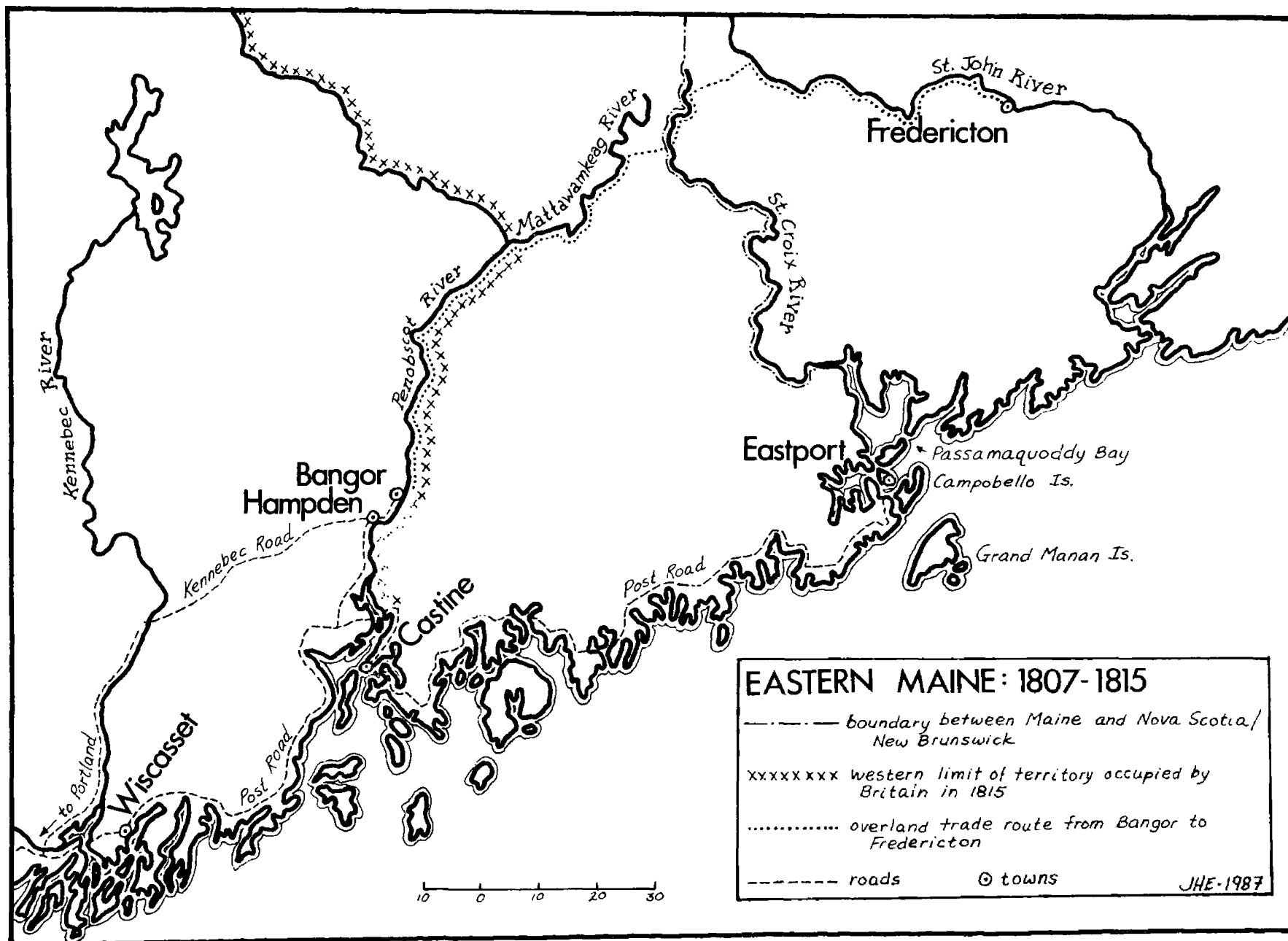


“THE POOR PEOPLE HAD SUDDENLY
BECOME RICH”
A BOOM IN MAINE WHEAT, 1793-1815

“I hope peace and profit will be our share If there be war, France will probably take part in it. This we cannot help and therefore we must console ourselves with the good price of wheat which it will bring us. Since it is so decreed by fate, we only have to pray that their soldiers may eat a great deal.”

—Thomas Jefferson

In 1820 Maine severed its relationship to Massachusetts and became a separate state. As one of its first acts, Maine's newly installed state legislature ordered that an agricultural census be conducted, in order to determine the extent of the fledgling state's taxable wealth. Oddly, the results revealed two, regionally bifurcated cropping patterns — patterns that hinted at the existence of two Maines. In the older, well settled southwestern counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, the primary grain crop was maize, or corn. This was not unusual; most of the rest of New England's farmers also grew maize as their staple crop. However, as the census enumerators advanced north and east into more recently settled areas of Maine, they found farmers growing proportionately more wheat and less maize. On the rugged pine- and spruce-clad frontier of eastern Maine (Penobscot, Hancock, and Washington counties), enumerators discovered that the major grain crop was wheat, with only minor harvests of maize and rye. In sharp contrast to southwestern Maine, wheat accounted for more than half of all



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grain harvested in Penobscot and Washington counties, and more than a third of all grown in Hancock County. The finest farmland on Maine's eastern frontier lay in the valley of the Penobscot River, where farmers grew almost twice as much wheat as all other grains combined. Enumerators reported that wheat was the principal grain crop in thirteen of the valley's nineteen incorporated townships.¹ (See Table No. 1.) While southwestern Maine followed an "old" maize tradition, frontier eastern Maine embraced a "new" wheat system.

Such an emphasis on wheat farming anyplace in New England outside of Connecticut was remarkable. Most of New England was generally considered ill-suited for wheat--for more than a century wheat cropping had been hampered by the region's cold, damp early summers, its overly dry middle and late summers, a short growing season, diseases, and shallow

Table No. 1.
Grain production in the Penobscot River valley in Maine, 1820.

TOWN	wheat (bshls)	maize (bshls)	rye (bshls)	oats (bshls)	barley (bshls)
Frankfort	1,545	1,682	56	142	53
Prospect	1,470	1,321	0	97	0
Penobscot	635	444	0	94	170
Orland	403	529	114	141	50
Bucksport	796	372	110	279	60
Orrington	6,178	15	20	20	10
Hampden	675	2,160	15	30	20
Bangor	1,464	685	25	813	0
Brewer	585	856	25	23	113
Eddington	384	365	45	63	0
Orono	477	220	30	45	0
Corinth	435	608	31	38	0
Charleston	1,155	765	33	151	11
Dexter	532	372	2	2	0
Garland	612	556	12	174	20
Hermon	1,452	25	included in wheat		
Levant	430	0	0	0	0
Newburgh	1,104	20	?	10	10
Stetson	108	230	0	0	0
TOTAL	25,591	12,957	1,333	2,719	631

soil. Early experiments with wheat had ended in failure due to both chilly weather and to smuts and mildews accidentally brought over from Europe.² As late as 1801, in six counties in Massachusetts, of which Maine was then a part, two-thirds of all productive fields (excluding hay fields) were planted in corn. Maize not only produced higher yields per acre for old-time New England farmers, but it was easier to harvest than other grains, bypassing the laborious threshing process.³

After the Revolution wheat growing in New England seemed a bleak prospect. Even the once-rich Connecticut wheat fields fell prey to pests, this time the Hessian fly, after 1776.⁴ Bostoners made bread with flour imported from New York; less cosmopolitan rural New Englanders baked a rye and maize concoction they called “rye and injun.”⁵ As late as 1812 no less an observer than John Adams remarked, “[y]ou will never get ... wheat to grow in New England in quantities to constitute a steady staple, without an expensive cultivation.”⁶ Likewise, in Maine in 1790, according to agricultural historian Clarence Day, except for hay, corn was a farmer’s most likely crop.⁷ Moses Greenleaf, Maine’s distinguished geographer, commented that in 1796, “very few people supposed that wheat would ever be cultivated to advantage in Maine.”⁸ supposed that wheat would ever be cultivated to advantage in Maine.”⁸

Despite the experience of history and the wisdom of the savants, early nineteenth-century Maine farmers began growing wheat in increasingly larger amounts. In 1811, wheat accounted for 15.6% of the Maine grain harvest; in 1820, it comprised a more robust 20.9%.⁹ Greenleaf himself wrote in 1816 that “wheat is more profitably cultivated than corn.” The soil between the Penobscot and Kennebec rivers, he noted, was “peculiarly adapted to this article; and is found to be more profitable than any other grain.”¹⁰ Indeed, most of Maine’s wheat was grown on the state’s northern and eastern frontiers, with the heaviest emphasis on wheat cropping found in the three newly organized eastern counties of Penobscot, Washington, and Hancock. (See Table No. 2.)

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Table No. 2.
Grain production in Maine 1811-1820.

COUNTY	wheat (bushels)		maize (bushels)		other grains (bushels)	
	1811	1820	1811	1820	1811	1820
York	12,350	8,904	122,307	118,365	26,860	37,040
Cumberland	16,993	13,789	93,887	106,335	29,127	46,815
Lincoln	20,188	19,758	82,564	77,159	24,426	35,769
Kennebec	29,003	37,837	73,559	75,407	14,409	36,483
Oxford	14,508	30,359	42,346	39,572	15,792	21,829
Somerset	9,828	25,382	21,848	33,617	7,734	40,391
Waldo		22,708		31,721		18,261
Penobscot		25,591		12,957		5,964
Hancock		11,474		11,751		9,890
Washington		6,359		1,259		4,957
TOTAL	102,870	202,197	436,511	508,143	118,348	257,399

COUNTY	wheat (%)		maize (%)		other grains (%)	
	1811	1820	1811	1820	1811	1820
York	7.5	5.4	75.7	72.0	16.7	22.6
Cumberland	12.1	8.3	67.0	63.7	20.8	28.0
Lincoln	15.2	14.9	64.8	58.1	19.4	27.0
Kennebec	25.6	25.2	62.8	50.3	11.6	24.5
Oxford	20.0	33.0	58.3	43.1	21.7	23.9
Somerset	24.9	25.5	55.4	33.8	19.6	40.7
Waldo		31.1		43.4		25.5
Penobscot	35.1	57.4	54.0	29.1	10.9	13.5
Hancock	22.1	34.6	43.7	35.4	34.2	30.0
Washington	24.5	50.5	23.7	10.0	51.8	39.5
TOTAL	15.6	20.9	66.4	52.5	18.0	26.6

Sources: Massachusetts 1811 state tax census
 Maine 1820 state agricultural census
 Moses Greenleaf, *A Statistical View of the District of Maine*
 (Cummings and Hilliard, Boston: 1816), p. 31.
 Moses Greenleaf, *A Survey of Maine* (Shirley and Hyde, Port-
 land: 1829), p. 201.

How might we account for the sudden determination of eastern Maine farmers to thus break with tradition and begin cultivating wheat instead of maize? At first blush, it would seem a profitless venture. Maine's principal agricultural market, Boston, had easy access to New York wheat, and it is hardly likely that Maine farmers, even when the weather cooperated, could have been competitive with the New Yorkers. New York flour averaged \$9.44 a barrel between 1800 and 1807, \$10.07 a barrel between 1808 and 1814, and only \$7.82 a barrel between 1815 and 1824.¹¹ Mainers, faced with greater costs, generally considered even \$10.00 a barrel too low a price, and only reluctantly sold wheat for less.¹² Maine wheat was also considered inferior in quality to New York wheat. (The higher quality bearded red winter wheat, sometimes called Mediterranean wheat, was not introduced to the United States until 1819.)¹³ It is improbable, then, that eastern Maine farmers cropped wheat to sell primarily on the Boston market. Neither was it likely that the wheat was grown entirely for local consumption. Maize had been a successful crop even in eastern Maine as late as 1811, and would not have been replaced without caution. Neither was wheat introduced by new settlers: most of the farmers who lived in Maine's eastern counties had either been born there or had immigrated from southwestern Maine, New Hampshire, or eastern Massachusetts, all places with strongly developed maize traditions.¹⁴ Further, maize, not wheat, was usually the first crop new settlers planted upon their arrival in Maine.¹⁵

Instead, the stimulus for the switch was the emergence of a sudden new market for wheat flour in nearby British Nova Scotia and New Brunswick — a market created by events transpiring across the Atlantic Ocean in Europe. The Napoleonic Wars (1795-1815) severed Britain from its traditional supplies of wheat from the European continent. The island kingdom responded by turning to the United States for wheat, fueling a fledgling American grain industry initially centered around Chesapeake Bay. Although exports to Britain fluctuated wildly, depending on conditions beyond American control,



Penobscot Valley in the early nineteenth century presented vast agricultural possibilities, and the War of 1812 offered some farmers a chance to sell their product in lucrative markets.

this Anglo-American wheat trade continued apace until late 1807, when the United States enacted a trade embargo against Britain. The embargo and the subsequent War of 1812 (1812-1815) essentially closed the British market to the productive Chesapeake wheat farmers, thereby providing an opportunity for cultivators in eastern Maine. Taking advantage of the nearby poorly guarded border, enterprising Mainers smuggled wheat flour, along with meat and lumber, across the lines. The high prices offered by the hungry Englishmen provided a new market for Maine farmers and stimulated the cultivation of wheat in places near the eastern border.

Maine before 1820 was largely a forested frontier. In the southwest, in a narrow band along the coast, lay a series of old settlements dating back to the 17th century, dependent on a combination of farming, fishing, and small-scale forestry. Inland, and along the northeastern coast, newly settled immigrants from Massachusetts and New Hampshire cleared homesteads between 1760 and 1820. Frontier villages like Hallowell, Bangor, and Machias were erected along the Kennebec River,

the Penobscot River, and on the eastern shore. Population growth was rapid, and thousands of acres of forest were converted into farms. Seven new counties were established on the Maine frontier between the Revolution and 1820: Kennebec, Oxford, and Somerset in the west, astride the upper Kennebec River valley and in the Appalachian Mountains; and Hancock, Washington, Penobscot, and Waldo in the east, along the rock-bound Down East coast and in the fertile, wooded Penobscot River valley.

Although a rough, sometimes isolated frontier, eastern Maine's agricultural patterns were nevertheless closely linked to changing British food production, importation, and consumption. As Britain industrialized and its own cities grew, its food imports increased markedly. By 1800 foodstuffs constituted between 20 percent and 30 percent of all British imports. Chief among such imports was wheat. In 1880, most imported British food, including wheat, came from the European continent.¹⁶

Therefore, Britain was vulnerable when France began to restrict trade with the island kingdom in 1793. British wheat imports from territory under French control fell between 1800 and 1803 from 369,388 bushels to a mere 2,021.¹⁷ Furthermore, in 1806-1807, France convinced Prussia and Russia to join in a full-fledged blockade of Britain, called the Continental System, that persisted into 1814. Compounding the problems created by the loss of imported European wheat, Britain suffered especially bad harvests in 1795, 1800, and 1810. The British response was to seek alternate sources of foreign wheat from the United States and Ireland.¹⁸

Increasingly after the turn of the century, America served as a secondary supplier of grain to the island of Great Britain itself, shipping large amounts of wheat when British crops were especially bad or when Britain was unable to get grain from the continent. (See Table No. 3.) More central to the American economy, the United States also sold foodstuffs to British colonies in the West Indies, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, none of which were self-sufficient in either grain or

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meat. With the exception of Prince Edward Island, all of Britain's maritime colonies imported food in 1793. Even Canada (then limited to the St. Lawrence River valley and separate from Nova Scotia) imported some American flour, meat, and lumber. Initially, Britain hoped Canadian food production could be increased in order to provision Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the West Indies, but by 1800 it was obvious that this would not work, and Britain reluctantly opened some of its colonial ports to American merchants.¹⁹ By 1802-1803, the British West Indies had become the principal customer for American wheat, meat, and fish, and were almost completely dependent on American foodstuffs.²⁰ At first, the chief source of American wheat for the British West Indies was the Chesapeake Bay region, and Baltimore became America's major grain port. By 1800 Baltimore's exports had surpassed those of Philadelphia, America's metropolis.²¹

Table No. 3.
Wheat imports, island of Great Britain, 1800-1814 (bushels)

Year	Imported from Europe	Imported from U. S.	Imported from Elsewhere
1800	1,159,496 (91%)	77,609 (6%)	27,410 (2%)
1801	1,102,251 (77%)	245,371 (17%)	77,135 (5%)
1802	383,544 (59%)	79,412 (12%)	184,702 (29%)
1803	159,332 (43%)	109,131 (29%)	105,259 (28%)
1804	364,047 (79%)	4,259 (1%)	92,828 (20%)
1805	813,564 (89%)	13,453 (1%)	93,811 (10%)
1806	112,191 (36%)	79,763 (26%)	118,381 (38%)
1807	70,078 (17%)	249,712 (62%)	85,171 (21%)
1808	6,771 (8%)	12,836 (15%)	65,276 (77%)
1809	190,078 (41%)	170,939 (37%)	94,965 (21%)
1810	1,292,566 (82%)	98,274 (6%)	176,275 (11%)
1811	166,953 (50%)	18,011 (5%)	151,160 (45%)
1812	92,207 (31%)	10,797 (4%)	187,699 (64%)
1813	339,242 (60%)	810 (—)	218,947 (39%)
1814	622,917 (73%)	1 (—)	229,641 (26%)

Source: W. Freeman Galpin, *The Grain Supply of Great Britain During the Napoleonic Period* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), appendices.

There was also a steady, albeit smaller, trade in wheat flour and other foodstuffs between Portland, Maine's largest seaport, and the West Indies. Out of 371 foreign and domestic entries at Portland harbor in 1804 recorded by the city's new newspaper, the *Eastern Argus*, 86 were from the British West Indies, and an additional thirty or forty hailed from the French, Dutch, or Spanish West Indies. Ninety-nine of 341 departures that year were bound for the British West Indies, and about thirty headed for other Caribbean ports. The West Indies were Portland's largest trading partners, collectively exceeding even second-place Boston. Nova Scotia, another British maritime colony, was third. Although not many ships left Portland for Great Britain itself (14 departures in 1804), Maine clearly traded with Britain's colonies. From reports in the *Eastern Argus*, we know that the Caribbean trade was largely in foodstuffs, including wheat flour, brought by Maine's ships.

The Portland-West Indies wheat trade before the 1807 embargo was uneven and profits at levels deemed desirable were not always forthcoming. Sea captains reported fairly significant price fluctuations in 1803 and 1804. On October 10, 1803, for example, wheat flour sold in British Demararra for eight dollars a barrel, and in the following month for eleven dollars in French Guadeloupe. Such prices were considered low by the *Argus*, although in excess of the 1803 average of seven dollars a barrel in New York.²² But in July, 1804, prices for wheat flour in the Caribbean began to climb spectacularly, reaching twelve to fourteen dollars a barrel in Surinam. By mid-July Maine captains reported with satisfaction that flour sold for twenty-six dollars a barrel in Puerto Rico and Berbice. In Antigua wheat flour reached thirteen dollars, and in Trinidad, fifteen dollars a barrel. Similar prices were reported in St. Croix and Demararra.²³ In late August, prices fell again — "dull" markets in Antigua brought only nine dollars a barrel, and by October Portland shippers were sending maize and wheat to Cadiz, Spain, where there was said to be "a good market."²⁴ Nevertheless, the food trade with the West Indies was a lively one and, until the embargo took effect at the

beginning of 1808, most of Portland's foreign trade was directed at the Caribbean. Markets may have been "dull" at times, but prices for flour were consistently higher than at New York and, presumably, Boston.

Some of the flour Mainers sold in the West Indies may not have been made with Maine wheat, instead consisting of re-exported New York flour. In March and April 1806, Portland merchant William Codman advertised in the *Argus* the sale of 50 barrels of wheat flour imported from New York "for freight or charter," indicating that Codman, at least, thought re-exports might be valuable. That same year another Portland firm, John Taber and Son, advertised 150 barrels of flour imported from Alexandria, Virginia, for re-export.²⁵ Still, it would be a mistake to overemphasize re-exports. Advertisements such as Codman's and Taber's were few, and Codman's ran several weeks, hinting at a less than enthusiastic response. Both merchants also advertised the sale of maize, a crop Maine farmers produced in relative abundance.²⁶ Although certainly some of the flour leaving Portland was re-exported New York flour, maize-growing Maine farmers could not have been unaware of the relatively high prices paid in the West Indies for wheat. While wheat flour brought upwards of twelve dollars a barrel, cornmeal sold for only a dollar or two a bushel. Hence, in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first seven years of the nineteenth, Maine farmers discovered a reason to switch from maize to wheat. Mainers would soon find that the embargo of 1807 would drive the price of wheat up further still.

For most American farmers, the grain trade with Britain and its colonies ended in late 1807. The American government responded to British and French interference with its shipping, the impressment of American sailors, and increasing British reluctance to permit trade carried in American bottoms, by declaring a trade embargo against both Britain and France. The embargo lasted until 1809, when the United States reopened its ports to trans-Atlantic commerce, and for a brief

time, large shipments of American wheat headed for Liverpool docks. The embargo was reinstated, however, with the Non-Intercourse Act of May 1, 1809. Exactly one year later, following friendly overtures from Napoleon, the Non-Intercourse Act was repealed and replaced with the Freedom of Trade Act, which limited the embargo to most, although not all, trade between the United States and Britain.²⁷ As news of the impending embargo spread through the American port cities in late 1807, merchants sent their vessels out of port loaded with goods for a final burst of trade. By the spring of 1808, most of these ships had returned to their home ports, and foreign trade ground to a halt. Maine shippers appear to have been ill-prepared with last minute cargoes. The *Eastern Argus* reported only sixteen ships arriving in Portland harbor from the West Indies between January 1 and May 19, 1808. The *Argus* noted two departures during the same span.²⁸

According to the captains of the returning ships, the price of flour in West Indies soared as a consequence of the embargo, and there were severe food shortages on some of the islands. In Kingston, Jamaica, flour rose from eight dollars to sixteen dollars in February 1808, and then to twenty-five dollars by April. In Bermuda, the situation grew desperate. As one ship captain reported to the *Argus*, "The Governor [of Bermuda] had issued a proclamation to prevent the exportation of provisions — and that all vessels arriving there from whatever cause would be obligated to dispose of their cargoes."²⁹ As farm prices rose in the West Indies, they fell in the United States.³⁰ Urging caution by farmers, the pro-government *Argus* editorially hoped that it would be "the true policy of our Farmers, not to kill their meat cattle during the embargo; but rather let them grow in size and fatten, so that they will have more meat in stock, when we get rid of foreign orders and decrees."³¹

Many American farmers and merchants did not, as the *Argus* urged, wait for the embargo to end, but profited from illegal and extra-legal trade with Great Britain and her colonies. The principal *entrepôts* for American wheat smuggled to the British Empire were the St. Mary's River on the Georgia



Preparing the fields. Much of Maine's farm produce went to the British colonies in the West Indies and Nova Scotia. Jefferson's 1807 embargo and the War of 1812 cut off this trade, but the legal sanctions could be circumvented.

border, from whence flour and meat reached the West Indies; northwestern Vermont around Lake Champlain, from which lumber, flour, and meat were spirited down the Richelieu River to Montreal; Passamaquoddy Bay on the Maine-New Brunswick border, where dozens of secluded islets made for a smuggler's haven; and Spain and Portugal, the destination of many "lost" Yankee fisherman and, after 1809, a legal destination where fish, wheat flour, and meat were sold to Wellington's army.³² Much of the flour smuggled into Canada and New Brunswick found its way to the West Indies. Since the British colonies needed all the provisions they could attract from the United States, Britain enacted an imperial statute permitting duty free entry into West Indian, Nova Scotian, and Canadian ports.³³

American fishing vessels, feigning damaged masts and sails, made "emergency" landfalls at West Indian, Nova Scotian, and even European ports and paid for "repairs" with fortuitous cargoes of flour and fish.³⁴ Maine fishermen joined in this activity. When Samuel Hadlock of Little Cranberry Island finished fishing for cod on the Grand Banks, his boat was somehow "blown off course" to an emergency layover in Portugal, where the price of fish was coincidentally high and where, even more coincidentally, a cargo of salt and lemons awaited.³⁵ Hadlock's adventure was typical. Never before had such terrible weather broken as many spars or driven American

fishermen so far from home. Never before had those fisherman reaped such wonderful profits thereby. Sometimes the British assisted in this clandestine activity with meetings at sea to exchange goods. On September 17, 1813, Jonathan Haskell's ship *Lark* sailed into its home port of Wiscasset, Maine, with a cargo of sixty-eight casks of copperas, fourteen hogsheads of sugar, seventy crates of crockery, fifty-two packages of dry goods, and thirteen casks of cord wine. Haskell claimed his privateer had "seized" the goods from the British sloop *Traveller* as prizes of war, even though many Wiscasset fishermen knew that the *Traveller* was in convoy with the powerful British man-of-war *Boxer*.³⁶

Like Atlantic fishermen, frontiersmen living on the Canadian border also spirited supplies to the British. The many unguarded roads of rural Vermont and New York were ideal for smuggling. Although wheat had been smuggled from Canada's eastern townships into Vermont as late as 1806, by 1808 flour was moving in the other direction. Illegal commerce on the Vermont border became so flagrant that in 1808, President Jefferson ordered gunboats installed on Lake Champlain.³⁷ It was to little avail. In 1809, Vermonters were still smuggling large amounts of potash, beef, and grain into Canada, and acquiring flour from as far south as Albany.⁵⁸ In January 1809, according to the *Quebec Gazette*, there were 700 sleighs loaded with contraband foodstuffs between Middlebury and Montreal, as well as some beef and mutton on the hoof.³⁸

It was the coasting trade, however, that accounted for most of the wheat smuggled to the British Empire. Some coasters headed directly for Europe or the West Indies, under the pretext of being blown off course. The coaster *Ploughboy* of Bangor, Maine, left Newport, Rhode Island, for Castine, Maine, but somehow ended up in Antigua with a cargo of provisions.³⁹ More often, though, wheat flour and meat were legally shipped to Eastport and other settlements on the eastern border of Maine, where they were quietly ferried across Passamaquoddy Bay on foggy nights to British Nova Scotia. Coastal clearances from Boston to eastern Maine ports increased almost ninefold,

from 57 in 1807 to more than five hundred in 1808. In 1808 alone, 160,000 barrels of flour were shipped to Eastport — far more than the few inhabitants of that lonely frontier outpost possibly could have consumed by themselves. Passamaquoddy Bay swarmed with small craft making nighttime shipments of grain and meat to the nearby British Islands of Campobello, Deer Island, and Grand Manan, as well as to the New Brunswick town of St. Andrews. The grain was exchanged for British manufactured goods.⁴⁰ The flour piled on Eastport's docks came from Maine as well as from Boston. According to *Eastern Argus* reports, in the period between January 1 and June 21, 1804, only 2 of 157 arrivals at Portland harbor came from Passamaquoddy. From June 5, 1810, to January 3, 1811, after the embargo was in place, 32 of 227 arrivals were from Eastport, and 14 of 98 departures cleared for there. The *Argus* reported that arrivals at Portland from Eastport increased from just 6 in 1804 to 35 in 1810 — and the *Argus* did not bother to record the arrival of coasters at Portland in 1810 until June. During the last six months of 1810, more ships cleared Portland for tiny frontier Eastport than all other Maine and New England ports combined, except Boston. More ships arrived in Portland from Eastport than any place except Boston. Eastport had become Portland's second largest trading partner, after Boston, and surpassed all the West Indies trade combined. Shipments to other Maine ports eastward of Portland also increased. (See Table No. 4.)

Not all provisions arrived at Eastport by sea. Some came by road. By 1808 the Passamaquoddy towns were connected to the fertile, wheat-growing Penobscot Valley by a post road.⁴¹ Maine agricultural historian Clarence Day has described sheep drives from Penobscot to Passamaquoddy — mutton bound for the British Empire.⁴² More than two hundred miles west of Eastport, collector Francis Cook in 1814 stopped a west-bound, false-bottomed wagon filled with English manufactured goods (all smuggled, of course) on the post road in Wiscasset. The wagon's owner: one of eastern Maine's Federalist sheriffs, Moses Adams!⁴³

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Table No. 4.
Ship Arrivals and Departures at Portland reported by *Eastern Argus*.

		1804	1806	1808	1810	1812
Boston:	arrivals	113	3	13	64	9
	departures	78	4	7	27	0
Br. West Indies:	arrivals	86	47	8	8	1
	departures	99	27	1	41	0
Eastport:	arrivals	6	1	1	35	3
	departures	18	0	3	20	0
Nova Scotia:	arrivals	26	1	0	3	0
	departures	24	2	0	1	0
Great Britain:	arrivals	13	22	0	8	1
	departures	14	14	0	10	1
Other Maine:	arrivals	10	1	2	30	5
	departures	7	0	6	1	0
Other New	arrivals	26	0	18	62	2
England:	departures	16	0	16	10	0
Other:	arrivals	91	44	17	87	6
	departures	85	33	4	49	11
TOTAL:	arrivals	371	119	59	297	27
	departures	341	80	37	159	12

Harold A. Davis, in his exhaustive study of economic development around Passamaquoddy Bay, concluded that from 1806 to 1814 "Eastport became a vast depot for flour and other provisions which were carried across 'the lines.' ... More crossed at [nearby] Robbinston, and quantities were stored at various [other] points along the coast It was a boom period around Passamaquoddy."⁴⁴ The skipper of the schooner *Raven*, arriving in Portland from Eastport in June 1808, informed the *Eastern Argus* that smuggling was rampant around Passamaquoddy. The *Argus* told its readers:

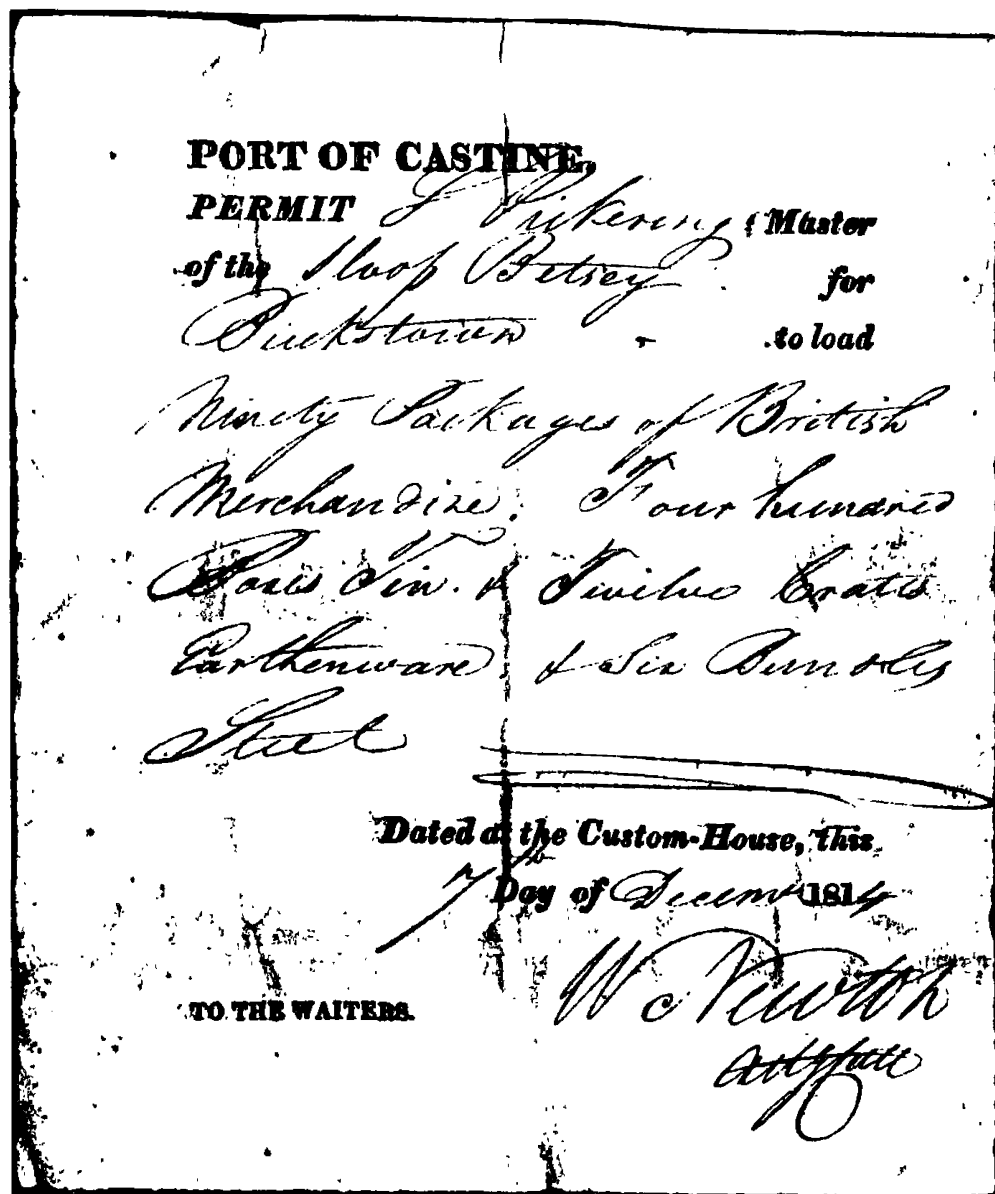
By her we have information that there is no relaxation of Business, at that place, notwithstanding the government force stationed here. The inhabitants were employed at 2 dolls. per day to keep guard over the stores, and yet under cover of every fog,

hundreds of barrels [of flour] a day would find their way across to the British side, where the price was 12.50. So profitable was the boating business, and the standing guard, that the poor people had suddenly become rich.⁴⁵

On one occasion in 1808, Captain Gustavus Nichols of the British warship *Hunter* observed 100,000 barrels of flour laying on Eastport wharves and beaches, and noted that 30,000 barrels arrived in one week alone. Nichols declared smuggling to be Eastport's economic lifeblood.⁴⁶ When the American sloop-of-war *Wasp* arrived in Eastport on May 19, 1808, with the mission of bringing such smuggling to a halt, she found and captured fourteen boats, "laden with flour," heading for the British lines, where two British men-of-war lay waiting to receive their cargoes. The *Wasp's* presence did little good. When her launch was sent on an excursion up the St. Croix River, settlers chased it away, and the British warships were observed every day, in British waters, their "decks covered with flour."⁴⁷

The American government was unable to foil the Eastport smugglers. In addition to sending the *Wasp*, the authorities experimented with shore patrols. Between April 1808 and September 1809, the collector of customs at Eastport, Lewis F. Delesdernier, disbursed \$17,581 in wages to locals hired as guards, but the smuggling continued apace. The result was a surge in the eastern Maine economy. When loyalist Judge Edward Winslow of Nova Scotia visited Passamaquoddy Bay in 1811, he noted the shores of the bay, "which in 1796 were both sides deserts, now exhibit uncommon scenes of enterprise — industry and ability." While Eastporters owned only 85 tons of shipping in 1803, by 1820 they owned 623 tons.⁴⁸

In 1814, a British expedition occupied the town of Castine at the mouth of the Penobscot River, 150 miles west of Eastport, and that town joined Eastport as a depot for smuggled goods until the war ended in 1815.⁴⁹ The British declared Castine an official port of entry, and shipments of English manufactured goods arrived there daily to be offered on good terms in trade for food and lumber.⁵⁰



When British troops occupied Castine in 1814, the way was opened for exchanging British contraband for Penobscot Valley wheat, among other things. The above document is a clearance from the Castine custom house for Captain J. Pickering's sloop *Betsey*, bound for Buckstown (Bucksport). Courtesy James B. Vickery.

The Americans initially accepted the loss of Castine. Inexplicably, they placed a customs station at Hampden, twenty miles up the Penobscot River in the heart of the valley's best farm country, and permitted neutral vessels to enter the river. A Swedish schooner carried goods back and forth between Castine and Hampden, an occurrence noted by the Providence, Rhode Island, *Patriot* on December 10, 1814:

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We have conversed with a gentleman from the District of Maine, who informs us that trade at Castine is very brisk; that there is a constant and great influx and eflux of traders, to such an extent that the town is overflowing The goods purchased by the traders are transported up the Penobscot, to a narrow place where lies a neutral schooner, which is warped backwards and forwards ... where they are regularly entered at the [Hampden] custom house, and the duties paid [V]essels are continually arriving from Halifax; and an accommodation stage is daily running between Hallowell and [Hampden], a distance of 57 miles.⁵¹

Speculators of all stripes flocked to the Penobscot area, and trade in provisions and meat was brisk. Banks were founded in Castine and for a time issued notes.⁵²

As the winter of 1814-1815 set in, the river became easily passable on the ice, and trade in provisions increased. One party of Maine farmers drove twenty-eight or thirty rustled oxen to the British. William D. Williamson, a lawyer at the Penobscot town of Bangor, later recalled:

About the 10th of December [, 1814], a drove of fat cattle ... passed Hampden corner, headed across the river, as though going to the enemy. The Collector at Hampden, Mr. J. Hook, seized them, and sent them to the back part of town to keep: on Saturday night following, they were secretly taken from the barns of their keepers, and a part retaken, and a part conveyed to [British occupied territory].⁵³

The trade around Hampden was so brisk that, during one five-week period, the customs house there collected \$150,000 in duties.⁵⁴

Exemplifying the merchant community of the Penobscot Valley during this time was Joseph Leavitt of Bangor. Leavitt moved to Bangor in 1809 and opened a general store with James Bartlett, offering standard "West Indies Goods," local produce,

oxen, and undoubtedly more. Shopkeeping proved to be less profitable than Leavitt hoped, however, and he became disillusioned with the condition of Maine commerce. His business partner, he wrote in his journal, was inept. In 1811, after witnessing a neighbor make a tidy profit in the West Indies trade, Leavitt resolved to enter the shipping business. In 1813 he built his own ship, the *Aetha*, which he dispatched to Alexandria, Virginia, to "take a load of flour for Cadiz at 15 per barrel." On its maiden voyage, unfortunately, the *Aetha* ran afoul of Spanish authorities and its cargo was confiscated. Further discouraged, Leavitt became an ardent Federalist and outspoken critic of the Jefferson administration, which had authored the embargo and, he believed, indirectly cost him his ship.⁵⁵

Yet Leavitt was not a financial failure. In 1814, while complaining bitterly in his journal about his commercial losses, he pooled enough capital to join other Penobscot County merchants in chartering a bank at Bangor. The source of Leavitt's wealth was apparently agriculture. Attracted by the opportunities he saw in the sparsely settled back-country Penobscot Valley towns, Leavitt had invested heavily in land. While he had commented in 1809 that the "Country around is new, but few settlers, very poor, want credit," he also remarked that "there are some few industrious men lately moved in the back settlements, do well and will soon be wealthy farmers; they report generally favorably of the interior." No farmer himself, Leavitt bought several farms and rented them, collecting a share of the produce. In 1810 he bought 100 acres in the unorganized township of Kirkland (now Hudson) for \$200, another 100 acres in New Ohio Settlement (later incorporated as Corinth) for \$750, and 100 acres in Bangor for \$600. In 1811, he bought another farm at New Ohio, this one for \$1,200. In 1812 he bought a third there, for \$1,300. While his farms had produced maize in 1810, by August 1814, just prior to the British occupation of Castine, he grew wheat and rye and noted good crops.⁵⁶

Leavitt claimed not to have traded with the British himself, and he criticized those who did. In August 1814, he noted in his journal:

I will here notice a circumstance singular, Viz — that there have arrived a large quantity of English goods from Fredericton, in the British Province, said to be worth some thousands of dollars, bro't down the Penobscot in birch canoes, except the carrying place — amongst them the trunks and packages are carried on men's shoulders, and from this place transported to Boston by land at the rate of \$7 per cwt. Some of these goods are regularly entered and the duties paid — but many are smuggled — and the custom house pimps and spies are vigilant and watch for their part of the prey — now and then, make, what they call, a good grab ... a hungry set of wolves, prowling after, prey upon the defenseless lamb However, I will remark that I do not approve of smuggling.⁵⁷

Approving or not, it is clear Leavitt sympathized more with the lamblike smuggler than the ferral customs agents. He was not alone. After 1812, when the war cut off eastern Maine's sea-borne trade, overland trade with Nova Scotia appeared to many as the only business opportunity available. Whether by sleigh or ox-cart along the post road to Passamaquoddy Bay, or by birch-bark canoe up the rivers to Fredericton, eastern Maine's commerce became more and more focused on New Brunswick. And central to this trade was wheat.

Agricultural historians have struggled to explain the sudden popularity of wheat in northern New England (Maine and Vermont) in the years near the beginning of the 19th century. Howard S. Russell and Clarence Day both explained the phenomenon by noting that the newer, fresher soil of the frontier could more easily support a wheat crop, while the exhausted soils in the New England core could not. Perhaps they were right, and certainly Maine's eastern counties were frontier places. Yet so were three of the western counties: Oxford, Kennebec, and Somerset. These three counties, while cropping more wheat in 1811 and 1820 than Maine's three older, southern counties of York, Cumberland, and Lincoln,



only devoted between 20 percent and 30 percent of their 1820 grain crops to wheat, and maize remained the principal crop. We need something other than virgin soil to explain the difference between the western frontier of Maine and its eastern frontier.

Both eastern Maine and northwestern Vermont played important roles in the surreptitious trade in wheat to the British Empire during the Napoleonic Wars. Its European supplies choked off by tariffs and embargoes, Britain turned to Ireland and to the United States for grain. The period 1793-1807 saw Maine vessels engaged increasingly in the West Indies trade and in coastal commerce with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; Vermont, on the other hand, sent goods down the Richelieu River to Canada. Between 1808 and 1815, when the legal trade between the United States and Britain was restricted, a considerable secret trade developed. Although at times Americans carried wheat directly to Europe, the more common pattern was to funnel it through British colonies. The chief arenas for this secret trade were eastern Maine and northwestern Vermont.

On July 7, 1808, the Jeffersonian *Eastern Argus* defended the administration's policy through a fictional parody titled "Dialogue Between a Farmer and the Embargo." It opened with the farmer chancing upon the embargo, which was whimpering in pain. Pressed, the embargo explained, "I am just stretching myself into the country a little to the farmers and planters, and an outrageous dog of a speculator ran over my finger at Passamaquod[dy]." The embargo's identity revealed, the farmer responded with expected Federalist criticism: lamentation of lost profits. "See what fine prices for flour and

sorts of provisions in the West Indies, and yet you will not let us send our produce there.” The embargo, in true Jeffersonian fashion, patiently explained that it had been imposed for the public good. The farmer would have none of it: “General good indeed! Let *me* make cash, and the deuce take the rest. What is posterity to me? I may be dead, perhaps, before any good comes of your interference.”⁵⁸

To the Portland Republicans who edited the *Argus*, the debate over the embargo was not merely a debate over the wisdom of American foreign policy. It was instead a contrast between private gain and the public good. Those who opposed the embargo acted out of greed and a drive for profits. If the foolish farmers would hold their tongues and keep their cows, the *Argus* believed, the embargo would soon be over. The high price of flour was there *because* of the embargo, the *Argus* maintained, and those prices were consequently illusions, mirages that tempted the poor farmer into the desert. Farmers were exhorted to forget profits now, and to consider the plight of their children in a world where Britain was the economic master.

Joseph Leavitt, the Bangor Federalist, saw things differently. The embargo, he believed, harmed Maine shippers, at least the honest ones, and Maine’s economic growth depended on a free and open commerce. Leavitt understood the niaivete of urging farmers to keep their cows fat for several years, grow just enough food to survive, and sit out the storm. Those in eastern Maine were often tenants, with rents to pay, or debtors forever scurrying to reimburse the shopkeeper for seed bought on credit. A landlord and a storekeeper himself, Leavitt well understood the finances of the frontier.

Yet the *Argus’s* farcical debate between the embargo and the farmer, although predictable in its outcome, is not without value. It points out that Maine farmers knew the British Empire was a market for wheat flour and that profits awaited any who could reach that market. It also indicates that Mainers were well aware of the contraband wheat trade at Passamaquoddy Bay — in other words, that the British market lay within their reach.

It is not surprising, then, that eastern Maine farmers, close to the border with New Brunswick, turned their farms from cornfields into wheatfields. What is surprising is that it worked so well. Had former agricultural realities come into play, we should expect the wheat to have almost immediately fallen prey to bad weather, killer frosts, and disease. Instead, winter kept its distance cordially (at least until 1816), and smuts and mildews were curiously absent. The climate had changed, growing warmer and drier and more suited for wheat and less congenial to its diseases. When the Napoleonic Wars ended in 1815 and the British market for Maine wheat evaporated, eastern Maine farmers continued to grow wheat, now for domestic consumption, and were joined in this enterprise by central Maine farmers. They survived bad harvests in 1816 and 1817 ("the year summer never came") and continued profitably farming wheat into the 1830's, when, again, climate and markets shifted. The weather grew colder and damper, making wheat cropping more costly and difficult, just at a time when innovations in transportation made cheap western wheat available in New England. Yet, for a time, Maine had been a granary, and Penobscot Valley would remember the period 1800 to 1840 as its agricultural golden age.⁵⁹

NOTES

¹Maine 1820 agricultural census, in Moses Greenleaf, *A Survey of the State of Maine* (Portland, Maine: Shirley and Hyde, 1829), p. 201.

²William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), pp. 146-56; Douglas R. McManis, *Colonial New England: A Historical Geography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 89-92; Howard S. Russell, *A Long, Deep Furrow: Three Centuries of Farming in New England* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1982), pp. 8-10, 21-23; G. E. Fussell, "An Englishman in America in the 1790's," *Agricultural History* 47 (no. 2, 1973): 114-18; Chester M. Destler, "The Gentleman Farmer and the New Agriculture: Jeremiah Wadsworth," *Agricultural History* 46 (no. 4, 1972): 145.

³Crop yields in the 1780s and 1790s can be found in Russell, *Long, Deep Furrow*, p. 150; G. Melvin Herndon, "Agriculture in America in the 1790's:

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An Englishman's View," *Agricultural History* 49 (no. 3, 1975): 508; Fussell, "Englishman in America," pp. 114-15; W. Ralph Singleton, "Agricultural Plants," *Agricultural History* 46 (no. 4, 1972): 74; Percey W. Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1941), pp. 84-101; Thomas Pownall, *A Topographical Description of the Dominions of the United States of America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1949 [c. 1779]), p. 64. Agriculture in Maine had changed little since John Josselyn described it in 1675: "The planters are ... restless painstakers, providing for their cattle, planting and sowing of corn, fencing their grounds, cutting and bringing home fuel, cleaving of claw-board and pipe staves, fishing for fresh water fish and fowling takes up most of their time, if not all" Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages to New England* (London, 1675; reprinted in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3d ser., 3 [1833]: 318-20, 349-52).

⁴Russell, *Long, Deep Furrow*, pp. 67-68; Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture*, pp. 84-101; Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, p. 153; Destler, "The Gentleman Farmer," p. 145.

⁵Winifred B. Rothenberg, "A Price Index for Rural Massachusetts, 1750-1855," *Journal of Economic History* 39 (no. 4, 1979): 989-90. Rothenberg's price index did not include wheat.

⁶John Adams to Elkanah Watson, August 11, 1812, in Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture*, p. 236.

⁷Clarence Day, *A History of Maine Agriculture, 1604-1860* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1954), p. 66; Russell, *Long, Deep Furrow*, pp. 150-51.

⁸Moses Greenleaf, *A Statistical View of the District of Maine* (Boston: Cummings and Hilliard, 1816), p. 15.

⁹Massachusetts 1811 state tax census, in *ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁰Greenleaf, *Statistical View of Maine*, p. 15.

¹¹Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture*, p. 497. For wholesale wheat prices in New York between 1684 and 1773, see Sung Bok Kim, *Landlord and Tenant in Colonial New York: Manorial Society, 1664-1775* (Williamsburg, Virginia, and Chapel Hill, North Carolina: Institute of Early American History and Culture/University of North Carolina Press, 1978), p. 195.

¹²In 1803 and 1804, the Portland, Maine, newspaper, *Eastern Argus*, listed selected prices paid for various agricultural commodities in the West Indies, as reported by the captains of returning merchant ships. Often, the *Argus* would comment on whether or not it considered the price "dull" or "good." Prices under ten to eleven dollars a barrel for wheat flour were generally recorded as "dull."

¹³Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture*, p. 239.

¹⁴In 1800 the U. S. federal census enumerators in the Penobscot River valley and the upper Kennebec River valley in Maine recorded information as to the place of origin of residents, even though such a question was not part of

the census form. The results, found in the manuscript census, reveal that most of the people living in those areas came from southwestern Maine, eastern Massachusetts (in particular, Cape Cod), and New Hampshire.

¹⁵Day, *Maine Agriculture*, p. 66; Lyndon Oak, *History of Garland, Maine* (Dover, Maine: Observer Publishing Company, 1912), p. 54. ("Corn bread and salt pork were the staple foods.")

¹⁶W. Freeman Galpin, *The Grain Supply of England During the Napoleonic Period* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), pp. 196-98; R. H. Hartwell, "Economic Change in England and Europe, 1780-1830," in C. W. Crawley, ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1965), vol. 9, pp. 31-59; Eli F. Heckscher, *The Continental System: An Economic Interpretation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1922), pp. 336, 339; for a readable account of British and European grain consumption and preferences during this period, see Carl O. Sauer, "European backgrounds of American Agricultural Settlement," *Historical Geography* 6 (no. 1, 1976): 35-57.

¹⁷Heckscher, *Continental System*, pp. 260, 261, 336; Hartwell, "Economic Change in England," p. 38; Galpin, *Grain Supply of England*, appendices.

¹⁸Heckscher, *Continental System*, pp. 261, 337, 340; George Rude, *Revolutionary Europe, 1783-1815* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 249-52; Jacques Godeschot, Beatrice F. Hyslop, David L. Dowd, *The Napoleonic Era in Europe* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), p. 127.

¹⁹Heckscher, *Continental System*, pp. 338, 339; John Bartlett Brebner, *The North Atlantic Triangle: The Interplay of Canada, the United States and Great Britain* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966 [c. 1945]), pp. 76-77, 86-87; Galpin, *Grain Supply of England*, p. 135, note, appendices.

²⁰Brebner, *North Atlantic Triangle*, pp. 76-77; Douglas North, *The Economic Growth of the United States, 1790-1860* (New York: Norton, 1966), p. 40; Galpin, *Grain Supply of England*, p. 135.

²¹Rhoda M. Dorsey, "Baltimore Foreign Trade," in David T. Gilchrist, ed., *The Growth of the Seaport Cities, 1790-1825* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967), pp. 63, 66; G. Terry Sharrer, "The Merchant Millers: Baltimore's Flour Milling Industry, 1783-1860," *Agricultural History* 65 (no. 1, 1982): 138-50.

²²*Eastern Argus* (Portland, Maine), January 6, 1804; Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture*, p. 497.

²³*Eastern Argus*, June 28, July 5, August 9, 1804.

²⁴*Ibid.*, August 30, October 4, 1804.

²⁵*Ibid.*, March 28, April 11, April 18, 1806.

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷Bradford Perkins, *Prologue to War: England and the United States, 1805-1812* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961).

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²⁸The depressed state of trade so discouraged the editors of the *Argus* that they stopped noting even the coasting trade, reporting only four arrivals and seven departures between January and May, 1808. The return of the West Indian fleet was more newsworthy and received considerable attention.

²⁹*Eastern Argus*, February 13, March 3, April 28, 1808.

³⁰Robert G. Albion, William A. Baker, and Benjamin W. Labaree, *New England and the Sea* (Mystic, Connecticut: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1972), p. 78.

³¹*Eastern Argus*, March 23, 1808.

³²Heckscher, *Continental System*, p. 133; Brebner, *North Atlantic Triangle*, pp. 87-88; Galpin, *Grain Supply of England*, p. 146; Albion, et al., *New England and the Sea*, p. 78; Clinton Williamson, *Vermont in Quandry, 1763-1825* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1949), pp. 246-96. The Dutch West Indies island of St. Bartholomews also may have been a smuggling port, especially after 1809. A considerable amount of Portland's foreign trade was directed at that island in 1810.

³³Brebner, *North Atlantic Triangle*, pp. 86-88.

³⁴Heckscher, *Continental System*, p. 133; Albion, et al., *New England and the Sea*, p. 79.

³⁵Albion, et al., *New England and the Sea*, p. 78.

³⁶Fannie S. Chase, *Wiscasset in Pownalborough: A History of the Shire-town and the Salient Historical Features of the Territory Between the Sheepscot and Kennebec Rivers* (Wiscasset, Maine: n.p., 1941), pp. 334-35; Joseph Williamson (?), "Smuggling in Maine in 1813," *Bangor Historical Magazine* 3 (no. 6, 1887), pp. 105-08; Records of the United States District Court (Maine), vol. 3, p. 146; Haskell was brought up on criminal charges and ordered to pay the appraised value of the *Traveller's* cargo to the court (an amount of \$33,887.16). The court commented that it was "fully satisfied that the alleged capture was fraudulent and collusive"

³⁷Williamson, *Vermont in Quandry*, pp. 247, 248-49, 266.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 268; *Vermont Watchman*, October 13, 1809; *Quebec Gazette* February 2, 1809, both in Williamson, *Vermont in Quandry*, p. 268.

³⁹Albion, et al., *New England and the Sea*, pp. 78-79.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 79; Heckscher, *Continental System*, p. 133; Brebner, *North Atlantic Triangle*, p. 88.

⁴¹Town lotting maps in the Hancock and Washington county registries of deeds show such a connection by about 1800.

⁴²Day, *Maine Agriculture*, p. 99. See Russell, *Long, Deep Furrow*, p. 157, for a description of road transportation of poultry during this period.

⁴³Chase, *Wiscasset*, p. 133; Joseph Williamson, "A Nova Scotia University Founded from Duties Levied at Castine, 1814-15," *Bangor Historical Magazine* 3 (no. 9, 1888): 175-76; *Boston Patriot*, November 9, 1814.

⁴⁴Harold A. Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix (1604-1930)* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1950), p. 94.

⁴⁵*Eastern Argus*, June 16, 1808.

⁴⁶Captain Gustavus Nichols to Sir George Prevost, June 30, 1808, in William Wood, ed., *Selected Documents of the Canadian War of 1812* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1920), p. 148; and in Davis, *International Community*, p. 94, note.

⁴⁷*Eastern Argus*, June 12, 1808.

⁴⁸George M. Clarke, "Fog Hid the Knaves of 'Quoddy,'" *New England Galaxy* 8 (no. 3, 1967): 26-35; Davis, *International Community*, pp. 113, 332.

⁴⁹William D. Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine; from Its First Discovery A.D. 1602, to the Separation, A.D. 1820, Inclusive* (Hallowell, Maine: Glazier, Masters & Company, 1832), vol. 2, p. 650; Chase, *Wiscasset*, p. 332.

⁵⁰Williamson *History of Maine*, pp. 654-55.

⁵¹*Patriot* (Providence, Rhode Island), December 10, 1814, in Joseph Williamson, "Smuggling on the Penobscot," *Bangor Historical Magazine* 3 (no. 9, 1888): 175.

⁵²Williamson, *History of Maine*, pp. 654-55.

⁵³William D. Williamson, ms., published in J. Williamson, "Smuggling on the Penobscot," p. 167.

⁵⁴W. Williamson, *History of Maine*, pp. 654-55; J. Williamson, "A Nova Scotia University," pp. 175-76.

⁵⁵Joseph Leavitt's journal, Bangor, Maine, Public Library.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸*Eastern Argus*, July 7, 1808.

⁵⁹David C. Smith, Anne E. Bridges, William R. Baron, Janet TeBrake, and Harold W. Borns, Jr., "Climate Fluctuation and Agricultural Change in Southern and Central Maine, 1776-1880," *Maine Historical Society Quarterly* 21 (no. 4, 1982): 179-200; William R. Baron, "Eighteenth-Century New England Climate Variation and Its Suggested Impact on Society," *Maine Historical Society Quarterly* 21 (no. 4, 1982): 204-18.

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