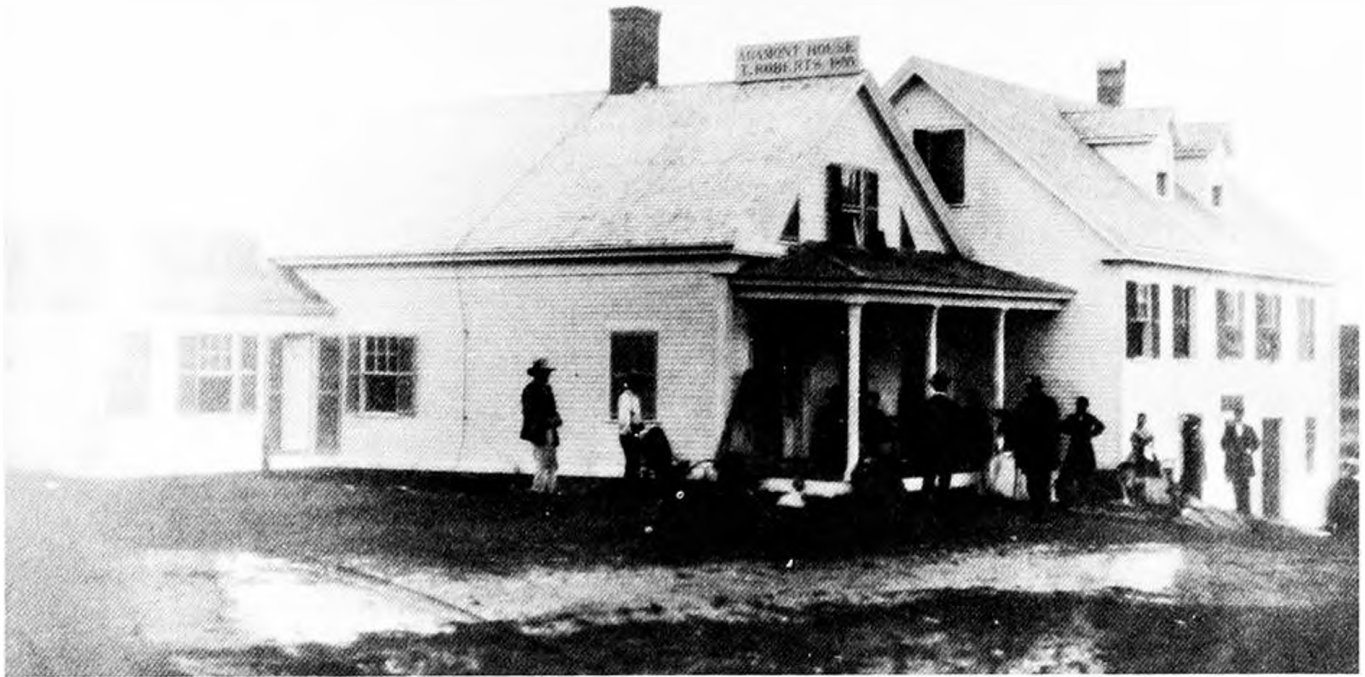


BAR HARBOR: THE HOTEL ERA, 1868-1880

by Richard A. Savage



Agamont House

Prologue

Samuel Champlain was the first European to venture near the shores of Mount Desert Island, and it was that French sea captain who named the mountainous isle "*isle des monts deserts*." Champlain did not go ashore, but some later Frenchmen did. In 1613, less than a decade after Champlain's visit, a short-lived Jesuit colony, Saint Saviour, was established near present-day Southwest Harbor. Many years then passed quietly until, in 1688, Louis XIV granted Mount Desert and environs to Sieur la Mothe de Cadillac, a self-styled nobleman who eventually founded Detroit. He appears not to have settled at Mount Desert, and, except for a few wandering Indians, the island remained uninhabited until the 1760s.

In the early sixties, many families emigrated from Cape Cod and Cape Ann to points north. A few of these settled at

Mount Desert, founding several isolated villages and hamlets along the shores of the island, part of which then was owned by Sir Francis Bernard, the Governor of Massachusetts. When the Revolutionary War broke out, however, Bernard lost his land, and the several scattered settlements were consolidated as Mount Desert Plantation.

After the war, in 1785, the General Court of Massachusetts returned one-half of Mount Desert to John Bernard, the former governor's heir, and the other half of the island soon was granted to Marie Therese de Gregoire, a granddaughter of the enigmatic Cadillac who now claimed her alleged inheritance. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Mount Desert Plantation voted to divide the plantation into two distinct towns, Mount Desert, which would encompass the Bernard Grant, and Eden, which would bring together under one government the villages on the eastern shore--Hulls Cove, Salisbury Cove, West Eden, Eden proper, and East Eden.

East Eden was an insignificant part of the Town of Eden as the 19th century dawned, but within a few decades, East Eden, more popularly known as Bar Harbor, would emerge as one of America's best known "watering places." The early inhabitants of Bar Harbor, the Higginases, the Hamors, the Robertses, the Rodicks, and the Lynams, farmed, fished (the Rodicks had weirs near Bar Island in Frenchman's Bay), and sailed the high seas. Tobias Roberts owned a general store and was the resident money-lender. A later arrival, Jacob Suminsby, was the local shipbuilder. They all were hardy souls, living strenuous, perhaps barren, lives. But all of this was soon to change.

Beginning in the 1840s, Bar Harbor was discovered by the Hudson River artists, most notably by Thomas Cole and Frederick Church. With these and other artists as publicists, Bar Harbor soon was attracting a substantial resort clientele. At first the artists and the other early resorters (or "rusticators," such as New York lawyer Charles Tracy whose daughter Frances later married J.P.Morgan) boarded with local families, the artists preferring the Lynam Homestead at Schooner Head near Bar Harbor. Within a few years, however, these make-shift facilities proved inadequate, and in 1855 Tobias Roberts erected the Agamont House, Bar Harbor's first hotel. Other inhabitants followed his lead, and after the Civil War ended, hotel construction increased dramatically. Regular steamboat service to the resort was begun by the steamer *Lewiston* in 1868, clear evidence that the resort was growing in popularity.

Along with the hotels and boarding houses, Bar Harborites built their first church, the Union Meeting House (the "white church"). Slowly, the hamlet was becoming a town. By 1870

there were fourteen hotels at Bar Harbor, of which David Rodick's Rodick House was the largest, several shops, and a considerable number of new, year-round homes. All of Bar Harbor's original settlers now were engaged in the resort trades, and with increasing speed, the inhabitants of Eden's other villages were gravitating toward Bar Harbor, eager to share in the new-found prosperity. The old order was rapidly changing, in the opinion of most for the better.

The resort's future brightened even more in the late sixties when several "boarders" left their hotels and boarding houses to build their own "cottages." An element of permanence and stability was being introduced at Bar Harbor. Boston merchant Alpheus Hardy was the first to build, by the sea of course, and other Bostonians followed suit--the wealthy Montgomery Sears, William Minot, the Welds and the Hales, to name but a few. A lone New Yorker, Gouverneur Ogden, also joined the movement, and more New Yorkers would follow. But the social ascendancy of these cottagers was yet to be realized, and the decade of the seventies belonged to the hotels. For Bar Harborites, the hotel era had arrived.

The Hotel Era

Local residents invested large sums in the resort trades. David Rodick and sons invested \$12,000 in their hotel enterprise, and Tobias Roberts was not far behind. Richard Hamor had built the Bay View House in 1868 and was soon to build the Grand Central, the town's second largest hotel. Other proprietors invested considerably less, but as a whole, hotel construction was a great boon to Bar Harbor's economy. [1]

All of this building required capital. There was no bank in Bar Harbor, but there were several sources for the necessary funds. Tobias Roberts still provided occasional loans, and he had local competition. When A. J. Mills furnished his Kebo House, he borrowed the money from Charlotte Higgins, proof that the fairer sex was not averse to timely investment. Furnishings for the hotels generally were purchased at Bangor from George Merrill. [2] Bar Harbor proprietors financed thousands of dollars worth of furniture through Merrill. If more money was needed for construction costs or furnishings, there was a bank at Ellsworth, [3] and loans could be obtained from Monroe Young, soon to be mayor of that city. Young had turned from his Civil War task of finding substitutes for Edenites, to proffering loans to Bar Harbor entrepreneurs. [4] Ellsworth was also the site of the mills of J.H. and E.H. Hopkins, from whom many Bar Harbor proprietors bought lumber, clapboards,



Green Mountain House

and shingles, having the goods shipped down the Union River to Mount Desert. [5]

Between 1870 and 1872 no new hotels were built, but in 1873, despite widespread economic depression, hotel construction was begun again. The Haywood House was erected with local financing, and the next year John Lynam moved from Schooner Head and built the Lynam House, soon to be a favorite haunt of Bostonians. Two years later the Grand Central was constructed. Then came W. C. Higgins's Exchange House, and in 1878 John Manchester's stylish Belmont Hotel was completed. In 1879 the resort's third largest hotel, the West End, was built by O. M. Shaw of Portland, Bar Harbor's first non-resident proprietor. [6] With the Rodick, the Grand Central, and the West End, Bar Harbor possessed three hotels that would do most resorts of the age proud, and by 1880 there were eighteen hotels in town. [7] The hotel era clearly was at its height. Even the town's postmaster constructed a hotel that he modestly named after himself, the Hotel DesIsles.

Most of the hotels of the late sixties and early seventies surpassed their predecessors only in size. They were as deserving of the description "rustic" as were any of the earlier establishments. The buildings were roughly finished, had porous walls, were sparingly furnished, and the ceilings usually leaked. Snow was no problem only because most hotels



Rodick House

were not used in the winter. Sewers ran open to the sea, which was always nearby (but somehow never near enough, especially on hot, still days). Creature comforts were at a minimum, and local proprietors operated on a first-come, first-served basis that rendered reservations superfluous. Summarily, the exception was often the rule in old Bar Harbor, but the trials and tribulations of the resorter presumably added to his or her appreciation of the town's rusticity. [8]

Good food was not non-existent, but it was at a premium. Those accustomed to the quality and variety of city fare were often aghast at the meals that were set before them in the plain dining rooms of the hotels:

When people cook and eat food of this wretched description there must be something wrong in their moral condition...At Mount Desert very little is furnished the hungry sojourner but he is permitted to feast and fast upon fish. This diet is perhaps satisfying to the intellectual Bostonian, who seeks that food which stimulates and adds to the brain; but the more sensuous New Yorker, or the rearing, tearing, half horse and half alligator of the West must have beef, fowl and mutton. [9]

Fortunately for those displeased with the food and accommodations, local proprietors now offered their guests something more than mere board and shelter. The cumbersome Atlantic House provided croquet for its patrons, and owner J. H. Douglass bought a piano for the Atlantic's music room. Most of the hotels, including the Ash brother's Eden House, had teams and drivers at the disposal of guests. The Saint Sauveur furnished yachts and rowboats, and promised fresh fruits and vegetables for "mealers." All hotels served the popular blueberry. [10] Even though there were as yet no esoteric enticements that would magnetically draw the tourist to one hotel in preference to another, an element of competition was being introduced, and Bar Harbor's proprietors were gaining in business acumen.

Most Bar Harbor hotels already were well known in Boston. [11] So many Bostonians visited the growing resort that word simply "got around." Another reason for such fame (or notoriety) was that a few proprietors understood the value of advertising. For instance in 1875 the owners of the Rodick House printed a descriptive pamphlet that promised the prospective guest running water and guaranteed that reservations would be honored under any and all circumstances. Rates were \$1.50 and \$2.50 per day, board included, and the rates at the smaller hotels and boarding houses were not significantly less. Price differentiation had not yet reached an advanced stage of development.

Independent advertising by the hotel proprietors helped individual establishments build growing businesses, but more significant in terms of the influx of resorters to Bar Harbor was the existence of an increasing number of Mount Desert "guidebooks," all of which devoted a majority of their pages to extolling the beauty of Bar Harbor and vicinity. The rest of the island was slighted, but this was only just, for Bar Harbor now was the prime place of resort on Mount Desert. Southwest Harbor was still frequented by many rusticators, but its appeal was mostly to those who had been long settled there, or to those who wished to escape the "noisy" atmosphere of Bar Harbor's hotels. [12]

The first of the Mount Desert guides was privately printed in 1867 by Clara Barnes Martin. An updated version was published annually for the next several years by a Portland firm, but the guide was very superficial. [13] A somewhat more comprehensive guidebook was that of Benjamin F. DeCosta, first published in 1868, which gave a less stilted portrayal of resort life at Mount Desert. [14] Ezra A. Dodge, a native of Ellsworth, also wrote a brief history and guide to the island

that was placed on the market in 1871. [15] All three authors praised the beauties of Mount Desert, told people how to get there, and suggested what they might see and do after they arrived. The wide circulation of the guidebooks helped bolster an already thriving resort economy. Other Bar Harbor and Mount Desert guides appeared later, but the earliest ones were most influential in terms of Bar Harbor's growth and development.

By the early seventies, it was easier than ever to reach Bar Harbor. Trains connected nearby Bangor, on the Penobscot River, to all the major population centers of the East, and an expanding network of railroads made Bar Harbor accessible to most of America. [16] Steamers plied regularly from New York and Boston to Bar Harbor and Southwest Harbor. [17] The *Lewiston* had the Bar Harbor run to herself until 1870, when the *Charles Houghton* was placed on the Rockland-Sedgwick-Mount Desert route. This challenge ended in failure, however. The *Ulysses*, owned by the newly-created Rockland, Mount Desert and Sullivan Steamboat Company, was somewhat more successful as a competitor -- that is until she blew-up on January 10, 1878. By 1876 there were four lines running steamboats to Bar Harbor, carrying mostly passengers, but also serving as freighters for local merchants and proprietors.

As the hotels prospered and expanded, and as new ones were built, the steamers helped supply occupants for the ever-increasing number of hotel rooms. But not all of those who were greeted by the enthusiastic throngs on Bar Harbor's wharves came to partake of the hospitality of local proprietors. Many resorters now were returning to their own cottages, and others came as guests of these very cottagers. Many such guests later returned to build homes of their own and join the movement that would culminate in the establishment of a viable summer "colony."

There was in the early seventies no cottage colony with a social life separate from that of the boarders in the hotels. The vast majority of resorters still lived in hotels and boarding houses, [18] and the cottagers and boarders mingled freely. [19] This is understandable for the early cottagers were only boarders who desired more privacy, and not a breed apart. It was not long, however, before differentiation between the groups markedly increased, in part because of a change in the socio-economic make-up of the cottagers. During the seventies more and more cottages were being built, and the owners were increasingly drawn from the business and financial classes. [20] The next logical development, and one that would be realized fully in the late eighties and throughout the nineties, would be the arrival of the millionaires, with a



Rockaway House

sub-culture that would make the informal "mingling" of the seventies difficult if not impossible to attain. This already had happened at Newport. [21] But for the time being, informality and rusticity remained the rule at Bar Harbor.

With the rapid upswing in cottage construction, there was of course an increased demand for land. Such a demand presented landowners with an opportunity to do some good "Yankee" trading with city folk, who were at first mostly Bostonians. In 1867, Alpheus Hardy had paid Stephen Higgins a mere two hundred dollars

an acre for his plot of land, but subsequent arrivals found prices to be dearer. Two years later, the Welds and Minots paid \$2500 each for two small lots adjacent to Hardy's. The seller was the same Mr. Higgins; and in 1872 William Rotch of New Bedford paid Higgins \$3000 for a lone acre of choice land. [22]

Professor Mahan of Harvard had purchased his lot before the rush began, and by 1870 he had already erected two houses. Another Harvardian, James B. Thayer, was slower to act, and in 1872 he paid \$2300 for a small lot owned by Albert Higgins. [23] The Higginses were not the only natives to profit from land transactions, but their property was located by the ocean, [24] and it recently had become fashionable to build by the sea. [25] But not all Bar Harborites could foresee the future course of

events. Some, either foolishly or naively (or both), sold their land to non-resident speculators at prices that in a few short years could have been multiplied many times.

Regardless from whom they bought the land, the new owners were eager to start construction of their summer homes. Gouverneur Ogden and William Minot had cottages built at once, and workmen soon built homes for Professor Thayer, Haskett Derby, Charles H. Door (whose son would found Acadia National Park), and Philadelphia's much-traveled Reverend DeCosta. The Hales had three houses at Schooner Head, near the old Lynam Homestead where the early artists had stayed, and local carpenters soon built a Swiss cottage in the same vicinity for Salem's Judge Brigham. The chalet was shared by Charles Francis and family of Boston. The Doors lived at the edge of Bar Harbor, but most of the other cottagers lived in the village proper. Many Bar Harborites were active in the building trades, and if the necessary skills and supplies could not be provided locally, assistance could be found in Ellsworth, or Bucksport (located at the mouth of the Penobscot River). [26] Shingles and other materials were needed on an unprecedented scale, and local production could not always keep pace.

By the end of the decade, a cottage "colony" had been established. It was evident that this colony would consist primarily of Bostonians, New Yorkers, and Philadelphians, with a few representatives from Baltimore, Chicago, and the District of Columbia. Geography and the distribution of wealth dictated that the first named cities would dominate Bar Harbor society as they dominated Newport's. But as the *Harper's* article suggests, there was a considerable difference between intellectual Bostonians, sensual New Yorkers, and (arbitrarily) aristocratic and arrogant Philadelphians. The future history of Bar Harbor society would be, in part, a reflection of the interplay among these groups. But a resort is not created by resorters alone, not even if their names are Vanderbilt, Stotesbury, Pulitzer, and Blaine. From 1870 onward the story of Bar Harbor is the story of a community meeting the demands of a growing number of affluent and influential resorters, people so unlike the local inhabitants as to be of a different world. It is as much a story for the sociologist as for the historian.

Bar Harbor's progress did not go unimpeded. In 1873 the townspeople, and especially the proprietors and merchants, were faced with a problem of almost overwhelming magnitude. For a short time, it appeared that Bar Harbor's days as a resort might be numbered. A rapid-fire series of disasters shocked the community. First, the giant Atlantic House was totally destroyed by fire. The town had taken no precautions against

such a hazard, and while hundreds stood helplessly by, the hotel was reduced to ashes. A few guests were able to salvage their belongings, but all else was lost. For the citizens the fire was a traumatic experience. If the Atlantic House was not safe from fire, neither were the other fragile structures that lined Bar Harbor's main thoroughfares. [27]

Soon after the remains of the hotel ceased smoldering, Bar Harbor was struck by an epidemic of typhoid fever. Eight residents of the Bay View House were afflicted, and the hotel was evacuated immediately. The entire village water supply was suspect, and many resorters fled the town altogether. Others crowded the remaining hotels. Word was flashed across the United States that Bar Harbor, noted for its invigorating air, was unhealthful. Conditions became more acute when an outbreak of scarlatina was reported by the occupants of the Rodick House. [28] Unfavorable publicity was an inevitable result of this unhappy sequence of events, and the New York *Times* warned the proprietors of the resort's "hastily built" hotels to look after the problem of drainage if Bar Harbor were to survive, a warning echoed by other newspapers. [29]

Fortunately the townspeople were attuned to their collective plight, and no time was wasted in inactivity. The cause of the outbreak was found to be the well at the Bay View House. No other wells were contaminated. [30] Since open sewers had long run past the wells of the village, the only wonder is that such a tragedy was so long delayed. A remedy was sought at once. The selectmen led a movement to replace all open sewers with cesspools, and town officials petitioned the Maine Legislature for financial help in providing pure water for the inhabitants. [31] The Legislature responded favorably, and in the spring of 1874 wooden flumes were built to carry water from spring-fed Eagle Lake, two miles distant, to Bar Harbor. [32] In June the New York *Tribune* reported that Bar Harbor was safe for another season, [33] and according to a popular magazine "...the reports of illness are much exaggerated," probably an accurate observation. [34]

Much energy was expended because much was at stake. The threat the epidemic posed to the resort's very existence was so great that total mobilization of the populace was easy to achieve. It was not the cottagers or the boarders who came to the rescue of the resort, but the inhabitants themselves. The Rodicks, the Higginses, E. G. DesIsles, and Alfred Connors were the moving forces behind the creation in 1874 of the Bar Harbor Water Company (capitalized at \$50,000), the organization that carried out the task of procuring pure

water for the town. [35] As heresy frequently strengthens orthodoxy, so did the crisis of 1873 strengthen the resolve of Bar Harborites to persevere in their resort enterprise. They became aware of their common destiny. Vacationers could vacation elsewhere, but the natives could not replace the tourist dollar. Not surprisingly then, the proprietors and merchants were prominent in the recovery process.

Local merchants had been active long before the summer of 1873. The arrival of an increasing number of steamers brought unprecedented activity to the waterfront. Tobias Roberts enlarged his wharf twice. Joseph Wood, a Wiscasset native, built a wharf, and the Connors brothers, in partnership with Jacob Suminsby, erected yet another. [36] A few years later, at the instigation of Captain Charles Deering, the Eastern Railroad bought the Roberts wharf which had been used as the main steamboat landing. [37] Roberts, the Connorses, and Suminsby also rented rowboats and canoes to tourists, [38] and it was not long before members of Maine's Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indian tribes took advantage of their proximity to Bar Harbor. Camping on the shore across from Bar Island, the Indians taught rusticators the art of birch-bark canoeing, served as guides, and, ironically, sold trinkets to the white man. [39]

Other businesses were growing as well, and the response of Bar Harborites to the crisis of 1873 encouraged more resorters than ever to buy land and build cottages. This in



The Grand Central

turn created more economic opportunities for local merchants and manufacturers. Boarders and cottagers alike had plenty of money to spend. The hotels needed waitresses, maids, and kitchen help, jobs that local women and girls could do, and many women also did thriving laundry businesses. Young men served as guides, drivers, rowers, and as clerks in a growing number of stores. Others worked as gardeners on the grounds of the hotels and cottages, while a few responsible older men served as caretakers for one or another of the cottagers. Farmers grew fruits and vegetables for the hotel dining rooms, and of course a steady supply of blueberries had to be maintained. The business of Bar Harbor was business, one business-tourism. [40]

According to the *Maine Register*, Bar Harbor had fourteen retail business establishments in 1870, seventeen in 1875, and more than twenty by 1880. Three merchants who early recognized Bar Harbor's potential were non-residents. Richmond H. Kittredge, from Trenton, opened a grocery store in 1870, and within a short time he had competition from H. C. Sproul of Bucksport; another Sproul, Robert, opened the resort's first restaurant across from the Rodick House, but most resorters continued to eat at one or another of the hotels and boarding houses. Then the local citizens got involved. In 1875 John Harden established a livery stable, to cater to the hotel trade, and by the end of the decade, four others had been built in competition. [41] The Rodicks not only enlarged their hotel, but also built salt-water baths, an innovation that attested to the changing tastes of their clientele. By 1880, Bar Harbor could claim the presence of a seasonal architect, a dentist, a physician, and a photographer. [42] The resort was beginning to assume an air of sophistication, and as more and more buildings were erected, Bar Harbor began to look different - less crude, less run-down. The cultivated tastes of the newer cottagers soon were reflected in the construction of more palatial summer homes.

Thanks to Tobias Roberts and others, Bar Harbor also procured its own telegraph office. In 1870 a telegraph line was completed between Ellsworth and Southwest Harbor, and on February 3, 1871, the State Legislature granted permission to the Robertses to connect with this line. [43] Soon the Bar Harbor and Mount Desert Telegraph Company was in full operation. [44] Would-be resorters could wire ahead for reservations if they so desired, and boarders and cottagers could readily communicate with friends, relatives, and business associates back home if the occasion arose. Moreover, proprietors and merchants could telegraph orders to wholesalers in Portland and

Boston, and have their goods within the week via one of the steamers. [45]

Resorters, whether cottagers or boarders, still continued to do those things people traditionally came to Bar Harbor to do. City-dwellers, avoiding the heat and dust of the metropolis, often arrived "...in a state of mind for which there is no cure save our beloved Bar Harbor." [46] They came to walk (and hike), to talk (and gossip), to canoe, to picnic at the "ovens" or elsewhere, and just to enjoy the out-of-doors. Fishing remained popular, but swimming was still ruled out because of the frigid temperature of the water. [47] Dancing was never popular at Bar Harbor, but dances were, and dances were Bar Harbor's first truly public entertainment. Dances were a gathering place for the young, and Bar Harbor was, above all else, a haven for the young during its formative years. The ballroom of the Rodick House popularly was known as the "fish pond," and there young ladies "fished" for male companions. There were too many women and too few men at Bar Harbor, making the female of the species by necessity the predator. Apparently the art of flirtation was well taught by Bar Harbor's widows and young-at-heart matrons, for the resort soon held an unsurpassed reputation as America's foremost site for "love making" whatever that meant in the 1870s and 1880s. Chaperones worried less and enjoyed life more at Bar Harbor than in the self-conscious society of Newport and other watering places. [48]

Chaperones were considered superfluous when young couples canoed on the choppy waters of Frenchman's Bay, and there seemed to be no danger in permitting maidens to attend the afternoon teas on Bar Island, for the atmosphere was always "proper." Buckboard rides on wilderness roads might have posed a threat, had not all local buckboards been three-seaters, a feature that enabled younger brothers and sisters to go along for the ride. Lawn tennis was in vogue at Bar Harbor, but the resort's tennis players apparently were not fashionable. According to one protesting observer, "Mount Desert is anything but fashionable. It is the last place in the world to get an opportunity to show good clothes," [49] this after he had witnessed a tennis match. Still by the decade's end, Mrs. Burton Harrison could refer to Bar Harbor as a smart, modern watering place, which was (fortunately she said) far from being too sophisticated. [50] Others still considered Bar Harbor to be crude, but sophistication clearly was emerging and the seventies brought changes that augured ill for the old order of the rusticators.

The growth of the cottage colony was one such change, and



Bar Harbor, 1877

another occurred in 1875 when Frances Tracy Morgan at last returned to Mount Desert accompanied by her famous husband. [51] J. P. Morgan was the first of the great financiers to bestow his seal of approval upon Bar Harbor. The Morgans stayed at the Rodick House, and spent a week touring the island and holding informal parties for friends, both old and new, whom the Morgans had met at the various hotels and cottages. On the Sunday after their arrival, the Morgans listened to Maine's Episcopal Bishop Neely preach at the Episcopal meeting house. Morgan, a devout Episcopalian, was impressed enough to return for the evening sermon.

Bar Harbor society gained the attention of the New York *Times* the summer after Morgan's visit, and deservedly so, for the summer of 1876 was Bar Harbor's most successful to date. Yachts in unprecedented numbers filled the harbor, with Harvard President Eliot's *Sunshine* anchored next to Montgomery Sears's *Ianthe*. Sears was visiting Alpheus Hardy, and the Eliots were soon to become pioneering summer residents at nearby Northeast Harbor. There were frequent dances ("hops" and "Germans") at the larger hotels, and hotels and boarding houses alike were filled to capacity throughout the summer. Some Philadelphia ladies organized weekly rowboat races for the fairer sex, and the gentlemen of the resort whiled away



The West End

their leisure hours at the "Oasis Club" which was tucked away in a room of Alfred Veazie's estate, that the "Maine Law" might be violated with relative impunity. [52]

That same summer, Bar Harbor received its first visit from the United States Navy when the U.S.S. *Ossipee* dropped anchor in the harbor. Like Morgan's visit a year earlier, the appearance of the naval vessel was a portent of things to come, for within a decade and a half the entire North Atlantic Squadron would pay social visits to the resort. The visit of the *Ossipee* brought the usual exchange of courtesies between ship and shore, and from the beginning admirals and resorters "hit it off" extremely well. [53] Three years later, the *Constellation*, under Commander F. V. McNair, put into port for five days during her annual midshipmen's training cruise. [54] With the influx of so many eligible males, something of a balance was struck in the distribution of the sexes. At such times there was diminished need for the "fish pond."

But summer must end, and in the fall of each year, Bar Harbor was boarded up for the annual battle with the elements. The town was not abandoned, however--evidence above all else that the building of a resort basically had been a local effort. There were no absentee proprietors to fly to warmer climes, at least not yet. Indeed, as Bar Harbor became increasingly popular

as a summer resort, the year-round population grew ever larger. Throughout the 1870s the movement of Edenites to Bar Harbor continued. The number of students attending the schools at Bar Harbor increased from 75 in 1875 to 187 five years later. In the other fourteen school districts the number of students declined proportionately. [55]

As the town grew larger, so did the problems facing local government. The selectmen were confronted with new problems of law enforcement. The old system of a volunteer constabulary might suffice in the winter, but during the bustling summer months it was grossly inadequate. Professionals were needed, and in 1877 a town police department was organized with anywhere from one to twenty-five policemen on duty according to the time of year.

Public health was also a problem of increasing complexity. The rapid and expansive construction of hotels, cottages, stores and ordinary dwellings created a serious sewerage problem pointed up most dramatically by the crisis of 1873. Lack of a comprehensive sewerage disposal system was to be a nuisance for some time to come, for cesspools were at best a temporary expedient. But as noted before the town now possessed an abundant supply of pure water, and in 1879 a Board of Health was organized to deal with sanitation problems. Governmental services were thus being expanded to cope with the many problems created by the resort's prodigious growth. [56]

Education and highways continued to be priority items in the town budget. Edenites spent 20 per cent of their tax dollar on education during the seventies, and Eden's schools, as a group, now were considered the best in the county. [57] An even greater portion of tax revenue was allocated for road and bridge construction and repair. [58] Such continuous attention to the public thoroughfares was essential if the reputation of the resort was to grow. The physical appearance of Bar Harbor became increasingly important after 1880 as the wealthy began to arrive in large numbers. But even in the seventies local merchants were beginning to recognize the necessity of catering to tastes that were more demanding than those of the early artists and intellectuals.

It was during the seventies also that some cottagers and a few perennial boarders began to intrude into Bar Harbor's spiritual and intellectual life. Resorters thus were moving into spheres of activity that long had been the preserve of the year-round inhabitants. One example of this new activism was the movement of the Episcopalians from the Union Meeting House to their own quarters. Exhorted to action by Maine's socially prominent Episcopal Bishop Henry Adams Neely,

several cottagers and boarders contributed money to purchase a site for a proposed new church. In the meantime, temporary facilities were found, and the first Episcopal services were held by Bishop Neely (himself a frequent visitor at Bar Harbor) in 1867. Twelve years later, Bar Harbor's first Episcopal Church edifice was consecrated. The exodus from the "white church" had begun. [59]

The summer residents also contributed to Bar Harbor's cultural enrichment by planning a public library. During the summer of 1875, and in the face of local apathy, a group of interested persons gathered at the Minot Cottage to discuss the library project. Several cottagers were willing to contribute books and money, and one concerned local resident, Mrs. Endora Salisbury, offered a room of her house to be used as a reading room. So the project was begun, and with considerable success. Within a short time the popularity of the reading room dictated that roomier quarters be found, and a committee was formed to purchase a building site, preferably near the center of town. Professor James B. Thayer was elected chairman of the library committee, and additional funds were collected for the purchase of more books. The Town of Eden, in a brief spasm of short-sightedness, refused to contribute any money to the project. Through the efforts of interested cottagers, however, the library was perpetuated, and within a few years, the annual circulation of books exceeded 5,000, two-thirds of which were borrowed by year-round residents. [60]

Subtly but steadily, cottagers were becoming involved in the day to day life of the community. This trend continued, and increasingly the cottage colony had more and more to say about local affairs. Of course the boarders, more transient in character than the cottagers, were less concerned with local problems and politics, and, not being taxpayers, were less influential. Thus the decline of the boarders and the rise of the cottagers, a development that unfolded during the 1880s, had profound effects upon the relationship between summer and year-round residents.

As a permanent summer colony evolved, a more servile mentality began to develop among local inhabitants. Working for and catering to the summer colonists rapidly came to be the prime function of Bar Harborites. The resort trades were the new "way of life" at Bar Harbor, and as older occupations faded from the picture, dependency upon the boarders and cottagers became complete. With the 1880s came the birth of the Bar Harbor of popular legend.

-----NOTES-----

1. Bar Harbor Municipal Offices, Town Records: Valuation, 1870. Hereafter referred to by short title giving content and date; N. K. Sawyer, *Mount Desert Island and the Cranberry Isles* (Ellsworth: By the Compiler, 1871), p. 41.
2. Town Records: Contracts and Bills of Sale, 1870-79.
3. George Adams, comp., *Maine Register and Business Directory, 1855* (Title and place of publication vary, 1855), pp. 149-50. Hereafter referred to as *Maine Register*, followed by the year of publication.
4. Town Records: Contracts and Bills of Sale, 1877; Albert H. Davis, *History of Ellsworth, Maine* (Lewiston: Lewiston Journal Printshop, 1927), p. 185.
5. Town Records: Contracts and Bills of Sale, 1879.
6. These dates have been determined by using the *Maine Register* and the Bar Harbor Town Records. The author believes these dates to be the most precise that it is possible to obtain.
7. *Maine Register*, 1880, p. 345.
8. The best account of the qualities of Bar Harbor's hotels is in Henry Walton Swift's *Mount Desert in 1873*, Portrayed in Crayon and Quill (Boston: J. R. Osgood and Co., 1873). Hereafter referred to as *Mount Desert in 1873*. Also see George Ward Nichols, "Mount Desert," *Harper's*, August, 1872, pp. 321-40. More favorably disposed to the hotels is Mrs. Burton Harrison, *Golden Rod, An Idyll of Mount Desert* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1879). Hereafter referred to as *Golden Rod*.
9. Nichols, "Mount Desert," p. 327.
10. Sawyer, *Mount Desert Island and the Cranberry Isles*, pp. 60-64; Samuel Adams Drake, *Nooks and Corners of the New England Coast* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1875), p. 39. J.H. Douglass and Edward DesIsles pooled their resources to buy a \$485.00 piano for the Atlantic's Music Room (Town Records: Contracts and Bills of Sale, 1874).
11. Swift, *Mount Desert in 1873*, pp. 1-3, 8.
12. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1873; Clara Barnes Martin, *Guide Book for Mount Desert Island, Maine* (Portland: Loring, Short, and Harmon, 1874), p. 23. Hereafter referred to as *Guide Book*.
13. See n. 12.
14. Benjamin F. DeCosta, *Rambles in Mount Desert: With Sketches of Travel on the New England Coast, from the Isle of Shoals to Grand Manan* (New York: A.D.F. Randolph and Co., 1871).

15. Ezra Dodge, *History of Mount Desert* (Ellsworth: N.K. Sawyer, 1871).
16. For an account of the development of railroads in Maine see George Pierce Baker, *The Formation of the New England Railroad Systems* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937), chs., VII, IX. This may be supplemented with newspaper advertisements in the *Eastern Argus* and the *Bangor Whig and Courier*.
17. The best account of the development of Maine steamboating is F.B.C. Bradlee, *Some Account of Steam Navigation in New England* (Salem: The Essex Institute, 1929). Also see Martin, *Guide Book*, 1874, p. 12. The newspaper advertisements mentioned in the previous footnote also deal with steamboats.
18. Town Records: Valuation, 1870-79.
19. Nichols, "Mount Desert," p. 328; John Arbuckle, "A Temperate Experience on Mount Desert," *Lippincott's*, August, 1874, pp. 250-53; *New York Times*, September 5, 1880, p. 10.
20. See such secondary sources as the *Dictionary of American Biography* and *Who Was Who*.
21. Dixon Wecter, *The Saga of American Society* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1937), p. 456.
22. Town Records: Contracts and Bills of Sale, 1867, 1869 and 1872.
23. *Ibid.*, 1872.
24. Albert L. Higgins, *Notes from the Early History of Mount Desert Island* (Bar Harbor: By the Author, 1929), n.p., see map.
25. Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New York: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 57-83, 101-07.
26. *Ellsworth American*, December 30, 1869; Town Records: Valuation, 1869-72 and Contracts and Bills of Sale, 1879; also see the various guidebooks and early maps of the island.
27. Swift, *Mount Desert in 1873*, pp. 12-13.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
29. *New York Times*, June 28, 1874, p. 6; Richard W. Hale, Jr., *The Story of Bar Harbor* (New York: Ives Washburn, 1949), p. 142-47. Hereafter referred to as *Bar Harbor*.
30. Dr. William James Morton, "Mount Desert and Typhoid Fever, During the Summer of 1873," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol. 89. Found in Hale, *Bar Harbor*, p. 145.
31. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Maine 1874* (Augusta: Sprague, Owen and Nash, 1874), p. 192.
32. Martin, *Guide Book*, 1874, advertisements; Rodick House pamphlet, dated 1875 and located at Bar Harbor Historical Society.

33. New York *Herald*, June 10, 1874.
34. Arbuckle, "A Temperate Experience on Mount Desert," p.250.
35. *Acts and Resolves of the Fifty-Third Legislature of the State of Maine* (Augusta, Sprague, Owen and Nash, 1824), pp. 445-47. Hereafter referred to as *Acts and Resolves*, followed by date of publication.
36. *Ibid.*, 1873, p. 332; 1872, p. 27; 1875, p. 16.
37. George E. Street, *Mount Desert, A History*, ed. by Samuel A. Eliot (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1926), p.283.
38. Town Records: Valuation, 1874.
39. Boston *Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1873.
40. O.B. Bruce, "Mount Desert," in *Picturesque America*, ed. by William Cullen Bryant (New York: Appleton and Co., 1872), pp. 2-3.
41. *Industries and Wealth of the Principal Points in Maine* (New York: American Publishing and Engraving Company, 1893), n.p., see "Bar Harbor."
42. *Maine Register*, 1880, pp. 344-45.
43. *Acts and Resolves*, 1871, pp. 548-49.
44. Sawyer, *Mount Desert Island and the Cranberry Isles*, p. 6.
45. Nichols, "Mount Desert," p. 326; Town Records: Contracts and Bills of Sale, 1874.
46. Harrison, *Golden Rod*, p. 24.
47. Swift, *Mount Desert in 1873*, p. 9; Arbuckle, "A Temperate Experience on Mount Desert," p. 251; Anna Bowman Blake, "A Midsummer-Night's Adventure," *Harper's*, September, 1880, pp. 617-26.
48. Nichols, "Mount Desert," pp. 328,336; Swift, *Mount Desert in 1873*, p. 4.
49. Arbuckle, "A Temperate Experience on Mount Desert," p. 25.
50. Harrison, *Golden Rod*, pp. 50, 109.
51. Herbert L. Saterlee, *J. Pierpont Morgan, An Intimate Portrait* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), p. 155.
52. New York *Times*, August 27, 1876.
53. *Ibid.*
54. Leonard Opdycke, *Naval Visits to Bar Harbor* (Bar Harbor: Bar Harbor Times Publishing Company, 1952), p. 7.
55. Town Records: Report of Town Meeting, 1875, 1880.
56. The growth of Bar Harbor's municipal government can best be followed in the Historical Records Survey, *Towns of Mount Desert Island*, Vol. I, No. 5 of *Inventory of the Town and City Archives of Maine* (Portland: The Historical Records Survey, 1938), pp. 81-142.
57. Sawyer, *Mount Desert Island and the Cranberry Isles.*,p.40.
58. Town Records: Report of Town Meeting, 1875-80.
59. Benjamin Brewster, *One Hundredth Anniversary of the Diocese of Maine, 1820-1920* (Boston: D.B. Updike, 1920) pp. 18, 153.

60. *Bar Harbor Village Library, 1875-1905* (Bar Harbor: By the Library, 1906). This is a brief sketch of the library's growth and development and lists those involved in forming the library, most of whom are non-residents.

-----ILLUSTRATIONS-----

- Figure 1. *Agamont House*. Built in 1855 by Tobias Roberts, the Agamont was Bar Harbor's first hotel.
- Figure 2. *Green Mountain House*. The original was erected on this site in 1861 by Bar Harborite Daniel Brewer.
- Figure 3. *Rodick House*. Begun in 1866 by David Rodick and sons, this hotel became Bar Harbor's largest, and during the 1870s, the most popular.
- Figure 4. *Rockaway House*. Tobias Roberts's second hotel, built about fifteen years after the Agamont, on a more grandiose scale.
- Figure 5. *The Grand Central*. Built in 1876, it was Bar Harbor's second largest hotel.
- Figure 6. *Bar Harbor, 1877*. The Rodick and Grand Central are at the right-center of the picture. Most summer cottages remain hidden behind the hotels, or are beyond view.
- Figure 7. *The West End*. The last hotel built during the seventies, and the first built by a non-resident (O.M. Shaw), it was Bar Harbor's third largest.

Agamont House, reproduced on page 101, appears through the courtesy of Mr. Bernard Hawkes. All other illustrations are from the Maine Historical Society Collections.

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