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Coastal Shipping Trade
On the Eve of the Railroad:
Gardiner, Maine
In the Early 1830's

Nearly everyone knows something about coastal shipping, but almost no one knows anything about it in detail. The men who were involved in this trade were either seamen whose quarters were poor, work difficult, and wages small, or they were owners/commission merchants/captains who were interested in the greatest profits in the quickest period of time possible. Few of them kept diaries or other accounts of their lives. What log books that survive tell us infrequently about single voyages, or even a season's work, but little beyond this. Occasionally there has been treatment of the industry from a somewhat greater point of view, but even here much was lacking. One early work spent two volumes and could not treat the trade except in the grossest form as the lack of information simply forbade the detailed treatment with which other volumes in that series dealt with their subjects.¹

Richard G. Wood in his famous book on Maine lumbering published nearly forty years ago discussed the lumber trade to and from the Maine coast but even here had to rely mainly on the papers of one firm, and although the results were and are illuminating, still they dealt with a product and not the trade as such.² This

author has carried that study on in the lumber trade with a fairly detailed account of the trade of a later time, but it too depends on knowledge of the product not the trade for its emphasis.³

The major reason why so little of the coasting trade is known is that after repeal of the contiguous voyage ordinance in 1819 there was little restriction on the trade. In fact these vessels could enter and leave port without clearing formally with any authority as long as they did not go to foreign ports. Foreign vessels were in turn forbidden to participate in the coastal trade. For all of these reasons then we know little about the trade and when an opportunity arises where one is able to study even one small port in isolation it can be seized on with alacrity by the historian.

This opportunity recently presented itself when the author was studying the files of an obscure Gardiner, Maine newspaper for other information. The newspaper, *The Christian Intelligencer and Eastern Chronicle*, was edited by the Reverend William A. Drew, who later left this paper to edit the *Gospel Banner*, and still later to edit and own *Drew's Rural Intelligencer*, among several other Maine newspapers. Drew also later served as Maine's delegate to the Crystal Palace Exhibition, and he produced a book about that experience. He was a dabbler in many things, including promotion of a strain of wheat he himself developed (Banner wheat), and he was an early advocate of what would become the University of Maine. During his time he was somewhat overshadowed by his friend and rival, Ezekiel Holmes, who spent much of his time editing similar newspapers, and advocating similar reforms to Drew.⁴ Above all else Drew was a booster of the State of Maine and his newspapers are worth reading for the knowledge which they provide

about the northeast in his time. He was also a pioneer in a way by presenting a great deal of local information, especially of an economic nature, in his newspapers at a time when most sheets dealt primarily with foreign news. He reasoned that this would help to promote his adopted state, and later spent much of his life urging other newspapers to do this.⁵

While other newspapers were concerned with foreign dispatches and long excerpts from books and sermons, Drew constantly expanded his coverage to include other matters, and in the years 1831-1834 these other matters included a fairly detailed account of the movement of the coastal trade in and out of the port of Gardiner, Maine. This in itself was not totally unusual. Other newspapers occasionally carried such materials. What was different about this coverage was that in the time the newspaper gave attention to this material, Drew listed each day the arrivals, and departures from Gardiner with an account of their last or next port, and a description of the vessels rig, and often the name of the captain. By collating this material one is able, with other news items, to recreate the coastal trade of this Maine port with considerable fidelity. We have a detailed account for the years 1831, 1832, 1833, and through June, 1834, missing only one week each in July and November, and the month of September, 1833. During this time we have apparently about a ninety percent accurate account of vessels, port of destination, and port of origin.

Before going on to analyze Gardiner and its trade in terms of products carried and their amounts and value, it is convenient to summarize the information about this old port's activities in these years. Close to 500 vessels each year came and went to Gardiner wharves, most of

them small schooners of 100 tons burden or under, and many of them sloops of even smaller tonnage. The tables indicate the intensity of this traffic by types of vessels. The discrepancy between arrivals and departures is primarily created from the fact that although many vessels came to Gardiner, some of them could not get a return cargo there and after off-loading their holds they would slip their moorings and go upriver to Augusta, or down to Richmond, Bath or even ports like Belfast to be loaded for final departure. It is my belief that such vessels were not included in the regular departures. What we see is an account of those vessels which arrived and in turn left with at least partially full cargoes as well as perhaps a less accurate account of small sloops, at least after 1831.⁶

Gardiner, Maine Departures, 1831-4

Year	Schooner	Sloop	Ship	Brigs	Total
1831	279	153	3	5	440
1832	244	77	0	6	327
1833	240 *296	56 *73	4 *5	10 *13	310 *387
1834	107**	31**	0**	2**	140**

Gardiner, Maine Arrivals, 1831-4

Year	Schooner	Sloop	Ship	Brigs	Total
1831	322	156	0	10	488
1832	334	80	0	6	430
1833	305 *375	71 *93	0	13 *15	389 *483
1834	135**	44**	0	5**	184**

*Extrapolated Estimated Totals including the missing periods
 **From ice out to June 30

The best months for the traffic were in mid-summer, as might be expected, although these vessels arrived as soon as the ice was out, and the spring freshet made the river safe for navigation, and they remained until the river was closed with ice. In one year, 1831, the Schooner *Worromontogus* was apparently caught by the ice as she entered late, remained all winter, and was one of the first vessels to leave the next spring. Ordinarily such vessels would make another trip, or even two from Belfast, Bath, Rock-

land or other coastal ports after the rivers closed in early December. Laying them up cost money, and the profit margin was slight. The tables indicate the traffic by months in the years studied.

Gardiner, Maine Departures, 1831-4, By Months⁷

Month	1831		1832		1833		1834	
	Schooner	Sloop	Schooner	Sloop	Schooner	Sloop	Schooner	Sloop
January								
February								
March								
April	14	6	4	0	21	0	20	4
May	20	21	46	21	50	9	47	14
June	42	35	58	16	55	17	40	13
July	47	34	34	7	19	8*		
August	35	27	24	10	33	11		
September	45	14	43	12	Not Available			
October	49	14	27	9	48	9		
November	27	2	8	2	46	2*		
December								

Gardiner, Maine Arrivals, 1831-4, By Months

Month	1831		1832		1833		1834	
	Schooner	Sloop	Schooner	Sloop	Schooner	Sloop	Schooner	Sloop
January								
February								
March								
April	16	13	22	3	39	3	38	10
May	21	13	57	15	51	14	44	20
June	61	38	57	12	84	22	53	14
July	52	40	65	19	39	14*		
August	48	17	30	6	35	9		
September	52	20	54	12	Not Available			
October	43	12	27	9	50	8		
November	29	3	22	4	7	1*		

*One week missing

This was not an extensive trade. Most of the vessels were from New England, and the overwhelming preponderance of them came and went to Massachusetts. Other Maine ports usually ranked second in origin at least while usually less than five percent of the vessels each year went to other places than New England, with a very few of them going to foreign ports. In the three years and a half surveyed only three foreign arrivals and four foreign departures were noticed. Of course, other ports of the Kennebec, such as Bath, would have had a much higher percentage and number, but the overpowering amounts of domestic as opposed to foreign trade should modify some of our views of the past.

The next tables indicate by location where the trade was heaviest. Very occasionally Drew and his compilers did not indicate port of origin or port of destination. For that reason these amounts differ slightly from the totals given elsewhere in this paper. However, the totals are very close to the final totals as relatively few vessels slipped away without being noticed in detail by the newspapers' reporters, the harbormaster, or whoever supplied the information to the editor. Sometimes vessels' ports were indicated without specifying their rigs also. In any case the figures give in their various forms a detailed view of the port activity.

Gardiner, Maine Arrivals, 1831-4 By Origin

Location	1831	1832	1833	1834
New England	455	393	369	170
Maine	25	20	33	19
Massachusetts	390	353	318	143
New Hampshire	1	2	0	1
Connecticut	16	10	1	3
Rhode Island	23	8	17	4
New York	13	10	9	1
Other	4	3	3	1
Foreign	2	0	1	0
	474	406	382	172

Gardiner, Maine Departures, 1831-4 By Destinations

Location	1831	1832	1833	1834
New England	396	309	303	137
Maine	7	4	7	3
Massachusetts	351	298	278	127
New Hampshire	0	2	0	0
Connecticut	14	4	1	2
Rhode Island	24	1	17	5
New York	2	2	4	3
Other	11	3	5	2
Foreign	0	1	2	1
	409	315	314	143

Breaking down the trade even more into the constituent ports one finds immediately that Boston is the pre-eminent port dealt with by Gardiner shippers. After this the ports which were the favored destinations of these merchants were other ports along Cape Cod and Cape Ann shores, with the heaviest concentration on the ports

which sent out whalers and fishing vessels. What apparently occurred was that Gardiner, and probably other ports, was the origin of the staves, lumber, casks, oars, masts, dories, salt fish, salt pork, rough cloth, canvas, sails, and other items which went into whalers and fishermen when they left in pursuit of the ocean denizens for oil, bone, and other products. The tables indicate the most important ports in origin and destination in the time we are studying.

Ports of Destination - Gardiner Coastal Trade, 1831-4

1831		1832		1833		1834	
Port -	No. of Vessels	Port -	No. of Vessels	Port -	No. of Vessels	Port -	No. of Vessels
Boston	112	Boston	90	Boston	99	Boston	44
New Bedford	52	Sandwich	49	Sandwich	53	Sandwich	21
Sandwich	42	Salem	30	Dennis	35	Salem	16
Salem	40	New Bedford	26	Salem	22	Dennis	12
Ipswich	16	Dennis	25	Manchester	13	Ipswich	5
Nantucket	15	Manchester	9	Providence	12	Warren, R.I.	5
Falmouth	13	Nantucket	9	Ipswich	9	Falmouth	5
Plymouth	12	Falmouth	9	New Bedford	8	Harwich	4
New Haven	12	Fall River	8	Gloucester	5	New Bedford	3
Dennis	11	Gloucester	7	Nantucket	5	Yarmouth	3
Providence	10	Wareham	5	Warren, R.I.	5	Manchester	3
Newport	9	Rochester	5	New Orleans	5	Barnstable	2
Portland	7	Barnstable	4	Yarmouth	4	Providence	2
Yarmouth	6	New Haven	3	Falmouth	4	Scituate	2
Weymouth	6	Provincetown	3	Portland	3	New York City	2
Manchester	6	Edgartown	3	Scituate	3	Portland	2
New Orleans	5	Portland	3	New York City	2	Nantucket	2
Fall River	5	Ipswich	2	Harwich	2	10 with	1
Warren, R.I.	5	Deighton	2	Wareham	2		
Scituate	4	Harwich	2	Boothbay	2		
Edgartown	3	Essex	2	Barnstable	2		
Norwich	3	Portsmouth	2	Hingham	2		
Wareham	3	18 with	1	16 with	1		
Newburyport	2						
Harwich	2						
Provincetown	2						
Branford	2						
Sag Harbor	2						
Mobile	2						
Essex	2						
8 with	1						
	419		315		313		143

Ports of Origin - Gardiner Coastal Trade, 1831-4

1831	1832	1833	1834
Port - No. of Vessels	Port - No. of Vessels	Port - No. of Vessels	Port - No. of Vessels
Boston 128	Boston 130	Boston 116	Boston 46
New Bedford 51	Sandwich 49	Sandwich 63	Sandwich 22
Sandwich 46	Dennis 35	Dennis 39	Dennis 22
Salem 40	Salem 29	Salem 24	Salem 12
Nantucket 20	New Bedford 14	Portland 12	New York City 9
Ipswich 17	Nantucket 13	Providence 12	Portland 7
New Haven 13	Ipswich 11	New Bedford 9	Yarmouth 7
Falmouth (Mass.) 12	Manchester 10	Bath 8	Ipswich 5
Dennis 11	Gloucester 11	Manchester 9	Falmouth 6
New York City 11	Portland 10	Nantucket 8	Harwich 4
Newport (R.I.) 10	Yarmouth 9	New York City 8	Bath 3
Portland 10	New Haven 9	Yarmouth 7	New Bedford 2
Manchester 10	Falmouth 8	Barnstable 6	Gloucester 2
Providence 9	New York City 7	Thomaston 6	Newburyport 2
Fall River 8	Providence 4	Ipswich 6	Nantucket 2
Newburyport 8	Essex 4	Gloucester 5	Warren, R.I. 2
Plymouth 7	Wareham 4	Falmouth 4	Scituate 2
Thomaston 5	Bath 3	Scituate 4	Providence 2
Weymouth 5	Edgartown 3	Warren, R.I. 3	Manchester 2
Yarmouth 5	Weymouth 3	Weymouth 2	Boothbay 2
Edgartown 4	Barnstable 3	Wiscasset 2	Eastport 2
Fishing Cruise 4	Georgetown 3	Plymouth 2	Barnstable 2
Gloucester 3	Warren, R.I. 2	New Orleans 2	Duxbury 2
Warren, R.I. 3	Harwich 2	Richmond 2	15 with 1
Scituate 3	Provincetown 2	Hingham 2	
Wareham 3	Philadelphia 2	21 with 1	
Sag Harbor 2	Thomaston 2		
Branford 2	Plymouth 2		
Essex 2	Dartmouth 2		
Harwich 2	Sag Harbor 2		
Liverpool 2	Portsmouth 2		
Savannah 2	Fishing Cruise 2		
16 with 1	13 with 1		
Known Origin 474	406	382	182

Analysis of destination and origin ports indicates very quickly the overwhelming preponderance of ports on the north shore of Massachusetts and Cape Cod, but it also indicates that the bulk of Gardiner traffic went to ports which were heavily concerned in this period with fishing, either off the Georges Bank or the Grand Banks, as well as many vessels to ports concerned with whaling. This even included trips to such whaling ports as Dennis, Warren, R.I., and Sag Harbor, New York. Edgartown, and Nantucket, along with New Bedford, Sandwich and Salem were also major ports of call for these small vessels. Although less is known of the cargoes than their destinations one is struck by the fact that these were the ports most frequented, and when what small cargo information we have is analyzed, the inference is even stronger that Gardiner had a strong symbiotic relationship with these fishing and whaling towns in this period just prior to the coming of the railroads. In addition, in 1831 and 1832

ships appeared which had been on mackerel cruises, perhaps to refit before going to home ports again.

Of course, to travel back and forth to these small ports, many of them without very deep harbors, and harbors indeed which were beginning to silt up, small, light vessels of easy draft were needed. Sandwich, for instance, from 1831 to 1834 received 144 vessels from Gardiner, and 109 of them were sloop-rigged. On the other hand Dennis saw 85 vessels leave for Gardiner, only 7 of which were sloops. Sixty-four of 71 from Gardiner to Dennis were schooners in the same period. Ports where sloops were prominent in the trade were New Bedford, Ipswich, Salem, Nantucket, Falmouth, and of course, Portland, where the shorter voyage could utilize the smaller ships to best advantage.

A sloop, in the years covered here, was a small vessel indeed. It carried a single mast rigged fore and aft. Sometimes it carried a short bowsprit rigged with gaff and boom sails. Possibly a ketch (rigged with a short mizzen mast and small mizzen sails) might have been termed a sloop at this time. None were recorded in the records, although such small vessels did ply the New England coast prior to the Civil War.

A schooner today is basically a three, or four masted vessel with no square canvas. (In this period many of the vessels had only two masts, but the square canvas prohibition identified them as schooners). The large and heavy masted schooners of most photographs are of a much later vintage. Occasionally by setting square sails on the foremast, one could create a brigatine, or on both masts, a true brig. Their description depended, of course, on who viewed them. Their rig may well have depended on the supply of seamen. Square-riggers took more crew.

Longer runs, fairer airs, or difficulty of passage may have dictated change in the rig, and thus designation. During the period many vessels appeared at Gardiner, first as a schooner, and later as a brig, and then again as a schooner, which indicates the flexibility of these small and lithe vessels. In size schooners seldom ran much over 100 tons, at least in this trade, while sloops nearly always were under fifty tons.⁸

The Gardiner area itself was a source for some of these vessels. In 1832, for instance, ship carpenters put together and launched from ways in the town, one ship (402 tons), three brigs (208, 146, 142 tons) one of which, the *Robert Adams*, was lost on her maiden voyage, six schooners (129, 139, 99, 114, 130, 107 tons), and one steamer, *The Ticonic*, (100 tons). One of the schooners was also lost on her maiden voyage to New Orleans. At this time there were three ships, four brigs, and three schooners on the stocks, or being set up in the town. In early 1833 two schooners (130, 70 tons) were launched the same day. The smaller of the two was built a mile from the river and dragged to its launching place. Throughout 1833 and 1834 more vessels continued to be launched, some of them, of course, of fairly large dimensions, such as the ship *Black Hawk*, 350 tons, launched September 20, 1833. Several others in this range were also launched at this time. Most of them were destined for a different trade than is described here, however.⁹

Apparently many of these vessels built and launched during this period were constructed on speculation. A ship was launched in nearby Bowdoinham in 1832 which then sailed for Charleston, S.C., and to Europe for freights, all entirely on speculation.¹⁰ Another 100 ton schooner, *Arab*, was launched October 24, 1831 in the same way. The article that noticed her also mentioned

her copper fastenings and copper bottom.¹¹ In 1832 we hear of a hull of 130 tons on the stocks and for sale. It had an 83 foot deck, 23 foot beam, with an 8 foot hold, was constructed of white oak, and could be launched after June 1st. Apparently her builders were reluctant to let her slide down the ways without an owner.¹² When these vessels changed hands often it was not for very much money. For instance, in 1834, the schooner *Josephine*, 89 tons, built at Wells in 1827, sheathed with copper in 1828, and described as having two chain cables, of full inventory, and well founded, was sold for \$500.¹³ One can estimate without difficulty that there were many vessels, and it was a ripe time to be in this business.

Although these vessels went anywhere for a cargo in this highly competitive business, their routes were somewhat similar, and times were very similar unless an unusual spell of adverse winds occurred. Packets, of course, followed set schedules. Following are typical work day periods for four schooners and five sloops which operated consistently during this period in and out of Gardiner. All of these voyages took place early in 1831, but all of them are also typical of any of the three and one half years under discussion.

<u>Schooner Three Sisters</u> arr 4/5 from Bath sail 4/9 Salem arr 4/20 Boston sail 4/26 Salem arr 5/11 Salem sail 5/23 Salem arr 6/6 Boston sail 6/17 Salem arr 6/30 Salem	<u>Schooner Osprey</u> arr 4/3 Salem sail 4/19 Salem arr c5/9 Salem? sail 5/18 Salem arr 6/5 Weymouth sails 6/11 Salem arr 6/30 Salem	<u>Schooner Columbus</u> arr 4/19 Newport sail 4/20 Newport arr 5/11 Newport sail 5/23 Yarmouth arr 6/5 Yarmouth sail 6/10 Yarmouth	<u>Schooner Harmony</u> arr 4/9 Boston sail 4/20 Boston arr 5/27 Newport sail c6/2 ? arr 6/21 Provincetown sail 6/25 Provincetown
<u>Sloop Amelia</u> arr 4/10 Sandwich sail 4/20 Sandwich arr 5/11 Nantucket sail 5/19 New Bedford arr 6/16 Sandwich sail 6/11 Sandwich arr 6/22 Sandwich sail 6/26 New Bedford	<u>Sloop Carrier</u> arr 4/3 Boston sail 4/22 Boston arr 5/14 North Yarmouth sail 5/16 Boston arr 6/11 Boston sail 6/17 Ipswich	<u>Sloop Relief</u> arr 4/11 Ipswich sail 4/27 Ipswich arr 5/11 Ipswich sail 5/23 Salem arr 6/11 Providence sail 6/16 Providence	
	<u>Sloop Nancy-Harvey</u> arr 4/24 Boston sail 5/3 Sandwich arr 5/12 Nantucket sail 5/21 Nantucket arr 6/14 Dennis sail 6/18 Dennis arr 6/29 New Bedford	<u>Sloop Deborah</u> sail 4/19 Boston arr 4/23 Sandwich sail 4/29 New Bedford arr 5/12 New Bedford sail 5/19 Norwich arr 5/29 Boston sail 6/7 Boston arr 6/19 Sandwich	

These vessels and their trips are all from the first three months of 1831. From these and the rest of the data it is possible to suggest that these small vessels made about 12 trips a year north of Cape Cod, and perhaps eight or so for those who went south of the Cape. Their time in port was usually less than three days when they were unloading, and about five in Gardiner. It was a steady, and probably monotonous existence for the captains, mates and crewmen on these more or less standard runs.

To look at it in a slightly different way, in the week of September 20-27, 1832, the port of Gardiner saw 21 schooners, and five sloops depart, and 14 schooners and one sloop arrive. They stayed in port an average of five days each while loading their cargoes. The names of those that are known may prove to be interesting to modern readers. These vessels in this week sailed under the soubriquets of *Sally Ann*, *Palestine*, *New-Packet*, *Native*, *Koret*, *William and Louisa*, *Violet*, *Betsey*, *Carrier*, *Samuel*, *Experiment*, *Jane*, *Ann-Maria*, *Bonny-Boat*, *Elizabeth*, *Three-Sisters*, *Polly*, *Liberty*, *Dorcas*, *Georgianna*, *Commodore Perry*, *Liberty* (another), *De Wolf*, *Osprey*, *Nancy-Lucy*, *Milo*, *Relief*, *Eunice*, *Maria*, *Transport*, *Benevolence*, *George Washington*, and *Savannah*.

The *Bonny-Boat* was the Boston packet. She was a schooner of 100 tons, launched September 7, 1831 at the yard of Peter Grant to act expressly as the Boston-Gardiner packet. Steamboats ran every day from Waterville to Gardiner and connected with her. In fact this steamer, the *Waterville*, also made a trip to Bath and Augusta each Sunday, along with other up and down trips to gather freight for the *Bonny-Boat*. The packet made her first Boston trip in early October, 1831 under James Tarbox, master. Fare for gentlemen passengers was \$3.50, and for ladies, \$3.00. If passengers preferred

the fare could be \$2.00, with 50¢ a day for food, but with no liquor included in the food. Tarbox handled his own financial arrangements apparently. The *Bonny-Boat* also stopped at Wiscasset to take on freight and passengers. Her schedule called for Gardiner to Boston on Tuesday, and Boston to Gardiner on Saturday.¹⁴

The steamboat which connected with the *Bonny-Boat*, at first the *Waterville*, later became the *Ticonic* after her construction in the winter of 1831-2. She was 130 feet long, and when she made her first run upriver the new owners specified that they would not take ownership until she navigated the Vassalboro falls safely. During low water she ran down river to Bath, with touches at Hallowell, Gardiner, and Richmond in both directions. Her business was light enough, however, that she was available for river cruises, and in August she began to run to Boothbay on weekends, with side trips to Brunswick for those who had not yet experienced steamboat travel. She ran into debt and in late 1834 was advertised for auction or private sale as her owners apparently fell into bankruptcy.¹⁵

Entrepreneurs such as the owners of these steamboats apparently congregated on the wharves of Gardiner during most of this period. In 1831, for instance, Joseph Ladd of Augusta had to accept back, half of a fulling mill which he had sold to someone who could not pay. Ladd was leaving for Florida, and in addition to advertising his fulling mill for sale or lease, he also advertised in the following way which tells us much of the ways of business in this age of small sail.¹⁶

WANTED

To charter *immediately* a vessel of an easy draft of water from 80 to 100 tons burthen to take in on this river lumber and salt and go to St. Marks river Florida. The cargo and one passenger

is now ready. A back-freight of cotton will be offered. Enquire at this office, or Joseph Ladd, Augusta.

August 29, 1831

No vessel was listed as cleared for St. Marks, or for Florida ports in the next weeks, so one supposes that he found himself either another vessel in Augusta, or Hallowell, or he took other means of transport to go to his destination. However, what is interesting is that Ladd assumed that he could get a spot cargo, and a vessel without much difficulty. The cotton return cargo would have been welcome in the small mills of these river towns, as well.

These years in the Gardiner area were typical of the Maine climate, and thus for production from Kennebec Valley farms. In 1834, for instance, the spring was forward, but dry, and then snow came May 16, about four inches. The summer was damp and cold, but with the exception of mountainous areas, corn, grain, and potatoes all came along, especially after a month of very warm weather from mid-July to mid-August. A slight frost came on September 12, and Indian summer followed until snow arrived October 13. The river closed early with ice on November 16, but it rained and cleared, and some vessels worked in and out of the harbor until snow and ice closed the river for the winter for good December 8 and 9.¹⁷

Other years were not as pleasant. In 1832 the cold lingered with the snow, and farmers still travelled in sleighs until after April 15. With the river closed hay and other produce was scarce this year, and cattle were fed on browse. A week later the editor began to be despondent of summer ever arriving as he remarked:

but the earth has not yet the least appearance of verdure, and

winter fires and overcoats are indispensable. At this rate the Ohio fever will take precedence of the cholera.

After the ice left snow and cold came again and both were followed on May 28 with a great freshet on the river which lasted for four days. The river rose sixteen feet over high water marks, and bridges, booms, ice houses, and mills were carried away. One vessel on the stocks was launched prematurely by the flood. By July editors were mourning that it was the poorest year since 1816, or eighteen hundred. Corn was poor, and although wheat and potatoes were adequate, grass for hay was three weeks late. Rain, a vicious thunderstorm, and hail helped destroy crops in late August. Snow was seen on the White Mountains on September 1, and it was cold in the state after August 26, with a killing frost as early as September 14. Snow, and wind closed out the last two months of the year.¹⁸

The next year the year came warm early, stayed hot and pleasant all summer, and bumper crops ensued. Frost remained away until October 5, and the corn crop was bountiful. Snow did not come until November 25, and the river did not close until December 13.¹⁹ Of course in a time when all goods in and out travelled by these small vessels, such news as this might determine whether or not a good profit could be made. When crops were backward there was more room for trading to Gardiner. When crops were forward and the weather warm then more cargoes were possible for the south, although probably at a lower profit margin.

The busiest times were in late September and October, as the farmers were trying to move their perishable goods to their southern consignees. Of course goods to carry the river ports over the cold and cruel winters were also in heavy demand and therefore each year there was a flurry

of river traffic as the year ended. The two editorial comments which follow indicate how local people viewed the local river commerce at this time.²⁰

Our streets for a week or two past have presented a very lively and bustling aspect. We presume business was never so brisk here before. — The wharves have generally been crowded with vessels. For several days during the past week, we counted upwards of forty sail — mostly largesized — all actively engaged in discharging or receiving cargoes.

Two weeks later the editor noticed the death knell of these little sailing vessels, however, although he did not appreciate the significance of what he said when he remarked:²¹

It was a pleasant sight, on Monday, as we passed down the river to the office, to witness the steamer *Patent* proudly carrying up river, three otherwise helpless and deeply laden schooners — one on each side and another at her stern. The four thus closely locked together, made quite a little fleet, rapidly propelled through the adverse current by the power of steam. The steam boats on the river are of great service in this way to packets, coasters, etc.

The best roughly contemporary description of Gardiner, and in fact of the State of Maine at that time, appeared in a number of issues of the Portland *Eastern Argus*, in the fall of 1825, as a result of a trip through the area by Seba Smith, more commonly remembered as Major Jack Downing. Smith described Gardiner as “the head of *heavy* navigation on the Kennebec.” He noticed there, in addition to the usual mills, a cotton factory, a forge with a trip hammer, a paper mill, and a commercial press for screwing hay for transport elsewhere. He went on to say that it was “a place of more consequence and destined to experience a more rapid growth” than either Hallowell or Augusta, then larger. He also said that the

town had more machinery and manufacturing establishments than any other town in the state.²²

It is difficult to determine exact amounts of goods carried in and out of this Kennebec river port. It has been estimated that a vessel of 100 tons could carry about 80,000 board feet of lumber, for instance, but we do not know how many vessels carried lumber. Wood estimated that in 1825 perhaps 4,000,000 feet left the Kennebec in spring, and perhaps by 1830 the amount was 15 million. In that year 12 firms in the Gardiner, Hallowell, and Augusta area formed a combination to control freights to Boston in lumber, but by 1831 if it still existed no mention ever occurred in Drew's newspaper.²³ Textile mills in Gardiner were reputed to have 42 looms, and 1660 spindles with 30 cards in 1833. They employed 60 persons and manufactured 7,000 yards of cloth a week. Other towns in the area, such as Winthrop manufactured about the same amounts.²⁴ These figures seem high.

Later on the *Boston Courier* printed an item which listed Hallowell exports in the same period. If they were similar to Gardiner's, and one assumes that they were, it is a varied commerce which leaves these ports during this period.²⁵

Hallowell Exports 1833 or 1834

wool and sheep skins	100,000 (value
granite	100,000 in \$)
herds grass and clover seed	40,000
potatoes	20,000
oats	10,000
butter	10,000
hay	6,000
furs	5,000
potatoes and beans	4,000
lumber	3,000
cider and apples	2,000
beef and pork (in barrels)	2,000

There are, of course, some things wrong with this list. Lumber would have played a much larger role in the transport than this, at least in Gardiner, and one suspects in Hallowell also. However, most of the items seem reasonable enough. A month later the *Christian Intelligencer* remarked that these were good times for farmers, and commented that potatoes, hay, apples, and cider were all in great demand for southern shipment. They went on to say that 50,000 bushels of potatoes, and 2,000 tons of hay had already gone south, along with several cargoes of livestock, as well as cider, apples, beans, and butter in great quantities. Lumber and logs were doing very poorly. This was due in part to low water, as there were 60 saws in the area, but only logs enough for five.²⁶

Other independent sources confirm that these are the products generally shipped. A study of the advertisements in the Belfast area for these years shows merchants who want flaxseed, oats, corn, beans, wood, lumber, staves, hoop poles, oars, fish barrells, shingles, kiln wood, hand spikes, ships knees, and masts, all to go to southern ports, and many of the advertisements specify "oars for whalemen", "oars in setts for Whalemen" and other indicative remarks. In this period fragmentary information from Belfast also shows some small travelling back and forth between Belfast, Boston, Salem, Portland, and Camden, much as those we have noticed at a similar period from Gardiner. These are all in late December, and early January, after the ice has closed the large rivers to this traffic. One can surmise that the traffic continued as long as vessels would travel the winter-ridden Gulf of Maine, and as long as demand for the products continued in the southern ports.²⁷

Goods arriving into these ports varied much less than exports. In the same period, for instance, Portland re-

ceived molasses, salt, coffee, flour and corn for the bulk of its imports.²⁸ Much the same was true of Gardiner, insofar as we can tell. Vessels arrived with corn and flour mostly. In 1833 schooners arrived with corn and flour on April 18, and May 7, from Richmond, and from New York City with a similar cargo on October 21. In 1834 New York based schooners arrived with flour and corn on April 17, 21, and June 7. In May of 1833 Edward Swan and Co. advertised, "just received per schooner *Maine*, from Richmond 500 bbls. fresh Grand Mountain flour 1500 bushels best Quality Corn . . ." and the next spring 435 barrels of new Howard Street flour and 2,000 bushels of fine yellow flat Virginia corn were offered for sale aboard the schooner *Camberine*.²⁹ Other items noticed in advertisements included shoes (1,000 pairs), hats, caps, furs, and umbrellas "fresh from Boston", and later school books, almanacs, along with flour, stoves, and tinware all were offered. Another local merchant was willing to vend "Castor, olive (flask or draft), linseed, Sperm and all the essential oils for sale," along with wines, old port, Sicily Madeira, Muscat, Sherry, Falernian Nector and Lisbon wines. Spring goods, new dry goods, mahogany for cabinet makers, in short anything, was offered and brought by vessels to these river ports in exchange for the goods they sent out.³⁰

By this time western wheat and southern corn were penetrating Maine markets with some ease, through the protection of the Erie Canal, and the use of the marvelous lands to the west. Although editorialists like Drew, Ezekiel Holmes, and even Major Jack Downing inveighed against the horrible practice of "going to New York to Mill", it was cheaper to do so, and these imports indicate it clearly. Occasionally, as when a bounty was offered for Maine production of corn and wheat, the tide

might be turned briefly, but basically these were the products carried to Maine housewives.

Actually, however, as we have suggested, the interesting cargoes are those which leave, and although editor Drew did not favor us with as detailed an analysis as he did of the type and amount of vessels, some information is available to indicate the extent and utility of this trade. Apples became a major export crop in this time. Merchants advertised for good grafted winter apples to be shipped south, and cargoes of cider were also in demand.³¹ Later on, in another newspaper, Drew again called attention to apples as a shipping product, even after severe droughts and poor crops elsewhere. As he said in this later comment,³²

Maine is deeply interested in shipping; our ice crop never fails and immense quantities are annually shipped to foreign countries; *and our fruit and ice can go well together*. The Baldwin and other long-keeping apples have been carried with ice to Calcutta, and there sold at high prices, weeks and even months after our stock of apples at home has been exhausted.

Of course, Drew was then attempting to stimulate a new trade, to go with ice which had taken on importance since this time. Apples had, in the meantime, become less favored because many tree losses had occurred in the wake of the severe winter of 1832.

This period apparently marked the beginning of the Maine potato trade to the south. In 1831 the *Marine intelligence* carried notation of the new schooner *Experiment* to Boston with a cargo of potatoes, and that fall R.H. Gardiner advertised for 30,000 bushels of potatoes to be shipped from his wharf to Boston. By 1834 the newspaper was commenting on the great shipments of apples and potatoes going to the west, and it further said

that these cargoes might help preserve the losses caused by the inroads of foreign flour.³³

Within a year the Kennebec County Agricultural Society noticed this trade at their annual meeting. They urged production of the tuber for export purposes, and made this comment to their readers.³⁴

Potatoes have become, to a considerable extent, an article of export, and may be reckoned one of the most profitable crops on farms situated near navigable waters. The South will always depend on us for their supply, if we send them a good article. Should the State do anything to facilitate transportation by canals or railroads, a general benefit will be felt among the farmers from the sale of this article.

In addition to food, Maine potatoes were in demand for seed in the south, and the entire trade continued to grow steadily. New Hampshire parties shipped 10,000 bushels in 1838, and the month of October was the biggest month ever for this trade.³⁵ Prices hovered around 25-40¢ bushel, and by 1841 nearly every shipping port from Bangor to Boston shipped out between 20 and 30,000 bushels, mostly for southern ports, and mostly for consumption by slaves. As another newspaper remarked in 1841, at the height of the trade, before the blight came to spoil it:³⁶

The value of the potatoe crop of Maine will well compare with the cotton crop of Georgia. In view of facts like these — ye repining farmers — we advise you to “stick to New England.”

Other Maine crops which were in demand in the south included such items as potash,³⁷ hay, fuel wood,³⁸ butter,³⁹ stone, lime,⁴⁰ animals⁴¹ which were transported to the Brighton market, cloth and the ubiquitous lumber.⁴²

Perhaps most important from the point of view of novelty is the discovery of how much of these products

went to fit out whaling and fishing boats. Starbuck says that in the eighteenth century vessels were outfitted from Boston, while in 1831 he said the fleet took 36,000 barrels of flour, 30,000 barrels of pork and beef, 18,000 bolts of duck, 3,000 tons of hoop iron, 6,000,000 staves, and 2,000 tons of cordage as well as molasses, rice, beans, pease, corn, tea, coffee, and sugar. Honolulu was an important port of supply for Pacific vessels, but in the east much of the goods apparently came from ports like Gardiner with their myriad of little schooners and sloops carrying small cargoes to be transferred to the larger vessels.⁴³

Each whaling vessel carried large amounts. At a slightly later time, one of Drew's correspondents commented on the whaling trade and its supply and he said that one Edgartown whaler, with its crew of 30-40 men, cost \$20-25,000 to outfit. He estimated that she carried when she left on her voyage 150 barrels of beef, 85 barrels of pork, 3,000 pounds of ham, 1,800 gallons of water, 1,600 pounds of butter, 1,200 gallons of molasses, 200 bags of flour, and 100 pounds of hard tack, 40 cords of wood, 2-2,500 empty barrels for oil, as well as coffee, pepper, salt, spices, and tea.⁴⁴ Such vessels apparently drew many of their supplies from the Maine coast.

In the years of which we are speaking whalers left from the following ports according to Starbuck. Many of them are ports of call for these Gardiner vessels. The coincidence is too striking to be ignored.

Even ports like Westport, Fair Haven, Rochester, and Lynn were reached occasionally by Gardiner vessels, to say nothing of the major ports. The Wiscasset vessel, the *Yankee*, was a community vessel, which went as a temperance vessel, at least on its second voyage in 1838. She had two successful trips, and was sold to Sag Harbor parties in

Whaling Vessels -- Ports of Origin -- 1830-1835

Port	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835
Edgartown	2	4	1	2	2	4
Bristol	4	4	9	5	5	4
New London	15	13	20	17	18	17
Stonington	1	3	4	4	2	6
New Bedford	66	74	66	74	42	72
Fair Haven	9	15	15	19	13	14
Westport	3	4	3	3	2	3
Falmouth	1	3	3	2	1	4
Rochester	3	4	5	4	3	3
Nantucket	21	22	40	27	25	20
Lynn	1	2	5	3	3	3
Plymouth	1	1	1	2	1	2
Salem	0	1	5	8	1	7
Newport	2	1	1	4	2	4
Warren	2	5	4	9	7	6
Providence	1	1	0	1	1	0
Sag Harbor	10	17	14	14	17	18
Fall River			2			
Wareham			1			
Portsmouth			2			
Gloucester				3		
Wiscasset				1		

1841, where she made two voyages before being withdrawn in 1847.⁴⁵

Apparently Gardiner merchants and manufacturers had developed a good thing with the whalers from Massachusetts. Gardiner parties supplied goods, especially oars, masts, spars, cloth, lumber, fuel, beef, and pork for these vessels, and their wharves were seldom idle in these days. The other reason to go to these towns were to outfit fishing vessels and there is little doubt but what these were the cargoes that were carried.

Of course these days would not last long. The period we are discussing was the end of the halcyon days of the coaster. The railroad was coming closer, and in the last year of our discussion it reached the Kennebec. Soon the coaster would go somewhere else, and eventually die, and although there were brief discussions about this time of canals to connect the back country with the coast, and the

railroad, i.e. the shipper, that went for naught as well.⁴⁶ In fact, as the coasting trade fell away, and the railroad came, it also carried away Maine farmboys to the more fertile lands of the west. Soon Drew and his fellow editors were bemoaning their losses, and were attempting to interest the remaining farmers in exotic crops to "keep the boys home".⁴⁷ But in the days before this, and the intrusion of the railroad, Gardiner, and ports like her all along the Maine coast, and in fact, one suspects, all along the eastern seaboard, were filled with little vessels appearing for a day or two, then departing for another port with the local produce.

This article brings together information which was not known before. By studying these newspapers one can determine something about the coastal trade, and especially perhaps about the supply of whaling and fishing vessels. It gives us another glimpse of the past of New England, and although it is impossible to tell much about the persons who were involved in this trade, we can know more about their time. Perhaps another correlary is also present. Newspapers are a very valuable source. Nearly every piece of information in this paper came from newspapers. Taken from a period when men needed accurate and fair information on economic matters, and only their newspaper was in a position to provide it, these newspapers are a wealth of information for the modern-day researcher. More analytical work is needed in the defunct weekly press of the nineteenth century. More such revelations await the researcher especially where the editor was as conscientious of his work as was Reverend William A. Drew.

—NOTES —

¹ Emory R. Johnson, T. W. Van Metre, G. G. Huebner, and D. S. Hauchett, *History of the Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States*, 2 vols., Washington, 1915.

² Richard G. Wood, *A History of Lumbering in Maine, 1820-1861*, University of Maine Studies, No. 33, Second Series, Orono, Maine, 1935, especially 213-225. Reprinted 1961, and 1972 (with a new introduction by this author.)

³ David C. Smith, *A History of Lumbering in Maine, 1860-1960*, Orono, 1972, chapter 5.

⁴ A somewhat more detailed account of Drew's life appears in my "William A. Drew and The Maine Shakers," *The Shaker Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 1, [Spring, 1967], 24-32.

⁵ For Drew's views as to a newspaper's purpose see *Transactions of the Agricultural Societies For the State of Maine for 1850-1851 and 1852*, Augusta, 1853, Vol. II, 7-21, "What Can Be Done Adequately to Promote the Agricultural Interests of Maine?" and *Drew's Rural Intelligencer*, January 1, 15, November 8, 1856 (reprints a circular about the purposes of his newspaper).

⁶ Tables compiled from the *Christian Intelligencer and Eastern Chronicle* on a daily basis in their weekly columns, usually on page three, occasionally on page two or four.

⁷ More heavily rigged vessels came and went at about the same ratio. In 1831 the month of May saw one ship, July one brig, October three brigs, and November one brig and two ships. In 1832 there was one brig in May, June, July, and three in October. In 1833 five brigs in June, two in October, and three brigs and four ships in November. In 1834 there was a brig in each of June and July. All these were departures. The arrivals were: in 1831 two brigs in each of June, July, and October, and four in September. In 1832 there were two each in June and July, and one in May and October. In 1833 one brig arrived in May and one in October, while four came in June, five in July, and two in August. In 1834 one came in April and May, while three came in June. The heaviest months in the trade for departures were July, 1831, June, 1832, and June, 1833. For arrivals the best months were June, 1831, May, 1832, and June, 1833.

⁸ For a good description of the coasting trade, mostly of Britain, but with much on North America, and with photographs illustrating every aspect of the discussion, see Basil Greenhill and Ann Gifford, *The Merchant Sailing Ship: A Photographic History*, Newton Abbott, England, 1970. This is a book publication of a marvellous museum display, summer of 1970 at the Royal Naval Museum at Greenwich.

⁹ *Christian Intelligencer*, December 28, 1832; April 19, September 20, 27, October 4, 18, 1833.

¹⁰ *Christian Intelligencer*, June 8, 1832. The *La Grange*, 400 tons.

¹¹ *Christian Intelligencer*, October 28, 1831.

¹² *Christian Intelligencer*, June 8, 1832, the *East Alna*.

¹³ *Christian Intelligencer*, July 4, 1834.

¹⁴ *Christian Intelligencer*, September 9, 30, 1831; March 9, 1832.

¹⁵ *Christian Intelligencer*, April 13, May 18, June 8, July 6, 20, August 24, 1832; August 22, October 10, 17, 24, 31, 1834.

¹⁶ *Christian Intelligencer*, August 19, September 2, 1831.

¹⁷ *Christian Intelligencer*, April 4, 18, May 30, July 4, 11, August 8, September 19, October 17, November 21, 28, December 12, 1834.

¹⁸ *Christian Intelligencer*, April 6, 13, 20 (the quotation), May 4, 11, 18, 25, July 20, August 17, September 1, 21, November 9, December 7, 1832; *Wiscasset Intelligencer*, May 25, 1832 quoted in *Christian Intelligencer*, June 1, 1832 on the flood.

¹⁹ *Christian Intelligencer*, April 5, 12, May 3, 24, July 5, 26, August 16, September 6, October 4, 11, November 29, December 13, 20, 1833. For the dates of river opening and closing over a long period of time see R. H. Gardiner, "Observations on the Opening and Closing of Kennebec River, Maine," *Annual Report of Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Misc. Doc. #49, Washington, 1859, 434-436. Figures from 1785 to 1857 show the river opening 17 years in March and 51 in April. It closed 26 years in November and 36 in December. The mean opening date was April 6 and the mean closing December 2. The earliest opening was March 15 and the latest April 24. The earliest closing was November 16,

and the latest January 11, 1831. In the latter year two Boston boats cleared January 1.

²⁰ *Christian Intelligencer*, October 28, 1831.

²¹ *Christian Intelligencer*, November 11, 1831.

²² Portland *Eastern Argus*, September 13, 20, 23, 27, 30, October 7, 11, 14, 18, 25, 28, 1825, especially the last two articles which deal mainly with Gardiner. In 1830 Gardiner had 3,709 people, while other Kennebec river towns were Hallowell, 3,964, Augusta, 3,980, Waterville, 2,216, Sidney, 2,191, Winthrop, 1,887, and Vassalboro, 2,761. In 1840 Augusta had 5,314, Gardiner 5,044, Hallowell, 4,668, Sidney, 2,190, Vassalboro, 2,951, and Waterville, 2,939. Kennebec County, in 1830, had 5 printing presses, 64 tanneries, 60 grist mills, 105 saw mills, 2 clapboard machines, 2 shingle mills, 6 lath machines, 36 fulling mills, 57 carding machines, 150 spindles, and 3 fish oil factories, most of which were theoretically producing items which could have been shipped from Gardiner wharves. *The Maine Register and United States Calendar For the Years of Our Lord*, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1834, 1841, Portland and Hallowell.

²³ Hallowell *Gazette* June 22, 1825 cited in Wood, 220. *New England Farmer*, September 10, 1830; *American Advocate*, March 27, 1830, both cited in Wood, 220, 223.

²⁴ *Christian Intelligencer*, March 29, 1833, a letter from C. Barrows, Jr., comparing Gardiner and Winthrop mills, with an editorial comment citing more accurate figures. Both towns produced about \$150,000 in value of cotton cloth each year during this period.

²⁵ Boston *Courier*, reprinted without comment in *Christian Intelligencer*, October 17, 1834.

²⁶ *Christian Intelligencer*, November 14, 1834.

²⁷ Belfast *Workingman's Advocate*, January 5, 19, February 2, 1831. Schooners sailed for Salem, on December 24; Boston (3) on December 28; one each for Salem, and Port-au-Prince on December 30. Others left for Portland on January 1, and Boston January 2, with one leaving for the Cape Verde Islands on January 2. Two arrived on January 8.

²⁸ *Christian Intelligencer*, January 6, 1832 for year 1831, and November 11, 1834 for year October, 1833, to October, 1834.

²⁹ Arrivals from Marine Intelligence; Advertisements from October 7, 1831; May 10, 1833; April 11, 1834 for corn and flour.

³⁰ *Christian Intelligencer*, April 27, May 3, September 21, October 26, November 2, 1832. James B. Norris offered rum, molasses, and flour in Belfast. See *Belfast Workingman's Advocate*, December 22, 1830.

³¹ *Christian Intelligencer*, October 28, November 4, 1831; October 25, 1833.

³² *Drew's Rural Intelligencer*, April 7, 1855.

³³ *Christian Intelligencer*, September 30, November 4, 1831; October 17, 1834. These crops were in "great demand" according to the paper.

³⁴ Report of the Trustees of the Kennebec County Agricultural Society, Annual Meeting of March, 1835, in *Maine Farmer*, April 22, 1836.

³⁵ *Yankee Farmer*, March 31, quoting Baltimore paper; October 20, 27, 1838.

³⁶ *Franklin Register*, October 30, 1841 quoting Hallowell *Cultivator*. Also see *Farmington Chronicle*, January 18, November 6, 1845 on this trade.

³⁷ *Belfast Workingman's Advocate*, January 13, 1831; *Christian Intelligencer*, February 24, 1832.

³⁸ *Belfast Workingman's Advocate*, December 15, 1830; *Christian Intelligencer*, September 2, 1831; July 20, 1832.

³⁹ A description of a speculative voyage where entrepreneurs bought farmer's butter, packed it in hardwood kegs, put them in hogsheads filled with salt and took them to Appalachicola, Florida where they sold for 25¢ a pound; the farmers price was 8¢, is described in a letter from S. Dill to the editor, Phillips, Maine, *Phonograph*, November 12, 1886. This voyage took place in 1843, but Dill seemed to think that it was fairly commonplace.

⁴⁰ *Christian Intelligencer*, September 2, 1831.

⁴¹ *Yankee Farmer*, April 21, 1838. This trade must have been fairly commonplace too.

⁴² Editorial discussion of this occurs in *Christian Intelligencer*, April 29, July 29, 1831, and a fairly typical advertisement of a Philadelphia man who acted as agent for three Gardiner and two Bangor firms in April 26, 1834. What is interesting is that in an

era before refrigeration that no salt is ever discussed nor are the salt ports (Turk's Island, or Lisbon) ever mentioned. Later they fill the Marine Intelligence of the Bangor and Portland papers.

⁴³ Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery From its Earliest Inception to the Year 1876*, in United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries, Part IV, *Report of the Commissioner for 1875-1876*, Washington, 1878, 23, 24, 98, 110-112, especially notes. Few of the other histories discuss this aspect of the business. See Foster Rhea Dulles, *Lowered Boats: A Chronicle of American Whaling*, New York, 1933 or J. Ross Browne, *Etchings of a Whale Cruise*, New York, 1846 as examples. Other sources offer a bit more on this subject. F. C. Sanford, "Notes Upon the History of the American Whale Fishery," U. S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries, Part X, *Report of Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries, 1882*, Appendix B, "The Fisheries," Part VIII, Washington, 1884, 205-220, and John R. Spears, *The Story of the New England Whalers*, New York, 1908, "Whaling as a Business Enterprise," 312-339 which says the years of greatest growth were 1829-1835.

⁴⁴ *Drew's Rural Intelligencer*, January 6, 1855 letter B. R. Bigelow to Drew dated Edgartown.

⁴⁵ *Christian Intelligencer*, October 18, 1833; *Yankee Farmer*, January 24, 1838; Starbuck, *op. cit.* and *passim*.

⁴⁶ *Christian Intelligencer*, July 26, November 22, 1833. In 1834 Maine established a Board of Internal Improvements to deal with these matters after the governor had called for a state system. *Message of the Governor, Resolve on Board of Internal Improvements, Public Acts of the State of Maine Passed By the Fourteenth Legislature*, Augusta, 1834, 601-8. Discussion of this appears in Richard G. Wood, *Stephen Harriman Long, 1784-1864 Army Engineer, Explorer, Inventor*, Vol. VI of *Frontier Military Series*, Glendale, California, 1966, especially 170-1, 178-183, 184, 186-8.

⁴⁷ For a discussion of this see my "Towards a Theory of Maine History — Maine Resources and The State," in Arthur Johnson, ed., *Sesquicentennial Papers*, Orono, 1970, 45-64.

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