

TRADITION AND CHANGE IN RURAL NEW ENGLAND
A CASE STUDY OF BROOKSVILLE, MAINE, 1850-1870

Much recent historical writing has dealt with events that transpired on local levels. In attempting to explain the nature of American society, historians have turned increasingly to analyses of society at the community or regional level. Some of these historians have found in studies of colonial towns that while opportunities for advancement did exist, personal and societal conduct was bounded by a strict adherence to established patterns of authority and responsibility.¹ In similar fashion, many of the same questions asked about the nature of community hierarchy and status in the colonial period have been posed about the nature of nineteenth-century cities. The net result of the study of urban communities is an understanding that while a chance for social and economic mobility existed for working-class people, the real power in communities, and society in general, was held by a small group of men whose leadership class was seldom penetrated from below.²

Yet, despite historical interest in colonial towns and later cities, little attention has been paid to the realities of living in small nineteenth-century agricultural communities which were the descendants of the earlier towns and the sources of population for much of the last century's urban development.³ Without this additional dimension of the bases of nineteenth-century society, the picture drawn by historians does not depict the full realities of the society's past. One such small community that can shed some light on the larger society of the period is the town of Brooksville, Maine, during the 1850s and 1860s.

Brooksville is a small, rural community on the Maine coast which experienced a serious decline in prosperity and a major exodus of population between 1850 and 1870. The town is situated near the head of Penobscot Bay in eastern Maine, and its combined beauty of fields and shore mark it as typical of the setting of many novels about coastal Maine in the glory-days of the sailing era.⁴ The neighboring region was first explored by Europeans in 1605 with the arrival of the Weymouth expedition, but actual settlement did not come until the arrival of veterans of the French and Indian Wars who entered the area in the late 1760s. In 1787, the region was legally designated as Township Number 3, and in 1817 the Brooksville lands were separated from the other towns in the grant, Sedgwick, Castine, and Penobscot, to form an independent unit.⁵ During the first half of the nineteenth century, the community built its prosperity on a blend of farming, shipbuilding, and seafaring. Yet, complex factors of national and international politics and economics were to array themselves against the base of the town's well-being – the wind-driven, wooden ship. For not only did the end of the age of sail mean the loss of maritime industries for the community, it meant as well that those farm families that had found the margin of their success in the incremental wages earned on seasonal voyages and in part-time trades were unable to survive on the resources of small farms in the harsh Maine climate.⁶ It is the process of adjustment to these economic conditions that make the Brooksville example noteworthy in terms of the larger national experience.

Brooksville in 1850 was a thriving maritime community with 1,333 inhabitants, a number which increased during the booming '50s to 1,428, and then fell to 1,275 when the ravages of depression, war, and new trading patterns were thrust upon the community. In the years between 1850 and 1870, seventy-four percent of the people who had

been in the town in 1850 left Brooksville. As they departed, they were nearly replaced by a substantial influx of new arrivals from other Maine communities and eastern Canada.⁷

In 1850 almost half the working population was engaged primarily in farming, while an additional thirty percent of the labor force was employed as sailors. The remainder labored at various trades associated with the maritime industries or agriculture. The community prospered in the '50s, the age of the clipper ships. But the Panic of 1857 and its effects upon commerce, and the dangers posed to trade by Confederate raiders in the Civil War, coupled with the loss of men to the armed services, dealt a severe blow to economy of Brooksville. With a declining economic base, the town's net population fell by eleven percent in the 1860s as in-migrants were no longer arriving in numbers large enough to replace the natives or newcomers who left the community.

Migration was not a new phenomenon, however. In the 1850s, Brooksville experienced a steady emigration of its young people who left in search of the wider opportunities offered by other towns, the developing cities of the nation, and by westward expansion. Of those who left in the generally prosperous period of the 1850s, sixty-two percent had, in fact, been children living in their parents' homes in 1850. In that year their average age was seventeen – just on the verge of setting out on their own. Similarly, the children of Brooksville families who left in the 1860s were also, on the average, seventeen at the start of the decade. Moreover, whether they left in the '50s or '60s, out-migrant children were typically the second or third-born child, and were thus unable to inherit the diminishing family resources that generally went to the eldest son or daughter upon their marriage.

TABLE I
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

	#	(% of all children)	Mean Age	Birth Order
<i>1850 Group</i>				
Migrated in '50s	256	(56.6)	17.3	2.6
Migrated in '60s	116	(25.6)	16.1	3.2
<i>1860 Group</i>				
Migrated in '60s	98	(12.8)	17.5	2.5

SOURCE: Manuscript census, "Schedules of Population, Brooksville, Hancock County, Maine, 1850, 1860, and 1870," Genealogical Society of the Church of Latter Day Saints, microfilm copy, "Records of Birth, Death, and Marriage, Brooksville, Maine, 1845-1872" (#411656).

That economic factors accounted for the steady procession of these young people from the town is suggested by the patterns of property ownership which placed these migrants in families holding the smallest amounts of property, and by the fact that migration characteristically occurred soon after the migrants had married and begun families of their own. Since they were poor and stood little chance of inheriting enough land to survive in Brooksville, they generally left in search of more promising opportunities.⁸

During the 1850s and '60s, the people who moved into the community were remarkably similar to the out-migrants; they were usually young, poor, and engaged in an occupation connected with the maritime trades or in farming small tracts of land. Thus, while the town's economy was proving insufficient to hold many of its own children, it was, at the same time, attracting people from other communities who hoped Brooksville could offer them opportunities not found in their own communities. These people were usually employed as sailors, laborers, or as workers in the shipbuilding industries. Moreover,

they typically boarded with those families who constituted the town's prosperous, stable class. Few of the in-migrant boarders stayed in Brooksville for very long. Once they confronted the problems growing in the community's economy, they quickly joined the tide of migration from Brooksville. Some boarders served as apprentices to local tradesmen, but none of them remained in town to establish their own careers. In general, the group who formed the in-migrant, property-less class in the 1850s also formed the out-migrant group of the '60s. None of them belonged to local civil or religious groups, and none held any political office. In short, they did not fit in any substantial way into the community's mechanisms for attaining or holding wealth or status.

TABLE II
NUMBER OF IN-MIGRANTS, OUT-MIGRANTS⁹

# of in-migrants in the 1850s	= 350
	1860s = 372
# of out-migrants in the 1850s	= 565
	1860s = 596

SOURCE: Manuscript census, "Schedules of Population, Brooksville, Hancock County, Maine, 1850, 1860, and 1870."

TABLE III
AGES OF BOARDERS (15-24, 50+ YEARS)

Year	Total # of Boarders	# Aged (15-24)	% of Whole	# Aged 50+	% of Whole
1850	84	20	23.9%	16	19 %
1860	73	19	26.0	21	28.9
1870	108	37	34.2	24	22.2

TOTAL POPULATION					
	Population	(15-24)	%	50+	%
1850	1,333	311	23.4%	167	12.7%
1860	1,428	342	23.9	210	14.7
1870	1,275	283	22.2	217	17.0

SOURCE: Manuscript census, "Schedules of Population, Brooksville, Hancock County, Maine, 1850, 1860, and 1870."

Yet, some families did remain, and those who did were as much influenced by economic change as those who left. They depended on the maritime industry and farming in the 1850s, and when shipping declined in the next decade they opened or upgraded quarries and small silver and copper mines. By diversifying their economic activities, they hoped to continue in the community and to maintain their children within Brooksville. These mines and quarries thrived briefly in the late 1860s and into the '70s, and the general decline in population was temporarily halted by an influx of itinerant miners. Unfortunately, the mines were soon exhausted and the miners left. It was those families who owned land who persisted in Brooksville.¹⁰

It was in the late 1850s that the Tapleys, Grays, Walkers, Redmans, Chattos, and other persisting families began the long-term process of acquiring the lands of those who were leaving the community.¹¹ In addition, the persisting families also continued their investment in shipping by

operating some of the small coasting vessels and larger, bulk-hauling "downeasters" which were Maine's last contribution to the age of sailing ships.¹²

While economics played an important role in the ability of families to remain in the town, other factors such as age and family size also had great influence on the process of persistence. Of those people living in Brooksville in 1850, only twenty-six percent remained by 1870. In 1850, these persisters averaged thirty-two years of age, making them almost nine years older than the mean age of all those people who migrated in the '50s. Since they were older, they had had more time to hold jobs and acquire resources. Thus, in 1850, they held more property and greater assets than those who were younger, and more likely to leave.

TABLE IV

PERSISTENCE OR MIGRATION OF PERSONS RECORDED IN THE 1850 CENSUS

	#	%	mean age	real estate
Migrated in the 1850s	565	45.3	23.5	\$355
Migrated in the 1860s	367	29.4	27.7	362
Migrated in the '50s, but returned in the '60s	6	.5	16.6	none
Persisted to 1870	309	24.7	32.0	375

SOURCE: Manuscript census, "Schedules of Population, Brooksville, Hancock County, Maine, 1850, 1860, and 1870."

Moreover, by purchasing new lands and by transferring title to those that had been in the family, the persisting families were able to keep their children in Brooksville at a time of steady out-migration. This process of transferring family land to the next generation was done, almost always, when a child married. Therefore, the older children generally received the land before the younger

children. The most common transition made in response to economic conditions by families that had been nuclear in composition in 1850 was that which saw a son remain in the household with his wife after his marriage, even though there were still younger siblings living at home. While only ten households were so composed in 1850, by 1870, in more austere times, nineteen households contained a married son and his wife.¹³

The approaches taken by the persisting families to maintain their children in the community were similar in all areas of Brooksville. In the late 1850s, the key families began purchasing the land of the out-migrants, and passing them on to their own children.

One example of the mechanism by which Brooksville families transferred family land to the next generation, assuring the parents of a means of support once they had given up title to their lands, is the deed between Bently and Stephen Grindle of May, 1864, in which Bently agreed to "... provide and maintain the said Stephen Grindle and Huldah his wife and furnish them upon the farm where they now reside during their natural lives and the life of the survivor ... with suitable meat, drink, lodging, and a horse and carriage to ride when they think proper ... and shall furnish medicine ... and provide them with a decent burial ... and if these terms are not met ... the obligation shall be void." If Bently kept his part of the agreement, he then kept title to the Grindle farm, and was left in a favorable position within Brooksville society.¹⁴

While persistence in the community resulted from many different motivations, even more complex factors determined the development of the community power structure. Continuity of residence in the town did not necessarily mean community domination. Even some of those families who were able to settle most of their

children within the town fell under the domination of a few key families who possessed sufficient property, political or social power, and community heritage to dominate the town.

By employing several methods of bringing their children into the family's farming or business activities, those families who were able to turn their persistence into a pattern of community domination were able to assure that their position in the town would be both secured and fostered by the next generation. The Walker family in the 1850s trained their sons to operate the family-owned mill. The Tapleys and Grays trained their sons in seamanship or farming so that when they had reached their mid-twenties and had married, they were ready to take command of the family's ships or to assist in its shipbuilding operations or other economic activities. The other dominant families used similar patterns to initiate their sons in the family enterprise so that when they reached maturity they could maintain the family's position in the community. Thus, through a process of integrating the children into the land and capital structure of the community, and by marrying their daughters into other wealthy families in town, the dominant families created the incentives and the means which both caused and allowed most of their children to remain in the community, continue the family farm or business, and remain in a controlling position in Brooksville.¹⁵

While training their sons, the dominant families were also acquiring additional lands. As the sons matured, their parents either sold or gave them some of this land to help them establish their own homes.

In addition to these occupational and land incentives for stability on the part of the maturing generation, the dominant families tended to marry within their class. Moreover, the prestige of the wife's family was maintained

in these unions by the practice of naming children after members of her family or by incorporating her maiden name into the children's names. Thus, the importance of family power and the position of the child in the town's hierarchy was set from birth, and the pattern of domination by a few select families was reinforced.

By using these and other means, those families whose time and status in Brooksville had given them a stake in its organization and future were able to remain in the community, and, for some, to remain in control of the web of its social network. Yet, while the key families gained prominence and prestige in their community, the town itself was on the verge of collapse. The families who had ventured all on keeping their children in the community were left in the 1870s with a future in a town which did not make the transition from the old to the new order in an America which was turning away from its rural, small-town past to an urban, metropolitan future.

The events and processes in this one Maine community during the 1850s and '60s reveal that it was only through the continuation of maritime activity that the community was able to attract enough new arrivals to replace those people who left town. In order to maintain this economic climate, the key Brooksville families, after 1857, sought to make their community less dependent on the maritime industry by diversifying their investments. These efforts were not sufficient to stem the tide of migration or to attract large numbers of in-migrants. Rather, diversification benefited the wealthy who used its profits to purchase the land vacated by out-migrants, and to use this land to hold their own children within the community. Thus, as the area was discovered by tourists in the late nineteenth century, it was the children of the persisting families who were still in the town that were able to benefit from this new economic activity. Yet, knowing all this

about Brooksville, some larger framework needs to be established so that the community's experience can be placed in perspective.

The forms of family domination, land transfer, and social hierarchy in Brooksville show marked similarities to those that existed in colonial towns. Moreover, the process of migration among people from northern New England, once examined, has serious import for the studies which have already been done on some cities in southern New England in the nineteenth century. Most importantly, the examination of the lives of people in one community contributes toward understanding the development of new social patterns and networks in the larger society of America during the nineteenth century.

One of the broader implications of the Brooksville experience is its pattern of community domination by a few families during a period of extreme instability. This phenomenon of stability in the midst of apparent turbulence has been found in other studies of American communities. Kenneth Lockridge noted in his work on colonial Dedham, Massachusetts, that "... in a world inclined to chaos, the most men could hope for was a stable life within a small community."¹⁶ People in the small, mid-nineteenth-century community of Brooksville, Maine, found their well-ordered society threatened by instability in the maritime industries. Amidst this economic and demographic instability, the town continued to rely on its social and economic elite for new industry and the order fostered by the continuity of political leadership.

When the problems of the dominant families turned from control in a thriving community to survival in a stagnating one, the methods they used to remain in power were very similar to those employed by the families of colonial Andover, Massachusetts, to assure their place in the community. Philip Greven has found that the families

who originally settled that town were able to remain only by offering their children enough land so that persistence became attractive.¹⁷

Brooksville's persistence patterns followed, in many respects, the Andover model, particularly as families found their economic vistas shrinking from the distant lands of foreign commerce to those of their town itself. Land in Brooksville became the only means to survival, and persistence in the community, after the acquisition of land, came to mean power and prestige.

While more historical studies are needed on the rural towns of the nineteenth century, the high rates of migration evidenced in Brooksville confirm the observations which Peter Knights has made concerning those in-migrants to Boston who came from New Hampshire and Maine in the early decades of the nineteenth century.¹⁸ His conclusion that the migrants were young adults who were repetitive migrants is seen in the age characteristics of Brooksville's migrants. The process which found a stream of migrants seeking to replace those who left Brooksville is also similar to the situation in southern New England.

The most pertinent work on the structures and nature of a rural community which applies to Brooksville's situation is a recent article by Richard S. Alcorn on the community of Paris, Illinois, from 1830 to 1860.¹⁹ Alcorn posits that the high rates of migration and low rates of persistence enhanced the positions of those families who were able to stay in Paris long enough to achieve power and authority. For the few persisting families, the great instability which existed in the town meant that the community was constantly feeling the effects of the arrival of new-comers who were either unfamiliar or unconcerned with the structures and mores of the town.

Meanwhile, as the migrants flowed in, a large portion of the residents, according to Alcorn, were making a psychological break with the community in preparation for their imminent departure. What resulted was the creation of a nucleus of stable families who had a stake in the community's future and who used their power to socialize newcomers to the town's ways. Alcorn's stable, dominant families are virtual replications of Brooksville's leading class.

Robert Wiebe, in his works on the nature of the roots of national social organization in America, states that in the first several decades of the nineteenth century the nation was composed of a series of isolated value islands – the small, rural towns.²⁰ Brooksville's evidence does not dispute this idea that local communities were separate in their orientation and activities, but it does refine the idea a bit. For while Brooksville was not physically isolated from other areas or regions – especially when it was a healthy trading community – it did have its own local mores and structures. Just as with Alcorn's ruling elite, Brooksville's dominant families did create an island community which was run by a few families and which served as a stopping place for a class of migrants which constituted the largest portion of the population.

Wiebe also saw families as the dominant social entity in the seventeenth century, with local communities serving the same central function in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the late nineteenth century he discerned a shift in people's primary orientation away from the previous centers of family or community towards one of occupational or affiliational subgroup.

In the 1850s and 1860s, Brooksville evidenced a combination of all three forms of social organization and management. The family orientation of the controlling group did mark the perspective of the key families. Yet, in

striving to remain in their town, despite the economic and demographic trends which were impoverishing it, the dominant families, according to Wiebe's model, appear to have trapped themselves and their town in the world of pre-modern America. Moreover, while the persisting families were evidencing behavior patterns which were best suited to life in an earlier age, the migrants from Brooksville represented a new commitment to occupational or economic group rather than to place or family. By leaving their native community, the migrants were exhibiting behavior which Wiebe ascribes to modern America. Thus, the migrants moved from an attachment to family and community, from an alliance with the old order in America, to an attachment to work and skill as separate from community. Thus, they severed those emotional and familial bonds which would have prevented them from moving into the new urban, industrial society which placed personal power, prestige, and accomplishment at the head of its virtues and ideals.

These observations show that one small Maine community, in its years of adjustment to a new economic order, manifested many of the characteristics of community organization and social process which have been found in studies of other communities. Only through a study of Brooksville and other microcosms can historians fully grasp the complexity of their society's past.

¹ Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years, Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736* (New York: Norton, 1970); Philip J. Greven, Jr., *Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithica: Cornell, 1970); Sumner Chilton Powell, *Puritan Village: The Formation of a New England Town* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1963, 1965).

² Peter R. Knights, *The Plain People of Boston, 1830-1860: A Study in City Growth* (New York: Oxford, 1971); Michael Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1975); Stephan Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1973).

³ One notable exception to this situation is Richard S. Alcorn's, "Leadership and Stability in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America: A Case Study of an Illinois Town," *Journal of American History* 61 (1974): 685-702.

⁴ Walter A. Snow, ed., *Brooksville, Maine: "A Town of the Bagaduce"* (Blue Hill, Maine: The Weekly Packet, 1967) p. 68-69.

Seafaring, and international commerce created a larger world-view for the Maine coastal communities than was typical for many small towns, and made them interesting places in which to live. (See Mary Ellen Chase, comp., *Sarah Orne Jewett, The Country of The Pointed Firs* [New York: W.W. Norton, 1968], and William Hutchinson Rowe, *The Maritime History of Maine: Three Centuries of Shipbuilding and Seafaring* [New York: W.W. Norton, 1948] Chapter 15, pp. 186-298, "The Maine Seacoast Town," which is a description of the milieu of near-by Searsport during the shipping boom).

⁵ George A. Wheeler, *History of Castine, Penobscot, and Brooksville, Maine: Including the Ancient Settlement of Pentagoet* (Bangor, Maine: Burr and Robinson, 1875), p. 55; Walter A. Snow, "A Genealogical History of the Pioneers of Brooksville, Maine," 4 vols. (Maine State Library, Augusta: Typescript, 1967), 1: 3-9; William D. Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine from Its First Discovery, A.D. 1602, to the Separation, A.D. 1820, Inclusive*, 2 vols. (Hallowell, Maine: Glazier and Masters, 1832), 1: 668; George S. Wasson, *Sailing Days on the Penobscot: The River and The Bay As They Were in the Old Days* (Salem, Massachusetts: Marine Research Society, 1932), p. 192.

⁶ Some voyages were of extended duration, lasting several months at a time, eliminating the chance for sailors on these voyages – to

California and China – from participating in the agricultural seasons at home. (See Arthur H. Clark, *The Clipper Ship Era: An Epitome of Famous American Clipper Ships, Their Owners, Builders, Commanders, and Crews, 1843-1869* [New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1910] for a detailed statement of the passages and men of the clipper ships).

⁷ Snow, "Genealogical History," 1: 3-9; Wheeler, *History of Castine*, pp. 55-63; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, *Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Censuses of the United States, 1850, 1860, 1870*, "Schedules of Population, Brooksville, Hancock County, Maine," (Manuscript Copies, State Archives, Augusta, Maine; Microfilm Copies, Raymond H. Fogler Library, University of Maine, Orono). The information contained in the schedules of population has been coded and subjected to computer analysis according to the constraints allowed by the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences program. Unless distinction of the three reports is required, all future references to statistics of occupation, wealth, sex, age, family size, etc. are derived from the censuses or the statistical analysis of them, and each reference, therefore, is not cited individually or repeatedly.

* This relationship between migration and the onset of marriage and family responsibilities has been determined by comparing the migration data, which comparison of the three census reports for 1850, 1860, and 1870 has revealed, with the records of marriage and birth for Brooksville (see Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Microfilm Copy: "Records of Birth, Death, and Marriage, Brooksville, Maine, 1845-1872" [#411656]).

" The in-migrants are those people who were not recorded in the 1850 census, but who appear in the 1860 report (excluding births) or those people who were not listed in the 1860 enumeration, but who are present in the 1870 listing (again excluding births). They numbered 350 for the 1850s and 372 for the 1860s. The 1860 report alone provides a measure of in and out-migration by the same people, and reveals that approximately sixty-six percent of the in-migrants of the 1850s left Brooksville sometime during the 1860s.

Statements concerning Brooksville's migration or persistence patterns from 1850 to 1870 are based on the only available source of this data – the U.S. censuses for 1850, 1860, and 1870. Since there is no other state or local document enumerating the entire population during this period, the census data is the most valuable tool for an analysis of mobility or persistence over two decades. Yet, despite its great value, the census data has certain insufficiencies.

The schedules of population for each report recorded each head of household and household member, with other data on each person.

Through an examination of these characteristics, and a tracing or linking of each person to the three different census reports, a picture of the patterns of migration or the development of the roots of persistence is achieved.

The census reports, however, recorded only those people who were residents of Brooksville during the few weeks of June of each census year in which the enumeration was made. They do not record any information whatsoever on those persons who moved into Brooksville, and then moved out again in the years between the census reports. Moreover, there exists the possibility that the census-taker may have missed some households in making his enumeration of the town, or that some of the information was inaccurately recorded.

Therefore, as Peter Knights has conclusively demonstrated for Boston in *The Plain People of Boston, 1870-1860: A Study in City Growth* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), the apparent rates of migration, as seen through the census reports, may be far less than the actual intra-decade rates which are not revealed by the census reports. Thus, while all available information has been used to establish the nature of Brooksville's population structure, some error is built into the data, and statements about population, migration or persistence are based on certain adjustments of the population base.

As each person's presence or absence in Brooksville was noted in an analysis of the census data, it was verified by checking the birth, death, and marriage records of the town. Thus, births were not recorded as instances of in-migration, deaths were not seen as out-migration, and women who had changed their names at marriage were not placed with the migrants. When the vital statistics did not record information on a person which was contained in the census reports, the census information is that which was used to determine the data on migration persistence. The result of this process is that the three census groups about which statistical statements are made do not equal in number the total population. Statements on the percentages of migration are based on the adjusted census groups. The statements thus have a greater reliability than if they were based on the aggregate population which did not take into account the factors of birth, death, and marriage.

Moreover, while careful analysis has been made of the available data, there is some uncertainty in linking people in different census reports; people recorded by one name, or customary name, in one year, may have referred to themselves by a different name in the following census report. Not all women who remained in the community after marriage, for example, retained the same first name after changing

their family name in marriage. Thus, the process of linking them through the different reports becomes less accurate. These and other technical problems are inherent in dealing with the available data on a small community such as Brooksville. However, every effort has been made to insure the accuracy of the statements based on the available data.

¹⁰ William Hutchinson Rowe, *The Maritime History of Maine: Three Centuries of Shipbuilding and Seafaring* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1948), p. 188; Brooksville Historical Society, *Traditions and Records of Brooksville, Maine* (Auburn, Maine: Merrill and Webber 1936; reprint edition, Camden, Maine: The Camden Herald Publishing Company, 1974) pp. 43-44, notes the shift away from shipping in Brooksville during the '60s in a letter by Rev. Wilmot P. Lord which states that the Lord family, "on account of the decline of shipping . . ." came to pursue "... other means of livelihood;" Walter A. Snow, ed., Brooksville, Maine: "*A Town of the Bagaduce*" (Blue Hill, Maine: The Weekly Packet Publishing Company, 1967), pp. 68-70, and Frank Domingos, "An Investigation of the Granite Quarry Industry in Hancock County, Maine" (M.A. Thesis, University of Maine, Orono, 1959) and Virginia Perkins, "A Mining Boom in Maine," *New England Quarterly* 14 (1941): 437-456, discuss mining in the Hancock area following the opening or expansion of quarries and mines in the late 1860s. Granite cutters and stonecutters are first recorded in the 1860 census, and miners also first appear in the 1860 report. The recorded occupation, however, refers to that job which was deemed to be the primary occupation of the citizen. It does not record accurately the number of farmers who opened quarries on the land, but who still regarded themselves as being primarily farmers and not quarrymen. Of the heads of households who persisted in the town from 1850 through 1870, 48.3 percent owned property valued at \$800 or more; 25.9 percent were in the wealthy category with at least \$1,000 in assets.

¹¹ Hancock County Registry of Deeds, Ellsworth, Maine, deeds for land in Brooksville from 1850 to 1870 were correlated with the census data on migration and persistence. This correlation showed that the persisting families bought and kept about half of the lands of the out-migrants, and that the in-migrants bought the other half. But frequently, the fifty percent which eventually went to in-migrants first passed through the hands of the persisting families who had bought it directly from those who had left Brooksville, and, then, sold part to later arrivals in town.

¹² Basil Lubbock, *The Down Easters: American Sailing Ships, 1869-1929* (Boston: Charles E. Lauriet, 1929), pp. 49-56; "Shipping Receipts,"

(uncataloged boxes) Brooksville Historical Society; Roger L. Grindle, *Quarry and Kiln: The Story of the Maine Lime Industry* (Rockland, Maine: The Courier Gazette, 1971).

¹³ The areas in which families lived have been determined from George N. Colby's *Atlas of Hancock County, Maine* (Ellsworth, Maine: Colby, 1881), p. 45, which indicates the site of each family's house in Brooksville. Also helpful were the post office designations, and the order of visitation by the census-takers who gave the village and the approximate position of each house relative to its neighbor.

¹⁴ Hancock County Registry of Deeds, Ellsworth, Maine, "Deeds for Brooksville, 1850-1870."

¹⁵ Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Microfilm Copy, "Records of Birth, Death and Marriage, Brooksville, Maine, 1845-1872" (#411656).

¹⁶ Lockridge, *A New England Town*, p. 169.

¹⁷ Greven, *Four Generations*, pp. 41-102, 125-260.

¹⁸ Knights, *Plain People*, pp. 33-47.

¹⁹ Alcorn, "Leadership and Stability," *Journal of American History* 61 (1974): 685-702.

²⁰ Robert H. Weibe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967); and *The Segmented Society: An Introduction of the Meaning of America* (New York: Oxford, 1975).

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