* 8, no. 3 (July 2003): 380-394.
- Merrill, David Shepard. "The Education of a Young Pioneer in the Northern Adirondacks in Franklin and Clinton Counties after the Civil War." *New York History* 39 (1958): 238-54.

- Meyer, Judith. *The Spirit of Yellowstone: The Cultural Evolution of a National Park*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996.
- Miller, Angela. *The Empire of The Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Miller, Char, ed. *American Forests: Nature, Culture, and Politics*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997.
- _____. *Gifford Pinchot and the Making of Modern Environmentalism*. Washington, D.C.: Shearwater Books, 2001.
- Minchin, Timothy. *Forging a Common Bond: Labor and Environmental Activism During the BASF Lockout*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003.
- Mitchell, Lee Clark. *Witness to a Vanishing America: The Nineteenth-Century Response*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Mitman, Gregg. "Hay Fever Holiday: Health, Leisure, and Place in Gilded Age America." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 77, no. 3 (2003): 600-635.
- _____. *The State of Nature: Ecology, Community, and American Social Thought, 1900-1950*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Monmonier, Mark. *From Squaw Tit to Whorehouse Meadow: How Maps Name, Claim, and Inflammate*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Montgomery, David. *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865-1925*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Montrie, Chad. "I Think Less of the Factory Than of My Native Dell': Labor, Nature, and the Lowell 'Mill Girls.'" *Environmental History* 9, no. 2 (2004): 275-295.
- Morris, Norval. *Maconochie's Gentlemen: The Story of Norfolk Island & the Roots of Modern Prison Reform*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Moravek, John R. "The APA Era in New York's Outpost Wilderness: Thirty Years of Conflict and Progress." *New York History* 85, no. 4 (2004): 387-400.
- _____. "The Iron Industry as a Geographic Force in the Adirondack-Champlain Region of New York State, 1800-1971." Ph.D. diss., University of Tennessee, 1976.
- Morse, Kathryn. *The Nature of Gold: An Environmental History of the Klondike Gold Rush*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003.
- Myers, Jeffrey. *Converging Stories: Race, Ecology, and Environmental Justice in American Literature*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005.
- Nash, Linda. "Finishing Nature: Harmonizing Bodies and Environments in Late-Nineteenth-Century California." *Environmental History* 8, no. 1 (2003): 25-52.

- Nash, Roderick. "The American Invention of National Parks." *American Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (1970): 726-735.
- _____. *The Rights of Nature: A History of Environmental Ethics*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.
- _____. *Wilderness and the American Mind*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.
- Neal, David. *The Rule of Law in a Prison Colony: Law and Politics in Early New South Wales*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Netting, Robert McC. *Balancing on an Alp: Ecological Change & Continuity in a Swiss Mountain Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Newman, Lance. *Our Common Dwelling: Henry Thoreau, Transcendentalism, and the Class Politics of Nature*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005.
- Nicholas, Stephen, ed. *Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia's Past*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- North, Douglass. *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1966.
- Norwood, Vera. *Made from This Earth: American Women and Nature*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.
- Novak, Barbara. *Nature and Culture: American Landscape Painting, 1825-1875*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Novak, William. *The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
- Nye, David. *Technologies of Landscape: From Reaping to Recycling*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000.
- Obach, Brian. *Labor and the Environmental Movement: The Quest for Common Ground*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004.
- Ogletree, Charles, and Austin Sarat, eds. *Life Without Parole: America's New Death Penalty?* New York: New York University Press, 2012.
- Oelschlaeger, Max. *The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.

- Olwig, Kenneth. *Landscape, Nature, and the Body Politic: From Britain's Renaissance to America's New World*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002.
- Opotow, Susan, and Susan Clayton, eds. *Identity and the Natural Environment: The Psychological Significance of Nature*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004.
- Oppersdorff, Matthias. *Adirondack Faces*. Blue Mountain Lake: Adirondack Museum, 1991.
- Ostrom, Emilio, and Elinor Moran, eds. *Seeing the Forest and the Trees: Human-Environment Interactions in Forest Ecosystems*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005.
- Oxley, Deborah. *Convict Maids: The Forced Migration of Women to Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Panetta, Roger. "Up the River: A History of Sing Sing Prison in the Nineteenth Century." Ph.D. diss., City University of New York Graduate Center, 1999.
- Parnes, Brenda. "Trespass: A History of Land-Use Policy in the Adirondack Forest Region of Northern New York State." Ph.D. diss., New York University 1989.
- Parrish, Susan Scott. *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- Payne, Daniel. *Voices in the Wilderness: American Nature Writing and Environmental Politics*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1996.
- Penna, Anthony, ed. *Nature's Bounty: Historical and Modern Environmental Perspectives*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1999.
- Perlin, John. *A Forest Journey: The Role of Wood in the Development of Civilization*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Pessen, Edward. *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics*. Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1969.
- Peterson, Andrew A. "Deterring Strikes by Public Employees: New York's Two-for-One Salary Penalty and the 1979 Prison Guard Strike." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 34, no. 4 (1981): 545-562.
- Philippon, Daniel. *Conserving Words: How American Nature Writers Shaped the Environmental Movement*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005.
- Pilcher, Edith. *Up the Lake Road: The First Hundred Years of the Adirondack Mountain Reserve*. Keene Valley, NY: Adirondack Mountain Reserve, 1987.
- Pisani, Donald. "Forests and Conservation, 1865-1890." *The Journal of American History* 72, no. 2 (1985): 340-359.

- Pisciotta, Alexander. *Benevolent Repression: Social Control and the American Reformatory Prison Movement*. New York: New York University Press, 1994.
- Posner, Russell. "An Englishman's Tour of New York in 1830." *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (1971): 177-184.
- Preuss, Holger. *The Economics of Staging the Olympics*. London: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2006.
- Price, Edward. *Dividing the Land: Early American Beginnings of Our Private Property Mosaic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Price, Jay. *Gateways to the Southwest: The Story of Arizona State Parks*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004.
- Price, Jennifer. *Flight Maps: Adventures with Nature in Modern America*. New York: Basic Books, 1999.
- Pritchard, James. *Preserving Yellowstone's Natural Conditions: Science and the Perception of Nature*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.
- Quiring, David. *CCF Colonialism in Northern Saskatchewan: Battling Parish Priests, Bootleggers, and Fur Sharks*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004.
- Ratner, Shanna E. "Diversified Household Survival Strategies and Natural Resource Use in the Adirondacks." M.A. Thesis, Cornell University, 1984.
- Rawson, Michael. "The Nature of Water: Reform and the Antebellum Crusade for Municipal Water in Boston." *Environmental History* 9, no. 3 (2004): 411-435.
- Rawson, Timothy. *Changing Tracks: Predators and Politics in Mt. McKinley National Park*. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2001.
- Recknagel, A.B. *The Forests of New York State*. New York: Macmillan, 1923.
- Redfield, Peter. *Space in the Tropics: From Convicts to Rockets in French Guiana*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Reich, Justin. "Re-Creating the Wilderness: Shaping Narratives and Landscapes in Shenandoah National Park." *Environmental History* 6, no. 1 (2001): 95-117.
- Reiger, John. *American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation*. New York: Winchester, 1975.
- Rezelman, John Reyer. "Forever Wild or Forever Subdivided?: An Historical Perspective on the Adirondack Park." Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1998.
- Reynolds, Robert Webster, Jr. "American Rustic: The Landscape of Recreation." Ph.D. diss., Lehigh University, 2003.

- Rhodes, Edward Lao. *Environmental Justice in America: A New Paradigm*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003.
- Rhodes, Richard. *John James Audubon: The Making of an American*. New York: Knopf, 2004.
- Richardson, Elmo. *The Politics of Conservation: Crusades and Controversies, 1897-1913*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962.
- Riedel, Richard, and Suzanne Knight, eds. *Aldo Leopold and the Ecological Conscience*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Righter, Robert. *The Battle over Hetch Hetchy: America's Most Controversial Dam and the Birth of Modern Environmentalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Rilling, Donna. *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism: Builders in Philadelphia, 1790-1850*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.
- Robbins, William G. *Lumberjacks and Legislators: Political Economy of the U.S. Lumber Industry, 1890-1941*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1982.
- Robson, L.L. *The Convict Settlers of Australia: An Enquiry into the Origin and Character of the Convicts Transported to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 1787-1852*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.
- Rome, Adam. "Coming to Terms with Pollution: The Language of Environmental Reform, 1865-1915." *Environmental History* 1, no. 3 (1996): 6-28.
- _____. "'Give Earth a Chance': The Environmental Movement and the Sixties." *Journal of American History* 90 (2003): 525-554.
- _____. "What Really Matters in History: Environmental Perspectives on Modern America." *Environmental History* 7, no. 2 (2002): 303-318.
- Rose, Anne C. *Transcendentalism as a Social Movement, 1830-1850*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.
- Rosenberg, Carol Smith. *Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York City Mission Movement, 1812-1870*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971.
- Rosevear, Francis. *Colvin in the Adirondacks: A Chronology and Index: Research Source for Colvin's Published and Unpublished Works*. Utica: North Country Books, 1992.
- Rosner, David, and Gerald Markowitz, eds. *Dying for Work: Workers' Safety and Health in Twentieth-Century America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.
- Rosner, Lisa, ed. *The Technological Fix: How People Use Technology to Create and Solve Problems*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

- Roth, Randolph. *American Homicide*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Roth, Richard Patrick. "The Adirondack Guide (1820-1919): Hewing out an American Occupation." Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University 1990.
- Rothman, David. *Conscience and Convenience: The Asylum and Its Alternatives in Progressive America*. Addison Wesley Publishing Company, 1980.
- _____. *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic*. Boston: Little Brown, 1971.
- Rothman, David, and Norval Morris, eds. *The Oxford History of the Prison: The Practice of Punishment in Western Society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Rothman, Hal. *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998.
- _____. *The Greening of a Nation? Environmentalism in the United States since 1945*. Fort Worth: University Press of Kansas, 1998.
- _____. *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments*. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1989.
- _____. *Saving the Planet: The American Response to the Environment in the Twentieth Century*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2000.
- Rothman, Sheila. *Living in the Shadow of Death: Tuberculosis and the Social Experience of Illness in American History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.
- Runte, Alfred. *National Parks: The American Experience*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987.
- Rusche, Georg. *Punishment and Social Structure*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1968.
- Rushton, Gwenda Morgan and Peter, eds. *Eighteenth-Century Criminal Transportation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Russell, Howard. *A Long, Deep Furrow: Three Centuries of Farming in New England*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1976.
- Sackman, Douglas Cazaux. "'Nature's Workshop': The Work Environment and Workers' Bodies in California's Citrus Industry, 1900-1940." *Environmental History* 5, no. 1 (2000): 27-53.
- _____. *Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

- Saikku, Mikko. *This Delta, This Land: An Environmental History of the Yazoo-Mississippi Floodplain*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005.
- Sale, Kirkpatrick. *The Green Revolution: The American Environmental Movement, 1962-1992*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.
- Samson, Nelson. "Woods Labor in the Adirondacks." Ph.D. diss., State University of New York College of Forestry, 1952.
- Saunders, D. Andrew. *Adirondack Mammals*. Syracuse: SUNY College of Environmental Science and Forestry, 1988.
- Schaefer, Paul, ed. *Adirondack Explorations: Nature Writings of Verplanck Colvin*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997.
- . *Defending the Wilderness: The Adirondack Writings of Paul Schaefer*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989.
- Schaffer, Marguerite. *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001.
- Schama, Simon. *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*. New York: Vintage, 1997.
- . *Landscape and Memory*. New York: Knopf, 1995.
- Scharff, Virginia, ed. *Seeing Nature through Gender*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003.
- Schlosser, Eric. "The Prison-Industrial Complex." *The Atlantic Monthly* (December 1998).
- Schmitt, Peter. *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Schneider, Paul. *The Adirondacks: A History of America's First Wilderness*. New York: Owl Books, 1998.
- Schoonmaker, Peter. *Seasonal Drift: Adirondack Hunts and Wilderness Tales*. Utica: North Country Books, 1994.
- Schrepfer, Susan. *The Fight to Save the Redwoods: A History of Environmental Reform, 1917-1978*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.
- . *Nature's Altars: Mountains, Gender, and American Environmentalism*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005.
- Schulman, Bruce. *Rightward Bound: Making America Conservative in the 1970s*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.

- Schwartz, Seymour. *The Mismatching of America*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003.
- Scott, James. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Searle, R. Newell. *Saving Quetico-Superior: A Land Set Apart*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1977.
- Sears, George Washington. *The Adirondack Letters of George Washington Sears, Whose Pen Name Was "Nessmuk."* Blue Mountain Lake: Adirondack Museum, 1962.
- Sears, John F. *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989.
- Sellars, Richard West. *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Sellers, Charles. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Sellers, Christopher. *Crabgrass Crucible: Suburban Nature and the Rise of Environmentalism in Twentieth-Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.
- _____. *Hazards of the Job: From Industrial Disease to Environmental Health Science*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
- _____. "Thoreau's Body: Towards an Embodied Environmental History." *Environmental History* 4, no. 4 (1999): 486-514.
- Setti, Christopher. "Prisons and their Effects on Local Economies: The Colorado Experience." University of Denver: CPEC Center for Tax Policy Research, Vol. 48, no. 3 (December 2001).
- Shabecoff, Philip. *A Fierce Green Fire: The American Environmental Movement*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2003.
- Sheriff, Carol. *The Artificial River: The Erie Canal and the Paradox of Progress, 1817-1862*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1996.
- Shinnick, Phillip K. "Natural Sport, the Olympic Prison, and the Fight for Sovereignty Rights of the Mohawks." *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 9, no. 1 (1981): 43-52.
- Silver, Timothy. *A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in the South Atlantic Forests, 1500-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Silvius, Kirsten, Richard Bodmer, and Jose Fragoso, eds. *People in Nature: Wildlife Conservation in South and Central America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.

- Simmons, Louis. *Mostly Spruce and Hemlock*. Tupper Lake, N.Y., 1976.
- Singer, Natalia Rachel, and Neal Burdick, eds. *Living North Country: Essays on Life and Landscapes in Northern New York*. Utica, NY: North Country Books, 2001.
- Skopcol, Theda, and Vanessa Williamson. *The Tea Party and the Remaking of American Conservatism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Sleicher, Charles Albert. *The Adirondacks: America's Playground*. New York: Exposition Press, 1960.
- Slotkin, Richard. *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890*. New York: Atheneum, 1985.
- Smith, Bill. *Tales from the Featherbed: Adirondack Stories and Songs*. Greenfield Center, NY: Bowman Books, 1994.
- Smith, Daniel Somers. "The Discipline of Nature: A History of Environmental Discourse in the Northern Forest of New England and New York." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2003.
- Smith, Henry Nash. *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950.
- Smith, Timothy L. *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America*. New York: Harper & Row, 1957/1965.
- Spence, Mark. *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Spierenburg, Pieter. "From Amsterdam to Auburn: An Explanation for the Rise of the Prison in Seventeenth-Century Holland and Nineteenth-Century America." *Journal of Social History* 20, no. 3 (1987): 439-461.
- Spirn, Anne Whiston. *The Granite Garden: Urban Nature and Human Design*. New York: Basic Books, 1984.
- Starbird, Ethel. "From Sword to Scythe in Champlain Country." *National Geographic* 132, no. 2, (August 1967): 153-201.
- Steely, James Wright. *Parks for Texas: Enduring Landscapes of the New Deal*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999.
- Stein, Rachel, ed. *New Perspectives on Environmental Justice: Gender, Sexuality, and Activism*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004.
- Steinberg, Michael. *Our Wilderness: How the People of New York Found, Changed, and Preserved the Adirondacks*. Lake George: Adirondack Mountain Club, 1992.

- Steinberg, Ted. *Down to Earth: Nature's Role in American History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- _____. *Nature Incorporated: Industrialization and the Waters of New England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- _____. *Slide Mountain; or, the Folly of Owning Nature*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Stewart, J.M. Moynahan, and K. Earle. *The American Jail: Its Development and Growth*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1980.
- Stewart, Mart. "What Nature Suffers to Groe": *Life, Labor, and Landscape on the Georgia Coast, 1680-1920*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996.
- Stilgoe, John. *Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.
- _____. "Fair Fields and Blasted Rock: American Land Classification Systems and Landscape Aesthetics." *American Studies* 32 (1981): 21-33.
- _____. *Landscape and Images*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2005.
- Stock, John. *Litchfield Park: Stories from an Adirondack Great Camp*. Blue Mountain Lake: Adirondack Museum, 2004.
- Stoll, Mark, and Dianne Glave, eds. "To Love the Wind and the Rain": *African Americans and Environmental History*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005.
- Stradling, David. *Making Mountains: New York City and the Catskills*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007.
- _____. *The Nature of New York: An Environmental History of the Empire State*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010.
- _____. *Smokestacks and Progressives: Environmentalism, Engineers, and Air Quality in America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.
- Straub, Frank. "Controlling Corruption in a Prison System: The New York State Department of Correctional Services, 1970-1990." Ph.D. diss., Graduate Center of the City University of New York, 1997.
- Strauss, David. "Toward a Consumer Culture: 'Adirondack Murray' and the Wilderness Vacation." *American Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (1987): 270-86.
- Strong, Douglas. *Dreamers and Defenders: American Conservationists*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988.
- Stroud, Ellen Frances. "The Return of the Forest: Urbanization and Reforestation in the Northeastern United States." Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2001.

- Sugden, John, and Alan Tomlinson. *Watching the Olympics: Politics, Power, and Representation*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Sugrue, Thomas. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Sullivan, Larry. *The Prison Reform Movement: Forlorn Hope*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990.
- Summerhill, Thomas. *Harvest of Dissent: Agrarianism in Central New York in the Nineteenth Century*. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2005.
- . "The Farmers' Republic: Agrarian Protest and the Capitalist Transformation of Upstate New York." Ph.D. diss., University of California, San Diego, 1993.
- Sykes, Gresham. *The Society of Captives: A Study of a Maximum Security Prison*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971.
- Tappan, Paul W. *Crime, Justice, and Correction*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960.
- Tarr, Joel, and Jeffrey Stine. "At the Intersection of Histories: Technology and the Environment." *Technology and Culture* 39 (1998): 601-640.
- Taylor, Alan. "Unnatural Inequalities: Social and Environmental Histories." *Environmental History* 1, no. 4 (1996): 6-19.
- Terrie, Philip. *Contested Terrain: A New History of Nature and People in the Adirondacks*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997.
- . *Forever Wild: A Cultural History of Wilderness in the Adirondacks*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985.
- . "The New York Natural History Survey in the Adirondack Wilderness, 1836-1840." *Journal of the Early Republic* 3, no. 2 (1983): 185-206.
- . "'One Grand Unbroken Domain': Ambiguities and Lessons in the Origins of the Adirondack Park." *Hudson Valley Regional Review* 6 (1989): 10-17.
- . "Urban Man Confronts the Wilderness: The Nineteenth-Century Sportsman in the Adirondacks." *Journal of Sport History* 5 (Winter 1978): 7-20.
- . *Wildlife and Wilderness: A History of Adirondack Mammals*. Fleischmanns, NY: Purple Mountain Press, 1994.
- Thies, Jean. "The Big House in a Small Town: The Economic and Social Impacts of a Correctional Facility on Its Host Community." Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri-St. Louis, 1998.

- Thomas, John L. "Romantic Reform in America, 1815-1865." *American Quarterly* 17 (1965): 656-681.
- Thomas, Keith. *Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility*. New York: Pantheon, 1983.
- Thompson, E.P. *Whigs and Hunters: The Origins of the Black Act*. New York: Pantheon, 1976.
- Thompson, Heather Ann. "Rethinking Working-Class Struggle through the Lens of the Carceral State: Toward a Labor History of Inmates and Guards." *Labor* 8, no. 3 (2011): 15-45.
- Thompson, Roger. "The Doctrine of Wilderness: A Study of the Policy and Politics of the Adirondack Preserve-Park." Ph.D. diss., SUNY College of Environmental Science & Forestry, 1962.
- _____. "Politics in the Wilderness: New York's Adirondack Forest Preserve." *Forest History* 6 (Winter 1963).
- Thoreau, Henry David. *Walden; or, Life in the Woods*. Boston, 1854.
- Tilden, Freeman. *The State Parks: Their Meaning in American Life*. New York: Knopf, 1962.
- Tober, James. *Who Owns the Wildlife? The Political Economy of Conservation in Nineteenth-Century America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981.
- Todd, John. *Long Lake: A Facsimile of the 1845 Edition*. Mamaroneck, NY: Harbor Hill Books, 1983.
- Tolles, Bryant Franklin. *Resort Hotels of the Adirondacks: The Architecture of a Summer Paradise, 1850-1950*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2003.
- Tomes, Nancy. *The Art of Asylum-Keeping: Thomas Story Kirkbride and the Origins of American Psychiatry*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.
- _____. *The Gospel of Germs: Men, Women, and the Microbe in American Life*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Troy, Gil. *Morning in America: How Ronald Reagan Invented the 1980s*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Turek, Michael, and Robert Keller. *American Indians and the National Parks*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998.
- Turner, James Morton. *The Promise of Wilderness: Environmental Politics since 1964*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012.
- _____. "From Woodcraft to 'Leave No Trace': Wilderness, Consumerism, and Environmentalism in Twentieth-Century America." *Environmental History* 7, no. 3 (2002): 462-484.

- Tyler, Helen E. *Log Cabin Days: Folk Tales of the Adirondacks*. Saranac Lake, NY: Currier Press, 1969.
- Tyrell, Ian. *Sobering Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum America, 1800-1860*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979.
- Urry, John. *The Tourist Gaze*. London: Sage, 2002.
- Vale, Thomas. *The American Wilderness: Reflections on Nature Protection in the United States*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005.
- Valencius, Conevery Bolton. *The Health of the Country: How American Settlers Understood Themselves and Their Land*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.
- Van Valkenburgh, Norman. *The Adirondack Forest Preserve: A Narrative of the Evolution of the Adirondack Forest Preserve of New York State*. Blue Mountain Lake, NY: Adirondack Museum, 1979.
- . *Land Acquisition for New York State: An Historical Perspective*. Arkville, NY: Catskill Center for Conservation and Development, 1985.
- Verner, William K. "Wilderness and the Adirondacks: An Historical View." *The Living Wilderness* 33 (Winter 1969).
- Vickers, Daniel. "Those Dammed Shad: Would the River Fisheries of New England Have Survived in the Absence of Industrialization?" *William and Mary Quarterly* 61, no. 4 (2004): 685-712.
- Wagner, David. *The Poorhouse: America's Forgotten Institution*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.
- Walker David. *Iron Frontier: The Discovery and Early Development of Minnesota's Three Ranges*. Minneapolis: Minnesota Historical Society, 2004.
- Walker, Lawrence. *The North American Forests: Geography, Ecology, and Silviculture*. New York: CRC Press, 1998.
- Wallach, Bret. *At Odds with Progress: Americans and Conservation*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991.
- Wargo, John. *Green Intelligence: Creating Environments that Protect Human Health*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Warren Louis. *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Watson, Harry. "'The Common Rights of Mankind': Subsistence, Shad, and Commerce in the Early Republican South." *Journal of American History* 83, no. 1 (1996): 13-43.

- _____. *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1990.
- Webb, Nina. *Footsteps through the Adirondacks: The Verplanck Colvin Story*. Utica, NY: North Country Books, 1996.
- Weber, Sandra, and Peggy Lynn. *Breaking Trails: Remarkable Women of the Adirondacks*. Fleischmanns, NY: Purple Mountain Press, 2004.
- Weiss, Karel, ed. *The Prison Experience: An Anthology*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1976.
- Welsh, Peter. *Jacks, Jobbers and Kings: Logging in the Adirondacks, 1850-1950*. Utica, NY: North Country Books, 1995.
- Weston, Harold. *Freedom in the Wilds: A Saga of the Adirondacks*: Adirondack Trail Improvement Society, 1971.
- White, Jeremy. "‘The Los Angeles Way of Doing Things’: The Olympic Village and the Practice of Boosterism in 1932." *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies* 11 (2002): 79-116.
- White, Richard. "American Environmental History: The Development of a New Field." *Pacific Historical Review* 54 (1985): 297-335.
- _____. "From Wilderness to Hybrid Landscapes: The Cultural Turn in Environmental History." *The Historian* 66 (2004): 557-564.
- _____. *Land Use, Environment, and Social Change: The Shaping of Island County, Washington*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980.
- _____. *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1995.
- White, William Chapman. *Adirondack Country*. New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1954.
- _____. *Just About Everything in the Adirondacks*. Blue Mountain Lake, NY: Adirondack Museum, 1960.
- Whitehead, Donald. *The Regional Vegetational History of the High Peaks (Adirondack Mountains) New York*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1990.
- Wicker, Tom. *A Time to Die: The Attica Prison Revolt*. New York: Crown, 1975.
- Wider, Sarah Ann. "The Contour of Unknown Lives: Mapping Women's Experience in the Adirondacks." *Biography* 25, no. 1 (2002): 1-24.

- Wielgosz, Ruth, Terri-Ann Brown, and Amy Lategola. *Rural Boomtowns: The Relationship between Economic Development and Affordable Housing*. Washington, D.C.: Housing Assistance Council, 2000.
- Wilentz, Sean. *Chants Democratic: New York City & The Rise of the American Working Class, 1790-1850*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- _____. *The Age of Reagan: A History, 1974-2008*. New York: Free Press, 2008.
- Williams, Frank, and Marilyn McShane. *The Encyclopedia of American Prisons*. New York: Garland, 1996.
- Williams, Michael. *Americans and their Forests: A Historical Geography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Williams, Raymond. *The Country and the City*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- _____, ed. *Problems in Materialism and Culture: Selected Essays*. London: Verso, 1980.
- Wilson, Alexander. *The Culture of Nature: North American Landscape from Disney to the Exxon Valdez*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1992.
- Wilson, Chris. *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997.
- Wilson, Seth, and Glenn Harris. "Water Pollution in the Adirondack Mountains: Scientific Research and Government Response, 1890-1930." *Environmental History Review* 17 (1993): 47-71.
- Wirth, John. *Smelter Smoke in America: The Politics of Transborder Pollution*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000.
- Woods, Lynn. "A History in Fragments: Following the Trail of Native Adirondack Cultures." *Adirondack Life* 25 (November-December, 1994).
- Worster, Donald. *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- _____. *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- _____. *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- _____. "Transformations of the Earth: Towards and Agroecological Perspective in History." *The Journal of American History* (1990): 1087-1147.
- _____. *The Wealth of Nature: Environmental History and the Ecological Imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

- Wuerthner, George. *The Adirondacks: Forever Wild*. Helena, MT: American Geographic Publishing, 1988.
- Young, Ann. *Environmental Change in Australia since 1788*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Young, Terence. "Social Reform through Parks: The American Civic Association's Program for a Better America." *Journal of Historical Geography* 22, no. 4 (1996): 460-472.
- Zahavi, Gerald. *Workers, Managers, and Welfare Capitalism: The Shoeworkers and Tanners of Endicott Johnson, 1890-1950*. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1988.
- Zimmer, Lynn, and James Jacobs. "Challenging the Taylor Law: Prison Guards on Strike." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 34, no. 4 (July 1981): 531-544.
- Zinser, Charles. *The Economic Impact of the Adirondack Park Private Land Use and Development Plan*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1980.
- . "The Impact of Leisure Homes on the Economy of the Area within the 'Blue Line' Of the Adirondack Park." Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1974.