THE PINE BARRENS:

A STUDY OF ENVIRONMENTAL DECISION MAKING

by

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INTRODUCTION

This study is an historical and ethnographic analysis of the social forces which shape the planning of a natural area in an urban region. That region, the Pine Barrens in southern New Jersey is the largest undeveloped portion of land on the eastern seaboard, a national resource which has received attention from the international scientific community, a unique ecosystem within easy commuting distance from the most densely populated urban agglomeration in the nation.

After centuries of rural isolation, abruptly, within the fifteen years between the early 1960's and 1977, the region, marked by a variety of extraordinary features with respect to biology, geology, hydrology, and history, has been the focus of social and political conflicts over the use of both the land and the water. The theme which characterizes this conflict, land (and water) as a commodity versus land as a resource, may prove to be the unintended consequence of an industrial and technological advance which has laid claims to the last remaining portions of open space within the United States, and more particularly, on the eastern seaboard; but the furnace in which these issues are forged is well within the framework of social and environmental planning. Therefore, a general aim of the research is to develop a "natural history" of planning for the preservation and use of large tracts of underdeveloped land close to centers of dense population settlements. But since the history of social environmental planning is a history of political conflicts among factions,

interest groups, and governmental institutions, all of whom seek to speak in the name of society, the specific aim of this research is to identify specific interest group formations and networks which interconnect with large scale institutional structures in the society. These institutions, in turn influence not only the outcome of environmental public policy, but the definition of the problems to begin with.

Alaska, for example has been the center of heated debate over the Department of Interior's plan to protect 92 millions acres of Federal lands by designating them as national parks, wildlife refuges, scenic rivers and wilderness areas. Supporting an alternative preservation policy through legislation introduced by representative Morris Udall, are 80 co-sponsoring congressmen, a coalition of citizen and conservation groups. This mix of preservation interest groups includes federal agencies, legislators, and organized citizen interest groups who define the problem as a preservation versus development exploitation issue.

Those opposed to the legislation, representatives of mining, timber and hunting industries, cite this recent wilderness preservation move as a federal "land grab." Each faction defines the other as exploiter of the land.

Policy decisions are forged through the compilation of the interests of industrial and business enterprise, and the proponents of social planning by government regulation. Interest groups emerge around environmental issues, creating an ever further division in pluralism, and, interconnect with voluntary organizations, such as The Sierra Club or opposing trade-business organizations, such as mining associations.

These sub-dividing interest groups create pressure for the mobilization of power towards the growth or containment of government activity on natural resource management and planning.

The legitimacy of government resource management is based on the premise that private enterprise and the market economy entail only the short-term exploitation of an ecologically vulnerable resource. Nash, for example, makes the point that:

> "Natural resource policy, for example is one of the best places to examine the tension between individual freedom and social purpose. Enlightened use of the land demands a limitation on the action of a landowner because the easiest, or most lucrative, method of exploiting a resource is seldom in the best long-term interests of the nation as a whole." (Nash:p.x.)

Examining the tension between individual freedom and social purpose with respect to environmental decision making requires the in-depth analysis of interest group formation and networks which interconnect with powerful structures in the society. It is these social forces which aid or impede the public policy formation with respect to land use. Therefore, as an alternative to basing its assumptions on prescriptive deals for natural land and preservation, this research takes one actual case of land-use planning, and attempts to discover in it the issue definitions and interest-group formations which either aid or impede the ultimate enactment of particular land-use policies.

Thus, this study is not designed to test a theory of methodology of land-use planning, such as one finds in the writing of Ebenezer Howard or Ian McHarg. Instead, this research selects an empirical case of natural area planning and seeks to discover principles that

apply in possible future projects. Moreover, what is examined, is the impact of a social movement on the formation of social policy. The environmental decision-making process has been defined as a social movement which has generated some influence on land-use policies, (Sills, 1975; Morrison et al in Burch et al, 1972.) The social forces in the environmental movement affect not only decisions and outcomes, but the process of issue definition as well. Thus Morrison et al conclude in their study of the Environmental Movement that "(the) movement is, itself, a significant force in affecting the way environmental problems are defined and addressed." (Morrison et al in Burch et al, 1972:277).

Relevant Aspects of Land-Use Theory

The theories of land-use planning which are most applicable to the aims of this research are those that deal specifically with the planning and politics of urban open space. The urban setting within which the Pine Barrens is couched is a major factor in the evolvement of land-use controversies at a given point in time. Suburban sprawl and the negative consequences of megalopolis become evident on the northeastern seaboard as late as the 1960's. However, at the onset, this research rejects the assumption that urban sprawl is the inevitable consequence of economic development in the New York-New Jersey region. The recent regional planning efforts in the Hudson basis show that there remains the possibility of preserving thousands of relatively undeveloped agricultural and upland tracts on the region's periphery. The Regional Plan Association Mid Hudson Plan Mid Hudson Plan (1974) and the recent Rockefeller Foundation Hudson Basin Project (1975) both

emphasize the importance of land use planning in the less densely urbanized areas above New York and beyond the industrial cities of New Jersey.

The basic assumption of these regional research and planning efforts is that the natural areas outside cities should be preserved as a "green drop" in which the values of the natural environment are ascendant, and in which land use policies prevent the sale and subdivision of the land for more dense human settlement. Of course, this has been central in the work of most regional planners: Those for whom the preservation of "green belts" was elevated to a first principal of planning; and to those like William H. Whyte for whom perifcral green areas are only one type of natural landscape worthy of preservation by a number of possible means. Thus, the most important issue which guides the present research is not <u>why</u> large tracts of land (and water) should be preserved, but how and for what present and future purpose.

The question of how natural lands outside the cities may be preserved is nevertheless difficult to separate from the question of what cultural definition we assign to urbanized land. As the Council on Environmental Quality pointed out in 1971, it is only relatively recently that we have begun to assign multiple values to land and water:

> "Basically, we are drawing away from the 19th-century idea that land's only function is to enable its owner to make money. One example of this change in attitude is that wetlands, which were once characterized as 'useless', are now thought of as having 'value." As we increasingly understand the science of ecology and the web of connections between the use of any particular piece of land and the impact on

> the environment as a whole we increasingly see the need to protect wetlands and other areas that were formerly ignored. This concern over the interrelatedness of land uses has led to a recognition of the need to deal entire ecological systems rather than small segments of them. (The Quiet Revolution in Land Use Control, 1971:34).

Despite the recent trend toward federal and state land-use legislation, the Coastal Zone Management Act was not passed until 1972. The conflict between the value of land as an immediately marketable commodity and land as the basic element of an enduring eco-system continues and is generally found to remain quite central in planning issues. This is true even in cases where land has ostensibly been removed from the market. And the conflicts have a significance which is more general than even the controversy over allocation of land uses, for as David Sills states:

> "This confrontation of ideologies and organizations illustrates the point that in conflicts and debates over whar are the proper priorities, over whar rights individuals, corporations, and minorities have to enjoy, protect, utilize, or destroy the environment, the quality of life in the society of the future may be largely determined." (Sills, 1975:36).

The removal of important tracts of land from the market generally requires some transfer of title to a public agency as well as some legislative determination of the future status of private in-holdings. For this reason the politics of use versus the preservation is intimately linked to the public agencies which are brought into the controversy by the actions of various citizen interest groups. (Klausner, 1971:90).

This observation establishes the dimensions of the historical study. It was important to analyze in some detail the history of public and government involvement in the issues.

Removal of land areas from the private sector is merely the beginning of planning for preservation and use. Except in the relatively unique case of wilderness designation -- generally for tracts quite removed from major cities -- land which is removed from the market must be deisgnated for some other socially desirable use. In or near urban regions, woodland and abandoned farmland is viewed in the negative sense as "wasteland." Thus, Whyte's criticism of the urban green belts in relevant in this regard:

> "There is, in short, too much vacuum. Where land has been purchased for public recreation there is little danger of encroachment. Where it has not been, which is to say in most of the green belts, the pressures for conversion to other uses are becoming increasingly difficult to stave off. The problem is not the easy one of commercial blight versus open space. Competition comes from other good uses, housing especially, and in the clash of causes the tangible has a strong edge over the intangible." (Last Landscape:181).

A number of important experimental land-use planning policies, such as land banking and the leasing of agricultural lands to their original owners by states and countries, attempt to avoit the problem of non-use without conversion to recreation uses. Unfortunately, these and similar experiments are outside the scope of this research, though planning systems for the preservation of the Pine Barrens are noted as they relate to the history and development of open space policies. Recent legislation designed to deal with the complexity of

Pine Barrens management systems is included as the structure from which interest groups and coalitions are formed. The Pine Barrens Coalition, for example, formed in 1977, cites as one of their goals the passage of HR6625, a bill introduced by Congressman James Florio. This legislation (which followed by two remarkably similar proposals by other Jersey legislators and a third attempt to legislate preservation through a bond issue) was drafted as a means of establishing a National Ecological Reserve through the concept of "green-line boundaries."

Although the Coalition lists a membership of diverse conservation and environmental organizations already participating in the environmental decision-making process, conflict within this new coalition stems from varied interpretations of acceptable land management levels of control. While "old line conservationists" support restricted federal intervention, "new line environmentalists" emphasize greater federal management, and restricted local control. This splintering of land management concepts serves to shape the legislation which is ultimately presented. Public hearings on proposed legislation and environmental regulations reflect the growing division within environmental groups, to say nothing of the opposing views among businessmen, farmers, local officials and the legislators who represent them.

This "pluralism" among broadly defined environmental groups is discussed later in Chapters III and IV and V when we explore the basis of interest group information.

In summary then, as the states and federal government embark on the study of more than twenty proposed urban-area national parks, the relevance of empirical case studies is enhanced. The development of

interest groups and their intervention in the drafting of management plans serves as significant data on the question of preserving open space in urban regions. And second, even when there is a clear federal mandate for the preservation of a natural area outside an urban center, this does not end the controversy over planning.

Research conducted for the Natural Park Service by the author confirms the observation by Whyte and other planners that exemption of land from the market economy only marks the beginning of a new phase of conflict and accommodation (Goldstein, 1975). Later phases of land-use planning are always dependent on institutional arrangements made earlier, but the actual allocation of resources for public use raises new issues as to who shall be the beneficiaries of these policies and who shall change their traditional life style. It also raises new resource management issues. Included are those issues centering on carrying capacities and resource impact. This aspect of land-use planning receives major attention in this Pine Barrens research.

Background and Hypothesis

Settlement of any of the major issues that determine the fate of a natural area hinge on the processes of interest group negotiation, political pressure, trade-offs, and emerging consensus. This study involves federal, state, and local agencies, as well as such an array of interest groups as cranberry and blueberry farmers, local planning bodies, county freeholders, varying kinds of conservation and environmental organizations. The range of negotiations and decision-making in the planning process is thus highly complex. The types of emergent consensus or pressure group processes whereby conflict generates planning

policies is the primary focus of this study. But it must be emphasized that this is a study in which the description of social processes is of primary interest. Consequently, the hypotheses guiding the collection of data is focused upon the social and political interaction generated by participation in interest groups.

A major hypothesis guides the collection and analysis of data:

> As urbanized regions become the focus of environmental conflicts, a wider range of social class groups become involved.

Since the roots of the environmental movement in America is traced back to the conservation and preservation interest groups at the turn of the century (Nash, 1973; Hays, 1972; Marx, 1964), and to the upper class "old wealth" (Hays, 1972), the proponents of conservation and preservation have carried a tradition and image of elitism. Concerns for the preservation of nature and the environment was considered a luxury of the established wealth. Further regions over which environmental conflicts ensued, Hetch Hetchy, for example, were wilderness areas remote from the site or sound of less mobile citizens. In recent decades however, particularly since the technological advance generated by the "machine" of World War II, (Bensman & Vidich: 1971), industrialization has forced changes upon the open landscape as well as upon urban neighborhoods. The more industrialization has changed the geography of urban regions, the greater has been the impact of planning decisions upon the life style of the communities within these regions. Interest group participation in environmental conflicts have moved downward in social class since the turn of the century, adding some of the ranks of the middle classes to the growing membership in voluntary associations

devoted to improvement or preservation of some aspect of the environment, (Sills, 1975; Hornback, 1974; Morrison et al, 1972). This interest group participation in urban regions now included the involvement, at varying levels of activism of relatively low income citizens responding to technological developments with social consequences in urban neighborhoods, (Guseman, 1977).

Although participation in interest groups has moved downward in social class since the turn of the century, leadership in interest groups continue to reflect the highest social class and educational background of those who participate. Participation and leadership may continue to reflect mutually exclusive social groupings. Guseman's (1977) study of an urban black community (in Houston) response to a proposed freeway extention, sought to identify local leadership in terms of social class and education and concluded that leaders evidenced higher socioeconomic statuses.

But while participation and pluralism reflect the kinds and numbers of interest groups centering on a particular issue, the enactment of environmental legislation in general has served to shift the planning and management power towards centralized public institutions, towards state and federal agencies and away from local, private landholders and management, shifting its base from local government and the local elites that control government. The result is that land management and policy becomes a national issue as the attempt is made to preserve open spaces.

Moreover while the centralization of all institutions, both public and private, by the 1970's placed land management disputes at the interface of big business and big government, it is smaller groups and

individuals who act out the human drama. Recent Pine Barrens land ownership investigations, for example, revealed that several New York City banks were behind recent private land acquisitions and holdings. The irony of such an arrangement is best understood against the backdrop of rural populism which governs the ideology of local interest groups discussed in depth in Chapter V, "cleavage and organizational strategy". However, despite the issue of corporate control and conflict, land use planning is nevertheless forged by the social action and processes of interest groups and individuals. It is therefore necessary to study interest group formation, leadership formation, and the political networks to and by which they interconnect.

The methods used for the identification of interest groups and their networks of participation was primarily participant observation with the addition of historical research and the analysis of existing qualitative data. The focus of the research was two-fold: to identify the role and participation of interest groups in forging public policy; and two, placing them within the larger historical, social, economic and political context which serve to determine the fate of an immense tract of open land, within a highly urbanized region.

Participant observation involved attendance at the seemingly endless public hearings conducted by the Department of Environmental Protection concerning the regulations for upgrading of water quality standards, many of which were conducted in local school gynasiums in the Pine Barrens where between 50 and 100 persons testified at length over a five or six hour period. In later meetings, participation included the presentation of testimony before Congressional Sub-Committee both in the Pines and in Washington, D. C. on proposed legislation.

In addition, participant observation covered the range of informal gathering with individuals and groups representing various interest factions. Two Pine Barrens families (a cranberry grower and a local mayor), offered overnight hospitality, both of whom provided informal opportunities to observe life styles and values of long time residents. Similarly, attendance at "Piney" folk music gatherings and picnics permitted observation of culture and life style of this unique Pine Barrens resident while numerous interviews included taping of country music as well.

Interviews were conducted with relevant informants on the Federal, State and local governments including Governor Brendan Byrne, Congressman James Florio, Congresswoman Millicent Fenwick, Congressman Frank Thompson Jr., Assemblyman Charles Yates, Mayor Floyd West. Although unable for health reasons, Congressman Forsythe was unable to fulfill an interview, his staff provided four hours of tapes from a Pine Barrens conference.

Further interviews included the Commissioner of Agriculture, Deputy Commissioners of Environmental Protection, former Commissioners of Transportation, and, Labor and Industry, prosecutors in the Attorney General's office, and the Director of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, the Department of Interior; leaders and representatives of local planning bodies, including J. Garfield DeMarco, Chairman of the Pinelands Environmental Council, and several conservationists who were members of the P.E.C.

The lengthy list of persons interviewed for this study is almost too numerous to itemize. There included farmers who represent the

New Jersey cranberry and blueberry industry; mayors of local townships; local county planners; representatives of various conservation and environmental organizations, the Pinelands Cultural Society, and, local radio and newspaper journalists.

The purpose of these interviews and observations was to identify relevant interest groups and leaders, to determine the basis of their ideological differences, and thirdly, to evaluate the overall impact of these components on planning goals, processes and outcomes.

The historical analysis required a search of literature on the historical records and documents which cover the three hundred years of history related in Chapter II. Here analysis raised the question: how did a rural region retain its character in the midst of a rapidly industrializing era and region?

Interviews, content analysis of planning documents, master plans and legislation provided data for Chapter III on the Jetport Controversy. The latter era, that of the 1970's, is ongoing and reaches a political climax in 1977 as a key campaign issue of the New Jersey gubernatorial elections. In this sense, the research was live in that it took place while the event was in progress. Moreover, in the second year of field work, the author entered into a participatory role with respect to planning and management organizations, serving as a member of the newly formed Pine Barrens Coalition. Later, she was appointed by the Governor to serve on the Pinelands Review Committee, and requested by Congressman Florio to serve as expert witness before hearings of the House Interior Sub-Committee and Congressman Forsythe to serve in a similar capacity before the Fish and Wildlife Subcommittee.

The content of the study thus centers on a two-fold focus as previously noted: to identify the role and participation of interest groups in forming environmental policy; and two, placing within an historical context, the social, economic and political institutions and trends which serve to determine the basis of interest group formation. The second point in turn may serve as well to help us understand the fate of an immense tract of open land, a natural resource located within a highly urbanized region in the northeastern United States. To that research end the study is developed along the following chapter organization.

Chapter II, Early Settlements and Technological Change, examines the question of historical change. This chapter serves to explain not why the region has changed over the past 300 years, but the contrary, why it was not transformed into cities and factories as did most of the surrounding regions in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York. Since the natural state of the Pine Barrens is a key factor in the conflict over land use and land use planning, the historical portrait of a rural setting provides the framework for social arrangements and networks which act upon modern disputes and interest group formations.

In the following chapter, Chapter III, The Pine Barrens in the 1960's Conflicts Between Conservation and Development Policies, Post World War II Pine Barrens is explored through the emergence of environmental conflicts. These conflicts coincide with a technological revolution spurred by the development of new technologies which began to transform isolated rural communities. Modern environmental conflicts begin with the 1960's, the proposed Jetport and a New City planned for

200,000 people. This chapter examines the emergence of suburban interest groups and their impact upon political structures within state government. Chapter IV, Water and Land: Cranberries and Housing, focuses upon the natural resources as motivation for conflict over control.

Chapter V, Cleavage and Organization Strategy centers on the transformation of interest groups into planning bodies and on the development of specific planning goals and ends. The second era of conflict brings together the divergent goals and plans of farmers, state and local officials, federal agencies, legislators, politicians, conservationists and environmentalists into an ever-expanding pluralism. New interest groups are identified and political alignments sorted out and analyzed.

The question of social planning decisions in land use is posed against the ideology of the individual and of the voluntary land management. In the light of these considerations land use systems, Chapter VI, Emerging Institutional Arrangements for the Institution of Land Use Policy returns to the Pine Barrens and discusses land and water regulations and the growing drafts of legislation which attempt to forge and institute local, state and federal land use policies. The emerging pattern of local (and therefore, individual control) in rigorous conflict with larger scale social planning by higher levels of government agencies is presented in the concluding chapter.

The Land Ethic and Social Change, Chapter VII examines those social and political formations which have helped to shape the land use conflicts and public policies of the northeast, urbanized regions, and in particular The Pine Barrens

Beginning with the turn of the century formation of public policy on conservation and preservation issues, this chapter traces the emerging pluralism of interest groups and the downward shift in social class participation as industrialization and suburban growth overtakes older agricultural systems and impacts upon rural, agricultural societies within the region.

PART I

POPULATION AND THE HUMAN ECOLOGY OF THE PINE BARRENS

Part I of this study presents the social and ecological setting of the evolvement of the Pine Barrens and the people of the Pines within a historical perspective.

Its three hundred year history, beginning with the rural isolation of the Seventeenth Century entails the growth of and subsequent decline of industrial development in the Nineteenth Century. Patterns of land use and life styles which emerged during this industrial decline, set the stage for the 1960's when a variety of interest groups, began to organize in the Pine Barrens and to struggle over emerging issues of conservation and development. The isolation of the region was ultimately penetrated by commercial and industrial expansion and suburbanization within the Northeast region. The response to these changes is the formation of interest groups and activities which sought to limit or expand the commercial conversion of farmland and woodland.

CHAPTER II

EARLY SETTLEMENTS AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

> "... (the land) is replenished with the goodliest woods of oaks and all timbers for ships and masts, mulberries, sweet cypresse, pines and firres ..." (Observation of South Jersey, 1648; Heston, 1924 History of South Jersey).

This description of the Province of New Albion, now known as South Jersey was published in London in 1648, and with a few exceptions, the 17th century observations continue to be reported of the Pine Barrens region today. The forests, the rich woods of oak, pine and cypresses have been exhalted in writing for at least three hundred years. In 1680, for example, a Quaker named Mahlon Stacy from Burlington (New Jersey) to his family in England:

> "We have from the time called May to Michaelmas great store of very wild fruits, as strawberries, cranberries, and hortleberries, which are like our blueberries in England... Indeed, the country take it as a wilderness is a brave country...and more wood than some would have upon their land." (Heston, 1924:11)

More than 200 years later, in 1889, Gustave Kobbe described the same countryside as the wilderness Stacy detailed in his New Jersey correspondence with only the hint of human settlements:

> "The Pines are the wildest portion of the State and except for the settlements along the railroad, the forest is broken only by a few lonely roads, almost abandoned old-time stage routes and lumber tracks; by narrow, swift, resinour-colored streams flowing silently through the colonnades of pines, or the gloomy labyrinths of cedar swamps toward the system of baysto the east..." (Kobbe, 1889:85)

Finally, in 1967, McPhee's opening passage in The Pine Barrens titled, "The Woods from Hog Wallow," describes a wilderness which is still omnipresent:

> "... forest land reaches to the horizon. The trees are mainly oaks and pines, and the pines predominate. Occasionally, there are long, dark, serrated stands of Atlantic white cedars, so tall and so closely set that they seem to spread against the sky on the ridges of hills, when in fact they grow along streams that flow through the forest." (McPhee, 1967:1).

How is it that a wilderness can be tucked within the southern corridor of the most industrialized state in the nation requires explanation that must be found in the 300 years of its recorded history.

Just how does a region, neatly set within the northeast corridor between Boston and Washington sustain a low population density (approximately, 2 per 100 acres) within a natural area of some six hundred and fifty thousand acres? By what plan or perhaps unintended consequences have the Pine Barrens region seemingly bypassed 20th century industrialization, the development of cities, and even of towns of 10,000 or more citizens and remain a wilderness? The answers to these questions begins with the description of the geographic, social and political boundaries of the Pine Barrens.

Descriptions of Boundaries: The Pine Barrens

The Piney region is an island of sand, swamp, and scrub timber isolated between the rich alluvial truck-farming district along the Delaware River and the bustling and prosperous seashore resorts. (Halpert, 1947:15).

Its geographical boundaries but across at least two southern New Jersey counties, Burlington and Ocean, and can be defined by either Criteria of, (1) vegetation (2) the flow of rivers, or, (3) by roads and highways, depending upon the person employing the Criteria. Some point out that isolation itself defines the parameters of the Pines. An assemblyman from Ocean County suggests that "if there are no houses - you can yell and nobody hears you. That definition fits the Pine Barrens." Assemblyman Doyle, who has spent some of his time exploring the Pine Barrens, raises the question:

> "What is the Pines"? No one agrees on a geographic definition. I've always defined it geographically - not according to flaura. Its bounded by Route 206, 70, Black Horse Pike in the South and the Garden State Parkway. I realize that's a little broad. On a road map its the biggest white spot in the state."

J. Garfield DeMarco, a major cranberry grower and chairman of the Pinelands Environmental Council agrees that if flora were the criteria of boundaries, it would include all of South Jersey; but he chooses rivers and roads as parameters.

Sam Hunt, a Piney resident, defined the Pine Barrens as emanating out from its center, the Forked River Mountains:

> "Well, you're right in the middle of it. Whichever you go. You go to the south, you go to the West, you get to the Parkway, you'll go twenty miles West and you'll still be in the Pine Barrens."

For Joe Albert, another Piney, the Forked River Mountains is the center; but it is also a landmark for his own property and cabin in the woods:

> "Back of me there's a tract of land 14 acres - nothing but pines, that's all it is - pines and scrub oaks. Forked River Mountains sits right in the middle of it."

Roughly speaking, the Pines covers one-third of the state and includes a narrow strip of land in Monmouth County just south of a rich farming belt, nearly all of the Ocean County, and the eastern part of Burlington County. The entire region continues south of the Mullica River, which in itself forms a boundary based upon soil composition and historical development.

According to land use potential for agriculture, the area north of Mullica River is considered distinct from the area to the south. North of the River the Lakewood Sand is the poorest, low in organic matter and mineral content, while in the area to the south Sassafras soils predominate. Moreover, transportation is more developed in the south along the route from Philadelphia to Atlantic City. (Halpert, 1947:16).

These two environmental distinctions, the potentiality of the soil to support agricultural development, and, the accessibility of transportation to centers of commerce and industry have contributed to the stasis of the region over the period of its recorded history.

Heston, in 1924, comments on the timelessness of the geology and the traditions which chronicle the environment:

> "Here on the same rolling hills as elsewhere in South Jersey, with apparently the same soil, is a stunted growth of pine, laurel, vines and other scrubs such as might be found in Labrador or above the timber line on a mountain side. What causes it, no scientist has been able to tell...The tradition is that the first white men found these Plains as they

> are today, and were told by the Indians that their traditions did not go beyond their presence." (Heston, 1924, Vol. I:201).

For a working definition of the parameters of the Pine Barrens, we can end up by selecting the official boundaries established by the legislation creating the Pinelands Environmental Council in January, 1973. Labelled as "the Pinelands" the area designated is considerably smaller than had previously been defined and limits the area to the lowest density, central portion, part of Ocean County and a larger part of Burlington County: 13:18-6 Pinelands Region.

The Pinelands regions shall consist of the following:

> In Ocean County: All of Little Egg Harbor, Eagleswood, Stafford, Union, Ocean and Lacey Townships located westwardly of the Garden State Parkway, all of Manchester Township lying within the Lebanon State Forest, and all additional portions of Manchester Township lying southwardly of the line of right-of-way of the Toms River Branch of the Penn Central Railroad running westwardly from its junction with the Berkeley Township line to the Fort Dix Military Reservation boundary, and thence westwardly along the southern boundary of the military reservation to the Lebanon State Forest.
>
> In Burlington County: All of Washington and Bass River Townships, all of Medford, Shamong and Tabernacle Townships lying within the Wharton State Forest, and all of Pemberton Township lying within the Lebanon State Forest. Also included would be all of Woodland-Tabernacle township line and Burlington County Route 532 to the center of the Four Mile Circle.
>
> This act shall not be construed to apply to lands owned by the State of New Jersey. (Supplement to the Plan for the Pinelands, P.E.C. 1975:63).

What this amounts to is the most sparsely populated part of the Pine Barrens, the central part which is comprised of the souther two-fifths of Burlington County and the Adjacent one-fourth of Ocean County, which, the Plan for the Pinelands notes is the area "fortunate not to have attracted development in the past." (Plan for Pinelands:5) Approximately 320,000 acres are included, about one-fourth of the state wide P ne Barrens total of 1,300,000 acres. The following map illustrates the portion of the Pinelands as the core of a much larger region if the region is defined by vegetation alone.

The "official" boundary is also the most political social and economic boundary, based not on rivers or roads or on the low Forked River Mountain, but on ownership, power and the availability of open space for development.

But before we can understand the politics of the current boundaries, the history of the region must serve to explain the unique condition of the Pine Barrens and its people.

Early History

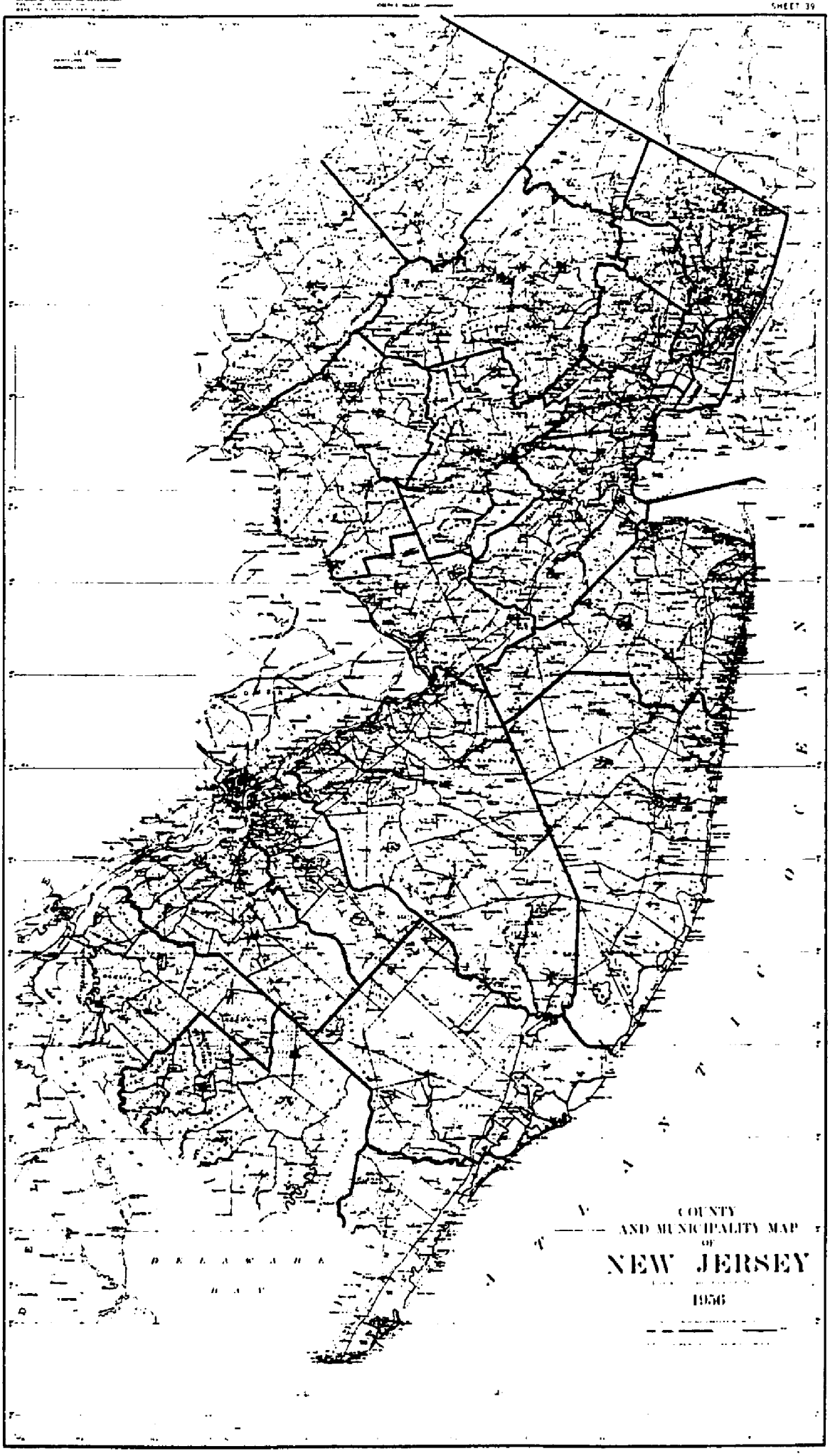
Indians: Though the early presence of Indian settlements cannot be fixed in time, their absence from the landscape came soon after the first white settler began to trade land rights for "worthless trinkets" not unlike the famous purchase of Manhattan. The white settlers of the Pine Barrens region who appear to have begun to settle on the fertile knolls along the bays and streams between the years 1665 and 1700 found evidence of previous inhabitants but only small numbers of Indians. Their style of living with the land and the seasons by cultivating native corn (maize) and beans, fishing for clams and oysters,

hunting deer, rabbits, partridge, quail, prairie chicken and wild fowl was lost when they exchanged land rights, a European cultural of land ownership which restricted its use. Though they did not pursue a line of active resistance (or none that Quaker records describe) the Edge-Pillock tribe of the Delawares became part of the first Indian reservation in the country at Indian Mills in Burlington County, just across the Ocean County line. By 1802, the Delawares ceded their lands to the state of New Jersey, and were removed to the Oneida Reservation in New York State. (Heston; 1924:204).

In many respects, throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, residents of the region, and particularly people who live in the woods, Pineys, have retained the Indian lifestyle of living with the land and the seasons. But only the names of some creeks and rivers serve as signposts of the early Indian existence: Manahawkin, Manasquan, Metedeconk, and Westeconk (now known as West Creek). (Heston, 1921:204).

Descendants of some Delaware Indians remained in the Pines, but their social organization and identity and their histories became vertically indistinguishable from other groups who came afterwards. According to the History of Little Egg Harbor Township, 1880, the last Indian was Elisha Ashatama who refused to move to a reservation. During the War of 1812 Elisha supposedly served on the Chesapeake. Gone for five years, his wife thought herself a widow, married a mullato, and "become a mother of a child in whose veins coursed the blood of three races."

Heston comments that there are still families among the old


STATE OF NEW JERSEY
DEPARTMENT OF CONSERVATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
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COUNTY
AND MUNICIPALITY MAP
OF
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BAY
ATLANTIC
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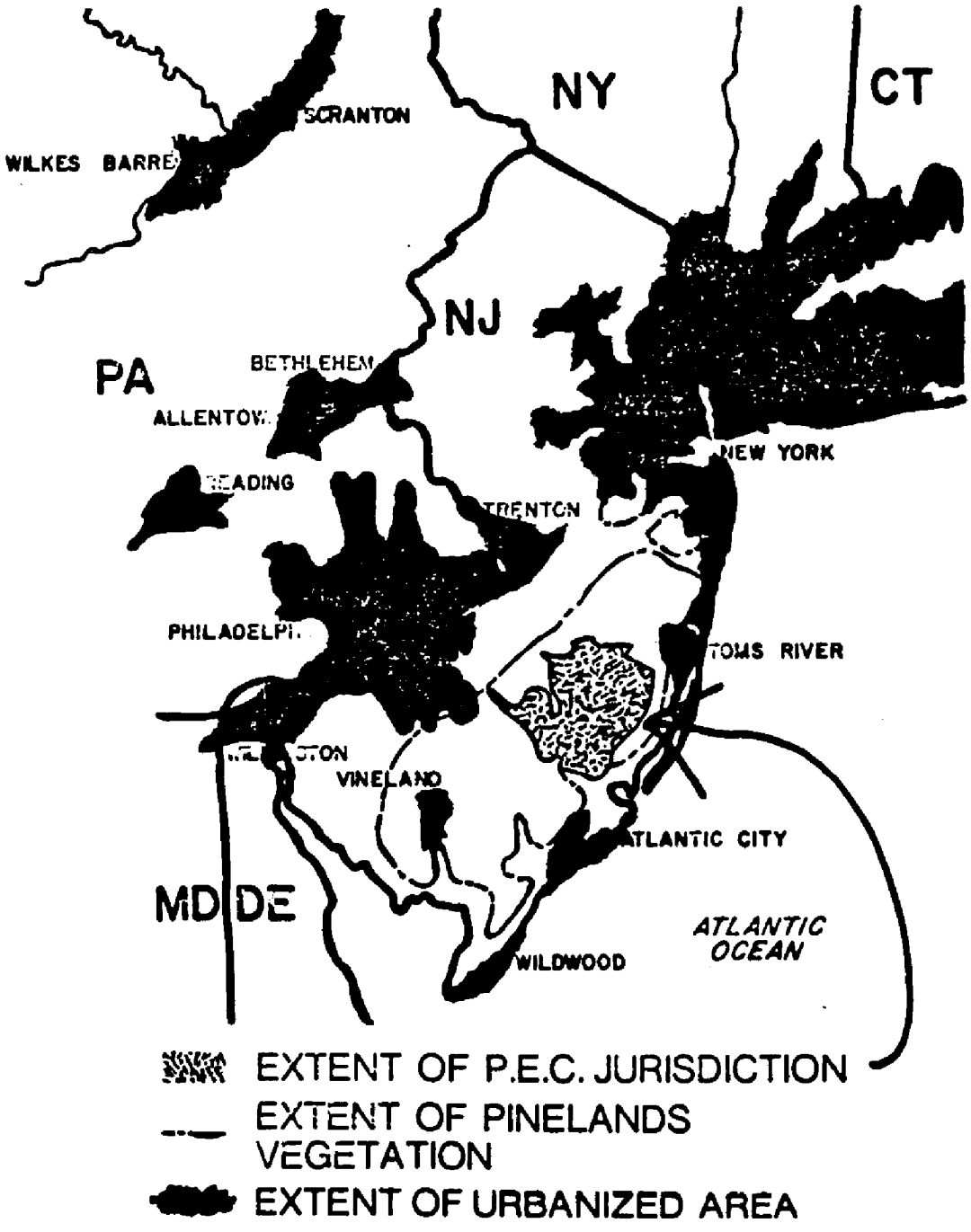
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VINELAND
ATLANTIC CITY
MD
DE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
WILDWOOD
EXTENT OF P.E.C. JURISDICTION
EXTENT OF PINELANDS VEGETATION
EXTENT OF URBANIZED AREA

residents "in whose straight black hair, keen black eyes, swarthy skin and high cheekbones are evidence to back up the family tradition of Indian blood ..." (Heston, 1924:205).

Gladys Eayre, a current Piney resident relates the following tale of her family hisotry which suggests that Indians were not so much eliminated as erased from family histories.

> "Family came - late 1600's. I don't think they made the Mayflower, but like I said my father's ancestors were sea captains originally and they came here from the whaling industry. They see a place so they stop. Some stayed on the shore and some went inland. The one that stayed on the shore, he went inland too - he married an Indian. And we can't find any record of him - he was blackballed - he came down here to live. There's all the other names but his. They just took his name right off the record."

Quakers

Early Quaker records noted births, marriages, deaths within Quaker settlements and provide the most detailed history of Little Egg Harbor Township (originally in Burlington County and gerrymandered to Ocean County in 1891).

The name, Little Egg Harbor itself pre-dates the Quakers and was more the folly of the Dutch explorer, Captain Mey who had sighted the harbor while hundreds of wild birds were nesting and named it accordingly.

But the area itself was settled by Quakers or Friends who themselves had bought the land from the Quaker proprietors. In other areas, the early settlers were squatters in the sense that they occupied the land without title. The first residents were whalemen from Long Island, after "oyle and bone", who in turn had moved southward from Nantucket

and Martha's Vineyard. They tended to settle along the coastal areas.

The Quaker settlers in the Seventeenth century were English. Quakers were largely from the east coast of Monmouthshire and some travelled along the Delaware River and landed in Quaker colonies along the bay region. Water, the sea and the river were the main forms of migration and later was to serve as the center for the transportation of commerce.

Land travel was restricted to Indian trails and later coach transportation was hindered by the soft sandy roads.

Isolated farmsteads became hamlets during the years 1700 and 1740 while milldams and gristmills were built. Commerce centered on water transportation. Settlers could trade by boat with New York, shipping lumber, furs, salt fish, rye and Indian corn, oysters and clams. Furs from the "varmints" trapped by the boys helped keep them warm in winter and could be traded in New York or Philadelphia for necessities.

Shipbuilding became an important industry in Little Egg Harbor but communities remained nevertheless small, isolated and without the institutional development of churches and schools.

Late in 1745, the Reverend Thomas Thompson who was sent to America as a missionary by the Society for the Propogation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts wrote in his journal:

> "From Manasquan, for twenty miles further on in the country, is all one pine forest... The inhibatitants are thinly scattered in regions of solid wood. Some are decent people who have lived in better places, but those who were born and bred here have neither religion nor manners, and do not know so much as a

> letter in a book. As Quakerism is the name under which all those in America shade themselves that have brought up to none, but would be thought to be of some religion so these poor people call themselves Quakers... (Heston, 1924:310).

The low density of population, the tiny hamlets and poor roads kept the inland settlements from developing into towns. By the beginning of the American Revolution, what is now Ocean County consisted of a few hundred families, scattered along the bay, each with their own farm, now and then a blacksmith, tavern keep, ship builder or merchant but certainly not a church or pastor. The water network, by contrast, is an interweaving of rivers and bays. Part of the waters of Ocean County drain into the Atlantic Ocean via Barnegat Bay; part flow east to the Delaware, and some go west then south and join the Mullica River, flowing into Great Bay and then through New Inlet, to the Ocean.

During the American Revolution, privateering involved preying on British ships, Jersey boats were able to escape into the Mullica River and transport their goods to Philadelphia.

Heston sees the act of Privateering as one more act of extraordinarily independent people who were either themselves dissenters and rebellious against established religion in England or New England with its Puritan Code; French Huegenots, and Baptist and Presbyterian dissenters. (Heston, 1924:217).

The American Revolution engaged the Quakers in the War and many turned away from their religion. Moreover, while the Church of England and the Presbyterian Church were the first to send missionaries into

the pines in Colonial days, neither church could gain a foothold to establish a building or a society.

The Presbyterian Church gained a toehold in 1841, but it was not until after the Civil War that the Episcopal Church established itself, and not till a decade later that the Catholic Church moved into the country. Methodist circuit riders travelled through the Pines and competed with the Morman Church which, in the first half of the nineteenth century, began meetings in a schoolhouse at New Egypt. Isolation did not lend itself to the building of churches or schools, social institutions which grow with them and provide social centers. Though commerce along waterways was central to the development of cities in Medieval Europe, neither towns let along cities - were to develop in the Pines Region, because industry itself centered on inland rural activities such as, fisheries, farming, trapping and lumbering. These activities require small clusters of people, probably in a family unit, and need to be carried out in or near the woods rather than in a town. Transportation and sale of these products would require an occasional trek through the woods, but the main day-to-day activities were in the forests and bays. The most permanent structures at this point were inns or hotels set along the old stage roads.

The Blue Anchor was one central point "where people from different parts of the country could be seen almost every day...a place where entertainment for man and beast was always the best." The Blue Anchor had rooms for sportsmen after deer and bear, oystermen and fish dealers ...and land speculators congregated in the bar room.

Bodines, near the Wading River and Martha's Furnace, was the most popular tavern of the 18th century.

Taverns played a significantly different role in the 18th and 19th centuries serving as the social center for town meetings, military training and recruiting, town meetings and town hall, voting and polling headquarters, and finally, as a dispensary of spirits (Fowler & Herbert, 1976:5). While these inn based centers of social and commercial life remained along the rivers and forests, separate towns were simply unnecessary to provide the setting for these functions of social interaction.

The iron industry created forge settlements which providing iron ore for cannons during the American Revolution. Ships and schooners were needed to carry the pig iron to New York, and shipbuilding expanded as an industry.

Carpentry and pinewood charring, for the processing of charcoal were occupations which developed to meet the needs of the iron smelting. Charcoal burning is still being done along with carpentry at the present time. At present charcoal burning and woodwork are primarily done by individuals and continues within the woods. Towns or cities are not required in order to pursue these activities though ultimately their products were shipped to cities.

The iron business resulted in the depletion of pinewood, the carving of some roads through the pines and introduced the first forested industrialists to the region. General John Lacey built the first forge at Ferrago (now known as Bamber).

Martha's Furnace was built in 1793 by Isaac Potts, and is apparently named after his wife. It was in Burlington County, located on the East Branch of the Wading River (also known as the Oswego River) about two miles above the forks, up to which point scows could be navigated,

or four miles above the head of navigation at Leeks Landing, where the coasting schooners from Philadelphia and New York tied up. (Moore, 1946:6).

The town included a blacksmith shop, the carpenter or pattern shop, the warehouse and the casting shed, all of which clustered about the furnace. Beyond the furnace was a dam that backed up the river water to make a pond about two miles long along the pond much of the ore was carted on boats. The dam, in addition to running the wheel for the bellows, furnished the power that operated the saw mill, the nearby grist mill, and the stamping mill.

The records show that the grist mill and saw mill both antedated the furnace by about 40 years, which indicates that some settlement existed there before it was called Martha's Furnace, the settlement was possibly a lumber operation. A journal of operations between the years 1809 and 1815 written by the iron-master's clerk, Caleb Earl, indicated that the town contained 400 people, supported a schoolhouse and a hospital company store. Beyond the Martha activity was the woods operation that supported the ore-raisers. Included were the lumbermen and the charcoal burners, together with the teamsters who carted the oyster and clam shells up from the landings and took the finished product back to Leeks Landing for shipment to New York and Philadelphia in schooners.

Pine Barrens furnace towns were not self supporting, the soil did not lend itself to farming or grazing. Virtually all food-stuffs had to be brought in from the outside.

The entire Pine Barrens region on the Wading River and Mullica River watersheds, and around the headwaters of the Rancocas, was filled

with prosperous furnace towns. But everything depended on the iron industry. And iron remained king until anthracite was discovered in Pennsylvania, along with valuable deposits of iron ore which proved better than the Jersey bog ores.

Methods of reducing this ore with anthracite-fired furnaces were perfected at about 1840. An iron industry started up immediately in Pennsylvania with which the bog ore industry could not compete. In ten years the South Jersey furnaces went out of blast for all times. And as the land in the Pine Barrens was unable to support their population in them, the towns were deserted. Schooner traffic fell, and the whole area reverted to a primitive state. All vestiges of towns have long since disappeared, though the paper and glass industries which grew up with the iron business hung on for a while.

In this sense, the low density, relatively stable populations and self-limiting industry have served to maintain at low levels of development a continuity over time which has been relatively undisturbed until the last decade. Industries, which might have germinated towns or cities did not last. Now immigrants were not attracted to the area; and resources were inevitably exhausted, overextended and market demand was met in other regions.

For example, shipbuilding receded when more trees were cut down than could be replaced in sufficient time to meet the demand, and the entire operation moved on to the forests of Maine.

The iron industry reached its peak in the years immediately following the War of 1812 and then declined with the introduction of the railroad which allowed for transportation of iron from the seemingly limitless supplies in Pennsylvania.

Once they had moved in a downward swing, the industries died leaving behind the bare structures of ghost settlements throughout the Pines, and nothing replaced them. Martha's Furnace, established in 1793, is little more than a plot of ground. A mile and half north is the Wading River ghost town, the paper mill town of Harrisville. Situated off route 363 between Hog Wallow and New Gretna in Bass River Township, Harrisville was a paper producing town which for a while followed in industrial succession after the decline of Martha's Furnace.

The town and its paper mill producing butcher paper were reported in fine working order at least up through 1877. Shortly thereafter, financial difficulties started to beset the town. With the mill now over a half century old, the Harris's began to feel the effects of competition from more modern mills producing a greater variety and better grade of paper. Their financial troubles reached a head on October of 1888 when the company was reorganized. (Fowler & Herbert, 1976:9).

The New Era

Following the War of 1812 and up to and after the Civil War, the industry of the shore may be said to have been based on shipping and ship building. The iron masters had to ship their iron to New York by vessel along with fish, clams and oysters and farm products. Pinewood trade shipped to New York and charcoal burner - the pine wood being burnt into charcoal before it was shipped to New York.

Trade not going to New York by ship went across the pine belt by sandy roads to Burlington County farming sections, to Trenton or Philadelphia carrying fish or oysters, but commerce by wagons was

small compared to vessel. The height of pinewood and charcoal trade was just before the Civil War, when it was said that at Toms River along as many as fifth or sixty small schooners might be found at one time. The little settlements of Revolutionary times grew slowly into hamlets and villages, but the country remained backwood in fact and in flavor until after the Civil War. Habits, customs, languages, songs, jokes, riddles, and dances, that had been brought over from England before 1700, could easily have been found after the Civil War in any part of the county. The churches were the first wave that swept over the backwoods.

In summary, forge and furnace communities grew in Ocean and Burlington Counties between 1971 and 1815, a period of twenty four years, but by 1840 a better grade of iron ore was found in Pennsylvania free from sulphur and near large deposits of coal and limestone. In addition, improved methods of smelting were being utilized and from 1864 to 1854, the conditions grew so critical that the industry disappeared. But charcoal burning,which had served as fuel for the iron industry continued to serve energy needs of big cities between 1830 and 1840. New York City was asking for charcoal by the boatload during the peak of that operation. But once again Pennsylvania absorbed the industry by producing coal in sufficient quantities to shift the energy use from charcoal to coal, and a second industry disappeared from the Pines.

Glass manufacturing had an equally brief life. A plant known as the Atlantic Glass Works was erected and operated between 1851 and 1866.

Then too came the railroad. The Raritan and Delaware Bay Railroad had been laid to Manchester. Sea captains of Toms River, Forked River, Waretown, and Barnegat with wealth started the Ocean County National

Bank. A land boom rose at the conclusion of the Civil War and was snuffed out five or six years later in the panic of the seventies.

Real estate speculators from Jersey City bought a tract of land at Toms River village and in 1869, 70, 71, sold off lots and built a large summer hotel on the river bank. This was the beginning of the tourist industry for Ocean County while Burlington County was developing their cranberry industry.

Cranberries had been growing wild in the bogs since the time of the Indians, but it was not until after the Civil War and the demise of the forge and furnace industries that the culture of cranberries began in seriousness and a land boom began. Swampland was selling for $100 per acre until the panic of 1873, when the bottom dropped out of the boom.

For all practical purposes, the pine barrens had had their industrial revolution in the eighteenth century and was on a descendent path industrially as early as the mid-nineteenth century when other regions, particularly in Pennsylvania were ascending. This was the result of several factors: for one, technological change continually moved beyond the resources of those who cultivated the region. Communities, such as Harrisville, were early company towns based on a single product, which, when no longer viable, ended the economic and social basis of the town. Even in their prime, those forge furnace, paper and glass towns were never self sufficient. No secondary industries were developed: significantly, the acid composition of the soil persistantly defied agricultural development. In that sense, they were comparable to cities in their dependency upon an extended agricultural belt for their food: but unlike the large cities, these towns

did not have a variety of products and industries to fall back on as technology shifted and their economy became obsolete. The small Pennsylvania mining towns, once rural and wooded like the Pine Barrens, became coal towns and later steel towns and moved in an industrial succession from which the Pine Barrens receded. In terms of time, the descendent economic path occurred within a forty year span.

The following chart illustrates the rise and fall of the iron forge communities and the brief time span involved.

Impact of Industrial Decline

Population: The descendants of the glassworkers and the furnace workers had moved from these once active settlements to live in small houses scattered through the pines, in or near towns such as Brown's Mills or Chatsworth. Still others travelled further to small towns in the farm belt just outside the district, Buddtown, Magnolia, Cookstown (a black community), and New Egypt, or further towards the shore in Ocean County to Tom's River, Waretown and Tuckerton.

The census of 1905 compared with five years earlier, 1900, shows a consistent decline in population in all townships and boroughs located within the current Pinelands boundary. (State of New Jersey, Department of State, Census Bureau Compendium of Census 1726-1905 together with tabulated returns of 1905. S.D. Dickinson, Secretary of State, Trenton, New Jersey. The John L. Murphy Publishing Company Printers, 1906). The numbers were small to begin with. Little Egg Harbor Township went down from 1,865 to 517 in that five year period. Ten of the fourteen townships show a population decline between 1875 and 1895, and over a fifty year period, from 1855 to 1905, in each town-

CHART I

IRON FORGE COMMUNITIES

NEW JERSEY PINE BARRENS

Community	Location	Inception	Decline
	BURLINGTON COUNTY		CIRCA
Martha's Furnace	Wading River, 2 miles above Harrisville	1793	1847
Hanover Furnace	Pemberton Township	1791	
Speedwell	4 miles south of Chatsworth	1793	
Wading River Forge and Slitting Mill	Harrisville	1793	
Stafford Forge	New Mills, Pemberton	1800	
	ORANGE COUNTY		
Federal Furnace	Lakehurst	1789	
Ferrage (Bamber)	Bamber	1809	
Dover Forge	4 miles from Ferrago	1809	
Phoenix Forge	New Mills	1815	

ship where figures exist, the population is greater in 1855 than it is 1905. Chart II and III presents this data.

Those who had moved further into the woods were no doubt undercounted, and it is difficult to estimate the number of people who were or became "Pineys", those from whom life style evovled in which a cycle of hunting and gathering ensued in the Pines. They hunted deer in the winter and gathered berries, cranberrics and blueberries and sold hay during other times of the year. They traded some of the fruits their hunting and gathering but they primarily live in a subsistence economy. Their life style reflected that of seventeenth century and the early indians before the rise and fall of industries in their area.

It is at this point, at the decline of the industrial activity in the Pinelands region that schemes to exploit the land and water begin to take root. In 1876, Joseph Wharton, a Philadelphia industrialist purchased the Batsto Estate. After he gathered parcels of land until more than 96,000 acres had been accumulated, he proposed to pipe its voluminous ground water supply, the aquifir, to Philadelphia as a new source of water for that city, but New Jersey legislature intervened and the project was shelved.

The state began acquiring lands in the Pine Barrens and creating public recreational areas. Lebanon State Forest was established in 1908 and covered 22,185 acres of forest land in Burlington and Ocean Counties; then, Bass River, 9,270 acres was established in 1905 and Penn State, 2,958 acres in 1910.

World War I brought an unexpected and abrupt change for the region and its people: Fort Dix was built in 1917. The building of this major

CHART II

CHANGE IN PINE BARRENS POPULATION

1900-1905

BURLINGTON COUNTY Townships	1900	%	1905	%	% Difference
Bass River	800	1.4	728	1.1	0.3
Medford	1,969	2.6	2,030	2.7	+0.1
Pemberton	1,493	2.5	1,706	2.7	+0.2
Shamong	910	1.6	508	0.8	0.8
Tabernacle	-		462 (Inc. 1901)		
Washington	617	1.0	678	0.9	-0.1
Woodland	398	0.7	413	0.6	-0.1
County N =	58,211		62,042		
OCEAN COUNTY Townships					
Eagleswood	563	2.8	534	2.5	-0.3
Manchester	718	3.6	653	3.1	-0.5
Ocean	436	3.3	509	2.0	-0.2
Stafford	1,009	5.1	994	4.8	-0.3
Union	955	4.3	913	4.4	-0.4
Little Egg Harbor	1,856	9.4	517	3.6	-6.9
County N =	19,747		20,880		

Source: Census: 1900-1905
State of New Jersey, Department of State Census Bureau

CHART III

CHANGE IN PINE BARRENS POPULATION
FROM CIVIL WAR TO TURN OF CENTURY
1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900

BURLINGTON COUNTY

Townships	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	% Difference
Bass River	-	807	1,001	853	800	
Medford	2,136	2,189	1,980	1,864	1,969	-0.6
Pemberton	2,672	1,946	2,086	1,805	1,493	-2.5
Shamong	1,008	1,149	1,097	958	910	-0.3
Tabernacle	-	Inc. 1901				
Washington	1,728	609	889	310	617	-2.3
Woodland	-	389	325	327	398	
County N =	49,730	53,639	55,402	58,523	52,841	

OCEAN COUNTY

Townships						
Eagleswood	-	-	592	791	563	
Lacy	-	-	814	711	718	
Manchester	-	1,102	1,057	1,057	1,033	
Ocean	-	-	-	-	-	
Stafford	-	-	484	482	436	
Union	1,918	1,923	1,024	1,063	955	-12.3
Little Egg Harbor	-	-	-	-	1,856	
County N =	11,176	13,628	14,455	15,974	19,747	

Source: State of New Jersey, Department of State, Census Bureau Compensium of Census 1726-1905 together with Tabulated Returns of 1905.

of this major military base, (currently about 55 square miles) of the town of Hanover and the dislocation of some of the people resulted in the destruction of the region. The Fort also became a source of jobs for Pineys and Bayshackers (those who lived in the villages closer to the bay). "Uncle" Bill Britten was a carpenter for the military base: Gladys Eayre told of driving trucks for the army at the Fort; and Sam Hunt worked for the State (actually the county) repairing roads. The introduction of the outside world through the presence of both the military camps, the Lakehurst Naval Air Station was commissioned in 1921, brought down the seal of isolation for the region.

The use of the automobile brought a change in the system of transportation. Ocean County was no longer a seafaring community but a resort area. In the decade of 1910 to 1920, the neighborhood around Toms River grew rapidly; Ocean Gate, Pine Beach and Beachwood, Seaside Heights Bay Head and Mantaloking, emerged as beach resort towns. Though a portion of these areas are not now considered part of the Pine Barrens, created a border of population and activity. The census in Ocean indicated the automobile created resort towns, a doubling of population from 1850 to 1920, from 10,043 to 22,155.

May West recalls the change:

> "At one time you could drive all the way from the Mullica River to Tom's River and never see a house."

The Pennsylvania Railroad extended its line from Whitings to Toms River and steamboats were put on Toms River to connect with Island Heights and Seaside Park.

Inland however, the chief economic activity was agriculture, and agriculture was declining. The 1923 Soil Survey of the Chatsworth area reported a decreasing number of farms as farmers recognized that the land could support only cranberry and blueberry crops. (Plan for the Pinelands, 1975:54). The question remained: how to make the land pay off financially. Lots were subdivided and sold to immigrants in cities during the 1920's to induce them to own "their piece of the country." During the 1930's much of the Pine Barrens were taken off the tax rolls - if it had ever been on. The state held certificates of tax liens. The so-called "immigrant"- owned-land was ignored understandably during the Depression but as original owners began to die their survivors were unaware of the earlier transactions. The result was spurious ownership, both by the state and private citizens. This led to schemes of land fraud which resulted in legal investigation in the 1970's when land once again held promise of yielding economic reward.

Summary

The fact that the Pine Barrens retains the characteristics of a wilderness is more the product of geographic, and geologic factor that limited the subsequent social organization. Its social character is an unintended consequence of these delimitations.

Despite a 300 year history, neither cities, substantial towns, heavy industry, service industries or mixed agriculture are in evidence; but this result is not the product of rational planning and the policies of conservationists. It is much more the end result of trial and error and short term planning on the part of businessmen, land speculators, capitalists who did not have to oppose a conservation or

ecology movement in order to over-extend the resources. It is only in the 1960's and 1970's that social conflict and the politics of land use emerge to determine the ultimate fate of the Pine Barrens: Up until this point, the land itself has controlled the amount and direction of growth - or non-growth, and so that extent, the nature of the social organization of those who have lived within the Pinelands.

CHAPTER III

THE PINE BARRENS IN THE 1960's:

CONFLICTS BETWEEN CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

> "Since the beginning of World War II, the American Society has been changing continuously. This change has been in direction as well as rate. The total amount of change has been so vast and radical that it can only be recognized as a social and cultural revolution." (Bensman & Vidich, 1971:5).

New technology and automation generated by the requirements of war production during World War II and by post war prosperity produced a long range revolution in the American Society of the 1950's and 60's.

The four major causal factors of the "new society" were: tremendous increase in productivity due to automation; the continuous growth of industrialization and the greater productivity of capital; increase in productivity achieved through the use of large scale bureaucratically organized corporate giants; and, the emergence of a new middle class. Finally, the Keynesian solution of sustaining full production and employment in the American economy laid the basis for large scale expenditures by the federal and state governments to stimulate and sustain the economy. (Galbraith, 1967; Bensman & Vidich, 1971).

A further factor contributing to the economic growth of post World War II society was the fact that in the two decades following, from 1947 to 1966, there had been no serious depression and only one year in which real income in the United States had failed to rise. (Galbraith, 1967).

Expanding industrialization and economic growth made possible the evolution of new suburban communities. Fava (1975) concurs that suburban growth represented one stage of urban decentralization, "occurring when there were still large tracts of undeveloped land relatively close to large cities and when there was also a substantial reservoir of non-metropolitan areas..."

Ultimately, the ever-widening circles of urban and suburban development, moving as they did outward, reached rural settlements. These areas were attractive to developers: they were low in population density, and therefore considered rural, but the larger economy was no longer small scale and agricultural. Urban decentralization was occurring at the same time as the decline of older systems of agriculture, particularly in the highly urbanized regions of the northeast. In New Jersey as well as Long Island and Massachusetts, the decline of the amount of land utilized for agriculture created opportunities for residential, commercial and industrial development, and continued to enlarge the urban centers in their ever-widening ring.

Suburban Development and Agricultural Decline

This urban decentralization and suburban development had its beginnings in the expanding society of the post World War I period, when the crowding of urban slums and the need for construction of moderate cost housing spurred the concepts of planned communities in density controlled greenbelts in low-cost land close to rapid transit systems of cities. (Stein, 1957). The New Towns concept, originating with the English concern for urban crowding within cities began at the turn of the century with the revolutionary pamphlet by Raymond Unwin, "Nothing

Gained by Overcrowding" (Stein, 1957:22) and found translation to American conditions in the early 1920's. Sunnyside Gardens, Queens, the nearest point to Long Island constructed between 1924 and 1928, utilized out-of-use farmland which had remained open space for some thirty five years prior to acquisition. Significantly, during that 'ripening' period, the cost of land rose from 3.3 cents per square foot in 1892 to 48.5 cents that the City Housing Corporation paid the railroad for property held out of use for some 18 years.

Similarly, in 1928, Radburn was selected as a second New Towns site from a large tract of undeveloped fertile farm land in the Borough of Fairlawn, New Jersey, only sixteen miles from New York. Residents of early suburbia were middle income, young, almost exclusively from New York or were New Jersey and commuters to New York City. But further development of suburbia was deferred by the great depression and World War II.

Post World War II society saw the return to suburban housing development on a much larger scale and this time without the density control and greenbelt concepts of the earlier planned communities. Undeveloped farmland in central New Jersey became the site of a new Levittown where rural Willingboro had once existed. The urban expansion continued throughout the state of New Jersey until ultimately it reached its most isolated, undeveloped regions.

In summary, then, the concern for crowding in metropolitan and urban centers resulted in the development of suburban communities close to major cities and built upon vacant farmland, open-space which had become available for non-farming uses. Thus, urban decentralization was occurring at the same time as the decline of older systems of

agriculture. It was only a question of time, then, before the Pine Barrens would respond to similar pressures.

The Pine Barrens Awakes to Urban Pressures

The Pine Barrens region, at least visibly, remained untouched by urban decentralization and suburbia. It was still too far away, too limited in the development of transportation systems, not close enough to New York or Philadelphia to generate suburban development in the early 1960's. The northern New Jersey open spaces, closer to the New York metropolitan centers were only beginning to reach saturation levels in suburban population growth, and the movement was progressing southward. Their distance from the metropole bought for the Pinelands "a gift of time", a decade more of "things moving very slowly" while northeastern New Jersey was galloping towards the anticipated and then desirable goal of full economic development.

Awareness of the existence of the Pine Regions region and its marketability did not occur until the later 1960's. By the 1960's the abundant woodlands were regarded by many of the inhabitants as "leftovers" in the landscape. In the crucial years between 1960 and 1977, entrepreneurial developers were progressively working out new methods to link the continued post-World War II affluence of the evolving urban field with empty rural space.

The concept of the urban field (Friedmam, 1973) is an attempt to define the relationship between the interconnecting systems of expanding cities and the once isolated rural settlements. Thus Friedman makes the point that:

> "Farms and forests are interspersed with clustered urban settlements and centers of productive work. But the land is no longer primeval: in a fundamental way, whether its use is in agriculture or not, it has become "urbanized." (Friedmann, 1973:62).

This process of urbanization of agricultural regions is effected by the technologies of post World War II America which makes possible communication and regional transportation systems that extend beyond the traditional boundaries of rural or urban settings. Friedmann illustrates the concept with the following example:

> "Architects call it a 'plug-in-city', by which they mean that anywhere within the urban field one can connect his home to an intricate and, for the most part, efficiently managed network of freeways, telephones, radio and television outlets and electric energy and water supply systems." (p.62)

By this definition, the Pine Barrens existed within the urban field of two major urban regions. Though a rural, agricultural region, it was forty miles from Philadelphia, eighty miles from New York City, and barely thirty from Atlantic City; but in the early 1960's the Pine Barrens had not as yet become inter-connected to the urban field.

Plans for development of a supersonic jetport in the remote Pine Barrens brought into focus the conflicting forces of conservation versus development for the first time in the history of the region. The plans to develop an international jetport served as a catalyst or the emergence of a wide variety of interest groups which raised new issues and the pressures on the area during the next two decades.

The Jetport Controversy

During a long and tortuous period of discussion and debate, plans to build an intercontinental jetport in the early 1960's ecompassed at one time or another no less than seventeen different suburban and rural settlements within the New York metropolitan region. In its course, the jetport controversy activated interest groups, community organizations in conflict with private industry and governmental agencies over the use of their land. The conflict pitted for the first time, citizen interest groups against The Port Authority of New York, industrial giants, and state governmental agencies. Certainly this was true for the Great Swamp controversy (to be discussed later in this chapter) in which affluent suburbanites pressured legislators to hold the line against penetration into their environs by the major urban, industrial sector in a conflict they defined as community preservation. The Jetport controversy resulted in the formation of interest groups in New Jersey that ultimately (and after many transformations) became the parties in the land-use conflicts in the Pine Barrens.

In the Pine Barrens, local government officials, the county freeholders themselves initiated studies which would serve to convince the Federal Aviation Agency (F.A.A.) that the region was ripe for development. The Board of Chosen Freeholders of Burlington County in the late 1950's had made numerous requests to the F.A.A. to endorse its application to the Community Facilities Administration of the Housing and Home Finance Agency for an advance of $300,000 to aid in financing the cost of planning for the jetport. The 1961 Port of Authority planning document makes note of this local interest in

economic development:

> "Thus, it is clear that the officials of Burlington County propose to develop one extremely large airport to serve the turbo-jet needs of the several large metropolitan areas along the East Coast and we have conducted our study of this problem on that concept."

Within the Pinelands local entrepreneurial factions represented by the county freeholders favored development linking the Pine Barrens to the industrial economy.

The chapter on "Cleavage and Organizational Strategy" deals with the late 1960's and early 1970's and analyzes a second generation of conflicts and interest group formation. The issues focusing on the development of the Pinelands Environmental Council brings into center focus the emerging pattern of localism versus state and federal bureaucracies. Analysis in both issues, the Jetport Controversy, and the Pinelands Environmental Council (P.E.C.) concentrates on the social and political forces underlying conflicts between conservation and development policies. It was the Jetport, however which triggered the long line of conflicts that followed.

The Plan for the Jetport: The Port of New York Authority

The Port of New York Authority had been operating the major commercial air terminals in the metropolitan area of Northern New Jersey and New York since 1947, when the two states had entered into a statutory agreement that all of the metropolitan air terminals would serve the entire district. Coordinating and regionalizing the transportation systems was one indicator of the extent that the urban field

cut across traditional state boundaries:

> "The policy and determination of the two states, as declared in their 1947 statutes, to provide 'proper and adequate air terminal facilities' for the benefit of the people of the states of New York and New Jersey and for the increase of their commerce and prosperity, pointed to the necessity for Port Authority studies of the problem of providing a new regional airport." (A Report on Airport Requirements and Sites in the Metropolitan New Jersey-New York Region, The Port Authority of New York, 1961:1)

Commercial and cargo air transportation was viewed in the late fifties and throughout the 60's as an ever-expanding industry whose technological development could be attributed to the jet, which was, in turn a product of intensive aeronautic design and production during World War II. Furthermore, intercontinental flights were the sole economic purview of the New York-New Jersey metropolitan region, and as such, viewed as a major industry to be continuously expanded and developed.

David Goldberg, who was New Jersey Commissioner of Transportation during the administration of Governor Hughes in the 1960's, made the following observation:

> "...at that time, it was unheard of that inter-continental flight would be anywhere else in the country. It was the Gateway to Europe. In those days New York held a position it has since lost. You couldn't get a flight to Europe anywhere in the country except from New York. It gave New York an economic pre-eminence - they were fearful they could not service that traffic unless they do something. At that time they believed that the aviation industry would continue to grow and expand...?

The Port Authority report of May, 1961 cites a three year study of the region's economy developed by Harvard University for the Regional Plan Association, and reports that "the Metropolitan Region will continue to grow despite decentralizing influences of the past two decades." (Port Authority Report, 1961:4). The influences referred to were the westward shift in the United States population, wage-scale differentials, the high cost of space in the Region, and the depletion of some types of skilled labor. However, it was anticipated that given the hegemony of air cargo potentials and intercontinental flight within the metropolitan region, aviation would be two or three times more important within the next ten years, and therefore, given adequate facilities! "it (the aviation industry) will knit the commercial life of the Region into the world's economy." (Port Authority Report, 1964:).

But delays and stacking were already considered a problem for the Kennedy-Newark-LaGuardia airports. Given the expected exponential growth for the next decade, a report on preliminary studies by the Port of New York Authority (December 14, 1959) indicated an urgent need for an additional major airport to serve the metropolitan district, and the site suggested was the Great Swamp in Morris County, New Jersey.

In summary then, the development of suburban communities in the "leftover" open spaces of New Jersey (and, Long Island), on abandoned farmland or fertile undeveloped farmland was the initial step in the changeover from agricultural communities bordering on urban regions, to residential communities connected with the urban field. Though this changeover commenced with the post World War I society with the planned New Towns and Greenbelts of Radburn and Sunnyside Gardens,

the broader thrust in suburban growth came with the post World War II society. This change was generated in particular by the new federal subsidies in housing through the F.H.A., and in general by the continuous growth of industrialization.

Continuous economic growth generated an apparently ever expanding industry within the New York New Jersey metropolitan region as well as a housing industry in is suburbias; and, like the residential sprawl of suburbia, and the expanding aviation industry made demands upon the existing open space close to that region.

The result of the Port Authority search for a site for an intercontinental airport - we anticipate - was a controversy among communities already situated in suburban regions to deflect the airport from their environs. Thus the Jetport Controversy was the basis for interest group formation in New Jersey and ultimately set the stage for later land-use conflicts in the Pine Barrens.

Primary Jetport Site: The Great Swamp

In a New York Times Magazine article (February 12, 1967), drama critic, Brooks Atkinson wrote an ecological and political analysis of the Great Swamp-Jetport controversy titled: "Great Swamp is Good for Nothing--But Life, Knowledge, Peace and Hope."

He describes the issue in the following terms.

> "It is a natural masterpiece, only 30 miles west of Times Square. When the air is clear you can see the peak of the Empire State Building from the ridges of geological till that surround the swamp. The contrasts are dramatic. Thirty million people live in big and small houses in the surrounding terrain; automobiles and trucks choke the cement highways that sweep around the

> swamp; railroads but by on both the north and the south. Great Swamp is so centrally located to business and industrial institutions that the Port Authority would like to tear it apart and make it into a jet airport. But for many thousands of years Great Swamp has retained its independence and preserves in the midst of megalopolis a living patch--seven miles long and three miles wide--of primitive America. Progress has stopped where Great Swamp begins. In New Jersey the density of the population is 833 people to a square mile. But no one lives in the interior of Great Swamp. Even in 1967 some parts of it are impenetrable because of quicksand and thick vegetation." (Times:33).

Introduced in Atkinson's discussion was a perspective of land values based upon the ecological and recreational necessity of preserving open space. This was an important shift in the appreciation of land based on the newly, discovered value of wasteland.

Atkinson points out:

> "There was a time, not more than half-century ago, when the world 'swamp' was the equivalent of 'waste' or 'danger.' Swamps occupied wasteland that most people thought should be developed into real estate... But swamps are now regarded as essential links in the chain of life."

The people of the surrounding communities who had raised a total of $1.5 million to buy the 3,000 acres (which was ultimately turned over to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to be managed as the Great Swamp National Wildlife Refuge), had as their basic motive, not the wildlife per se, but, according to Atkinson, "to spare the community the bedlam of an airport." Former Commissioner of Transportation David Goldberg concurred that the overt reaction of the community was related to the adverse impact on themselves, or rather, their property.

Nevertheless, property owners, upper middle class suburbanites became the first coalition of political interest groups to fight a powerful agency on what was labelled, in retrospect, as an 'environmental issue.' This labelling of the Great Swamp controversy as an environmental issue in a historical sense was suggested by the then Commissioner of Transportation, David Goldberg.

Commented Goldberg:

> "The Port Authority underestimated their opposition when they picked out a site like that. The Great Swamp was no little garbage dump. It was one of the most affluent suburban communities in New Jersey and they knew how to fight. They must have raised a 'war chest' of some two hundred thousand dollars first time around."

To Goldberg, the Jetport controversy, particularly in The Great Swamp area was a watershed of the 1960's, "marking a turning point in our attitudes towards institutions and growth itself and in terms of our own concept of development."

The Port Authority, at least since 1939, had been an agency so highly respected, that it would be hard to imagine opposition to its plans. In the preceding decade, the Port Authority was an agency of prestige and influence: in the eyes of the public, it could do no wrong. But the Jetport controversy, the super-agency badly scarred this image. Notes Goldberg:

> "When they spoke, important business and civic leaders listened. They developed a kind of arrogance that a high degree of success and very little criticism would produce in anyone. They had just presumed that when they picked out a site they would be permitted to develop that site. Such a classic fight. But in those days that kind of sophistication was rather rare,

> rather limited. This group was no black ghetto - as usual, the rich led the way, raised a lot of money and forced the Port Authority to do a re-appraisal. In 1961, and in the classic Port Authority style, they looked at the problem again and concluded they were right after all."

Although the Port Authority re-affirmed their choice of the Great Swamp in Morris County, the new report did present a site evaluation of 17 areas selected from the two states, New York and New Jersey. Each of these sites were rural or suburban communities in upstate New York, Long Island, or, New Jersey.

Final Choice for the Jetport Site: Enter the Pine Barrens

Sites 13 through 17 all fell within the two major Pine Barrens counties, Burlington and Ocean, and, if not directly within the Pinelands itself, as in Lebanon State Forest and MacGuire Air Force Base, were close enough to have produced a major impact on the region and the eco-system. But in reality, the Federal Aviation Agency did not view these sites as practical or feasible. They noted in their report that:

> "The only other large city which we anticipate will need an entirely new major airport in the forseeable future in the New York metropolitan area. In this event, however, we cannot conceive that the Burlington County area, located some 75 ground-miles away, could possibly be considered a logical or practical site for a major airport to serve metropolitan New York." (p. 153).

At this point, the push for the jetport in the Pine Barrens came from the county government in Burlington, more than from the State government or the Port Authority.

The F.A.A. conclusions in the 1961 report make the following comments with respect to sites 13-17:

> "... the matter of developing a "jet Age Global Terminal' in Burlington County, New Jersey, has been the subject of detailed studies by this Agency on numerous occasions over a period of at least the last four years. Our initial interest in this matter stemmed from a request from the Board of Chosen Freeholders of Burlington County...to finance the cost of planning this project..." (F.A.A. Report, 1961:153).

Thus the F.A.A. report concluded that their findings would hopefully serve to encourage the county constituents to develop their plans for civil airports in "more realistic terms."

Though the 1961 report did not recommend the Burlington or Ocean County sites, the suggestion of such feasibility, however remote, was sufficient to generate a reaction from the citizens of these counties. Life-long conservationists, described later in this chapter, were to concentrate their already existing bird-watching, wildlife preservation groups into anti-jetport lobbying. But the interest group formation to oppose the intercontinental jetport in the Pine Barrens was, at this point, outside the political structure. A more powerful political pressure was to overshadow the intervention of interest groups. The selection of the Pine Barrens as a site was the unintended consequences of election politics in the race for Governor.

The Politics of Land Use and the Race for Governor

May of 1961 was an election year in New Jersey. Senator Hillary of Morris County had passed a bill in the state legislature prohibiting the construction of a jetport in a series of named northern New Jersey

counties, including, Morris County, the site of the Great Swamp. The northern suburban lobby against the jetport had enlisted the actions of their legislators to prevent, once and for all, the industrial intrusion into their quiet communities. The Morris County (and to a lesser extent, Hunterdon County) interest groups lived on estate-farms, each with corrals and pastures for their stable of horses. The simplicity of the New England style farmhouses belies the presence of old wealth upper-class.

A Democrat, Meyner was Governor; and while the gubernatorial primaries were in swing, Senator Hillary induced Meyner to hold a public hearing on the bill to prevent the jetport - at which time Meyer vetoes the Hillary bill.

Nevertheless, Richard J. Hughes, Democratic candidate for Governor, presented a campaigh pledge that he would not support a jetport in Morris or Hunterdon Counties, both wealthy, suburban, northwestern counties whose vote was traditionally, Republican:

Later, in the gubernatorial campaign of 1965, still during the search period for a jetport site, Hughes, who was subsequently elected, was forced to renew and honor his campaign pledge made in the Democratic platform in 1961:

> "We renew our pledge to prevent the establishment of a jet airport in the Great Swampt of Morris County, Hunterdon County or in any other settled residential areas of the state." (New York Times, April 11, 1967).

The pledge of 1961 was given to offset a pledge against a jetport given by the Republican contender for governor. A New York Times article on the subject states:

> "The pledge was renewed in 1965 with only the Governor's casual acquiescence, in the remote chance that Republican Hunterdon could be persuaded to vote Democratic--which it could not." (New York Times, April 11, 1967).

At least in northern New Jersey, the Times confirms Transportation Commissioner Goldberg's assessment that it was the affluent who led the fight. Accompanied by Republican Assemblymen and state senators from Hunterdon and Morris County, and bearing placards that read: Keep Goldberg Out of Soleberg", and, "Richard Judas Hughes," the 1.000 demonstrators in front of the State House in Trenton were described in the following passage:

> "Most of the demonstrators were well-dressed women in tailored, tweedy suits. Some of them managed to squeeze into the Governor's reception room this morning to give him thousands of anti-jetport petitions wrapped in funereal purple and black ribbons. One of the Governor's aides remarked as he gazed outside at the chanting demon strators, many apparently from affluent, fox-hunting communities, "I wonder if they brought their hounds." (New York Times, April 1, 1967).

The opposition by suburban communities to the jetport was based on a belief that such industrial development would pollute the air and streams, create noise pollution, and disturb the rural character of both counties. But the anti-airport movement was not restricted to New Jersey.

The impact of the aerospace industry on the environment and the power of suburban communities to alter airport development had received some acknowledgment from Federal officials. M. Cecil Mackey, (then) Assistant Secretary of Transportation informed the aerospace engineers at a speech that: "American society was rebelling against the problems

caused by the airplanes they build... The demand for a livable environment was a new dimension for aviation." (New York Times, October 25, 1967). Mackey noted that "...if the demand for a livable environment was not met on 'acceptable'terms, people would just say, "sorry, we don't want airplanes around anymore, we don't want to travel that way." (New York Times, October 25, 1967).

As of April 1, 1967, the Transportation Department was required by law to consider the "environmental impact" of any actions it would plan. Mackey saw the citizen's insistence on less degradation of his environment as the single most outstanding characteristic of the society of the 1960's. While the formation of suburban interest groups occurred in reaction to industrial growth and the potential destruction of suburban boundaries, Mackey argued that it had come at a bad time for aircraft buildings, airlines, airport planners and others facing the stresses of explosive growth in air travel.

Therefore, the environmental conflict which gathered momentum in the 1960's, we hypothesize, drew from two value systems on a collision course throughout the decade: one, a concept of ever-expanding economic growth activated through automation and technology, and made possible structurally through the complex bureaucratic systems in the business and government sector; and the second, the rise in political consciousness of the new middle and old upper classes with the means, political, financial or otherwise, to protect and preserve their social environment. This financial point is discussed at length in the final chapter on "The Land Ethic and Social Change," Chapter VII where we postualte that participation of social classes in environmental disputes shifted

downward since the turn of the century to include this range of interest groups. However, it was economic, an increased expansion which was the stimulus for environmental conflicts.

Environmental Conflicts and Economic Expansion

In the past, environmental disputes and value conflicts were submerged under the nearly universal agreement that economic growth- and efficiency were desirable. (Tribe et al: 1976). Once this basic tenet becomes questioned, a consensus is no longer possible. Technology has become a double-faced monster in the contemporary society. It is both the savior of the economy and the sinner against the environment.

Thomson (1976) raises this point in discussing the Tocks Island Dam controversy. a dispute over land and water planning which bought the forces of New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania into political conflict over the flooding of a natural area for the presumed purposes of damming the Cheasapeake River to preclude an urban water supply. He states:

> "In a country where labor was scarce, land and resources plentiful, and mobility and economic growth highly valued, technology was developed and used to a greater degree than elsewhere. It was only natural, when problems developed to attempt to find technical solutions. Surely it is easier to change technology than it is to change man's practises and institutions." (The Tocks Island Dam Controversy, 1976:37).

In changing the environment by filling lakes to form runways, by adding noise and pollution to suburban communities and rural settlements, the Port Authority of New York was destroying open land by raising its market price and tying it in closer to the urban, industrial areas.

Cost-benefit analysis based upon market values could and did present favorable rationales for jetports and for suburban land development to provide housing for the growing ranks of the new middle class.

In the jetport controversy in New Jersey, the idea of economic growth was not so much in question, but the overall effect of that growth and its direction was questioned. Technology was the means. Commoner, in The Closing Circle, identifies the new technologies developed since World War II as the causal factor in the environmental crisis. He notes:

> "The over-all evidence seems clear. The chief reason for the environmental crisis that has engulfed the United States in recent years is the sweeping transformation of productive technology since World War II. The economy has grown enough to give the United States population about the same amount of basic goods, per capita, as it did in 1946. However, productive technologies with intense impacts on the environment have sideplaced less destructive ones. The environmental crisis is the inevitable result of this counter ecological pattern of growth. (Commoner:197-76)

In modern industrial societies, technological development usually upsets the balance between prevailing human settlements and the economic structures. It results in uneven growth and a mal-distribution of perceived benefits and ill-effects. While upper and middle class suburban communities may organize and politicize to deflect the impact of industrial growth, leaders of rural settlements outside the urban field, may organize and politicize to bring about a long-awaited industrial development.

For the Pine Barrens, the interest in developing the jetport somewhere within the "useless swamplands of the Pines", came from the local

county government, the Freeholders who represented business interests searching for profits through an economic connection to the urban-industrial field as indicated by their bid for a jetport to the F.A.A.

The response of the business-government local network to the prospect of a jetport and the potential for economic development was sharply different from that of upstate suburban lobbyists in the Great Swamp region. A distinctly rural settlement until the 1960's, the Pine Barrens survived economically with a limited crop agricultural system. The sandy, acid soil would support only the development of cranberry and blueberry growing. It was in fact the separation from the northern, upstate industrial economy that led local factions in south Jersey to propose seceding from the state as a means of bolstering their own economy, or at least capturing the interest of state government. Consequently, the idea of the jetport for the Pine Barrens had local support. Ironically, the industrial interests within the state focused upon the Pine Barrens as a prospective jetport by default. The political and financial powers of the northern suburban communities didn't want open space and the jet port in their own residential areas. At the same time low cost land was available, and the urban planners were willing to develop this empty space.

The Jetport and Rural Settlements in the Pine Barrens

During a nearly ten year period, the search for a feasible jetport site persisted in suburban and rural communities in New Jersey and New York state. Battles were fought on a community by community level. Those involved were not fighting for the environment in general, nor for the region or the state in which they lived, but rather for their community

alone. One example of this community control issue appears in a letter to the editor of the New York Times concerning the Shoreham, Long Island's community opposition to Governor Rockefeller's choice of Calverton as the jetport site:

> "A March 17 editorial support Governor Rockefeller's choice of Calverton as the site for an international jetport. The editorial leaves out...the special character of the region and the disruption that result if the proposal is carried out. Yet the lovely farmlands, woodlands, and beaches of eastern Long Island are surely as worthy of protection as the swamplands of New Jersey sovigorously, and I think rightly, defended by the Times."

The jetport, issued wandered like an albatross over the heads of political and industrial leaders of both northeastern states, New York and New Jersey. In the abstract the leaders welcomed the prospect of regional economic gain, but wherever they selected a site, the community so chosen would respond by intense political opposition. But the promise of economic growth could not be dismissed.

Economic Incentives

The Port Authority of New York report of 1961 noted that during construction phases, a daily average of 2,000 construction workers would be employed, and the total payrolls might approximate $85,000,000. The report cites the Hammer & Company Associate Report on the economic gain to regions with the acceptance of a jetport:

> "Regional effects would be principally felt in terms of expanded job opportunities and income flows generated by the new employment in primary aviation activities on and off the airport site and 'multipliers' growing out of successive

> rounds of spending and respending the new income brought to the region by the airport activities." (Port Authority Report, 1961:5).

These totals based on initial and multiplier jobs and incomes is represented in the following charge:

	Total Jobs	Regional Income
Primary Aviation Employment	95,130	530,400
Local Purchases of Pr. Av. Ind.	16,400	78,000
Sales to Passengers Travel Service	23,050	109,500
Totals	$134,050	$717,900

It is not surprising that the promise of high economic gain would create pressure for the jetport in New Jersey, certainly from the large industrialists within the state, as indicated below.

On August 24, 1967, Governor Richard J. Hughes let a group of New Jersey citizens to Washington, D. C. for a meeting with Alan Boyd, Secretary of Transportation, to discuss "the crisis of inadequate jetport facilities" in the New York-New Jersey metropolitan areas. What followed was the creation of the Governor's Economic Evaluation Committee for An Intercontinental Jetport for New Jersey, (October 31, 1967). This group of distinguished businessmen was chaired by J. Seward Johnson, Vice-President of Johnson and Johnson, and included the presidents of Prudential Life Insurance of America, Campbell Soup Company, and the Jersey Central/New Jersey Power Light Companies. This list included the most powerful businessmen and industries in the state. Their 1967 report, "A Proposal for an Inter-continental Jetport and a system of General Aviation Facilities" stresses the

significance of economic growth:

> "No economy stands still. If it does not move forward, it declines. A jetport in New Jersey will assure economic growth, economic vigor, and economic opportunity for our growing population."

In this 1967 report, the Governor's committee dismisses the northern New Jersey suburban sites in Hunterdon and Morris counties, where some of them resided, and selected instead the McGuire/Lakehurst site which would extend eastward from the instrument runway of McGuire Air Force Base and which would then settle within the long forgotten Pine Barrens.

The Pine Barrens, which was considered by the Federal Aviation Agency to be an unrealistic and altogether unworkable choice in 1961, became the choice site in 1967, some six years later. The reasons for this shift center upon both local and state pressures for economic development and the fact that other areas had successfully resisted the benefits of economic expansion.

The local interests in the immediate economic benefits inherent in jetport development were the local county freeholders (themselves businessmen) position on economic development of the region especially as a means of lowering real estate taxes. An old line conservationist opposed to the jetport, and who has subsequently become a county planner, reports the following conversation with a freeholder:

> "...the idea of a jetport - and the Ocean County Freeholder director saying - 'well, the Pine Barrens are ugly - I'm always happy when I'm through em on my way back from Trenton. Besides, they're a fire hazard and what's wrong with getting a lot of ratables out of it.'"

Interest Group Formation: Opposition to the Jetport

Those opposed to the jetport in the Pine Barrens were a group of conservation-oriented quite different from the northern parts of suburban Morris and Hunterdon County. This group sprang from a loosely knit association of life-long conservationists, organized in 1957 as an advisory committee to aid the state in the botanical development of the then recent purchase of the Wharton Tract by the State. This group of old line conservationists and naturalists predated the Earth Movement of the 60's, though they were later to gain acceptance by that movement.

The old line conservationists were old Yankees. Some came from the old families of Philadelphia and had settled in one of the few planned, exclusive communities like Medford Lakes. The single family dwellings in this tree lined lake district carved a former cranberry bog are surrounded by abundant woodland, and are far removed from the "little boxes" of the middle income Levittowners.

Dot Evert, member and leader of this group, describes the composition and selection of fellow conservationists:

> "The background of the people we picked were working in the Pine Barrens just for the love of it...photographing, studying-- botanists and naturalists. Well we picked up an historian or two, and that been a very loose structured thing and still is..."

These conservationists involved in lobbying against the jetport in the early 1960's were a highly select group of upper class and upper middle class persons with specialized leisure activities or professions which connected their interests to the continuance of the

natural state of the Pine Barrens. Elmer Rawley, later, chairman of the Audobon Society in the region also lives in the Medford Lakes district in a wooded setting on the lake. In the tradition of upper class Yankee stock, he was a high ranking officer in the military, and, following retirement, spends his frequent vacations, like the Everts, as a roving naturalist, often scuba diving off remote barrier reefs. High ranking military and retired military are not uncommon to the Medford Pine Barren communities. They are an outgrowth of the military communities in the surrounding Fort Dix and MacGuire Air Force Base whose ranking officers buy homes in the Pine Barrens, and tend to remain there after retirement.

This group of old line conservationists were not the "new middle class", desvribed by Bensman and Vidich. Their presence in the region may not be traced to the early Quaker settlers as was some of the cranberry growing families, but to the leisure activities of the "old wealth," a highly select and relatively small group of conservationists and naturalists of old urban wealth similar to those who had supported the conservation policies of Roosevelt and Pinchot at the turn of century. But unlike theold urban wealth who concerned themselves primarily with preserving the remote western lands, these conservationists resided in or near the Pine Barrens and saw the push for industrialization as an issue of land conservation and community preservation. They considered their conservation interests as being a minority position with respect to most other people in the state. Dot Evert made the following observation about changes in attitudes since the 1950's.

> "We've come from the period of the 50's when they looked on us as absolute dirt, really - most people and most intelligent people too thought there was nothing but a pine and oak mess till they got to the shore. But then in the 60's, the young ones started to the Earth Movement and we had young ones coming to find out about the Pine Barrens. Always, from the very beginning there have been interested people from every part of the world - as soon as they would get Philadelphia, Dr. B.or somebody would call and Dr. so and so is here - would you show him this or tha-. So people have been interested since the Revolutionary days."

The jetport issue focused attention on the Pine Barrens to others outside this group of old line conservationists. Not only were they engaged in interest group formation to resist the recommendations of the Governor's Committee, they were the target of other communities that had been chosen as a possible jetport site. Recalls one conservationist, the struggle against the jetport was fought on a community by community basis in which one could attempt to deflect the development to the other:

> "A lot of the pressure for the jetport in the Pine Barrens came from the Great Swamp people they didn't want it there - and that was true of the Long Island people too. They were all for having the jetport in the Pine Barrens... You'd open up the Times and you'd see that someone in Long Island said the Pine Barrens if the local ideal place cause its halfway between Philadelphia and New York. Ridiculous thing about that whole movement was that the air lines weren't for it at all."

The Military as an Interest Group

Not only were the air line companies cook to the idea of a Pine Barrens jetport site, but the military, particularly the Air Force were resistant to giving up their base for civilian activity.

The military bases formed a considerable portion of the Pine Barrens region: Fort Dix; MacGuire Air Force Base, and the Lakehurst Naval Station. Therefore, a third interest group was the military complex, and the military resisted the move to transfer land they owned back to the state to provide the land for the jetport. Ownership of the Pine Barrens by the military is considerable and almost impossible to measure since farms, and even towns such as Wrightstown bordering on the 55 square miles of Fort Dix are actually owned by the Army.

The Governor and some business supporters of the Pine Barrens site made futile trips to Washington to try to convince the military to yield the site to the state. Concurrently, the military were extending their activities into the Barrens and making their technological impact upon the ecology of the natural area. The National Guard proposed a tank training ground in the Pinelands.

The Citizens Committee to Save State Land, a group formed by the same Pine Barrens conservationists of FOCUS, moved into action in 1964 to oppose this expansion. Together with the New Jersey Audobon Society, they saw to it that the Governor's office was swamped with letters and telegrams opposing this military advance. They were also to enlist the help of the newly emerging "earth movement." A member of the Citizens Committee recalls the success of the 1960's of letter writing campaigns against the tank training program:

> "...in the 60's when the young ones started with the earth movement all we had to do was use the telephone service to stop this tank training program - and the state man said they carried the letters into the Governor's office in bushel baskets - just an overwhelming support from the public in the 60's."

It is significant that the appeal to stop the military expansion went to the same Governor whom the conservationists had opposed on the jetport expansion. But in this case, it was an alignment of state structure and citizen interest groups against the federal military agency.

The emerging pattern of interest group formation in the Pine Barrens center on opposing positions on conservation versus development. The lines of conflicting views is suggested in the following paradym:

FOR CONSERVATION

"old line" conservationists:

Pine Barrens Conservationists

FOCUS: Ocean Nature and Conservation Society

Long Beach Island Conservation Society

Audobon Society of New York

FOR DEVELOPMENT

industrialists:

Johnson & Johnson
Campbell Soup
Prudential Life

state government:

Governor
Commissioner of Transportation

local government (also local businessmen)

Burlington and Ocean County Freeholders

military: (for and against specific development)

Fort Dix

MacGuire Air Force Base

The emerging positions on land use planning in the Pine Barrens fell sharply between conservation and development with the exception of the military. The military groups fell somewhere in between. They oppossed political control by the state and, though they may not favor industrial development to the region, they wanted to pursue military development of the area.

These interests in planning policy shifted in the late 1960's, the Second Era, and are presented in Chapter V, when a merger of conservation interest groups with local business, government and agricultural groups results in the regional planning body, the Pinelands Environmental Council. This planning body, the Pinelands Environmental Council. This planning body was formed from the real 'imagined' concerns for urban decentralization that emerged in issues raised over the development of an international jetport. The receding of the jetport as an issue, was ironically, a product of technological impracticality and the subsequent lack of support from the largest agencies necessary to support its development. The airlines, the military, and the Port Authority of New York all rejected the Governor's Committee choice of the Pine Barrens as a feasible site.

For the first group, the potential flight patterns would conflict with those of Philadelphia Airport. The jetport plans for the Pine Barrens was as much defeated by the impracticality of the location as anything else. Former Transportation Commissioner Goldberg contends that the major reason for the jetport was to service the metropolitan region, New York City and northern New Jersey, but land travel time was too great for the Pine Barrens to have ever been a feasible site.

The 1961 Port Authority Report would confirm this concern for the overland travel time and distance. For each of the 17 sites suggested, the report estimates the travel time and public transit service necessary to reach a key metropolitan area. For example, the Lebanon State Forest site would require a one hour and fifty minute land travel to reach downtown Newark while the Great Swampt area was twenty-five minutes away from that same point.

Despite the land travel problems associated with the Pine Barrens site, the strong community opposition from both Morris County on the Great Swamp, and Hunterdon County over the Soleberg Airport, increased the feasibility of the Pine Barrens site, and as other alternative sites were eliminated because of local opposition, the search continued.

A final function that the jetport controversy provided the rhetoric and symbols for local movements opposed to governmental management and intervention by locally based interest groups, which will be discussed in Chapter V.

The final political move against the jetport came during still another race for the governship in New Jersey in 1969.

The Race for Governor and Pinelands Politics: 1969-70

Small New Jersey communities, particularly in southern New Jersey support political positions which favor decentralization of power, a concept often referred to as "home rule", and in general, tend to vote Republican.

The following report of public policy formation based on a political race serves to demonstrate the importance of land planning disputes in political campaigns. The report was given by an old line conservationist who supports the Republican ideology of "home rule," and reflects his concern for decentralized power as much as it reveals the candidate for Governor William Cahill's responsiveness to Republican constituencies.

Just before the time when the then Congressman Cahill was nominated as the Republican candidate for Governor, a report requested by Governor Hughes, i.e. the Blomquist Report, had concluded that the jetport could be appropriately placed in the Pine Barrens. Led by the Coalition of conservationists known as FOCUS, a mass meeting was called to discuss the jetport and the Pine Barrens. The conservationist recalls the day of the meeting in the following passage:

> "...it was held at the Armory here at Toms River in February - and I recall very well there was 18 inches of snow the night before and the Armory is a little bit off the beaten track...and this mass meeting was set for a Thursday afternoon - I think, at 2:00 o'clock..."

The mid-day timeing of the meeting made attendance possible for a large number of senior citizens from near-by leisure communities who were opposed to airport development:

> "···and uh - that's a working day during the week and yet they were able to put about 900 people in that Armory - very largely senior citizens from the senior citizens development...they were against the jetport too, cause they had come down here to retire ...spent their whole life working for a living and kids are married and gone and they all come down to these senior citizen developments where they don't have to shovel snow and rake leaves and its all done

> for them - and right away you want to put a jetport alongside them so you hear all this beautiful noise like you do at Idlewilde... what's that called now...Kennedy."

The response of senior citizens at the Toms River mass meeting was to oppose the jetport. They demonstrated in addition, enhanced political awareness by contacting the gubernatorial candidates about their concerns. Thus, the old line conservationist reports the following exchange:

> "...so when it ended up with this mass meeting over here - and after the speakers were finished - Ben Maybry who was acting as master of ceremonies said: 'well now - does anybody have any comments from the floor?' and a little old hand went up in the back and said, she said, 'I'm secretary of the National Association of Retired Persons at Forked River and I wrote Congressman Cahill to get his opinion on this jetport controversy since he's running for office'. And then Ben Maybry said, 'would you like to read the letter' - and she started out the first sentence from Cahill's letter said, 'I've always advocated using MacGuire Air Force Base as the supersonic jetport."

Embarassed by the report of the pro-jetport position by a Republican candidate, Maybry, the chairman, assumed that the Congressman had been misquoted and requested that the letter be brought to the podium for careful examination. But, indeed, according to the letter it was Cahill's position that a jetport at MacGuire Air Force Base would be the best solution to the jetport problem. That position was to shift dramatically within 48 hours after local reports of the meeting had suggested that Cahill had committed political suicide with his pro-jetport stance. His change of policy is recalled in the following commentary:

> "...that meeting was over about four o'clock in the afternoon and 20 minutes later I was back home and turned on the local radio station and the local station said, 'Congressman Cahill may have committed political suicide this afternoon,' and then they went on to describe this thing. Well within 48 hours, Congressman Cahill's platform had a plank put into it - no jetport anywhere in New Jersey..."

Thus, in the race for Governor, the Republican candidate Cahill shifted his position on the jetport possibilities in the Pinelands based on an "embarrassing" letter written to the secretary of a senior citizens interest group. Within 48 hours after his position was made public, the candidate changed from a pro to anti-jetport position.

The formation of public policy on land use planning was manifest most dramatically during election years when, in the 1960's and after, suburban, and ex-urban communities were organizing pressures against urban decentralization via urban encroachment on rural areas. For example, over a nearly two decade period, from 1960 to 1977, policies towards decentralization of urban regions were significantly changed during election years. The following chart illustrates this point when we trace a shift in land-use policies from pro-development in 1960 to the creation of land preservation commissions in 1977 by Governor Byrne.

The shift in the governors' policies towards the open space areas within this highly industrialized state reflects the impact of citizen based interest groups whose development into formal organizations resulted in a shift in power over planning towards the increasing suburban population of the state during the 1960's.

CHART IV

LAND USE POLICIES DRAFTED DURING
ELECTION YEARS: 1960-1977

Campaign Years	Governor	Political Party	Policy
1960-61	Hughes	Democrat	Campaign pledge - no jetport for Morris or Hunterdon County
1964-65	Hughes	Democrat	Renews 1960 pledge. Considers Pine Barrens for jetport development
1967-68	Cahill	Republican	No jetport anywhere in New Jersey. Establishes a Pineland Environmental Council, a locally based planning body.
1977-78	Byrne	Democrat	Save the Pinelands Policy Drafts Executive Order No. 56 to establish the Pinelands Review Committee - a state level planning body

By 1967, because of lobbying of local networks, the Governor of New Jersey appointed the Pinelands Environmental Council a locally based group whose representation was designed to reflect agricultural, business and rural political groups. The council was charged with the responsibility of planning for the preservation of the Pinelands. The outcome of this organization is discussed in Chapter V. What was significant to these decisions was that planning responsibility was relegated to presumed citizen interest groups, as opposed to profes sional planners. And in 1977, in the wake of the then waning Pinelands Environmental Council, Governor Byrne appointed a state level Pinelands Review Committee whose responsibilities were to delineate boundaries of the region and secure plans to preserve it. This shift in planning policies reflected the pressure and power generated by formally organized interest groups on environmental issues in the 1970's.

Since these groups have become more organized, their differences over policy concerning conservation or development has escalated the conflict over planning rights and policies. These conflicts have, in turn, spurred the drafting of legislation by Congressmen towards the financing and management of Pine Barrens. These new forms of legislation are discussed further in the Chapter - Institutional Arrangements; but it is important to note the changes in land use planning policies over the earlier two-decade period.

In the early 1960's the Pine Barrens were a forgotten region. Even when busines-oriented county freeholders proposed a plan to build an international jetport in the Pines, the idea was treated with some scepticism by the F.A.A. who were more concerned with northern New

Jersey suburban communities. The Pine Barrens was still too far away. Rather, preferred sites to extend the urban field were located closer to the metropolitan region. The organization of citizen interest groups in the northern locations forced consideration of the Pinelands by default. The creation of a citizen based planning group, the Pinelands Environmental Council by the Republican Governor Cahill, brought new conflicts, since many members of the Council, including the Chairman, were development oriented. The subsequent creation of the Pinelands Review Committee by Governor Byrne reached new levels of conflict since the forces of development versus preservation have subsequently organized, intensified their political actions, and finally, splintered across group lines.

SUMMARY

As an environmental issue, the jetport receded from the Pine Barrens for a complex of reasons. Significantly, the organization of citizens and their attempts at influencing public policy on the question of open space, had not occurred before the jetport controversy. The jetport controversy created and transformed new interest groups and gathered together coalitions who would later be forced to re-group and re-define their goals and engage in active political efforts to influence state and federal bureaucracies, a process, which is continuous, and even more pluralistic in the 1970's.

The increase in productivity due to automation, the growth of affluence and the further urban decentralization, plus the greater productivity of capital which followed the post World War II society, did not in itself generate visible change within the Pine Barrens, so much as it created pressures in the more affluent and densely populated regions, which in turn, effected rural settlements.

The Keynesian solution of sustaining full production and employment of the 50's and 60's meant that growth would include geographic changes, altering the use of land and threaten undeveloped natural areas near urban settlements.

The decisions made by Port Authority and industrial leaders and subsequent upper and middle class citizen interest groups could have had more far reaching effects upon the Pine Barrens than in all of its previous 300 year history. Swamplands, pinelands, wetlands were suddenly the center of political and social conflicts. Their interim

resolution was in legislatively enacting land management policies which were to be carried out by state and federal agencies. Though this form of conflict settlement may have been part of western land disputes early in this century, such political battles over conservation and preservation had not reached the industrial east coast until the 1960's.

In the next phase of social and political conflicts, those of the late 60's and mid 70's, a second generation of problems and political alignments grew out of the initial struggle over conservation and development. But how this drama is acted out must be understood within the analysis of interest group politics and an understanding of the vital role played by land and water both as a resource and as the focus of conflict.

CHAPTER IV

WATER AND LAND: CRANBERRIES AND HOUSING

> "What we call land is an element of nature inextricably interwoven with man's institutions."
> (Polanyi, 1944:178).

The lack of industrial growth in southern New Jersey, particularly the Pine Barrens was not as we have indicated, the result of rational planning and decision making, but rather, as a by-product of the limits of what the land could support.

The Union of Land and Water: Cranberry Growing

The primary source of economic development in the Pine Barrens was agriculture; but there were and still are severe limitations on the varieties of crops possible on a soil so highly acid in composition. Only cranberries and blueberries can be grown. Moreover, water was a readily available resource that cranberries require, especially an easily regulated water supply. The farmer could 'capture' water in the bogs and use it as required during the cranberry growing cycle. To this end, each grower actively worked to attain control of a stream, as a basis for dams and streams, reservoirs, canals, ditches, along with pipes, wells, and overhead sprinklers. (Thompson, 1974).

Flooding plays a duo role in the growing and harvesting of cranberries. Cranberry vines are shallow and subject to damage when a heavy freeze which gets into the ground. To avoid this hazard, each grower must provide a "Winter Flood" starting about Christmas. Hopefully, all vines are covered with water by the first week of January. (Thompson, 1974).

The flood remains on the vines until March, April or May. While the water is on, the vines are dormant. If the water gets too warm the start of the decaying process produces a scum in the water which may coat the vines. Where the winters are extremely cold, an ice cover on a bog may shut out light and oxygen so that the water's oxygen content drops. In this case, the vines may die from lack of oxygen. To discourage frost, growers use water in winter, but once spring produces higher temperatures, water is removed and the vines begin to grow. Should a frost re-appear in Spring, the bogs are re-flooded. This flooding and draining serves to help maintain a bog temperature above $32^{o}F$ (freezing).

The second vital role of water is in the actual harvesting of cranberries. "Wet picking" harvesting requires that the bog be flooded while machines are utilized to "knock" or drag the berries from the vines into the water whose depth is just over the vines. The hollow berries float like a balloon on the surface of the water and are then skimmed from the water in hinged board enclosures. Once this is done, the water is passed on to the next bog and the process continued until all the berries have been harvested.

The "wet picking" method of harvesting is a relatively recent innovation and has reduced the necessity of migrant laborers enormously. One cranberry farmer commented that in his grandfather's time, berries were hand picked and required hundred of migrant workers who for the most part, were Philadelphia based Italian immigrants. Their families had to be housed by the farmers and returned to the city after the harvest was completed. In his father's time, with the improved scoop

methods of harvesting, a farmer required 50 to 60 workers and later on, only a dozen. With the present technology, machines and wet picking, the farmer requires only one helper part time.

Since water as a resource was (and is) essential to growing cranberries, the early farmers bought up the vacant woodlands upstream so that they could control the use and quality of water for their bogs. The result was that they became the major landholders of the region although a very small portion of the land they owned was actually used to grow cranberry vines. Those who were marginal, - were too far from a water supply, eventually went out of business and sold out to the larger land holders. The cranberry business became dominated by a few families who handed it down generationally. These families credit themselves with the preservation of the Pine Barrens since it was they who preserved the woodlands in order to maintain their water supply.

In a report of the Pinelands Advisory Committee presented to the Freeholders of Burlington and Ocean Counties, 1970, the committee comments:

> "Water, the Pinelands most valuable resource, caused the growth and development of the most important industries in the area, the cultivation of blueberries and cranberries; water is the principal reason why so much of the Pinelands has remained virtually untouched by the ceaseless flow of modern civilization... This vast territory (the Wharton tract) which remained in the Wharton family for generations along with the many thousands of acres owned by the cranberry and blueberry growers and used for the cultivation of their crops and for the protection of their water supplies were closed to adverse development, thus preserving the Pinelands in a largely natural condition. Municipal governments, dominated by gentlemen guided by traditional values, were not awed by the glitter of "progressive" innovations and did not encourage their establishment or growth."

It is water in fact rather than the surrounding land which touched off the conflict between cranberry growers (and among individual cranberry growers) and state agencies since no one can, under state law, own the water resource although one can own the land over and surrounding it. For cranberry growers, water is essential to crop growth and harvesting, but it is for other reason of great interest to the State Department of Environmental Protection as a resource: it is a potential water supply to the entire state.

In a speech made by Rocco D. Ricci, Deputy Commissioner of Environmental Protection raised the question of pluralistic participation in planning for the Pine Barrens, and more particularly, the surface water and ground water resources:

> "What are the proper roles of the federal, state and local governments in Pine Barrens resource planning and management? What is the role of the public, the environmental groups and private citizens? However, we cannot wait until these complex interrelationships are worked out. We must act now. The DEP will be proposing within the next few weeks upgraded surface water quality standards and ground water standards including non-degradation provision for the waters of the Pine Barrens. (Ricci, 1976).

It is here that Ricci points out the potential resource of Pine Barrens water for the state:

> "The non-degradation of these unusually high quality waters is critical to maintaining the ecosystem and to their possible future use to provide for a broad range of water needs for the citizens of our state." p. 3

The ground water Ricci refers to is the aquifir, an underground water system equivalent to an enormous lake 2,000 square miles in the

area and averaging 37 feet deep.

John McPhee describes the magnitude and vulnerability of the ground water system, the aquifir:

> "Typically, a pipe less than to inches in diameter driven thirty feet into the ground will produce 55 gallons a minute, and a twelve-inch pipe could bring up a million gallons a day. But, with all this, the vulnerability of the Pine Barrens aquifir is disturbing to contemplate. The water table is shallow in the pines, and the aquifer is extremely sensitive to contamination. The sand soil, which is so superior as a catcher of rain, is not good at filtering out or immobilizing wastes. Pollutants, if they happen to get into the water, can travel long distances. Industry or even extensive residential development in the central pinelands could spread contaminants widely through the underground reservoir." (McPhee, 1967:17).

Since the soils underlying the aquifir are sandy and porous, contamination is always a potential threat and would be pervasive throughout the enormous system.

Garfield Demarco, cranberry grower and chairman of the Pinelands Environmental Council concurs and suggests that the real battle in the Pine Barrens will come over water uses.

> "I have a feeling that there will be a battle in the future. I don't see development - some housing here and there - agriculture and some sand and gravel operations. The real battle will come over its water uses....I'm against transportation of water out of the Pines to the rest of the state. If there were people dying of lack of water, we'd have to look into it... I don't think there's much of a threat of housing or development. Because of area remoteness - some hearty souls here and there - a little bit far for the average commuter... The state goals - the main goal to develop those water resources - otherwise I don't think the state cares about the Pines."

Local distrust of the state's plans for the water resource is reflected in an earlier document, the 1970 report of study sub-committee of the Pinelands Advisory Committee of which DeMarco was also chairman. Here the committee re-affirms their territorial hegemony over the water sources:

> "The New Jersey Division of Water Policy and Supply has consistently held that the vast underground reservoir of the Pinelands is to be used to meet the needs of South Jersey only and that this valuable resource should be preserved and dedicated to that purpose. The presence of this immense underground reservoir of pure water is of great importance to the southern part.of New Jersey." (Report, 1970:3).

Conflict: Monopolizing a Valuable Resource

The conflict over land and water use not so much over the goals of conservation versus development as it does appears to arise from which level of organization manages the resources and therefore dictates resource policy. A pure and bountiful water supply is essential to the cycle of cranberry growing and harvesting as it is to preservation as a source of water. Therefore, rather than conflict, consensus would be in order. The question is why does conflict exist in an atmosphere of consensus over the need for water preservation. To analyze this question we first have to look at the local view as it stands in conflict with the state agency view.

Bill Haines is reported to be the largest landholding cranberry and blueberry grower within the state. His concern for state intervention stems from their interference of his autonomy in his agricultural practices:

> "Most land is used for active agriculture. Use the other land for the watershed. We've got as much developed as we've got water to handle it. Polluted waters' not good for cranberries. (possible pollution from off-shore oil drilling?) In Louisiana they use more water than we do and I don't think they have problems with oil. We're condemned a lot but I think we've done more to preserve the watershed. We get a lot of bad publicity cause we own a lot of land - think we're land barons - land's here in my family for years and years. Take the Medford Lakes area. They took the cranberry bogs and made lakes out of them - built homes around the lake and have a lot of them going down and saying you can't do anything with your land. A lot of people come here and get what they want and then they don't want anyone else to. It ticks me off - they say you can't do this or that and they done it. I say - if you want to protect the land buy it and pay taxes on it. They say they don't have the money (the environmentalists). Put your money where your mouth is. They preserve the old town and I compliment them on it.... The 208 law on water pollution - I'm all for it. Keep the water potable - but the criteria don't make any sense - its higher than the water is naturally. Evidently they're not very knowledgeable.

An agricultural agent familiar with the farmers and their problems points out that the fear of state water quality standards comes from the belief that the state would over-regulate their business to the point of extinction, or accomplish the same purpose by land acquisition. Herbicides and fungicides are used to control the growth of "weeds that look like they came from outer space" and control brown rot of the berries.

Haines comments:

> "Somebodies gets in an official capacity - they say you can't fertilize that bog cause theres phosphorous - these streams are not affected one iota by it. I'm a soil conservationist. That's the main part of it.... You can come in and look at it. That's what the State's been doing at Oswego Lake. The State's poor mouthing

> everything. We haven't got money to do this or that they say. They got the income tax: Thirty years ago the Pinelands ran from Marleton to the shore. Now they run from Tabernacle to Whiting with one heck of a lot of houses being developed in between. Agriculture centers have held land. I could sell every lot along Lake Oswego - on or up to Stormy Hill. I was offered a big price for 10 - 11 acres up there. But I don't think the state should come in here and say - look buddy - you can't do this or that and steal the land we pay taxes on."

The acquisition of land by the state and the loss of ratables remains the rationale for distrust of state's land and water policies. Garfield DeMarco, a large cranberry grower, refers to the water in terms of regional ownership:

> "Off shore oil drilling - because of experience in other areas - we could probably handle if there isn't excessive damage. I'm against the transportation of water out of the Pines to the rest of the state... If you did extract water over a long period of time it would change the ecology - it would end the area as a cranberry and blueberry production area.... If water is desperately needed in North Jersey - the economic survival of North Jersey would depend upon it - if not significantly change the Pines. I'd hate to see a large section of South Jersey devastated in order to provide water to the north.

The sub-committee of the Pinelands Advisory Committee, the Parent of the Pinelands Environmental Council whose members included DeMarco, A. Morton Cooper, W. Brooks Evert noted in thier 1970 report for the Freeholders of Burlington and Ocean Counties:

> "These significant accomplishments by the State (the development of recreational facilities at Lake Atsion, Hampton Gate, Lebanon State Forest, Bass River State Forest by the New Jersey Department of Conservation and Development) were not

> carried out however, without harming private landholders, counties and municipalities. Often land acquisition procedures were carried out in a highhanded fashion and little or no consideration was given. For example, Washington Township, Burlington County, was virtually obliterated; the State acquired over 80% of this municipality and because of the great loss of ratables the tax increased by $8.76 to $17.36 in one year." .3

The concern for acquisition by the state and the example of the loss of ratables in Washington Township are discussed as reasons for fighting state water quality standards. State officials point out that the Washington Township loss was in actuality the state purchase of the Wharton Tract and that no such acquisition has occurred since that time.

The state officials acknowledge that water standards represent a means of monitoring open space land; but both State Department of Environmental Protection and U. S. Bureau of Outdoor Recreation Department of Interior designate the land and water resources as having significance far beyond the purview of south Jersey.

Steve Picco, Legislative Director of the Department of Environmental Protection notes:

> "Water quality standards are the single most important regulation in the Pine Barrens. You can't change water quality in the Pine Barrens - applies to surface and ground water supply. It had never before been applied to ground water in the state. The Pine Barrens are a critical area as far as sewers and septic tanks. Any construction for human habitation has to come to us under the critical areas bill."

Picco explains the position of the State Agency and the Federal Agency on insuring the future water supply and recreation area:

> "Insuring a future water supply source. It's the last major pure water supply in New Jersey or maybe in the North East corridor. Aesthetic arguments. Pine Barrens unique Ecosystem. If you've got something unique, you want to preserve it. Last unique wilderness in the North East and it ought to be preserved. The same general preservation arguments apply at greater intensity. The center of megalopolis - maybe the Central Park of the future if that's the way development goes - one city stretching from Boston to Richmond and this one centers smack in the middle of it.
>
> The B. O. R. is starting to realize on a federal level what we realize on a state level, that urban people need recreation too. Need it more. B.O.R. money and Green Acres have been used in suburban areas where acquisition is easiest to develop. National level B. O. R. money have not reflected urban sensitivity - been out west in National parks rather than intensely developing urban areas like New Jersey. Pine Barrens stands out like an oasis - maybe B. O. R. realizes its worth preserving.
>
> Given water quality standards, and wild and scenic river legislation would result in a dormant arrangement. If we're going to protect the Pine Barrens it has to be an area absolutely inviolate. Something which has no deleterious effect on the water or aesthetics.

Conflict over the regulation of water stems from the realization on the part of local agricultural interests and state agencies that the regulation of water permits the regulation of land through which streams and rivers flow. As major landowners of the region, the large cranberry growers have been in a position to sell their land to developers, although a few like Haines and Thompson preferred to continue cranberry growing. The major difference between Haines political alignments and his first cousin, Charles Thompson Jr., was that Haines saw state regulations as

as interference and harassment while Thompson saw regulation as the only possible means of preserving the land. Therefore, Haines participated in local political planning groups, such as the Pinelands Environmental Council, and Thompson and his attorney daughter, Mary Ann, supported the passage of federally sponsored legislation, such as the Florio bill to be discussed later. While Haines was appointed to represent agricultural interests on the Pinelands Environmental Council, Charles Thompson and Mary Ann Thompson drove from Vincentown at 5:00 a.m. in the morning to Washington, D. C. in order to testify in behalf of the Florio bill at the congressional hearings of the House sub-committee on Interior. Though both families continue in the old Quaker family tradition of cranberry growing as well as raising professional lawyers, they maintain opposing views on the control of cranberries and water.

However, they too understand that the growth of suburbs effects the already declining agricultural systems. This point is best illustrated in the examination of urban decentralization in the Pine Barrens region.

Urban Decentralization in the Pine Barrens: Housing and Land

Urban decentralization was occurring at the same time as the decline of older systems of agriculture, and in New Jersey, as well as Long Island and Massachusetts, the decline of land utilized for the production of agriculture also produced residential and industrial development to widen the urban spheres in an ever-expanding ring.

To at least some of the inhabitants of the Pine Barrens region, abandoned farmland and woodland was a useless leftover in the landscape. In the crucial years following World War II, with the advance of

urbanization, commercial entrepreneurs were searching for a means of profiting from the affluence and expansion of this urban field.

In Table I and II, we note evidence of the decline in percentages of open land within the two major counties, Burlington and Ocean, of the Pine Barrens Region.

The Tables indicate over the two decade periods following the conclusion of World War II, a loss of 21% of the combined counties total farmland and woodland. Ocean County's loss of 12% of combined farmland and woodland between 1954 and 1971, is considerably higher than the neighboring Burlington County with a loss of 8.9%. The higher the loss in open space is attributed to the Ocean County development policies for the growth of retirement villages.

Social Change: Retirement Villages as Rural Suburbia

A large part of the growth in Ocean County during the past decade has occurred from the construction of retirement communities.

Retirement villages meet the problems inherent in a rural region in transition. Senior citizens, largely retired do not require access to urban centers, highly developed public transportation, nor the expansion of schools and facilities, and, therefore do not overload the limited services in the communities onto which they fringe.

Forty to fifty percent of the County's growth from 1970 to 1976 has been due to movement and resettlement of senior citizens in the areas, coming from urban areas.

Within that County, those townships squarely inside the Pine Barrens region, Manchester, Little Egg Harbor, and Stafford, contain a total of 7,993 dwelling units constructed since 1966 for retirement villages.

TABLE I

PERCENT OF OPEN LAND (FARMLAND AND WOODLAND)
IN PINE BARRENS REGION OVER TWO DECADES

OCEAN COUNTY

Type of Land in Acres	Year 1954	Year 1971	% Difference
	% of County Area		
Total Land in Farmland	11.6	3.4	-8.8
Total Land in Woodland	4.9	1.1	-3.8
Combined Total	16.5	4.5	-12.

N = 410,240
County Total Land

TABLE II

PERCENT OF OPEN LAND (FARMLAND AND WOODLAND)
IN PINE BARRENS REGION OVER TWO DECADES

BURLINGTON COUNTY

Type of Land in Acres	Year 1954	Year 1971	% Difference
	% of County Area		
Total Land in Farmland	40.	32.	-8.
Total Land in Woodland	10.3	9.	-0.9
Combined Total	50.3	41.4	-8.9

N = 524,350
County Total Land

Source: New Jersey Agricultural Statistics 1945-1956,
New Jersey Crop Reporting Service
New Jersey Department of Agriculture and
U. S. Department of Agriculture, July, 1957
Estimates of Land in Farms by Municipality
and County, 1971

The largest center for these villages, Manchester, contains a total of 7,910 dwelling units and 7 retirement communities as of July, 1976. The spread of development for retirement villages in Burlington County has already been in progress and serves to explain some of the current conflicts over land in Bass River Township. In addition, suburban housing for commuter families is also in evidence. Bass River Township in Burlington County attributes population growth from 737 in 1960 to 900 in 1973 to urban development.

The Township's population shows an increasing 20% proportion of senior citizens, and an increase in school age groups.

In addition, cranberry and blueberry growing provides too many problems for farmers, some of which are made dramatic by urban decentralization: the farmer has to resist attractive offers from developers to sell the land and get a good price for it.

Moreover, large landholders have cultivated all the land it is profitable to develop. They have reached a natural limit in their ability to farm land and make a profit. New technologies in cranberry growing and harvesting permit a higher yield per acre, and therefore less acreage is used to increase yield. In 1953, for example, Burlington Counton harvested 2,800 acres, 56% of the state's total devoted to cranberry growing, with a yield per barrel of 25; in 1955, two years later, 2,140 acres were harvested (59.4% of the state's total) with a yield per barrel of 28. Finally, in 1956, the County harvested a low of 1,800 acres (though a high state total of 60%) with a yield per barrel of 27. As the yield increases, the land area available for harvesting decreases, given a relatively stable market. With such an

increase in yield per acre, there is little incentive to harvest larger tracts of land.

The pressures to convert the land to other uses does, in turn affect the preservation of open space in an urbanized region. An industrial society, more specifically, a highly developed industrial state provides a structure of opportunities for the commercial use of land. There are no incentives in terms of tax structures or growth patterns towards the preservation of open space.

Housing and New Towns in the Pines

The idea that open space was economically unproductive, a wasteland in an economically undeveloped region was to rise again as a political and social issue with the proposal for New Towns in the Pines.

New Towns as a community planning concept, noted in Chapter III, began in England at the turn of the century but reached some development in America following the first World War. The major components of a New Town was that it would be a planned community of limited density with economic self containment. That self containment was possible through the inclusion in planning of nearby industries and work settings, so that the separation of the place of work from the place of residence would be minimized, a phenomenon which Gottmann (1967) pointed out, was the effect if not the cause of urbanization.

During the later 1960's, the idea of developing New Towns as an alternative to the urban sprawl and mess was seriously considered by the Federal Administration. Once again, the local leadership in Pine Barrens communities saw the possibility of obtaining Federal money for the planning and development of an industry, housing, requiring

relatively inexpensive land and open space. Just as local leadership, freeholders of Burlington County, and Mayors had applied for funds in 1959 to plan for an intercontinental jetport, in 1971, they were to apply for $50 million dollars of H.U.D. (Housing and Urban Development) federal funding to plan for a New Towns community of some 80 thousand occupants in the Township of Bass River.

Bass River Township: A Community Without Change

The target site for the Pinelands New Towns was Bass River Township, an area of some 50 thousand acres of open woodland from a total of 77 square miles in the southeasterly extremity of Burlington County.

The Township forms a substantial part of the watershed for the Wading and Bass Rivers, as well as the Mullica, into which they empty. All these rivers are in the center of the Pine Barrens. Bass River Township is an old Quaker settlement dating back to the early eighteenth century. As noted in the chapter of the History and Technological Change, Chapter II, the iron bog industry was the basis of Martha's Furnace and Harrisville during the early 1800's which declined some fifty years later when new technology coal burning furnaces, resulted in a shift of the center of smelting to the state of Pennsylvania. Other small scale industries such as glass making and paper mills went through a cycle of development and decline until by 1900, all forms of industry and the settlements created to sustain them, disappeared. The population that remained in this rural region moved into small scale agricultural activities, cranberry and blueberry growing; and into cord-wood and cedar pole production from the forests, shell and fin-fish production from Great Bay; and boat building industries along the river.

The population density has remained stable and in fact reflects a decline from the preceding century. The density of the population is .02 person per acre and suggests the precarious balance between a limited economy and its population.

New Gretna is the village within the Township which contains the majority of the population. It sports a main street with one restaurant, the New Gretna House, a dark red wooden house whose deeper colored overhanging eaves slope heavily and unevenly with age. Just down the way on the Main Street is a fire house. The local postmistress, (who holds the job for life) conducts business from her home. Only the large American flag planted in the front grass indicates the existence of a government business. When the postmistress is finally relieved of her post, the post office will be set up in the home of the next lifetime appointee. No mail is delivered in New Gretna and a letter to the Mayor, Floyd West requires little more than the words, P. O., New Gretna, New Jersey, or simple, New Gretna, New Jersey will suffice.

Across the road from the New Gretna House is an aging wooden building of similar vintage identified by the words, "Pizza, Baked Goods." Clearly, that is not what the original builder had in mind, as an inner room was once the large meeting room of the former Grange Hall. Neither the farmers nor the community meet in the Grange Hall anymore.

Community meetings are, at present, held at the local elementary school building, and concentrate on the struggles over new housing, rising population, density, and the demand for services to support the new settlers. But the original battle was generated by the plans for a New Town in the Pinelands in Bass River Township.

In 1971, Floyd West, a member of the Township Committee quite by accident read an item in a Newark newspaper that plans for a new city in Bass River Township in the Pine Barrens had been approved by a federal agency, Housing and Urban Development (H.U.D.). The news story indicated that there were no obstacles for a $50 million dollars expenditure just to start the engineering and design of a New Towns community for some 80 thousand people. The population of Bass River as reported in the 1970 census was 815.

The plans to create the New Towns in the Pinelands would explode Bass River Township's population to a dramatic 80,815. The enthusiastic report noted that a railroad spur would be started to connect Bass River with the tiny village of Chatsworth and that future plans would bring about an airport, and a brewery to employ the arriving residents of this newly created, self-sustaining city.

West saw the New Towns application as a federal response to the political climate of the times. He felt it as a spurious solution to the student unrest and to the negative response to the Vietnamese War. He pointed out

> "A solution to the political problems after the riots... supposedly to solve all problems by providing a mix of all levels of economic strata..."

But if he was not sanguine about the idea of a New Towns in Bass River, he was more immediately alarmed at the fact that even as a member of the Township Committee, this item in the Newark newspaper was the first knowledge he had of such plans in work. He learned, after inquiry, that the (then) Mayor was owner of some 7,000 acres of

land in the heart of that proposed New Towns. West gathered additional information with the help of a resident he describes as a "former C.I.A. man," and confirmed the newspaper report.

At this point, Floyd West began in open political action against the Mayor, the New Towns, and the secrecy of the local government committee who were working to create a new city, replacing the village as it had been.

West is a soft spoken man with a faint southwest drawl. He speaks fluently, even eloquently at times. He later moved to Bass River where he married a woman from an old Pine Barrens Quaker family. He exhibits a political sophistication worthy of urban settings. Once aroused by the report of the plans for New City, West began to talk to the newspapers and to address public meetings on the secrecy in developing plans for New Towns, and though he roused a furor amongst the local citizens, he felt helpless about reversing the federal decision.

West consulted a lawyer and learned that New Jersey townships could have a choice of one of two forms of government, either a Township Committee, or a Township Commission, and that a decision to shift structures could result in the total disbanding of the existing government. By obtaining 25% of signatures of registered voters, he could require an election be held which could force a change in the form of local government and a election of a new set of officials. West undertook this maneuver and was successful. Under the newly formed township commission, Floyd West was elected Mayor of Bass River Township. His first act as Mayor was to withdraw the New Towns proposal. In 1971, the doors were closed at least for the time being, on large scale housing development in Bass River Township.

Pluralism in the 1970's

In the 1970's housing was the major threat to existing open spaces. Just as in the 1960's airports and jetports were to generate opposition, conflict and the political climate for interest group development, the "threat" of housing development in the 1970's brought about newer forms of political engagement. In the Bass River Township incident, interest groups no longer outside the governing structure, but had become part, members of the legitimate governing or planning structures. The latter reflected and supported a consensus of the positions of the interest groups so represented.

The formation of Pinelands Environmental Council (P.E.C.) by early 1970, (discussed in the next chapter) reflected a similar move towards the inclusion of interest groups in official planning bodies. By the 1970's, political activism, regardless of whether their programs were "liberal" or "conservative" would find themselves operating within the formal governing or planning bodies.

The tools of the 60's, the protest marches and demonstrations which were to characterize the anti-jetport activities of the Great Swamp interest groups and to a lesser extent, the Pine Barrens people, were beginning to take new forms in the 1970's. There were fewer and fewer marches and demonstrations, but there was the birth of new planning bodies. This gave rise to the use of legal systems and legislation to coop and formalize the power of interest groups. The result was that the interest groups were now operating as part of the existing governmental agencies. They were, in fact, learning to utilize bureaucratic agencies towards their own ends. Change was being generated from within the system, instead - as in the sixties - being

generated outside of it by public protest, demonstration and implicit or explicit threats. Although new problems are present in the 70's relative to the persistence of open space in the Pine Barrens, the means of dealing with the problems rests upon the growth and cooptation of interest groups into quasi-governmental structures. This will be discussed in the succeeding chapters.

PART II

THE ELABORATION OF INTERESTS: FROM PROTEST TO FORMAL ORGANIZATION

Significant technological changes in the post-World War II American society intensified the scale and pervasiveness of industrialization and its by products. These advances, in turn, created pressures for new uses of open land: the forces of economic development spurred the quest for new jetports in the early 1960's and for continually growing housing development in the total period after World War II. By the late 60 and 70's a market for new housing was feasible in the Pine Barrens. The response of communities adjacent to the proposed advances, and of some old line conservationists who organized at levels that cut across specific communities, was to organize loosely knit, issue oriented protest groups.

In the 1960's, interest groups drafted letter writing campaigns, organized demonstrations, protest marches, and raised money to hire attorneys to represent their viewpoints on the issues. In addition, these interest groups organized as political constituencies and created pressures on the legislative representatives to draft or oppose legislation. By 1970, political activism had come in from the cold. No longer generating pressure from outside the political system, interest groups began to enter the corridors of power.

Groups no longer simply dealt with one specific crisis: they had routinized their organizations, established stable membership, hired executive directors, set up permanent offices and participated in the

creation of environmental policies. Significantly, they had shifted from a posture of protest to one of professionalism in planning.

Part II of this study deals with the second decade of conflict over land and water use in the Pine Barrens during the 1970's. During the same period that interest groups moved from protest to participation in formal organizations, the fate of the Pine Barrens became subject once again to explicit public policy decision. Through the actions and participation of protesters turned planner, and through the political sophistication gained in the battles of the sixties, environmental interest groups now citizen planners worked with and against federal and state bureaucracies in arriving at institutional arrangements and new land management systems focused upon the Pine Barrens.

Thus, Part II focuses interest groups and their emerging organizational strategies in this second era of environmental consciousness. It deals with the new forms of cleavage and cooperation that have emerged under the new systems of cooptation.

CHAPTER V

CLEAVAGE AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRATEGY

> "The imperatives of technology and organization, not the images of ideology, are what determine the shape of economic society...although it will not necessarily be welcomed by those whose intellectual capital and moral fervor are invested in the present images of the market economy as the antithesis of social planning...nor their disciples who, with lesser intellectual investment, carry the banners of free markets and free enterprise... Now will it be welcomed by those who identify planning exclusively with socialism." (Galbraith, 1967:19).

The main shift in the second era of Pine Barrens disputes was from the activities of protest groups and the repertoire of protest activities, toward a structured, formal involvement with government planning bureaucracies. Before that point, the planning bureaucracies were exclusively government agencies.

The business communities which carried the banner of free enterprise had not only identified planning exclusively with socialism, they had entirely relegated to the government bureaucracies this seemingly negative function. The influence of post World War II property, stressed the social efficiency of the unmanaged market and argued business interference was considered damaging to the efficiency of the private sector. Thus Galbraith's wry comment on the Affluenct Society's struggle for power with the state:

> "... the most dangerously intrusive agency was the state... The test of faith in the market, it followed, was the rigor with which one sought to minimize the role of the state." (Galbraith, 1968:xii)

These arguments were made despite the fact that continuously expanding federal and state budgets underrate the "free"market as well specific industries favored by these budgets.

The main shift in the activities of interest groups in the Pine Barrens towards the 1970's was from protest groups to formal involvement with the planning bureaucracies, especially those of the state of New Jersey. Ironically, the first formally organized and legislatively established planning group was composed of the advocates of free enterprise, local control, and the gatekeepers of the private property interests in the Pine Barrens. This first formally recognized citizen planning organization, the Pinelands Environmental Council (P.E.C.) formed in 1970. Its creation closely followed by the creation of an opposing, and equally distinct form of planning strategy on the part of the environmentalists who embraced state and federal agencies in an attempt to win powerful planning and policy influence in agencies outside the Pine Barrens, and in many instances, at the federal level.

Thus during the second era of environmental issues, the 1970's there emerged a highly subtle form of power maneuvering whereby the official planning agency becomes the medium through which interest groups attempt to control land management policies. While the proponents of local control and free enterprise established with state support locally based planning agencies, the opposing environmentalists sought to involve the state and federal agencies as co-planners of the region. The sublety of these planning strategies become more apparent as new planning groups and task forces were formed. The rationality for this kind of rational planning is often not easily explained, since it tends to be based on new forms of manipulation whereby formal planning

agencies become simply the screen behind which interest groups attempt to dictate land management policies from interest and value bases that have little to do with planning as an exercise in rationality.

Planning as a Rational System of Control

While sociologists have pointed out that both Weber and Manheim emphasized the rationality of bureaucracy and planning, (Bensman and Lilienfeld, 1973), it should be noted that Weber differentiated between formal and substantive. The differentiation was in terms of the clearly articulated formal procedure, and the substantive rationality in which concern is centered on substantive ends, with formal procedure being of instrumental importance.

With the increase of pluralism in and out of bureaucracies, interest groups participating in planning bodies, and the pressures that operate on the formulation of social policy, the question of whether an integrated, substantive rationality can govern modern planning has been posed.

> "Conceive of the state, the nation as a collectivity of individuals and groups, classes, organizations, political parties, each of which may have goals, interests, ideologies, and structures of relevance which are sometimes unrelated to each other and often in conflict, then the goals within which planning takes place are not to be regarded as given and are often defined as articulated only within the process of planning itself." (Bensman & Lilienfeld, 1973:299).

The ideologist of planning affirms that the planning process is rational and therefore capable of producing a rational order. But beyond the ideology of rational order, planning may in fact emerge from the desire to extend the jurisdiction of an existing bureaucracy or

interest group. Therefore, one possible outcome of planning is that the designated agent or agency extends its jurisdiction or advance interests, either for itself or for some other agency or interest group. The use of planning as a system of formal rationality then, can be to shift managerial jurisdictions from one level of government to another as well as to extend the jurisdiction or influence of an existing bureaucracy, and it can be used to advance the interests of a non-governmental interest group. This has been the case with respect to the Pine Barrens.

In the Pine Barrens, the awareness of the need for planning was absent until the later 1960's. Then local farmers, businessmen and conservationists recognized a potential shift in jurisdiction over the area towards agencies of the state or federal governments, and away from their local bases of power. The existing local elites, who had had primary influence in the area in the absence of these higher jurisdictions moved politically for the formation of an official planning agency for the Pine Barrens which was locally and regionally based, and which would heavily represent their interests. If planning was becoming recognized as a form for achieving rationality in government, then the local interests too could plan and practice the art of "formal rationality. Thus Pinelands Environmental Council was born.

The Pinelands Environmental Council: Systems of Local Control in Formalized Interest Groups: The Property Owners Strategy

In the 1960's, the locally based conservation groups organized, as we had indicated, to preserve the Pinelands from the threat of the construction of an international jetport.

Under the loosely knit organization of locally based conservation groups, a coalition who called themselves FOCUS (Federation of Conservationists United Societies, Inc.) worked quietly to see if a study could be made which would allow the Department of Interior to designate the Pine Barrens as a region of national significance. Since the state government and the New York-New Jersey Port of Authority were focusing on the establishment of a jetport, the old line conservationists argued, federal jurisdiction would limit and contain state jurisdiction. But they believed that the actual management of the land should be left to local interests.

Local agricultural business in the Pine Barrens townships, some of whom served as local freeholders, and others who dominated the political networks which elected the freeholders, were not indifferent to these development proposals and policies. They were alarmed at the possibility of federal control. In 1969 the rhetoric of traditional agricultural and business fundamentalism began to be sounded throughout the Pines:

> "...the word got out the Department of Interior was studying to see if they should make a park or national monument - that the National government was doing something in the Pine Barrens. Well, as soon as that got out everybody was really excited about it - 'the feds are coming and we're going to lose our municipalities - we gotta keep the feds out of here' - and tempers flared so badly that people were flexing their fists at each other and making all sorts of remarks about the Department of Interior, Park Service, and anybody who had anything to do with it."

The local member of the Pinelands Environmental Council who related this story of panic and anger at the idea of federal control

explained and justified his anti-federal attitudes with the following remark:

> "New Jersey has a reputation of being a state with 'home rule' and people are very jealous of it - the ability to run their own business and not have some 'great white father' tell them what to do."

This expression of rugged individualism, of American populism came, peculiarly, from the ranks of big business, the expanding agri-business of the Ocean Spray Cranberry Collective leaders, such as J. Garfield DeMarco, and his brother, Mark DeMarco. But populism still has political importance to audiences in the Pine Barrens, despite the fact that the rhetoric no longer reflects the reality. For example, at a hearing in Chatsworth on proposed water quality standards, a man in his middle thirties who was later identified as a builder, delivered an impassioned speech on local control:

> "We are the sons of those early pioneers. They were good and true people who farmed and loved the land. Now they want to take our birthright away from us..."

That same evening, the Chairman of the Woodland Township Planning Board who had supported the development of a housing project in that township offered a similar perspective:

> "We are the native sons, rugged but good people. Our forefathers took care of it and preserved it now and they're being shoved aside by powerful warring factions. They have been little if any mention of those native sons of the Pine Barrens. These people are a cruel example of majority rule. People of the state are interferring and deciding the fate of the Pine Barrens.

> The state has ignored our needs and our plight. We cannot formulate policy without giving primary consideration to native sons."

And the Mayor of Washington Township, Earl Hill stated his fear of state land ownership and control:

> "I've only lived here 45 years. Who had this brilliant idea to draw a line around this whole thing? (referring to proposed federal legislation for Green Line Boundaries) State owns 60% of Washington Township. Then they step in with the Wetlands Act and take another 20%. I'm going to take it to the Supreme Court - its unconstitutional."

The irony of Hill's statement is reflected in his invoking of the Supreme Court and the Constitution as federal mechanism for sustaining local control. The Mayor of Shamong Township, Addison Bradley repeated a statement often made by Garfield DeMarco when opposing the role of state control.

> "The parent while appreciated, should let go of the reins."

DeMarco has used stronger terms to define the role of federal and state agencies. He has defined the control by governmental agencies as nothing less than "communism." And finally, Burlington County Freeholder, Robert Shinn, Jr., who was to later (1977) successfully float a bond for one million dollars to purchase critically endangered lands in the Pine Barrens noted that he was:

> "... against preservation in a practical economic standpoint."

Shinn praised the policy of development rights which the Department of Agriculture was fostering, but noted categorically that he was against regulations.

And still another mayor, Mayor Henderson of Eagleswood Township stood against state or federal regulations:

> "We want input into our own future destiny.
> We've lost acreage - your property rights.
> We in our town want control of our own destiny."

Opposed to this localism and rhetoric was Mayor Tully of Mullica Township who described his area as "the most polluted township in the area." Thus Mayor Tully stated:

> "We do not have control of our own destiny
> locally and we need the state to help us.
> The lake (Mullica) smelled like unwashed
> diapers. In January we had the worse fish
> kill. Breweries run into the Mullica River
> We're not on public payroll like DeMarco...
> that stinking old sewage system should be
> knocked out."

At the opposition to overwhelming interest in local control, the Mayor of Bass River Township, Floyd West, equates local control with the increasing problem of urban sprawl:

> "Urban sprawl could cause serious pollution to
> water, surface and underground. Can you change
> the course? The answer is yes. Government in
> New Jersey. The discharge of sewage into rivers
> is a concern to residents. The shellfish in-
> dustry continues to suffer a loss. There are
> signs of irreversibility everywhere: Contami-
> nated wells in Freehold, Mannville - Burlington
> County - Ocean County; lakes closed by pollution;
> real estate development is throwing sand in our
> eyes with a lot of irrelevacy."

Accordingly, West's suggestion that it was real estate developers who were throwing sand in their eyes implies that agricultural fundamentalism and anti-federalism masks a more basic concern for rights of developers to make profits by despoiling the environment. The creation of the regional planning body, the Pinelands Environmental Council would be further indicator of property owners and businessmen's strategy.

Strategies of the P. E. C.: Power and Local Control

The situation that evoked the fear of the Feds in 1968 was the fact that Jack McCormick was writing part of his doctoral dissertation on the ecological significance of the Pine Barrens for the National Park Service. The result of a fist-flying controversy in a meeting in New Gretna was a decision on the part of the county freeholders to form a committee, the Pinelands Advisory Committee. The goal of this group was to attempt to influence the Park Service study and the solutions suggested, proposed by the National Park Service, and perhaps even more importantly, to learn of the planning activities contemplated by the Park Service course of that study.

The Committee examined the role of other regional land use of commissions, particularly the Hudson River Valley Commission, and decided that the New York Committee was not locally based or sufficiently represented by local interests: Commented J. Morton Cooper. an old-line conservationist who later was appointed to serve on the Pinelands Environmental Council:

> "The Governor of New York could appoint any crony to oversee the Hudson River - maybe they never saw the Hudson - maybe they lived hundreds of miles away from it..."

Thus the Committee re-affirmed the principal of 'home rule' and recommended that members of the soon to be formed planning body be appointed from the area.

There seems little doubt, given the principal of 'home rule' in New Jersey communities, and the land management conflicts with state or federal control, that the county freeholders had different interests and priorities in planning from those of state and federal agencies. They were engaged in the process of pressure group politics, the ends for which were agreed upon but outside the process of formal planning. What they felt they needed at this time were formal mechanisms that embodied home rule, and the interests behind home rule.

With an idealogy of 'home rule', a bill for the developing regional planning body, Assembly Bill 2096, (Chapter 417, laws of 1971) was drafted by Assemblyman Barry Parker, the son of businessman, "Piney" Parker, to create the Pinelands Environmental Council, the P. E. C.

The Everts and Cooper, all old line conservationists who accepted appointment to the Council, saw the legislation as a compromise. It carried no binding enforcement powers, merely the power to delay construction or development for a period of several months, pending review by the Council. But a Deputy Commissioner of Environmental Protection, Al Guido, disagreed with the idea that the drafting of the P. E. C. bill was in any way a compromise by the property interests:

> "They got exactly what they wanted. There was no compromise. They could lead people in the state to believe that the Pine Barrens was being looked after while they went ahead and did exactly what they wanted."

The composition of the Pinelands Environmental Council through its appointments procedure, reflected the dominance of a cast of characters already locally powerful and committed to home rule and local control over state and federal intervention. All appointments were made by the two freeholders of Ocean and Burlington Counties. The chairman of the P. E. C. represented the large cranberry and blueberry interests and was, of course, a large landholder. He was J. Garfield DeMarco, lawyer, cranberry grower, chairman of the Burlington County Republican Party, and representative of the Cranberry Growers Association. Bill Haines, the largest cranberry grower in the region, was named to represent the blueberry growers interests. A. Morton Cooper, the secretary of the Council was to represent the conservationists from Burlington County. Two representatives of the sportsmens groups one from each of the two counties, were appointed and the remaining five members were the mayors of each of the Townships included in the boundaries defined by the Council. These were the mayors of Eagleswood, Woodland, Manchester, Little Egg Harbor, Washington, and Bass River Township. Although some of these mayors may have been changed since the 1975 report of the Council, the overall position on 'home rule' and anti-federal intervention persists, with the departure from that position by Floyd West,

The lone figure on the Council designated to represent the state government was Commissioner of Environmental Protection (D. E. P.) representative, Howard Wolf, later replaced by Al Guido.

The hired Executive Director was Joseph Portash, who was also the Mayor of Manchester Township and was therefore entitled to appoint his chosen representative on the Council.

The Council's produced a planning report, "Proposed Plan for the Pinelands, 1975", a plan which evaluated critical areas and developable areas.

A crisis emerged when the Commissioner of Environmental Protection, David Bardin, identified this plan as a "developer's dream" since it proposed that zoning regulations in developable areas would allow half acre lots. A. Morton Cooper, speaking as a member of the Pinelands Environmental Council, noted that the zoning regulations to smaller units of half acre lots was merely compliance with the recently passed Mount Laurel decision. This legal decision known as the "anti-snob law" outlawed the exclusion of small lots from zoning regulations as a means of including low income housing and people in heretofor closed middle class communities.

However, Commissioner of Environmental Protection Bardin concluded that the P. E. C. planning document allowed the construction of more than 160,000 new housing units and that, moreover, it did not address itself to the problem of water pollution caused by resultant run-offs from streams, landfills and sewage. In short, as a land and water preservation plan, it left much to be desired.

During the same period of time the Commissioner criticized the Council for their special concern with private property rights, the Executive Director of the P.E.C., Joseph Portash was to be indicted for conflict of interests when it was learned that he had served as paid consultant to a major retirement village builder while he had been both Mayor of Manchester Township and paid executive director of the Planning Council. Even though Portash was indicted (on a lesser charge), the citizens of the township, particularly the Senior Citizens who inhabit

the seven Crestwood village communities in his Township, gave support to their Mayor as a "nice guy" who had simply moved into a newer home and had needed extra funds.

While the state agency spoke critically of the regional planning council, J. Garfield DeMarco in his role as chairman of the P.E.C., wrote an angry letter to Commissioner Bardin. He spoke angrily about the charge that the Council served "private property" interests, and of the "elitist" attitudes of unelected state bureaucrats:

> "I note your charge that the Council has overly concerned itself with traditional 'private property rights.' I am certain that many, if not most Council members are concerned with 'traditional property rights.' Without these rights no one's home, farm holding are safe from the elitist onslaught of administrative bureaucrats who cannot be reached by the electorate. (from a letter dated, September 8, 1975).

This theme of private property rights versus state , and national social criteria regulating land use re-appears in many of Demarco's public statements.

Following the publication of the Plan for the Pinelands, the State Department of Environmental Protection withdrew their half of funding of the P.E.C. Thereafter, relying solely on matching funds from the county freeholders, the P.E.C. continued to operate until a court decision denied all legality of the Council as long as their jurisdiction included state owned lands. But the Pinelands Environmental Council was to rise again. Following the gubernatorial election of 1977 and the enthusiastic passage of Freeholder Shinn's bond issue for one million dollars, (to be used for land acquisition) the P.E.C. was funded once again and

and re-organized with A. Morton Cooper as Chairman, and Garfield DeMarco as another member representing cranberry interests. Shortly thereafter, DeMarco was reported to have resigned from the Council as a result of political pressure.

Within a political framework, the Pinelands Environmental Council was born during Governor Cahill's Republican administration, and was in this sense a Republican 'gift' to a strongly Republican region. The response of the candidate Cahill to local feelings on the Jetport crisis in the 1970's was described at length in Chapter III. But under a Democratic Governor, Governor Byrne, the repayment of Republican votes was no longer necessary since it was assumed that could not produce democratic votes under any possible circumstances. During a Governor's Conference on the Pine Barrens at Princeton on December 17th, 1976, Governor Byrne announced that he would name a cabinet-level committee to which this author was subsequently appointed) contained a fifteen member statewide representation and received support from the lone Democrat on the Burlington County Board of Chosen Freeholders, Catherine Costa, Assemblyman Charles B. Yates of Burlington County and State Senator Joseph A. Maressa. But it was Ms. Costa who pointed to the basic conflict of interest when large landholders are charged with developing protections against overdevelopment. Garfield DeMarco in turn noted that the Council had asked for the state acquisition of 25,000 acres of land as a measure of preservation. At this point, DeMarco voiced one of his often used expressions:

> "If the Governor would put the money where his mouth is we could have the preservation desired..."

Bernard Greenblatt, in his book, Responsibility for Child Care, notes that the composition of policy advisory groups is a process which often involves the selection of members who may decide in good measure the policy conclusion already reached by appointing agent:

> "...since the focus and emphasis of a task force's deliberations and recommendations reflect its composition..."

These comments relate to the formation of policy advisory groups on a national level since this is where his study was focused, but regional groups, such as the Pinelands Environmental Council are no less subject to those observations. Membership in the P.E.C. was organized to reflect largely local interests and a high level oc consensus was achieved through its brief life and subsequent re-birth. With the exception of Mayor West of Bass River Township, the Council was in agreement on the issue of local control. They represented, after all, the network of local interests and power. To have done otherwise would have been undermined their own roles as decision makers and betrayed the interests they represented. The position of Mayor West as dissenter on the Council is discussed in Chapter IV in the selection on New Towns in the Pinelands, and later in this chapter, under the section, Unexpected Allies.

While the property owners were formulating strategies for local control through their creation of new, official planning bodies, the environmentalists were beginning to participate in state agency structures.

The Environmentalists: The State and Federal Strategy

Before 1975, environmental groups in the general Pine Barrens region were as locally based as the membership in the Pinelands Environmental Council. Environmental issues were debated within local "watershed" associations who were linked neither to national groups such as the Appalachian Mountain Club or The Sierra Club, nor to state or federal agencies. Their activities usually focused on a single issue, such as pollution of an essential watershed by the advance of industry or housing to the region. Carol Barrett, an outspoken Camden resident who was largely responsible for the establishment of a Sierra Club chapter in the Pine Barrens known as the West Jersey Group, described her perception of the powerlessness of locally based, single issue watershed associations:

> "...the Newton Creek Conservancy Association, or the Big Timber Creek Watershed Association - they were little groups who worked on the same thing and they didn't win battles - then they lose interest and membership. Like, you battle the sewer pollution and you don't get anywhere because of the politics controlling the regional utility commission - so that's how the Sierra Club got started."

The Newton Creek Conservancy, the group Carol Barrett had first joined to combat sewer pollution was started in 1971 by the local D.A.R. committee on conservation. The D.A.R., since the turn of the century had been concerned with both the historic significance and the conservation of local areas, particularly those with roots in early America. Newton Creek where Barret lived (s) was settled in 1681 and contained the original burial ground of the Quakers who had set up plantations

in the region. After the 1930's when the county started to put in the first paved roads, Newton Creek was the site of suburban settlers from the Philadelphia-Camden area who viewed this remote area as a "cheap" Philadelphia suburb.

By 1971 the Newton Creek Conservancy was formed, in response to sewage pollution as a critical issue. Six plants were then discharging sewage into the Newton Creek which was the watershed for the population's water. Thus Barrett notes: "in 1971 we were already for an environmental movement in our community."

The formation of the locally based Conservancy was the work of the D.A.R. conservation committee, and included local members of Garden clubs concerned with industrial impacts on plants and flora, newly awakened women's clubs involved in civic activities, a young couple from Philadelphia training in architecture with Ian McHarg, and teachers and students from the local schools. There was at this point no link to larger governmental structures, even though the conservations were continuously losing battles against utility commissions who were regionally based and politically influential.

When a member of the Newton Creek Conservancy, Dorothy Stokes suggested that one member join the Sierra Club just to gain information, Carol Barrett felt it was an opportunity to amass political strength, "especially lobbying and political awareness..." and invited Sierra Club Conservation Chairman, Diane Graves and the Central New Jersey Chapter Chairman, John Greene, both of Princeton to speak at a meeting.

Until the founding of the West Jersey Chapter of the Sierra Club, the national Sierra organization had representation in the Pine Barrens

only through the loose association of Princeton based leaders whose residence was some fifty miles north of the Pinelands. Characteristically, the Princeton residents reflected the "old wealth" volunteerism of California born Graves, and the canoeing and conservation interests of University physicist, Greene.

Barrett, whose husband manages a supermarket in the Camden region, was acutely aware of the social class differences suggested by residence in Princeton and by Sierra Club membership:

> "Well, you know the reputation of the Sierra Club - over-educated, elite, academic, they have more money than anyone else - can afford to be environmentalists cause they have the money..."

But Barrett, who had been earlier active with the Civil Rights Movement and the Peace Movement understood the need for statewide connections. She saw that the small groups were ineffective in lobbying for issues whose origina and solutions were on the state and federal level:

> "... in the local groups, I could see that small groups were dying - withering on the vine. I saw that we had no power and they seemed to be compromised - that you need your horizons to be broader and I realized these issues were worldwide. The Garden Parties were at a loss in dealing with pollution or with the state - the state has no problem brushing those people off - they just didn't answer their phone calls."

In thinking that the state agencies were unresponsive to non-political local groups, Barrett understood the necessity for statewide connections to an activist organization familiar with the political structure of the state. She was also quick to grasp the idea that the

"working class" members in environmental groups would participate only on a limited basis:

> "Working class will participate when its in their own backyard, but they don't hand around..."

The original members of the first West Jersey Sierra Club Chapter in the Pinelands were the activists who had belonged to the original local associations. They joined the Sierra Club but, according to Barrett, they were not "Sierra Club type" people. They tended to feel frustrated by Sierra Club policies: in fact, they didn't like being hemmed in by policy set at higher levels. The newer members of the new club chapter were, according to Barrett, "the guy next door with a little bit of a conscience who had reached a point in his life where he sould take an interest in his own community."

Camden County did not offer the environmentalist representation like Princeton professors, typical of most Sierra Club activists. Thus Barrett notes:

> "outdoors type people - Pine Barrens activists, we didn't have them here. Camden County is not the mecca of conservation. The people here want 3 cars in every garage...people who work - corporate America..."

When the Sierra Club chapter was formed in 1975 it listed a member ship of 269 people. Though most members were from Burlington and Camden County, others came from the southern third of the state, Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland, Atlantic and Cape May. The problems that concerned the members of the newly formed West Jersey Sierra Club chapter were local ones caused by pollution , but these problems had statewide and

national implications. Club members expressed concern with sludge dumping into the ocean and sewage problems, both of which affected their local environment.

In the 1970's, locally based conservation groups in the Pinelands were increasingly alarmed at the environmental impact of industrial and residential growth of the region, but they were powerless in dealing with state agencies and utility commissions since their power base was not connected to local political business networks, nor to state agencies. Their base of power was enlarged when they had joined a statewide environmental group whose participation in state politics had been increasing during the decade. Diane Graves of Princeton's Sierra Club served on a Water Quality Task Force organized by the State Department of Environmental Protection along with builders and local landholders. Some environmentalists served as planners on task forces, and others lobbied for representation on major planning commissions, such as the Governor's Pinelands Review Committee, where local leaders of watershed associations where they served together with builder-developers and local landholders. The representation of both the environmentalists and the property owners continued to be largely locally based, they also practiced lobbying for participation on state-wide planning bodies.

The interest groups have shifted from the demonstration and protest politics of the 1960's to participation in formal organizations in the 1970's. The function of planning as a rational system of land and water management brought their participation into newly created governmental planning agencies, and limited them as outside pressure groups.

Unexpected Allies

Disagreement still occurs by individuals who are not connected to the local political network.

The Thompsons, for example are one of four independent cranberry growers who do not belong to the Ocean Spray Collective. Fifty cranberry growers are members. They do not support local control of land use and water policy since they see this as a device for the encroachment on farmland. In 1976, the Thompsons learned, quite by accident that approval had been given for the extensions of sewer lines adjacent to their cranberry bogs. A proposed housing development would, they feel, provide damage to the creek which supplies water for their cranberry vines. Increased population density would bring water pollution and the vandalism by trespassers. They contended that farmers concerned with the continuation of cranberry growing should support state water quality standards, though they are uncomfortable with "bureaucratic" management.

Mayor West, whose leadership in defeat of the New Towns proposal noted earlier, Chapter IV, is a dissenter in his role on the Pinelands Environmental Council and as a mayor of a Burlington County Township.

In both cases, the dissenting individuals are not connected to the political, agricultural and business network which brings cohesion to the local associations identified. Perhaps their political ideas and interests disqualify them from acceptance by local elites.

Cleavage of Environmental Interest Groups

One can attempt to determine the basis of environmental interest group formation on the Pine Barrens. But single dimension serves to

explain the positions taken by individuals or the groups they represent.

In the voluntary organizations a substantial difference exists between "old line conservationists" and "new environmentalists".

The following chart identifies the major differences between the two types of organizations:

CHART V

INTEREST GROUP FORMATION

IN THE PINE BARRENS

CONSERVATIONISTS (old line)	ENRIRONMENTALISTS (new line)
Organizations	
Audubon Society, National FOCUS, local New Jersey Conservation Foundation	Sierra Club, National League Conservation Foundation Litteral Society, State Appalachian Mountain Club
Coalition for Preservation of the Pine Barrens Founded, June 1977	
Chief Rationale for Preservation	
Conservation of resources Preservation of wildlife and wilderness setting	Preservation of wilderness and recreation value
Political Identification	
Republican	Democrat
Participation in Pine Barrens Policy	
Organization during 1960's Jetport dispute	Not active in Jetport dispute Major participation during 1970 conflicts

Although a South Jersey Sierra Club chapter was formed and activated in 1975, the original leadership of the environmentalists came from central and northern New Jersey. Membership in these organizations tend to be upper class with three or more generations of old wealth. Not all of the members of this status group are currently wealthy, however, even though they come from old families, these continue to oppose expanding industrialization. However, the central part of the state where both Princeton and Rutgers University exist, contributed members from the ranks of the faculty whose interest in environmental questions is both professional and personal. They are the canoeists and recreationists whose leisure activities are enhanced by the use of the Pine Barrens.

The newer South Jersey Chapter has incorporated members with more modest incomes, middle to lower middle class, but the upper class image still attached to them on a recent letter in a local paper, the Courier Post accused the environmentalists of fighting for "multimillion dollar scenic lands for the Affluent":

> "With thousands of New Jersey citizens living in slums, freezing in the winter and burning up in the summer, barely getting enough food a and clothing to exist on we must still have our multimillion dollar Pine Barrens and scenic lands for the affluent." (6/13/77 Courier Post, Camden, New Jersey).

The array of letters which followed in reply were from citizens who pointed out that they were not wealthy, but concerned about the precious water resource. Wrote a man from Maple Shade:

> "I spent the crash of 1975 out of work. I am for more employment in New Jersey. I am for helping the poor and spending the tax dollars wisely. I am also for preserving the Pine Barrens at all costs." (6/16/77 Courier Post).

Though resource preservation was recognized as a necessity of the less affluent, the notion of slowing industrialization and containing the self interest of local landholders continues to be seen as self interest of the affluent.

Environmental and Conservation Policy Formation

New environmentalists continue the 19th century wilderness preservation policy. Industrialization and its impact on the remaining portions of open space is a movement they continue to oppose; and in political partnership with federal and state agencies, they lobby for public policy to contain economic growth. The old wealth it now joined by upper middle and middle income groups who themselves reside in suburbia, enjoy the recreation possibilities of open space reserves, and endorse the conservation of natural resources. The fight to save the Pinelands has become popular

The Politics of the Pine Barrens

Pine Barrens disputes were heightened by the gubernatorial election campaign of 1977, as much as the region had become an open campaign issue in the mid and late 60's during the Jetport controversy:

> "For too long the Pinelands has been used as a political football, conveniently brought out of the closet and dusted off for the voters and just as conveniently put away after election. Public attention usually has penetrated to the depth of a nicely photographed picture from a helicopter

> fly-on - or a duly reported walk-through - a 'media event'." (Speech by Congressman Edwin Forsythe, Atlantic County C. C. Feb. 1977).

The Jetport "threat" was nurtured by local, largely Republican leaders as the battle cry and rationale for the establishment of the unique, regional planning body, the Pinelands Environmental Council. The then Republican Governor Cahill supported his south Jersey Republican constituency and fostered legislation which established the P.E.C. as a planning body.

Analysis of Political Alignments

Planning centers on the right to control and manage a given resource. In the Pine Barrens the resource is water, and through the control of water, control of land use. The Planning conflicts focus upon which level of governmental gains control over the planning price.

One group supports local control. In terms of interest groups they fall into the following categories:

the Pinelands Environmental Council	- local planning body
the Cranberry Growers Association	- local agricultural collective
Burlington County Freeholders	- local government
Home Owners League of South Jersey	- local industry
Mayors of local townships	- unit of local government

Each group does not necessarily represent unique and separate individuals. There are, in fact, large areas of overlap. For example, the leaders of the Pinelands Environmental Council are also leaders of the Cranberry Growers Association, and of local Republican associations,

and of the Ocean Spray Collective. In short, power is centered within a very small group of individuals whose interests in local autonomy would also preserve their personal autonomy. As part of their activity in the region, they participate in local politics and help to identify and elect freeholders and mayors who most appropriately serve those interest groups. Therefore, at a public hearing, the local position on planning goals appears to reflect consensus and broad representation.

Another supports state or federal control:

the State Department of Environmental Protection
the Governor of New Jersey (Democrat)
democratic assemblymen
independent environmental associations
Department of Interior - Bureau of Outdoor Recreation

At the level of the state machinery party politics tend to define planning goals. The D.E.P. and its Commissioner are appointed by the current Democratic Governor. Policies of the D.E.P. may not emanate from the Governor's office. Since legislators are elected and require a constituency, their support or non-support of state control of neces sity reflects the views of the political effective constituencies. It is evident that the constituency of the democrats are not the local group identified as supporting environmental preservation in the Pine Barren. This becomes clear when we note the legislation proposed by the Republican legislator, Congressman Forsythe. The proposed bill proposes that local municipalities be compensated for tax losses resulting from land acquired for the purposes of preservation by the state and federal

governments. This bill expresses concerns of local landholders that loss of land from the tax rolls leads to loss of ratables.

Local Control Versus Federal Control

Local control is a critical issue in the preservation and management of the Pine Barrens. Even old time sonservationists (as differentiated from more recently involved environmentalists, such as the Sierra Club) speak with ambivalence towards the need for governmental intervention to preserve the region while adding that they "don't want some Great White Father coming in here and telling us what to do."

The preservation of the region as a system of green acres amidst urban and suburban development, as a recreational urban park, would seem to require the judgement of Solomon. What systems of land management would deal with the multiple issues of financing the purchase of land, and of designating a system of management that does not alienate local and state authorities while participating the necessarily federal agencies this indeed is the question.

CHAPTER VI

EMERGING INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR LAND USE POLICIES

> "I know I was born here and I consider it part of my, you know, and its just a place where - I guess its close to God and nature, yeah... We figured it would always be ours but now we find out it's not. We didn't have the money to purchase it - lets put it that way...and we figured nobody would and and all of a sudden - bang - everybodies bought and a lot of them are developers." (Statement of Gladys Eayre, Piney)

In his study of conflicts between conservation and economic growth or development in the land and water policies of the state of Florida, Carter (1974) addresses himself to the problems of maintaining essential or desirable natural ecosystems into the endlessly complex subject of growth policy and urban development.

The finds resemble the New Jersey issues: the search for available open space in the 1960's for the development of an international jetport; the development of a nuclear power plant; construction of new housing after World War II and rising valuation of real estate; endangered ecosystems through the introduction of industrial pollutants:

Thus he concludes:

> "In many places, Florida was becoming dominated by the artifacts of an urban civilization in which nature was too often only grudgingly admitted." (Carter, 1974:6).

Five hundred miles northward, New Jersey, the Pine Barrens had

had moved from political conflicts centering on the search for an international jetport in the 1960's to the battles over land and water management in the early and mid-1970's. The cause of these pressures over the two decade period was to some extent attributable to the changeover in the use of land and water from a rural, agricultural society to one which became an extension of the urban field. There was a decline in the use of land as farmland and a rise in the development of housing.

In the state of New Jersey, between 1954 and 1964, 400,000 acres or 24% of the 1954 total acreage agriculture, went out of production, and between 1964 and 1974 an additional 265,000 acres were retired from agriculture. (Untaxing Open Space, 1976:142).

The decline in farmland in New Jersey has been attributed to the high cost of maintaining farmland within the states property tax structure. At least up until 1976, when Governor Byrne passed the first New Jersey income tax, the state relied heavily upon the property tax. In fact, taxes per acre on farm real estate have been higher in New Jersey over the past twenty years than they have been in any other state. The tax structure itself appeared to favor urban development over agriculture since land even in agriculture is assessed at the full market.

Farmland Assessment Act

In 1964, the State Department of Agriculture enacted the New Jersey Farmland Assessment Act, which would attempt to apply use-value assessment to agricultural land. Use-value assessment would not forgive taxes, rather it kept assessment in line with net income from the land, permitting the farmer the opportunity to pay local taxes from

present production. (Luke, 1976).

After the passage of the Farmland Assessment Act between 1964 and 1 1974 the increase in farm real estate taxes continued but was slowed down considerably. Thus Luke's analysis of the first decade of the New Jersey Farmland Assessment Act noted a dramatic slow down in the increase in qualified farmland taxes, "ranging from an increase of 2% in transitional areas to thirty-three percent in rural areas." (Luke, 1976:4).

Problems arose as to whether vacant lands and forests were to be considered part of "active" agriculture. This was particularly important in the Pine Barrens where most of the land is not directly devoted to the growing of cranberries and blueberries, but to the preservation of the water supply which made such growing possible. The result was that the definitions had to be re-written:

> "... the qualification of vacant land with trees, oversized residential wooded tracts, and other forest tracts growing in woods challenge the concept of 'activity devoted to agriculture. (Luke, 1976:5).

Critics of the Farmland Assessment Act, Kolesar and Scholl(1975) maintain that it is precisely this ambiguity in definition which provided a preferential tax assessment for developers as well as farmers. They argue that development depends first on the existence of a market for housing, not on the property tax:

> "It is a wonder now that anyone ever thought preferential assessment could preserve agricultural open space. The law was sold to the public on a mistaken premise...that high property taxes were causing development of farmland. It is obvious that development depends first on existence of a market for housing, factories, and

> stores. If the market is there, and if the zoning, sewers and mortgage money are available, development will take place regardless of any property tax breaks. If one farmer will not sell, another will. A tax saving of $40. an acre is of no moment when profits of thousands of dollars an acre are at hand." (Kolesar and Scholl, 1975:25).

While collusion was not the intended function of the Farmland Assessment Act since it was conceived as a realistic means of slowing down the process of Agricultural decline, it may have provided, as an unintended consequence, new opportunities for housing developers. In the Pine Barrens, the fact that developers may have profited from the Farmland tax assessment and its accompanying ambiguities would result largely from changes in land ownership that preceded these attempts at agricultural preservation. Developers and development interests had been quietly pruchasing large tracts of forests and woodland prior to the passage of legislation and other institutional arrangements designed to preserve the open space.

High property taxes may have contributed to pressures to develop although it was not the most important cause. The large cranberry farmers acknowledged that the Farmland Assessment Act had helped them considerably. The question was whether arduous farming and agricultural practices could compete with the sale of land to developers. For example, one cranberry farmer was forced to retire partly because of years of continuous work in icy cranberry bogs had accelerated a crippling arthritis in his hands. By selling his land to developers or developing it himself, this farmer might retire to live in Florida, though in this case it may not have happened.

Those farmers who resist selling their property see the land either as falling into the hands of developers or coming under close management by the state. Mary Ann Thompson, the daughter of cranberry grower, Charles Thompson, favored management by a state agency.

> "Its either the developers or the state. I'd take the state cause at least you can lobby with them - with developers you can't do anything."

When Mary Ann Thompson refers to the state, she is generally referring to the state agency, the Department of Environmental Protection whose land-use regulations center on control of the water, particularly ground water in order to limit industrial development.

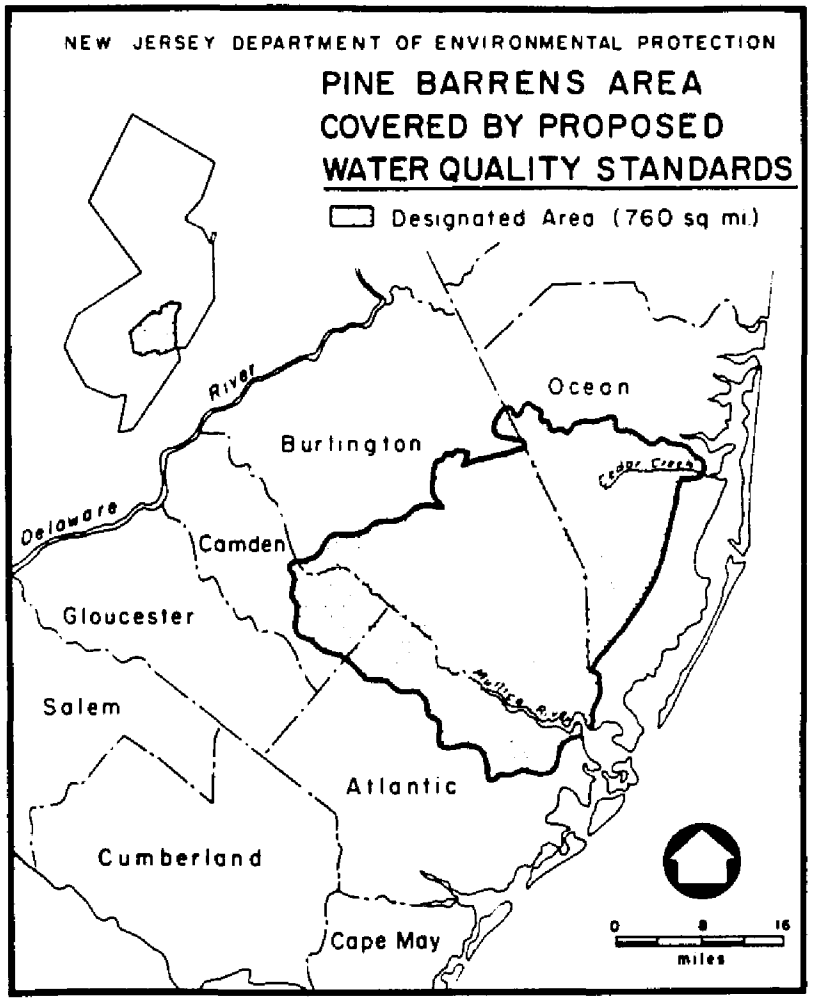
The Control of Water: State Arrangements for Land-Use

The land use practice in the Pine Barrens is the product of institutional arrangements which control the stabile systems governing a watershed.

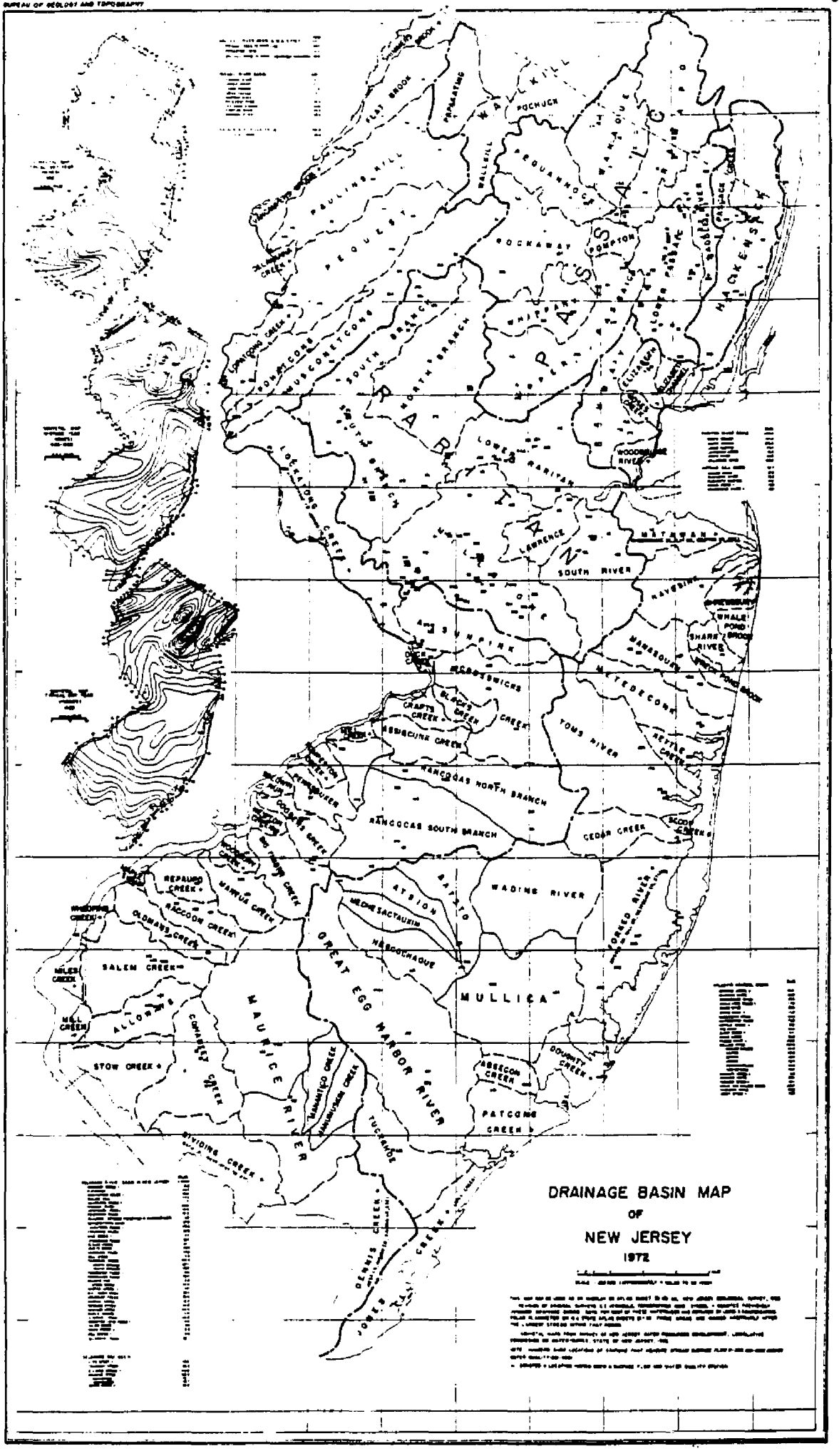
The core of that system is the Mullica River into which all other rivers eventually flow: the Batsto; the Wading, and the Bass River flow into the Wating River. Charles Thompson Jr., a cranberry grower and a member of one of the oldest families in the business notes the importance of that river:

> "Everybody's fortunes are tied up with the Mullica - that is every body north of Woodland Township and east of Warren Grove Road."

The ground water designated area of the Proposed Non-Degradation Water Quality Standards for the Pine Barrens Area (1976) will underlie


NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION
PINE BARRENS AREA
COVERED BY PROPOSED
WATER QUALITY STANDARDS
Designated Area (760 sq mi.)
Delaware River
Burlington
Ocean
Camden
Gloucester
Salem
Atlantic
Cumberland
Cape May
0
8
16
miles

STATE OF NEW JERSEY
DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION
DIVISION OF WATER RESOURCES
BUREAU OF GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY



the following surface water drainages;

a. Mullica River and all tributaries upstream from head of tide.

b. Cedar Creek and tributaries upstream from head of tide.

c. All fresh waters west of the Garden State Parkway bounded by the Mullica and Cedar Creek watersheds.

d. Toms River Watershed

(1) Davenport Branch and tributaries upstream from Route 530.

(2) Michaels Branch and tributaries upstream from the east crossing of the Penn Central Railroad.

e. Rancocas Creek Watershed

(1) Burrs Mill Brook and tributaries upstream from Burrs Mill Pond at the Southampton-Woodland municipal boundary.

As a second attempt at institutional control, State Commissioner of Environmental Protection, David Bardin added the Mullica River-Chestnut Neck Historic District of Atlantic, Burlington and Ocean counteis on the State Register of Historic Places.

The State Register is a list of properties and areas worthy of preservation for their historic, cultural, architectural or archeological distinctions. Inclusion on the National Register makes an area eligible for federal historic preservation funds. Register sites also have some measure of protection from government-sponsored encroachments. (News release-DEP October 4, 1976).

A third attempt at institutional control, this one by the legislature, Assembly Bill A1992 the New Jersey Wild and Scenic River Act introduced bn May, 1976 by Assemblymen Stewart, Herman, Perskie and Bassano authorizes the establishment of the New Jersey Wild and Scenic

Rivers System; "providing for the acquisition, designation, administration, and regulation of such rivers and their designated adjacent areas; and relating to the powers, duties, and responsibilities of the Department of Environmental Protection."

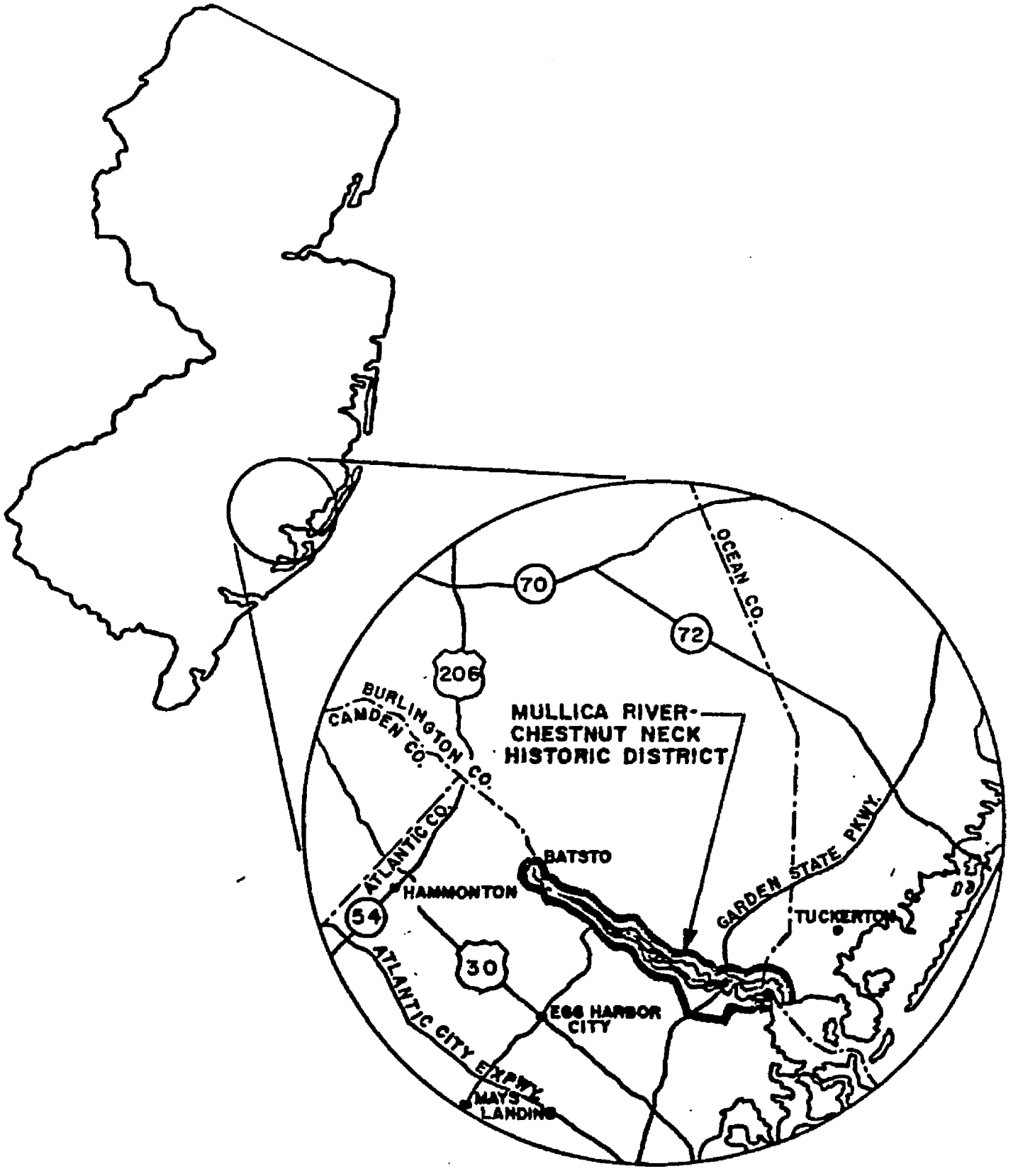
In effect, the bill provides for the use of power of eminent domain by the state agency over land within and around the rivers so designated.

> "The department may use for the purposes of the system lands owned by the State, with the concurrence of the head of the administering agency, and acquire scenic easements in such lands by written cooperative agreement, donation, or purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or agree to manage any such lands in a manner consistent with the provisions of this act...The department may acquire scenic easements in the name of the State within the designated boundaries of any river area of the system by the exercise of the power of eminent domain in the manner provided in P. L. 1971:c.361 (C.20:3-1 et seq.), without the consent of the owner, where, in the judgment of the commissioner, all reasonable efforts to acquire such scenic easements by negotiation have failed. (p.4 Assembly No. 1992).

The act is a powerful piece of legislation which would give the state management powers over land via water quality regulation.

A fourth system of institutional control, at the Federal level through the Department of Interior, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation has been assessing the "national significance" of the land and water system the request of the State Department of Environmental Protection.

As a fifth system of institutional control, the professional environmentalists, the quasi public-private sector under the leadership of the New Jersey Conservation Foundation, and while awaiting the passage of legislation and regulations, on their raising funds and



MULLICA RIVER-CHESTNUT NECK HISTORIC DISTRICT
NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

buying up tracts which state, Federal and private agencies have identified as having especially distinctive geological, acquatic or vegetative values. The Foundation then sells them to a state open-space agency as a means of assuring their permanent preservation.

The Executive Director of the New Jersey Conservation Foundation points out that this is part of a teamwork strategy:

> "The United States Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, which has studied the Pine Barrens at length and endorses preservation, urges quick purchase of key areas while New Jersey legislates needed regulation of water, land and air resources, along with recognition that the Barrens is a nationally significant ecological region. Such steps should open the door to some Federal financing". (The New York Times, Sunday, December 5, 1976 Op-Ed "The Barrens: A Million Acres to Save" by David F. Moore.)

Federal financing of land acquisition is the sixth system of institutional controls. As a key speaker at the Governors' Conference on the Pine Barrens (Princeton, December 17, 1976) John Crutcher, Director of the B. O. R., U. S. Department of Interior noted that the Land and Conservation Fund would be doubled the next year and tripled in 1980 so that they would be able to render more assistance to the Pine Barrens and other conservation areas.

On a seventh measure of institutional controls, Governor Byrne announced at that conference on December 17th, 1977 that he would name a cabinet level committee to make sure "no state action harmed the Pine Barrens environment."

And as a final measure of institutional controls, the Governor proposed legislation which would restructure the Pinelands Environmental

Council to more fully represent statewide interests; and thus apparently dilate power of local interests groups.

The eight measures of institutional controls and arrangements are both intense and relatively recent innovations. Most of the above named measures, regulations, restrictions and legislation were drafted between 1975 and 1977 with the major input coming during the year 1976. One would have to ask the questions, why such intense moves toward regulation over a two year period, after years of legislative inactivity.

First, it must be noted that seven of the eight measures are designed towards greater control and regulation of land via water by the state agency, the Department of Environmental Protection. Second is the intervention of Federal agencies and legislation.

Local control is a critical issue in the preservation and management of the Pine Barrens. Even old line conservationists (as differentiated from more recently involved environmentalists, such as the Western New Jersey Sierra Club) speak with ambivalence towards the need for federal intervention to preserve the region adding that they "don't want some Great White Father coming in here and telling us what to do."

The preservation of the region as a system of green acres amidst urban and suburban development, or as a recreational urban park, is full of complexities and contradictions. What systems of land management would deal with the multiple issues of financing the purchase of land, and of designating a system of management which does not alienate local and state authorities while engaging desired (for some) federal participation - this indeed is the question.

Federal Participation

A number of legislative plans have been formulated during the past two years whose goals were to manage, contain, control or develop the Pine Barrens. But a highly innovative concept was introduced by Congressman James Florio, a southern New Jersey legislator whose membership in the House Interior Committee's Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs makes the passage of legislation a distinct possibility.

Congressman Florio has suggested the organization of Green Line Boundaries, a concept for preserving recreational landscapes in urban area, in this case the Pine Barrens so that existing activities of farming, or housing will not be swallowed up by the regulations of a national park system. But new development is prescribed. Concurrently, the recreational and resource areas remain protected and the character of the landscape is retained.

Such an approach, the creation of a Pine Barrens National Ecological Reserve, joins federal, state and local governments cooperatively in apply a range of land acquisition and regulatory techniques. The Florio bill attempts to develop consensus between different agencies that control land use as a means of maintaining the dwindling natural lands and resources within an urbanized region. For the northeastern seaboard where land is a valuable commodity in the marketplace, a concept for preserving the rural environment gives importance to that environment unheard of since the beginnings of industrialization.

In his statement before the House, on April 20th, Florio cites the Report of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission:

> "The Commission's report, issued in 1962, helped to bring about the recognition that natural beauty, ecological balance, and the healthful use of leisure times are essential in an urban nation."

The preservation of a natural landscape meets more than a single societal requirement: one certainly is the preservation of the natural resources; but a second issue is the continuance of open space for the recreational needs of people themselves: urbanites, suburbanites, and rural dwellers. This point Florio makes clear when he designates landscape resources as a right of all Americans:

> "...the Commission's report affirmed the right of all Americans -- including urban Americans -- to the protection of landscape resources which possessed important ecological, scenic, and recreational values.

What the Florio Bill Authorizes

H.R6625 sets the following guidelines for funding and management:

> Authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to provide grants to the state to cover 75% of the cost of developing a comprehensive land-use plan, including the establishment of a commission, which would manage the plan.
>
> Directs the Secretary of Interior to establish guidelines for the land-use plan, requiring it to include provisions for scenic, conservation and recreational uses.
>
> Gives the Secretary the right to acquire up to 50,000 acres of ecologically critical land and transfer it to the management commission's jurisdiction.
>
> Establishes a 13 member citizens' advisory commission, appointed by the Governor, to assist the management commission in its work.
>
> Authorizes $50.5 million for land acquisition, management grants and plan development.

> Provides Secretary of Interior ultimate oversight responsibility to insure the State management commission adheres to the approved State plan.
>
> Authorizes payments in lieu of taxes to local governments where acquisition of property results in actual loss of revenue.

The legislation may well be a landmark in public policy. For New Jersey, a northeastern urbanized state, a leader in the race towards unlimited growth and industrialization, the Florio bill makes planning and controlled growth a high priority of public

The Congressman is not alone in his thinking. The concept of "green line boundaries" was generated by Charles E. Little of the Congressional Research Services and is at present in application along the northern edge of the megalopolis in Adirondack Park System.

And in his discussion of the problems of urban sprawl and suburban growth in Canadian cities, John Sewell identifies issues that are remarkably similar to those involved in the Pine Barrens disputes: the fight and subsequent stoppage of federal plans for an airport in Ontario; the passage of legislation to limit the suburban sprawl into farmland in British Columbia.

Sewell's solutions center on the necessity for defining limits and setting boundaries to urban growth. He points out:

> "If a city has no limits then it is only natural for it to spread and grow."

The Canadian speaks of containing the spread of cities; but Florio's concept focuses on preserving existing open areas and defining policies to contain this preservation within legally defined and established boundaries.

Re-establishing boundaries, such as the Green Line parks in order to control development in the Pine Barrens seems to be next step in the struggle to open space. Support for the legislation already exists amongst the newly formed coalitions of conservation and preservation minded interest groups. One immediate issue will be the composition and role of the citizen's advisory commission as a planning and enforcing body. Once again interest groups will participate as planners who will function within the governmental system to define the boundaries of the Pine Barrens and in the process, will define the legislation itself.

CHAPTER VII

THE LAND ETHIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE

> "One wonders how areas so full of worthy functions could ever have been labelled 'open space' or a 'leftover' in the landscape." (Jean Gottmann, Megalopolis, 1967:383).

This final chapter is devoted to an exploration of those social, historical and political formations which have shaped the land use conflicts and public policies in the Pine Barrens during the decade and a half of modern history, from 1960 to 1977.

Beginning with the historical roots of the American concern with the environment at the turn of the century which engaged first the writers and philosophers as ideologists of moral regeneration through nature, the chapter goes on to re-interpret these events in the light of expanding industrialization. The environmental movement reveals, in retrospect, the emergence of social and political policy that draws ideologies and later, a political program from interest groups based on specific social classes.

As a further outcome of advancing industrialization, the decline of agriculture and therefore, agricultural land, and in its wake, the advance of suburbia generates new conflicts and new interest groups based on a second wave of counter industrialization in the post World War II "Affluent Society."

Significantly, the later 1960's and the new decade of the 70's spawns a new 'environmental movement' which encompasses issues of the highly urbanized regions in the northeast coastal megalopis. Land

use conflicts are no longer centered on remote western lands, such as with the long and tortuous struggle over the damming of Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park in 1913. Urbanized regions become the focus of environmental conflicts in the later 1960's and 70's, and, as urbanized regions engage in land-use conflicts, a wider range of social and economic class structures are involved.

New institutions generated by economic and social change are an ever present phenomenon in the modern society. Pluralism in the decision making process thus continuously shapes land and resource management plans for the future, though the roots of the American concern with the environment began with the almost exclusive participation of the upper class old wealth alone. The descending path of class participation from the turn of the century to the present, is the product of an industrialized system impacting upon an industrial society.

Historical Roots: The American Concern with the Environment

The American concern with the environment began with the wilderness preservation movement on or before the mid-1850's. The spokesmen, John James Audubon, James Fenimore Cooper, Thomas Cole, Francis Parkman and John Muir, were philosophical leaders whose ideology focussed on the preservation of the wilderness for spiritual and esthetic values.

Romanticism in Europe and later in America was a revolt against the narrowness of the age of reason: the human soul could not be reduced to a thinking machine. There were certain spiritual and esthetic values which could be developed in the appreciation of the

marvels of nature, the belief of democracy, and the insistence upon freedom as opposed to authority. (Foerster, 1947) These beliefs could find their inspiration within the vastness of western lands, the frontier where individuality and optimism could flourish close to nature, and to the natural "goodness" of the human soul.

Within that American romantic movement emerged a movement known as Transcendentalism which was simultaneously a philosophic, social, and literary movement, highly idealistic, mystical, and individualistic and based upon broad fundamental intuitive truths which transcended human experience. Transcendentalist, Henry David Thoreau, for example, wrote that the natural world symbolized or reflected spiritual truth and moral law. "Instead of calling on some scholar, I paid many a visit to particular trees," wrote Thoreau of his wilderness retreat to Walden Pond. (Walden:181).

Spiritual truth and 'natural law' is found in the character structure of James Fenimore Cooper's Natty Bumppo in The Leather Stocking Tales. Bumppo, a noble scout lives in the woodlands, like the Indians, who as a result of his harmony with nature stood as a protest on behalf of simplicity and perfect freedom against encroaching law and order. (The Leather Stocking Tales, 1823). And Walt Whitman, who in his poetry and prose exhalted the spirituality of both cities and nature wrote in his essay, "From Democratic Vistas" in 1871:

> "...a new Literature, perhaps a new Metaphysics, certainly a new Poetry, are to be, in my opinion, the only sure and worthy supports and expressions of the American Democracy.) Nature, true Nature, and the true idea of Nature, long absent, must, above all, become fully restored, enlarged and must furnish the pervading atmosphere to poems,

> and the test of all high literary and esthetic compositions. I do not mean the smooth walks, trimm'd hedges, poseys and nightinggales of the English poets, but the whole orb..." (Whitman: Foerster, 1947:928)

The discovery of the natural environment as a cultural symbol of the "New Land" was the endeavor of a handful of individuals, albeit highly literate and scholarly men who sensed the imminent destruction of the landscape by the rapid growth of the railroad, and the development of cities following the 1850's, and they were primarily spokesmen for its preservation. By 1870, the population of Chicago was 300,000 where only forty years before it had been counted as a mere 350; and only ten years earlier, in 1860, railroads had clocked a mileage of 30,000, and the value of the country's manufacturers equalled that of its agricultural production. (Foerster, 1947:275).

Though the small group of literary and philosophic individuals were spokesmen for the preservation of the natural environment, in no sense were they a broad public movement, nor did one exist. Nevertheless, federal policy which led to the preservation and management of large tracts of land was drafted, first in 1849, with the establishment of the United States Department of Interior, and in 1872, of Yellowstone National Park.

No doubt the seminal work of George Perkins Marsh, Man and Nature, which stressed the responsibility of human societies for the quality of their environment, had provided the ideology and philosophical rationale for land management decisions which followed; but the publication of Man and Nature was itself some four years prior to the organization of the Applachian Mountain Club (1876), and twenty years

before the founding of the Sierra Club in 1892. These voluntary organizations formerly embodied the ideology of preservationism and were, in fact, the inspiration of philosophical leaders such as John Muir who founded the Sierra Club. But the passage of land management legislation pre-dated their organizational existence. In 1864, for example, Congress in an unprecedented step, granted Yosemite Valley in California to the state of protect for public use.

Therefore, legislative policy on open land preservation pre-dated the actual formation of formal voluntary organizations. Their role as interest groups in the formation of public policy was just ahead in time. The Sierra Club, after all, registered a total population of 182 charter members gathered from the ranks of professional and business people in the Greater San Francisco Bay Area, and faculty members from the University of California when it was incorporated in 1892. Their purposes, at that time was simply to visit the Sierra Nevadas and publish information about them.

The fifty years from mid-century to the turning point of the twentieth century was a developmental period for the establishment of two co-existing, and not mutually exclusive movements: one, the establishment of voluntary organizations whose goals and ideologies were dedicated to the preservation of the wilderness, wildlife, natural resources, or a combination of these three; and, two, the movement to enact federal or state policy towards the protection of large tracts of space.

But the notion of preserving the wilderness could not be separated from the conflicting trend of industrial expansion. By 1900, the

separate pathways of preservationism and industrial expansion were to meet and collide on national land use decisions. This was illustrated by the prolonged controversy over the flooding and damming of the Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park for the stated purposes of generating a water reservoir for the expanding city of San Francisco. When the decision to flood the Valley was finally reached in 1913, against the active lobbying of preservationists such as Muir, the wilderness preservationists had splintered away from the resource conservationists over the question of multiple uses of land and water.

In summary, the earliest environmental movement in America developed from the ideologies and public policies of individuals and not organizations - individuals who served as the ideological leaders for the future. These leaders were responsible, philosophically for the founding of voluntary organizations such as the National Audubon Society in 1905, or the Izaak Walton League in 1922 (some fifty years after the Appalachian and Sierra Clubs). Their concern was the continuance of the natural environment, the preservation of the wilderness through the focus may have varied from group to group as it did from the individual to the next. What was their core of commonality was the concern for the impact of industrial expansion, not only on their land, but their status in society as well. The anti-urban, anti-industrial growth stance was reflective of a social strata whose wealth predated the rise of modern industrialism. A discussion of the involvement of the "old urban wealth" in the formation of land use interest groups and policies which follows will address itself to the issue of class and social policy.

Social Class and Social Policy

The formation of social policy with respect to the environment reached a level of conflict and political engagement at the turn of the century, and was the product of certain cross currents. Old upper class wealth viewed the growth of industrialization, the bureaucratization of business and labor, and the concurrent decline of small scale agriculture and agriculturally centered rural communities as an continuous change in the American social structure. The organization of industry and of labor into unions brought new structures into the society which threatened the traditional concept of the independent, self-made man; and more importantly, gave rise to competing power structures. Political decisions no longer came as a result of rational action by intelligent men, but involved a crude power struggle dominated by privileged wealth, and effective city machines. (Hays, 1972).

Preservation or conservation then, was viewed as a means of limiting industrial growth and the social change this would generate. It placed emphasis upon nature and the countryside rather than the socially unstable cities. The new converts to conservation between 1908 and 1910 were middle and upper income urban dwellers. The financing and leadership came from urbanites active in other types of urban reform. Hays (1972) points out that prominent conservationists such as William Kent and Walter L. Fisher had played important roles in the campaign of the Chicago Municipal Voters League for reform in government in the city. Those interested in reform of big city machines were also endorsing conservationism. Moreover, the Daughters of the American Revolution maintained a special committee on conservation.

But it is important to note that they were focusing on saving western lands, areas far removed from the focus of cities or urban settings. The issue of preserving open land within urban settings comes much later in time, with the Pine Barrens a current illustration.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, upper income urban dwellers, the old wealth had mustered together reformists from the ranks of the socially conscious voluntary organizations, such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, to endorse the resource preservation policies of Teddy Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot. (Pinchot's mother, in fact, had been chairman of a D.A.R. conservation committee.)

Preservationists and Conservationists

The earlier preservation movement headed by John Muir and his followers in the Sierra Club, had as its base an ideology of anti-materialism as expressed in the philosophy of Thoreau. This was subsequently linked to the early American concept of rugged individualism, as personified by frontiersman, Natty Bumppo. In effect, preservationists were attempting to preserve 18th century American culture and values, whether real or fictional and formulating 20th century public policy in order to do so.

Concurrently, federal policy had focused on the need for the conservation of natural resources in the framework of utilitarianism. Much dissimilar motivations by Pinchot, Roosevelt and Garfield, the visionaries of federal conservation policy were to cultivate this sentiment to obtain the support of the urban old wealth now needed to enace their federal legislation.

Thus began the American merger of support for federal resource conservation policy by old, pre-industrial upper class political support. It was a marriage of convenience, certainly for the voluntary groups since to limit growth of one giant, big business (and a growing big lator), would support the growth of an equally expanding giant - that of the federal administration. But they had chosen their alignments on the basis of their ability to influence and contain fewer public agencies which could in turn be used to contain the private industrial sector. They were joined in their concerns, though not politically, by the small, rural communities who received few benefits and some disadvantages from the new industrial society.

Agricultural Populism and the Rugged Individualist

While the American upper-classes were fostering the myth of the rugged individual, the American farmer persisted in attempting to apply its ideology.

The philosophic basis of agricultural idealism came from its chief proponent in this country, Thomas Jefferson. The idea of democracy he posed, was based upon the independence of the individual, or the smallest unit of society, the family. The agricultural ideal was the family farm owned by the men who operated them; and farm operators who were self-reliant and had the autonomy to make their own decisions. The focus on independent decision making by the smallest possible unit of society, the family, was in vivid contrast to the centralizing and bureaucratizing tendencies of the industrial society.

The small, independent farmer was the hero of the American populist movement, while the giants of industry and government were defined as threats to the autonomy of the rural existence. Both the small farmer and the urban upper classes were concerned about the 'bigness' of business. They could indeed be swallowed up in the sweep of cities and factories; but the farmer was equally concerned with the 'bigness' of government, except later when it represented their interests in price supports.

Yet their quiet rural existence was to be re-shaped by the industrialization of agriculture after more than fifty years of technological development. Agricultural and political interests became more like those of big business, which farming had become, though the ideology of populism, of the autonomous, rugged individual, lingered on.

Growth and Containment

The central theme of environmental conflicts throughout the history of the movement has been the question of containment and control of industrial growth. Even when this is not the manifest goal of environmental groups, it is certainly the outcome of preservation policies.

The environmental conflict which gathers new momentum in the 1960's draws from two value systems set on a collision course throughout the last 125 to 200 years: one, is an ever-expanding concept of economic growth boosted by the introduction of automation and technology, and made possible structually, through complex bureaucratic systems in the business and governmental sector; and the second, a new middle class with the political and financial means to fight for their image of a proper social environment - began to defy, to alter the process of planning and attempt to enter and control the planning process.

The environmental conflicts of the 1960's were not crises of the central cities. They did not arise out of the problems of cities and poverty, the concurrent struggle for housing, schools, hospitals and jobs; rather they were products of suburban society. They were partly the problems of the fragmented society, no longer confident about the priorities and values of unlimited growth and industrialization. At this point the environmental movement joined the forces of the upper middle classes towards the protection of both their urban non-urban existence, the community which that embodied, and the social order inherent in that organization of life. Like the old wealth, the upper classes of the 19th century who actively supported the federal policies of Roosevelt and Pinchot, the new middle class would support decisions to delimit industrial growth on their home environment.

Therefore, we must understand the setting of that home environment in which these policies and conflicts take place: the north-east region known, as Megalopolis.

Megalopolis as a Social Setting

The Northeastern Seaboard of the United States, the nation's first "megalopolis" is a region of immense urbanized concentration within which New Jersey falls to the south of Boston, and to the north of Washington, D. C.

Megalopolis emerged as a result of the growth of cities; the division of labor within civilized society; and the development of world resources. The dynamics of urbanization produced a revolution in land use, the separation between the place of work from the place of residence. In the process the old distinctions of urban and rural

were blurred. Gottmann points out:

> "Every city in this region spreads out far and wide around its original nucleous; it grows amidst an irregularly colloidal mixture of rural and suburban landscapes." (Megalopolis:5).

Friedmann (1973) defines the concept as an "urban field" where the technology such as an efficiently managed network of freeways, electric energy and water systems interconnect farms and forests with urban settlements. This re-shaping the land use and sprawl of the city was concomitant with the decline of older systems of agriculture. Ultimately, the ever-widening circles of growth, moving outward reached formerly isolated pockets of rural settlements. Areas of open space were highly vulnerable; for although they were low in population density, and therefore considered rural, their economy was no longer based upon small scale agricultural practices. The agricultural systems of the small independent farmer had become industrialized and corporatized in the style of big business and big government.

This decline of the agricultural society in the wake of the industrial society was identified by Weber at the turn of the century.

The Decline of AGricultural Society in an Industrial Society

As early as 1904, Max Weber noted the descendent path of the European rural-agricultural society. He saw no visible distinction between rural and urban societies - everyone it seemed had become an entrepreneur:

> "The constant proprietor of the soil, the landlord is not an agriculturalist... The laborers are partly seasonal and migrating: the rest are journeymen of a certain time and then are scattered again... If there is a specific rural

> social problem it is only this: Whether and how the rural community or society, which no longer exists, can arise again to be strong and enduring." (Weber, 1906: Girth and Mills:363).

The manner in which the land was distributed determined the economic and political conditions of the county, and ownership of land, more precisely estates, gave legitimacy to ones status asperation rather than did it aid the development of an agricultural system. Moreover, the technical changes in agricultural production, which may have diminished the size of the labor force, was itself, limited by what Weber called, the law of decreasing productivity of the land and stronger natural limits and conditions of production.

Agriculture in the new capitalist society of the early 20th century could not offer an avenue, an ascending pathway to the market economy. There were certain limits on the means of production. Weber was not sanguine about the future of natural resources nor the American agricultural system:

> "We must no- forget that the boiling heat of modern capitalistic culture is connected with needless consumption of natural resources, for which there are no substitutes. It is difficult to determine how long the present supply of coal and ore will last. The utilization of new farm lands will soon have reached an end in America; in Europe it no longer exists. The agriculturalists can never hope to gain more than a modest equivalent for his work as a husbandman. He is, in Europe, and also to a great extent in this country, excluded from participating in the great opportunities open to speculative business talent." (Weber, 1966; Girth & Mills:366)

The new industrial society had turned around the older economic order of providing work and sustenance for the greatest possible number to providing as many crops as possible for the market with as few workers as possible. The result was the decline of the rural communities, as workers migrated to the cities. What was left was the "capitalistic farmer striving for entrepreneurial profits and the landowners interest in rents."

Weber predicted that the decline of the rural society would, in time affect the American social structure, both the increase of population density and the concurrent rise in land values. This change in the American social structure, from agricultural societies to industrial societies, from rural settlements to urban fields is in fact, the social force underlying one set of conflicts in the Pine Barrens of southern New Jersey.

In summary then, the development of the preservation movement at the turn of the century, was a social movement to contain the impact of industrialization upon the old order and the old wealth. That industrial impact had its visible effects in the growth of cities and the expansion of the working class population.

The alliance of the preservationists and the conservationists at the turn of the century with the federal agencies was a means of gaining legitimate power over land use decisions, and this pattern of power alliance continues throughout the next 70 years as the growth of cities become the growth of suburbs.

Findings and Conclusions

This study has been an historical and ethnographic description

and analysis of land use planning conflicts in the Pine Barrens of Southern New Jersey.

Analyzed were several problems and perspectives emerging from the technological non-development of the rural region and the countervailing forces of industrialization, urbanization, and technological advance.

Two historical periods, the early 1960's and the later sixties and early seventies, the first of which is referred to as "The Jetport Controversy", and the second, "The Pinelands Environmental Council Controversy", present empirical evidence of the social forces which serve to generate interest groups and interest group formation. The generation of such groups center on the formation of social policy.

In the historical perspective, for the first 300 years of American settlements, with the 17th, 18th and 19th century, there was no social policy with respect to preserving land per se. There is, instead, the American concept of conquering the wilderness and "Yankee ingenuity" towards the development of industrialism. The fact that industry did not survive in the Pinelands and that the region did in fact remain a wilderness, was not a result of rational social planning, environmental policies and interest group pressures: little, if any legislation was enacted during those three hundred years which should govern the use of the land and water.

But early in the 20th century, by an act of the New Jersey legislature, the water supply in the Pine Barrens was preserved from an ingenious plan of the Philadelphia Whartons. However, a generalized land and water policy did not come into governmental and citizen focus until the 1960's. The policy makers generating this decision included

an ever-widening circle of bureaucracies, politicians, citizen groups.

The conflict which ensured did not represent a class struggle in the Marxian sense of Proletarian and Bourgeoisie (through citizen environmentalists tend to be upper and upper middle class); rather the disputes sprang from the monopolization of resources and resource management; from long standing American policies of "laisse faire"in industrial development and more recent notions of social planning and conservation. This process of social planning produced administration of policy at higher levels of governmental bureaucracies. While political legitimization is gained through the emergence of citizen interest groups as autonomous agencies. The result is an ever-widening conflict relevant to the making of social policy.

Findings

Land that was undeveloped in the most expansive phases of American society, remained undeveloped as long as a greater opportunity existed elsewhere. The initial phases of American expansion ignored marginal land along the developed areas. Only when urbanism had reached a point where land was scarce within those developed areas did interest focus on marginal land near to or within highly developed areas. This occurred after World War II with respect to airports and later with respect to housing. Therefore, the 1960's witnessed the eruption of land use disputes first in northern New Jersey with respect to the proposed Jetport, in the region known as "The Great Swamp." It was only when citizen interest group organization mounted pressure from northern communities on the crest of political guvernatorial campaigns that the Pine Barrens; the marginal land became the center of interest

for such development.

At the time that such marginal land became of interest for economic developers, the environmental movement whose roots had been emerging in tandem with economic development interests, had themselves reached a stage of organization and development that made it possible to resist the intensive development marginal lands in those urban environments. As an environmental resource, undeveloped areas in metropolitan regions have far more emotional appeal than undeveloped areas in distant regions. For each urban region - such areas are reminders of our own particular rural-agricultural and national inheritants.

In addition, at levels of underdevelopment, real estate interests and local commercial interests have vested interest in the land as it remains in its undeveloped state. Local farmers and landholders in the Pine Barrens lobbied for decision making power and resource control when they realized that preservation policies would restrict the marketing of land. Their mode of protest centered on populist ideals of local autonomy and the traditional posture of anti-federalism.

In early stages of the environmental movement of the 1960's, the groups involved were "earth movement" people, some upper middle-class professionals, and old upper class "Yankee Stock" who sentimentalized or idealized the open spaces with all its various meanings. Both were part of a national movement and, that national movement became embodied in national legislation which placed resources under the trusteeship of the Department of Interior, and with some of the regulatory state agencies. In New Jersey, the Department of Environmental Protection emerged in the 1970's as the newest state agency and the first state-

wide institution to regulate land and water use outside the traditional roles of agricultural and conservation agencies. As agencies of the Federal and State governments assumed guardianship of the natural resources, the earth movement people dropped out as did some of the middle class and upper middle class individuals were not able to sustain the zeal and interest in the absence of a specific dramatic crisis.

Such groups as Sierra Club and Audubon Society, both of which existed before the 1960's were able to maintain the ongoing interest in environmental disputes.

The enactment of State and Federal legislation in part became a vehicle for the instutionalization of all interest groups prior to the creation of the Pinelands Environmental Council and Federal and State legislation. The interest groups had operated outside of the institutional agencies and operated whatever official agencies existed. Now they became part of the institutional machinery, yet they retained basic economic and ideological interests. Thus, the Pinelands Environmental Council was formed from the drafting of legislation by local control interests. The creation of the Council as a regional planning agency was their attempt to offset the intrusion of the National Park Service as the conservation and management unit. In doing so, the Pinelands Environmental Council brought into legitimacy these actors in the land use disputes whose basic economic and ideological interests centered on marketing the resources. Thus the specific interest group became legitimized as a regional planning agency. As the planning agency for the Pine Barrens, the leadership of local control in each were no longer engaged in protest activities. It was no longer necessary to do so since they themselves were the "bureaucrats."

Conclusions: The Great Land Transformation

Polanyi (1944) points out that "what we call land is an element is an element of nature inextricably interwoven with man's institutions. To isolate it and form a market out of it was perhaps the weirdest of all undertakings of our ancestors." (Polanyi, 1944:178) But to separate land from people and organize society as a means of satisfying the real-estate market was part of the concept of the market economy, and the growth of the market economy had ramifications for human societies as well as the condition of open space.

Land has become a market commodity, and the old system of agriculture which provided only for maintaining subsistance levels of independence and even isolation, has become commercialized into ever larger agri-businesses.

To change the market system of land is to change the structure of society as well: as both are closely related. To attempt to change the market institutions land surround ownership and use, to change land as a commodity to land as a resource, without shifting the rules and structures of the market society, would indeed be virtually impossible. Any attempt produces conflict. But, at another level, changing the market position of land could eventually lead to changes in the structure of society: and this change may well be in process.

Local Management Versus National Management: Institutional Struggles in Levels of Power and Authority

Land use planning in urban regions has since the late sixties involved higher and higher levels of government authority and jurisdiction Federal power is in this area attacked by the "rugged individualists" as a denial of freedom. Such attacks are similar to

earlier attacks on federal intervention regulating free enterprise. Comments Polanyi:

> "Planning and control are being attacked as a denial of freedom. Free enterprise and private ownership are declared to be essentials of freedom...The freedom that regulation creates is denounced as unfreedom...the U.S.S.R. which used planning, regulation and control as its instruments, has not yet put the liberties promised in her Constitution into practice, and probably, the critics add, never will...But to turn against regulation means to turn against reform." (Polanyi, 1944:257).

The reform Polanyi refers to is the planning of society towards the regulation and control of powerful and independent trusts and monopolies.

Land use disputes are another test of the political and economic autonomy of the market economy. The struggle goes to the very roots of industrial-capitalist society, and cannot be seen simply as the contest of the forces of commodity versus resource.

But those who support the idea of land as a resource, the environmentalists and conservationists, are also practicing and interacting within the market system. The drive for change is not a holistic move. Nevertheless, the politicization of the environmental movements have shifted the planning power towards higher levels of state and federal bureaucracies and away from local landholders, thereby in effect creating national controls over land use and open space as a means of preserving it.

Gottmann, who saw Megalopis as the 'advance guard' of the industrial society, noted the re-structuring of urban and rural areas

to broader, regional systems of organization. As localism diminished and regionalism expanded, new forms of social organization would begin to reflect this pattern. The outcome of this change is the expansion of management power at higher levels of government. But the national urban system has strong, countervailing forces which conflict with this centralizing development, mainly rurals and local political networks.

Local Control in the Pine Barrens - A Counter-Vailing Force.

Local control is a critical issue in the preservation and management of the Pine Barrens. Even old time conservationists such speak with ambivalence about the need for government intervention to preserve the region.

Local leaders defend and use the ideologies of localism and of agricultural populism as a social and political force in their conflict with federal policy with respect to the management and control of the natural resources.

The Pine Barrens may be a rural enclave, but the institutional arrangements for the marketing of crops are conducted by a national conglomerate not a group of rural isolate, but a cooperative of large scale businessmen. Vocal farm leaders are connected to networks of urban businessmen, especially developers as well as in the Pine Barrens the Republican party, though they speak for and act as if they were protectors of the smaller farmer.

With corporate arrangements replacing individual farming, one wonders how the question of private individual responsibility in land preservation could be taken seriously. Nevertheless, Aldo Leopold's

notion of the Land Ethic proposes a management system based on a change in the system of ethics in the society.

The Land Ethic and Social Change

Aldo Leopold, a lifetime conservationist and founder of the Wilderness Society presented in his posthumously published, Sand County Almanac, a concept of a "land ethic" which challenged the human community to recognize their co-existence with living land.

What was required was a "land ethic" which limited the power of human settlements over the environment and which acknowledged the automony of the land. Thus Leopold argued that:

> "An ethic, ecologically, is a limitation on freedom of action in the struggle for existence. An ethic, philosophically, is a differentiation of social from anti-social conduct." A Sand County Almanac (Aldo Leopold:238, Sierra Club/ Ballentine Book, New York 1966).

The conservationist noted that land use ethics were still governed wholly by economic interest just as social ethics had been a century before' and if one could change, so might the other. Not only was it a desirable goal to reverse the cost/benefit approach to the environment, the system of legislative control and bureaucratic management had limitations of its own when it came to scattered parcels of land.

> "Lack of economic value is sometimes a character not only of species or groups, but of entire, biotic communities: marshes, bogs, dunes and 'deserts' are examples. Our formula in such cases is to relegate their conservation to government as refuges, monuments or parks. The difficulty is that these communities are usually interspersed with more valuable private lands; the

> government cannot possibly own or control such scattered parcels. The net effect is that we have relegated some of them to ultimate extinction over large areas." (Leopold, 1966:249).

Although Leopold acknowledged the necessity of government conservation programs, he could also see that they had become handicapped by their own distance from people they served. Bureaucracy and higher levels of government management bring with them the problems of distance, weakened systems of information and communication, and insensitivity to community values and goals.

Leopold suggested that the land ethic would assign more obligation to the private landowner. Carter (1975) in his study of Florida, also acknowledges a need for a land ethic balancing conservation and development, introducing "a harmony between nature and the works of man." (Carter, 1975:338). He concludes that 'controlled growth' rather than 'no-growth' will satisfy all the opposing interest groups.

The Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, the Department of Interior also has suggested 'controlled growth' for the Pine Barrens. It points out that "not all growth is bad - just bad growth is bad." Where the market economy predominates one wonders: how can the land and water issues escape economic and political trade-offs? How ultimately can government escape control by those interests, it is designed to control? One can also ask: how can the private landowner assume an ethically greater obligation to the environment that of entrepreneur who merely 'markets' the land - the land whose full market price is attained only through intensive development?

Scheiver, 1977, points out that even earlier efforts at

preservation of western lands was possible because their market value was not immediately apparent:

> "...in reading the congressional debates concerning the Yellowstone National Park in 1872, we we find that the land for the park was approved largely because in the view of many congressmen, it had no apparent commercial value." (Schriver, 1977:16).

With the politicization of both the environmentalists, and the agricultural-development interests, the possibility of consensus is very weak. Management at the local level brings with it the problems inherent in self-interest while the national management system evokes fear, absentee landlord, - the distant bureaucrat.

The land planning commission and Green Line Boundaries could represent an acceptable tripartite system of level of institutions. However, there is no 'final' solution to the preservation of open space in urban, eastern regions. The issues change, interest groups emerge, splinter and change. The electoral process contributes the dimension of ultimate control through campaign issues. In the meantime the contest for control of a planning commission, even once the land is taken off the commodity market, will be part of an ever ongoing process.

APPENDIX

The case study is not a specific technique. It is a way of organizing social data so as to preserve the unitary character of the social object being studied. It is a hollistic view which may focus upon a person, a family or other social group, a set of relationships or processes, or even, an entire culture.

Despite the difference in the unit of organization under study, each case must deal with a number of common methodological considerations:

i. What is the problem under examination

ii. On what basis is the unit chosen for examination

iii. What method(s) will be used to gather the necessary data

iv. What variables are to be considered

v. How are the respondents for the study selected

Community Study on a Regional Scale

In its broadest sense, this study is a community analysis, although the parameters are regional and as such encompass thirty-four municipalities (or townships), the better part of two New Jersey counties, Ocean and Burlington, and a minimum of 350,000 acres, within which are four state forests. The problem under examination, what is the fate of large tracts of remaining open-space in densely populated urban agglomerations is analyzed within the framework of planning. The study is an historical and ethnographic analysis of the social forces which shape the planning of a natural area in an urban region.

Selection of a Region for Study

The northeast region of Megalopolis, the area south of Boston and north of Washington, D. C. has within it the most urbanized concentration of population density, inter-connecting networks of major metropolitan regions, and counterforces of rural, open space. Three centuries before, this powerful concentration of people and activities was a wilderness. Yet, only within the past decade and a half has land use planning and the preservation of open spaces been a subject of social and political dispute.

Within the state of New Jersey, three major open-space land areas have been the subject of considerable debate: the Pine Barrens: the Delaware Water Gap: and, Sandy Hook National Park.

Based on an earlier study of Sandy Hoo (1975) the author explored the considerations of planning for a parcel of land already removed from the commodity market, one which had become a National Park, and noted that interest groups formation continued to generate planning decisions at higher levels of bureaucratic structure.

Concurrently, the Delaware Water Gap decision to bar the Army Corps of Engineers plan for the building of a dam laid to rest, temporarily, the intense Delaware Water Gap dispute.

Therefore, only the Pine Barrens remained as a tract of open space whose fate had not been decided. Between 1975 and 1977, the Pine Barrens was to have become the focus of public hearings, debates, interest group formation, and the campaign platform for New Jersey legislators and gubernatorial candidates. It was therefore possible to study the planning process while it was in fact occurring. It was for this reason

that the Pine Barrens became not only appropriate as a case study, but ideal.

Description of the Pine Barrens

The New Jersey Pine Barrens occupies about 2,000 square miles (some 1,164,000 acres) of the Atlantic Coastal Plain in southeastern New Jersey. Only twenty five miles from Philadelphia and forty miles from New York City, the region is largely rural, with few settlements. Although 34 incorporated townships dot the landscape, some contain villages with populations of less than 1,000, and a main street with little more than a gas station and a grocery store. Economically, there is neither industrial development nor upland agricultural development.

Land which is owned by the Federal government includes: Fort Dix Military Reservation; McGuire Air Force Base, and Lakehurst Naval Air Station. A total of 207,000 acres within the Pine Barrens are federally owned.

The New Jersey state government owns 162,000 acres of land in the region which is used for recreation and water conservation.

Only the sprouting of senior citizen communities, such as Leisure Villages have shifted the population composition and density, and in the process, narrowed the remaining portions of open space.

Choice of Method: Participant Observation, Historical Analysis, and Quantitative Data

At the beginning of the study, relevant individuals and groups were identified through attendance at public involvement meetings. By observing parties who participated in the dispute, I began to sort out and identify interest groups and the idology which served as the

foundation of their relative position. I introduced myself informally to those whom I wished to interview as relevant to an interest group position. In all cases I made appointments to interview them on their home territory, either at their farm, home or office, so that the total environment could be part of the observation.

Initially, I had hoped to cover several interviews in one day as a means of minimizing my travel; but that only worked with the Pineconers, the group of Pineys who gave country music concerts in the region. I would attend one of their fests in an open park, and draw one aside at a time, by a stream or in the woods and tape an interview while they were not playing their banjo or fiddle. Many of the tapes of that group appropriately have music in the background.

But since this group, the Pineys, are not active nor do they participate in the planning disputes, they were sought out more as a significant part of the human settlements. I was never to meet one at a meeting on the Pine Barrens. For the local people in general, I found rather quickly that I would need to spend one full visiting day with the individual with whom I had sought the interview. This would invariably include a drive or walk around the sections of the Pine Barrens they were most interested in showing: their cranberry farm, the woods, the trail of "for scale" signs along sandy, desolate roads; a stream and section of woodland marked for development. Hospitality extended to the sharing of a meal, lunch at a farm, dinner on Sunday with the family.

After the second visit, I was told to consider myself 'one of the family' and to call and come back anytime. It is at this point that remaining an uncommitted participant-observer became more difficult to

sistain. With the ease of casual contacts, people began to want more of me - they not only wanted to tell me what they knew, they wanted to know what I knew. Could or should I become an information intermediary?

I decided that information that was public, but possibly unknown to that individual, would be appropriate to relay. But private thoughts and confidentiality were carefully observed. I also had to let people know that I was talking to all 'sides' in the dispute. The region is not so populated nor the parties unknown to each other that anonimity is as possible in the Pine Barrens as in New York City.

Secondly, I had become known to the interest groups at all levels. I received phone calls from reporters from two major New Jersey papers looking for material on a story after, they informed me, the Attorney General's office has told them that I knew more about the Pine Barrens than anyone else.

I identified three major levels of interest group involvement:

i. local

ii. state

iii. national

Interviews were conducted at all three levels with attention paid to the deviant cases, particularly at the local level. The fourth level. the independent environmental organizations were included in the interview schedule.

On the state and national level, I was interviewing governmental figures, bureaucrats who took visible roles in relation to planning, and it was therefore necessary to interview several directors of divisions,

deputy commissioners etc., to make certain that the agency position was being articulated consistently.

When I attended large public hearings, such as the Governors Conference on the Pine Barrens (December 17, 1976), I would check on my interview coverage to see how many of those who attended were known to me and had been interviewed. Of those meetings which I was unable to attend, such as Congressman Forsythe and Hughes conference at Cape May, I asked for and received from Congressman Forsythe's office, the entire tapes of that day. Again, I double checked the relevant parties and spokespersons.

Historical Analysis

A separate set of interviews centered on reporting of past events more particularly, the Jetport Controversy of the 1960's. Through the courtesy of former Governor Richard Hughes, I was able to interview his recommended source on the subject, former Commissioner of Transportation Goldberg.

Through the cooperation of Goldberg and many others, I was to locate and perform a content analysis of planning documents and legislation pertaining to prior and current decisions. Up to this point, there had been no studies written on the political or social disputes in the Pine Barrens. This required that research be done on the primary level with the exception of some historical work on the early history of south Jersey which concluded with World War I.

These were augmented with old Trenton State Library newspaper files and the helpful loan of personal files from the Sierra Club and radio journalist, Dick Standish.

Quantitive Data

Consus tract data obtained from the Trenton State Library served as the basis of population data on 19th century Pine Barrens communities.

The Information Network

There was excellent rapport with most of the relevant parties. It was not unusual to receive phone calls from one or two individuals in an evening informing me of a meeting I might not know about that they hoped or thought I might attend, or urging me to testify for a particular issue. I refrained from testifying or making public any views however, since I did not wish to appear partisan and lose my open access to other groups.

But in addition, the sociological method had been effective. In looking for the holistic view, I was able to grasp the complexity of the problem. The analysis at this point suggested that there were no simple answers, nor were there, as in the old westerns, clearly "good guys" and "bad guys."

Although I did not agree with all the positions taken, I was able to understand the point of view and why it had been necessary to the group involved.

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