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THE JOURNALS OF JOSHUA WHITMAN, 1809-1811:
An Analysis of Pre-Industrial Community in Rural Maine

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Marcie Cohen
1985

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Approved, April 1985

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Jerry and Huddy Cohen, for their non-ending support, humor, love, and guidance.

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ABSTRACT

This study is an ethnographic examination of an early nineteenth-century inland Maine community as illustrated in the diaries of Joshua Whitman, 1809-1811. By utilizing the journals of an "ordinary" farmer in the community of Turner, Maine, a detailed picture of a families' daily life appears. This information, ranging from planting patterns and seed types to medicinal remedies for Whitman's children, adds to the traditional political and economic histories to produce a more complete image of early American communities.

This study describes the pre-industrial economy of Turner through an analysis of the early nineteenth-century political climate, agricultural practices, family life, community networks, and trade patterns. A computer analysis of Whitman's trade patterns coupled with his journal entries of daily life depict an extensive network of farmer/craftsmen/merchants and their families entwined in trade, labor-exchange, and social activities.

Editorial note: The Whitman quotations cited throughout this study (unless otherwise identified) are taken from the transcription of the 1809 to 1811 diaries and the untranscribed diaries after 1811. Care has been taken to reproduce the manuscript as accurately as possible. Thus the capitalization, spelling, ampersands, and punctuation appear as in the original. Bracketed phrases are to assist with definition and context of the quotation.

These countrymen in general are a very happy people; they enjoy many of the necessaries of life upon their own farms, and what they do not so gain, they have from the sale of their surplus products: it is remarkable to see such numbers of these men in a state of great ease and content, possessing all the necessaries of life, but few of the luxuries of it; Their farms yield food--much of cloathing--most of the articles of building--with a surplus sufficient to buy such foreign luxuries as are necessary to make life pass comfortably; There is very little elegance among them, but more of the necessaries--a greater capability of hospitality and decent living then is to be found among the few remains of their brethen in England

From American Husbandry, 1775, pp. 49, 50.

The people of the District of Maine, may, in a tedious winter long for the soft breezes of Virginia and the Carolinas; but they would be very unwilling to take the fever and ague, and the other disorders incident to those states, with the gentle weather, in exchange for our northern snowbanks.

From James Sullivan, History of the District of Maine, 1795, p. 8.

THE JOURNALS OF JOSHUA WHITMAN, 1809-1811:
AN ANALYSIS OF PRE-INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY IN RURAL MAINE

:

INTRODUCTION

"JOSHUA WHITMAN'S JOURNAL OF THE WEATHER, ETC."

In 1851 Joshua Whitman, an old man of seventy-five sat down to add another entry to his diary, a project he had begun more than a half-century earlier. His diary entries had changed somewhat from those he wrote when he was a younger man, always the weather, always some trading, but as he grew older, more reminiscing. This time he recalled a two-year old boy and his family's resettlement from Massachusetts to Turner, Maine in 1778. "To both sexes," wrote Whitman, "about 73 years ago I rode behind my grandfather Whitman on horse from Abington, Massachusetts to Boston. Steped on board a coasting vessel. landed at North Yarmouth. Took a road that landed on the bank of the Androscoggin river. I rode behind Mr. Nathan Niles on horseback. Followed the river in a bushed out path."¹ From 1800 to his death in 1856, Whitman kept a diary filled with his memories, the weather, his business transactions, and the personal tragedies and joys of a man and his family. Although he claimed to have begun a journal in 1800, Whitman's first surviving journal dates to 1809. Eleven of Whitman's journals have survived documenting the years 1809-1811, 1816-1820, 1822-1825, 1828,

1834-1844, and 1846-1847. This study focuses primarily on data from the early journals, 1809-1811.

The typical journal entry began with the day of the week, the date, and a faithful notation of the weather. The state of the weather determined all--whether one would repair broken fences or flail beans in the barn, travel to market, visit a neighbor, or spin a skin of yarn for winter mittens. A summary of Whitman's day followed the weather entry. "Friday, May 26, 1809," wrote Whitman. "Some cloudy and little snow and rain. high wind at N.W. I loaded dung, mended hedge fence. drove oxen to plow and rode up to T. Bryant's and put my mare to L. Bryant's horse for 1 dol. the season. Dr. Howe had my mare to ride to J. Bradford's. I took his mare to pasture. I had Wm. Gorham's oxen to plow. S. Soul held plow for me."

Seasonal chores performed upon his farmland, odd jobs completed around his household, and errands run to town were daily recorded by Whitman. Birth and illness were of enough import--and distraction--to merit recording as well. June 6, 1809: "I waited on Miss Whitman, [Joshua's wife, Lucretia]," wrote Joshua Whitman, "She was delivered of a daughter about 2 o clock PM and [Joshua] plow'd in my orchard. Dr. Howe delivered Miss Whitman and took his mare out of my pasture. Ma'am Gorham [Lucretia's mother-in-law] rode up to my house." April 3, 1809: "Dr. Howe let my son Joshua have a portion of pink root

for worms."

Beyond the recording of everyday events, birth, and sickness, Whitman noted special days such as holidays, militia musters, social gatherings, and work parties. "Tuesday July 4, 1809," wrote Whitman. "Independence. Pleasant. I rode down to Town a trooping and carried 1 bushll. corn to Jesse Bradford's mill."

Whitman valued his journals, depending upon his daily inscription for weather data, planting and harvesting information, and above all, a detailed record of his business transactions. Trading locally among neighbors and townsfolk and far afield when traveling to market cities such as Portland and Bath, Whitman's trade was characterized by its diversity. A New England ridge farmer such as Whitman bought goods, sold his own products, traded his labor and that of his family, and lent his animals and land, while relying upon an extensive credit network between neighbors and distant traders. Whitman's journals reveal that trade was far more complicated--and entrepreneurial--than the simple, bucolic vision of the sharp-witted New Englander trading a pound of butter for a pat on the back and some neighborly kindness.

Historians have traditionally viewed the New England pre-industrial economy as a community of active merchant capitalists involved in the seaboard trade and quiet inland farmers living a self-sufficient existence

with no profit mentalité.² The traditional view of pre-industrial "country life" was filled with tactile and sensory images of blazing fireplaces, the smell of fresh baked bread, the comforting feminine sounds of clicking knitting needles, all watched over by a strong male wielding an axe and musket.³ Contrasting historical interpretations regarding this blissful description and the existence--or lack of--a market economy in pre-industrial New England abound.

Some historians have labeled self-sufficiency a myth and stated that the new republic was an economy in which no contrast between market versus non-market activity existed.⁴ In her study of eighteenth-century self-sufficiency in Massachusetts, Bettye Hobbs Pruitt stated that farmers perceived self-sufficiency and commercialization as "complementary, not mutually exclusive modes of agriculture."⁵ Malthusian historians have argued that farmers were motivated by capitalistic values, but were limited by growing population pressure on land and resources.⁶ Marxist historians, New Left historian James Henretta, and early progressive historian Percy W. Bidwell have argued that farmers had no trade desire whatsoever.⁷ Lack of transportation, bad farming practices, but above all, a profound disinterest in entrepreneurial values, caused farmers not to trade.⁸ Since all craftsmen were also farmers, stated Bidwell, there were no

agricultural specialists in the small inland towns, and thus no trade.⁹

Contrary to Bidwell and the non-market historians, farmers' journals reveal that miller-farmers, storekeeper-farmers, and lawyer-farmers did produce a portion of their goods, but actively supplemented their livelihood with traded goods. Pruitt argues that the absence of specialization, combined with the interdependence of farmers increased their reliance upon a market. She presents evidence of large grain purchases by non-grain-producing farmers to support her theory.¹⁰ Farmers like Whitman were involved in one or two steps of the production process and then depended upon neighboring farmer-craftsmen for the completion of processing steps.¹¹ Trade of agricultural produce was certainly limited, but to solely examine trade of produce and exclude other types of trade presents a misleading picture of the New England pre-industrial economy. Trade was alive, active, and diverse when all types of trade, that of land, labor, stock, and skills, as well as agricultural produce, are considered.

Farmers tended to keep records that combined the personal diary and accounting ledger. Unlike an accountant, Whitman failed to record debits and credits in neat rows and columns. Trade information, although exactly noted, was interspersed with a child's illness, marital problems, and mention of the upcoming militia muster. This mixture

of business, personal, and community material provides a unique image of a man's whole life, rather than a limited view of it.

No Whitman home has survived in Turner, Maine where Joshua built his ridge farm, but two boarded-over walls, a healthy apple orchard and the Whitman family grave site speak of the land's past owners. More vocal than the granite tombstones and gnarled apple trees are the surviving diaries that bring Whitman, his family, and community to life. A child's scribbles and practice at penmanship speak of Whitman's children and grandchildren. A worn militia pamphlet shared by Whitman and his neighbors speaks of community responsibilities. A strong legible script speaks of young Whitman's many harvests and trips to market. A feeble scrawl speaks of an aged Whitman still recording the weather and his memories. Fragile remnants of the past, these paper-and leather-bound diaries, ledger books, and old almanac covers can be pieced together to form a clear picture of this northern New England town at the turn of the nineteenth century.¹²

CHAPTER ONE

"I BEGAN ABOUT A HALF CENTURY AGO TO KEEP A JOURNAL"

It was a cold January night on Joshua Whitman's farm in the town of Turner, District of Maine, the "Wild Lands" of Massachusetts. The night was black, but the sky was clear, making it so cold that breathing was labored. The sky was bright with stars and moon above the high ridge farm. A tree cracked. Joshua Whitman momentarily warmed his worn hands at the chimney he built last fall. He pulled a bench up to the fire and opened a new leather-bound book, beginning a "journal of the weather etc. for the year 1809 . . . Wed. Jan. 4, Fair and cold. I broke and swingled flax. Miss Whitman sold Miss Howe 1 lb. Sewit. Thurs. Jan. 5. Cloudy and begins to snow in the PM. I rode down to Jesse Bradford's mill and carried about 1 bushll of wheat and 1 of corn. Settled with B. Swacy. was credited at Blossom and Leonard's Store for 1 iron Bason 3s. paid Nathan Cole 5½ lb. flax and took a receipt in full. Sold J. Leavitt Innholder 2 lb. flax. he paid me cash 2s. paid cash to Dr. Cary 5 Dol. and lodged at Father Gorhams. Friday Jan. 6. Pleasant. I settled with Seth Staples. Paid him 12/6 by way of the Revd. J. Strickland brown ware. Bot 3 bowls of R. Thorp and agreed to give

him lb. flax. Brought home my cloth that J. Haley has been pressing and went into the wood of slead Shoes."

A journal meant for holding thoughts, business accounts, a record of the weather and the day's activities conveys much more about society than Whitman expected. A mare used for short-distance travel; an established community with saw mill, grist mill, and fulling mill; a well-traveled trade route dotted by inns; a woman selling her surplus farm goods to another woman; the passing of notes, receipts, deeds, and mortgages; family relations and seasonal activities fill the picture drawn from Whitman's journals. It is a complicated scene--far from a simple setting of self-sufficient farmers isolated on pastoral farms. The people were intricately entwined, animating the picture with complex activity.

Through Whitman's journals, the community takes on three-dimensional form--it was peopled with doctors, farmers, craftsmen, mothers, children, storeowners, innkeepers, ministers, drovers, and ferrymen. There were buildings--a grist mill, a saw mill, blacksmith shops, stores, and inns. The boundaries of the community were shaped by trade networks, not stone fences, and extended ties to Portland, Bath, and Hallowell, Maine. The landscape was filled with pastures for livestock, planted crops, and apple orchards.

Without the journals, the town history is still

known; the events occurring in American history at the turn of the nineteenth century are well documented; the politicians are praised and glorified. Missing from the standard histories are the ordinary men--and women--who lived in the settlements, their connections and the activities that filled their days. Joshua Whitman's journals provide a sense of this neglected community. Social history, as viewed in the diaries, contributes to the understanding of the daily life of early Americans. Whitman's journals illustrate the fundamental details and patterns of life that occurred day after day, alongside of political scandals and wars. Realizing what food people ate, how they obtained it, and on what wares they served it, are but a few of the many questions that can be answered from diary sources to provide a more complete view of early American history.

Joshua Whitman wrote of Turner as it was coming of age. Thirty years earlier the town had been drastically different. A settlement existed, but only on paper and in the minds of the "original proprietors" who sat in a Massachusetts tavern in July 1768 discussing their recent land grant.¹

As recompense for military service, soldiers were offered grants of land. In Massachusetts, grants were extended to the District of Maine, which was not to become a separate state until 1820. Turner, originally known as

Sylvester-Canada, was granted to Captain John Sylvester and Company by the General Court of Massachusetts for their military services in the invasion of Canada under Sir William Phipps in 1690.² The township was granted to sixty original proprietors, their duties being "within six years to settle Thirty Families in said Town, build a house for publick worship, and settle a learned Protestant Minister, and lay out one sixty-fourth part for a Grammar School, and one sixty-fourth part for the use of Harvard College."³

The proprietors agreed upon the location of the township and proceeded to interest settlers in the new grant. Unfortunately, Sylvester-Canada did not look very tempting to Massachusetts colonists. Lack of roads, bridges, mills, unsettled relations with England, and the threat of Indians hindered settlement attempts. The original proprietors could not give it away--and they tried. Trespassers plagued the proprietors by cutting pine from the forests and hay from the meadows.

The next plan was to offer bounties of six pounds to each settler who would take a lot, build a home and clear five acres of land.⁴ The last effort of the proprietors--they had already sought an extension of three years from the General Court--was the offer of a $\frac{1}{4}$ 4-10 shilling bounty and two lots, one house and one mill lot, to any willing settler.⁵ The bait worked and in 1772 the

first settlers arrived in Sylvester-Canada. By 1780 the township had twenty-five families and twelve single men, but no meeting house or minister.⁶ In 1782 a meeting house was erected and on September 20, 1784, the Reverend John Strickland became the first minister.⁷ On July 7, 1786, the plantation of Sylvester-Canada was incorporated into the town of Turner, named after Charles Turner, an agent for the original proprietors.⁸

The problems of settling Turner reflected an ongoing controversy concerning the worth of the District of Maine. "Some part of the community seemed to consider it as a barren, frozen region unfit for the support of man, and unworthy the attention of the legislature," wrote surveyor Moses Greenleaf in 1816, "Others viewed it as rich beyond calculation, and almost inexhaustible."⁹ Greenleaf argued that the summer was of sufficient length to support the production of most fruits and vegetables generally cultivated in New England.¹⁰ He reported the 1790 population for Maine at 96,308 and for Oxford County, to which Turner belonged, a population of 349 in 1790, 722 in 1800, 1129 by 1810, and 1726 by 1820.¹¹ Settlement had firmly taken hold by the turn of the nineteenth century, suggesting some agreement on Maine's positive worth.

The first decade of settlement in the nineteenth century still felt the reverberations of the American Revolution. Although a blow to farming, war had stimulated

internal industry and the manufacture of military goods. Soldiers returned to abandoned farmsteads and over-grown fields, but soon encountered increasing industrialism and better transportation networks. "Joseph Barnard, the old mail carrier, got up a two horse wagon in January," noted the Reverend Samuel Deane in 1787, "and put forth a most attractive advertisement stating that he should leave Motley's tavern every Saturday morning, arrive in Portsmouth on Monday; and leaving Portsmouth Tuesday, arrive in Portland on Thursday."¹²

Accompanying better transportation was the rapid growth of lumbering, fishing, and shipbuilding in Maine. It was an unusual man not involved in one of these trades full or at least part-time.¹³ Trade figures for the port of Portland, reported by Samuel Deane in 1793, stated 11,173 tons carried on thirteen ships, twenty-four brigs, twenty-three schooners, and twenty sloops.¹⁴ "New England enjoys a vast fishery and a great trade," wrote the anonymous author of American Husbandry, "which brings it no slight portion of wealth. The most considerable town in all American is in this province [Boston] and another circumstance is the increase of population."¹⁵

Ships procured their provisions and took on export goods destined for New England port cities, the West Indies, southern states and England. Butter, beef, cheese, tallow, pork, corn, wheat, and flour were loaded for the

crew, oats and pressed hay for the export livestock. Fish, potash, beef, pork, corn, flour, apples, cider, lumber, flax, salt hay, draft animals and livestock crowded the export docks in the early 1800s. "Ships come very regularly to all the ports of this coast to take in loadings of corn, salted provisions, and lumber for the West Indies," noted the author of American Husbandry, "by which the farmers (who are also engaged pretty deeply in the fishery on these coasts) have a ready opportunity of conveying all their surplus to a ready market."¹⁶

English manufactures such as iron, West Indian molasses, rum, sugar, salt, and indigo were imported to the New England ports where they were exchanged or sold for export goods.¹⁷ Merchant capitalists were concerned with the inland market for their goods and developed networks that linked the major port cities with the inland towns. Agents of seaport merchants often settled in the inland towns, perhaps as storekeepers acting as middlemen between farmer-craftsmen and the merchants.¹⁸ Whitman repeatedly noted in his journal the trade trips to port cities and his purchases of export goods from local stores. "February 5 1809.," wrote Whitman, "Sot off from home at 12 o clock at noon. paid cash 4½d. for 1 gill of gin. pass'd through Green. paid cash at Esqr. Merick's 8 cents for 1 mug cider. paid cash at Dingley's Tavern 8 cents for 1 gill rum. paid cash at Procktors 8 cents for 1

ditto. put up at 4 o'clock in the morning at Owins tavern in Brunswick...February 6, 1809. I sold butter for 10d pr. lb. cheese for 8 cts. shoats or pork for 5 cents pr. lb. sold turkeys for about 7 cents pr. lb. mustard seed for 20 cents pr. qt. sold my cheese to Daniel Stone bot board nails $\frac{1}{2}$ m. 6s. 1 Iron shovel 6s/9d. salt 1 Dol. pr. bushll. Desk trimmings for the draws was 2s. for each draw, lock ls. butts 6d. screws $4\frac{1}{2}$ doz. tea lb. 1\$ and had other small articles."

Trade and manufacture were dealt a severe blow by the 1806 Non-Intercourse Act, the 1807 Embargo Act, and the ensuing War of 1812. Heavily dependent on sea-related trade, Maine particularly felt the strains produced by restrictions forbidding trade with the British. Samuel Deane recorded a drop of nine thousand tons in shipping for Portland harbor following the Embargo Act of 1807 and spoke of "wretchedness as I have never before witnessed."¹⁹ Poor houses were filled with unemployed sailors and devastated merchants. "A large number of the most wealthy merchants have already failed," wrote the minister, "and numbers more are daily following so that we are threatened with universal bankruptcy."²⁰

A rise in domestic manufacture resulted from the worsening situation with the British. As of 1810 Moses Greenleaf noted in Maine the manufacture of "cotton cloth, blended and unnamed cloth, woolen, looms, carding machines,

fulling mills, spindles, hats, furnaces, and forges, Trip hammers, Naileries, augers, soap, shoes and boots, saddleries, tanneries, flax-seed oil, spirits distilled, carriages made, paper, rope walks, cordage, manufacture of iron, gold, silver, tin, lead, tallow and oil, and wood of all kinds."²¹

Beyond increased manufacture farmers were encouraged to meet their own needs at home as much as possible. "Economy now calls your attention to your maple trees," wrote Thomas Bailey in the March 1807 Farmer's Almanack. "Make all the sugar you can, for you know not what may happen to prevent its importation."²² The Farmer's Almanack praised such activity for promoting independence from England, but also for supporting a moral economic system not dependent on slave labor.²³

Changes in village economy between 1780 and the 1830s can be directly related to the rise of merchant capitalists.²⁴ These men, equipped with monetary resources, took risks, sought larger markets, and began production of standardized goods at lower costs.²⁵ The gradual shift from home production led to a market-oriented economy and large factory system.²⁶ Increased market-trade and industrialism were joined by a growing population, advances in technology and transportation, and better agricultural methods.

Agricultural reform writers encouraged farmers

to shed old-fashioned, subsistence methods and to move towards more modern scientific practices. "The farmer who manages his business ignorantly and slothfully, and who produces from it only just enough for the subsistence of his family, pays no tolls on the transit of his produce and but a small tax upon the nominal value of his land," wrote Jesse Buel, a leading agricultural reformer of the 1830s, "Instruct his mind and awaken him to industry" ²⁷ Whitman joined the agricultural reform bandwagon by sharing his improved practices through published letters to Ezekiel Holmes, editor of the Maine Farmer, a progressive agricultural newspaper of the 1830s. ²⁸ The speed-up of market activity is illustrated in Whitman's diaries of 1809-1811, as he recorded daily transactions with the grist mill, saw mill, and general stores. Turner was gradually changing from a frontier outpost to an active mill town and trading center.

The first lots in Turner were laid out upon Upper Street and Lower Street, three-fourths of a mile apart. Upper Street, part of a major trade route from north of Turner south to Portland, ran the length of a long ridge dotted with farms, taverns, the first meeting house, a school, and cemeteries. It was upon Upper Street that Joshua Whitman settled his family. West of the ridge Joshua viewed a large valley and the distant White Mountains. To the east, he looked upon "intervale,"

defined by Samuel Deane as "land on the border of a river commonly high and dry and fit for tillage."²⁹ Reverend Paul Coffin noted Turner in his travel diary describing his trip through inland Maine in 1796. "Turner is beautiful," wrote the minister, "The roads, houses, and farms make the town appear old, improved, and very agreeable. This was much the prettiest place seen since I had left Gorham. This town is 25 years old and yields to few inland towns in America for its agriculture."³⁰

Joshua Whitman lived upon this high ridge farm with his wife Lucretia, both born in the year that America declared its independence. "These countrymen," wrote the author of American Husbandry of the New England farmer, "are in general a very happy people; they enjoy many of the necessaries of life upon their farms; and what they do not gain, they have from the sale of their surplus products."³¹ The Whitman household easily fit such a description. To call Whitman a farmer, however, is limiting; to call him the sole breadwinner of the family is misleading. More accurately, Joshua was in charge of a household economy, heavily dependent on the work and the contribution of each family member. Sons were reared to work with their father. "My boys commonly work with me though I seldom mention their names." wrote Whitman. Daughters quickly learned the duties of their mother and assisted her with women's work.

The mother-daughter relationship was at the center of a complex female world, bound together by church, domestic chores, and biological patterns.³² Marriage and pregnancy, childbirth and weaning, sickness and death brought women together to assist each other with the physical and mental stress of such events.³³ Frequent extended visits linked women and their children in a close society offering domestic help and sympathy during times of need.³⁴ The image of the isolated New England woman, alone and struggling to keep family together proves false when visiting patterns are analyzed.³⁵ Ties between non-residential kin were strong and numerous.³⁶

Husbands' and wives' responsibilities were tightly meshed and interdependent. A man slaughtered the cow; his wife prepared and salted the beef. A man cradled the grain; his wife baked the flour into bread. A man took the money crops to market, but left his wife in charge of the household and farm.³⁷

Joshua Whitman frequently noted his wife's lending of equipment, trade, or selling of goods while he was absent. October 31, 1809: "Miss Whitman lent my plow to Capt. Sawtell," January 17, 1810: "Miss Whitman sold Dr. How 3 lb. butter for 9d per lb. providing butter don't fetch any more when I go to Portland." Being at the center of the diverse household activities a woman often dealt with her absent husband's work, creditors, hired help,

and trade.³⁸ Business that was local and personal and carried on within the domestic environs allowed a wife to assume the role of "deputy husband."³⁹

Although women moved comfortably between field, home, and town, occasional criticism was voiced to limit her sphere of influence. "All things must give way to necessity; yet what need is there for a woman to leave her domestic concerns, go into the field, and like an Amazon wield the pitchfork and the rake?", wrote Thomas Bailey of the Farmer's Almanack in 1809. "Remember she is the mistress of thy house;"⁴⁰

Joshua Whitman and his family followed patterns little changed from those of their forefathers. Raising a few crops and livestock, selling or trading the surplus, and exchanging labor was a standard lifestyle for small New England homesteaders. Patterns, particularly agricultural, were ingrained and difficult to change. "The principle defects in our husbandry," wrote Yale President Timothy Dwight in 1822, "are a deficiency in the quantity of labor necessary to prepare the ground sufficient for seed, insufficient manuring, the want of a good rotation of crops, and slovenliness in cleaning the ground."⁴¹ "Nor do I know of any country in which animals are worse treated," wrote the author of American Husbandry, "A New Englander . . . will ride his horse full speed twenty or thirty miles; tye him to a tree, while he does

business, then re-mount, and gallop back again. This same bad treatment extends to draft oxen; to their cows, sheep, and swine."⁴² From shallow plowing of fields to abusive treatment of livestock, criticism of New England farming at the turn of the nineteenth century abounded.⁴³

Improvements in agriculture increased towards the close of the eighteenth century. Educated farmers such as Dr. Jared Eliot and Samuel Deane began to publish scientific agricultural literature to promote better farming methods, including material from such agricultural reformers as Jethro Tull's 1751 Horse-Hoeing Husbandry.⁴⁴ By the early 1820s and 1830s, a variety of magazines appeared, including The Maine Farmer's Almanac, The Farmer's Almanack, New England Farmer, and The Maine Farmer.⁴⁵ "I sent two dozen of the New England Farmer to Messrs. Guild and Blake.", wrote author Deane, "They engage to pay me for each book . . . that I shall call for at the going cash price."⁴⁶ Maine agricultural societies, such as the Kennebec Agricultural Society (1787), the Oxford Agricultural Society (1814, in which Turner participated), and the Maine Agricultural Society (1818) promoted farming improvements and backed the founding in 1822 of the Gardiner Lyceum, an agricultural school.⁴⁷

Tools, equipment, and livestock gradually improved throughout the nineteenth century as a result of the new scientific agriculture. During most of the eighteenth'

century, farming tools were handmade by the farmer and finished with iron points and pieces by the blacksmith. Small-tool manufacturers increased at the turn of the century, lessening the farmer's need to produce handmade tools.⁴⁸

Standard equipment for a farmer such as Whitman and most likely shared by several neighboring farmers, included a plow, harrow, cart, sled, log land roller, scythe, sickle, fork, rake, flail, riddle, sieves, hoe, spade, mattocks, sheep shears, ox yokes, harness, chains, flax brake, hatchel, and grain cradle.⁴⁹ Heavy shovel plows made of wood and sheathed with iron were gradually replaced by cast iron plows in the late 1790s.⁵⁰ Standardized plows with interchangeable parts appeared around 1819.⁵¹ Hay rakes, mechanical seeders, and threshing machines were developed in the early 1800s, but like most of the new equipment, little utilized by the typical New England farmer. Not until the second half of the nineteenth century did such equipment become widely available and priced to be afforded by an average farmer such as Whitman.

Livestock improvements centered on the introduction of better breeds, such as merino sheep and Morgan horses. William Jarvis, American consul to Spain, imported two-hundred merinos to the United States in 1810. Joseph T. Wood of Wiscasset, Maine advertised in the Hallowell

American Advocate that on October 25, 1810 he would auction several imported merinos.⁵² Merino wool was somewhat longer, much softer, and less gummy than the coarse wool of native New England sheep. Morgan horses, developed in West Springfield, Massachusetts during the 1790s, displayed short muscular legs and greater strength than the average New England horse.⁵³

Like newer farm equipment, better livestock slowly appeared on the New England scene. As of 1809 Whitman may have heard of the new merinos and Morgans by way of the Hallowell newspaper, but the chances were small that he acquired either. Such rarities and time for experimenting with new agricultural techniques were left to men such as Charles Vaughan of Hallowell, who formed the Kennebec Agricultural Society and developed a Scotch grain cradle for cutting oats.⁵⁴ Men of means could experiment, but wasted time and a lost crop meant a sparse table for Whitman's family.

The family economy was based on agricultural produce and livestock, but supplemented by a variety of activities. Whitman, like most settlers in Turner, probably owned between fifty and two hundred acres of land, ten to fifteen acres of which was arable, and the rest divided into woodland, pasture, and hay ground.⁵⁵ The average farmer in 1820 owned twenty-five acres of virgin forest, a similar area of second growth, twenty acres of pasture,

the same of mowing field, six acres of grain and hoed crops, and two acres of orchard.⁵⁶ Hay lands were not consciously cultivated until the nineteenth century.

Until the end of the eighteenth century, farmers had been haphazard in seeding grasslands, using seed mixed with chaff--and weeds--from the barn floor.⁵⁷

Year-round mixed husbandry was practiced by most New England farmers who planted cereal grains (wheat, corn, oats, barley, and rye) and storage crops (potatoes, onions, carrots, squash, pumpkins, cabbages, parsnips, and turnips). A common rhyme of the early nineteenth century by John Lowell spoke of the plentiful supplies of storage crops. "For pottage and puddings and custards and pies; Our pumpkins and parsnips are common supplies."⁵⁸ Surplus of storage crops served as trade products and as fodder for livestock. The planting season of 1809 proceeded as follows for Whitman. May 2: "I began to sow my grain. Sow'd $\frac{1}{2}$ bushll rye." May 3: "I sow'd $\frac{1}{2}$ bushll wheet and 1 peck of pease." May 15: "sot out 17 apple trees." May 17: "Sow'd about $2\frac{1}{2}$ pecks of wheet and $1\frac{1}{2}$ peck flax seed." May 22: "Planted corn potatoes and beens." June 23: "Planted potatoes where the beens failed." June 24: "Planted potatoes where the squirrels dug up my corn and put ashes on my corn."

Kitchen gardens and apple orchards were standard features of small farms. Thomas Bailey of the Farmer's

Almanack in 1807 encouraged the cultivation of kitchen gardens, remarking that "farmers in general too much neglect their gardens. The more sauce [garden vegetables] we eat, the less meat we want."⁵⁹ Women tended the kitchen garden, located near the home for the cook's convenience, in which most of the garden "sass" [sauce] or garden greens were planted. Timothy Dwight noted on his 1816 tour of New England innumerable varieties of vegetables cultivated in these gardens for the table.⁶⁰ Men set out some twenty-two varieties of apple trees in the spring, applying manure around the base of the trees late in the winter to spur their growth. "There is no farmer, or even cottager without a large orchard," noted the author of American Husbandry. "Some of them to such extent that they make 3 or 4 hundred hogshead of cyder a man, besides exporting immense quantities of apples from all parts of the province."⁶¹ Dwight observed that "Cider is the most common drink of all its inhabitants, the rich and poor alike. In a fruitful year, the apples are very often given to those who will gather them. Vast quantities of them also are eaten by cattle and swine."⁶² New England women made apple sauce and apple pie long after apples were in season, having dried and stored the apples in the fall.

Besides the cereal crops, root crops, kitchen garden, and orchard, a small farm was made complete by the presence of livestock. The well-to-do farmer owned one or

two horses for traveling, four or five milking cows, ten to twenty sheep, two to four pigs, poultry including turkeys, chickens and geese--prized for their quills and feathers for stuffing mattresses, and at least one pair of oxen. New England farmers favored oxen because "they may every way be used instead of horses, bridled and rid; harnessed and driven in waggons, plows, etc.," wrote John Beale Bordley, an agricultural writer in 1801.⁶³ Each man chose a team using his own tried and tested methods. Samuel Deane picked a team according to color as well as build; "red and white are good, but darkest color oxen are best. Brown, dark red, and brindled are good colors."⁶⁴ After serving their use as draft animals, oxen could be slaughtered for beef for family use or salted for sale or trade.

Until the introduction of the merino, sheep were primarily raised for home textile manufacture and not sold commercially by the farmer. "Their [New Englanders] mutton is good," noted the author of American Husbandry, "and the wool which their sheep yield is long but coarse, but they manufacture it into coarse cloths that are the common and only wear of the province except the gentry, who purchase the fine cloths of Britain."⁶⁵

Until the nineteenth century most farmers let their hogs roam freely in the woods to feed on beechnuts and ground cover. After harvest, the hogs were penned

up and fattened on Indian corn. Hogs were commonly slaughtered after eighteen months or at two-hundred pounds. Pork was a food staple, as practically the entire pig--except the tail--could be used. Barrelled salt pork was also a desirable trade good requested as provisions for sailing vessels.

Beyond raising livestock and crops for their own use and as surplus to be sold or traded, a family "poor in property" but wealthy in human resources traded their own labor and crafts to supplement the household income.⁶⁶ Almost daily Whitman sold and traded seasonal goods and skills such as maple syrup, lumber, and the use of his horse and wagon. February 14, 1809: "I mended Patty Strickland's loom and she paid me 1 milk pan and we are to be even," wrote Whitman. April 27, 1810: "Sold a tinman 9 cat skins [bobcats] for 50 cents and had for pay 1 tin quart 25 cents and 1 large funnel 25 cents." September 18, 1811: "Gave A. Soul an obligation for a woodhouse frame and shed woodhouse to be 30 feet by 34, shed 16 by 42 feet. Calculated to be 1½ story high and the said Soul gave me a note for forty dollars."

An extension of the trade network resulted in the hiring of single men and women to help out with the workload. Joshua Whitman frequently recorded the comings and goings of young women hired to assist Lucretia for anywhere from a day to a month. Neighbors, not strangers,

exchanged labor.⁶⁷ Hiring a young neighbor girl was convenient and provided a type of womanly apprenticeship for the girl. August 3, 1809: "Miss W paid Ruth Phillips $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. wool for 17 days work," noted Whitman. Seldom did a day pass that Joshua failed to exchange his labor or goods with a male neighbor. He frequently spent a portion of a day or a few days working for a neighbor. Joshua hired local young men, usually sons of neighbors, to assist him with farm work during the busy seasons. "I rode to S. Foster's," wrote Whitman, "and hired one of Mr. Andrew's sons the month of haying. Am to pay him in the month of Feb., 20 dol." Just as Lucretia taught women's work to the female hired help, Joshua taught the young men farming skills.

Task orientation, not time discipline, directed the lives of agrarian-based families such as the Whitmans.⁶⁸ December 8, 1810: "I finished framing my shed," wrote Joshua, "and in the evening we raised it by moon and lantern light." Women's work was particularly task-oriented, since being manager of a home and children did not stop after the evening meal.⁶⁹ The lack of time-discipline is reflected in the early proverb, "Man works from sun to sun, but woman's work is never done."

Seasonal tasks structured the lives of the Whitman family. A literate farmer such as Whitman most likely reviewed the monthly almanac "calendar" for additional

guidance regarding seasonal work (see p.69) A December 1796 calendar from the Farmer's Almanack told the farmer, "Very little can be done on a farm, this month to much profit. Lay in dry fuel, while the snow keeps off. Prepare and put in order, your sleds and sleighs as they will come in use very soon. Look well to your barns, and fattening herds.--Live temperately, and spend frugally."⁷⁰

Winter (December through February) was a time for mending and making new equipment, threshing grains and beans, logging, market trips, and indoor activities. Flax was broken and swingled, livestock butchered, and roads cleared for the district. Inside the house, Whitman cobbled shoes, made harness and horse equipment, crafted brooms, and repaired looms.

Spring (March through May) was a season of anticipation and preparation. Equipment was readied for planting and poles cut for fencing. Plows were repaired and fields dressed with manure. By late spring the fields were plowed and harrowed, and spring wheat and rye were planted. Maple trees were tapped for making sugar and syrup. Grain continued to be thrashed and hauled to the mill. Flax was broken and swingled. Brush was piled and "negro'd or sot on fire," apple trees were set out, stones dug from damp fields for chimney and fence building, and animals born.

Summer (June through August) began with full-scale

planting and continued plowing of fields. As plants grew, rows were hoed and cultivated. Barns and corn-houses were built and raised. July and August were haying season and dominated by sharpening the scythes, mowing the grass-fields, and bringing in the hay to store in the barn. Fencing continued and late seed was planted. Harvest began in late August with reaping and binding of grains, cutting corn, hoeing and harvesting vegetables, pulling, and stacking and winnowing flax plants. Blackberries ripened for picking.

Fall (September through October) was the final season of harvest and preparation for winter. Flax was spread on fields to rot, corn stalks were put into shocks, grain bound, beans pulled and potatoes dug. Geese were plucked, some animals were butchered for winter, and food storage facilities were readied. Storage vegetables were hauled from the fields and stored in the root cellar. Wood was cut for hauling to the saw mill or to be stored in the woodshed. Late fall was marked by corn huskings, plowing, and spreading of manure upon the harvested fields. Winter wheat was sown and stumps dug out of fields. Chimneys were mended for long winter use. Cattle were moved into the barn as the weather turned cold.

Seasonal activities were shared by the community, and bound families into similar patterns. "Changing works" or exchanging labor was a way of life, although the

Farmer's Almanack advised men not to neglect their own farms for the care of another man's farm.⁷¹ Seasonally-dictated tasks and the continual exchange of labor and goods caught neighbors in a "social web."⁷² Integral parts of this web were the social activities and civic responsibilities of the community members.

"Socials" were a mixture of work and recreation in a community that did not emphasize sharp divisions between social time and work time. Summer barn raisings and barn dances, fall corn huskings and corn-house raisings, and winter quilting and spinning bees filled the seasons with activity. Thomas Bailey of the Farmer's Almanack warned farmers that work parties "will turn out a losing," if the fun was not monitored. "In husking there is some fun and frolick," wrote Bailey, "but on the whole, it hardly pays the way; for they will not husk clean, since many go more for sport than to do any real good."⁷³

Visiting linked neighbors in a social network that promoted mutual trade, sharing of work tasks, and comfort during crisis. Visitors appeared frequently and unannounced, determining the length of their stay by weather or road conditions rather than time. Kinship was the most frequent relationship between visitors within the community.⁷⁴ The Whitman family regularly stopped to visit and lodge with Joshua's step-father and mother, "Father and Ma'am Gorham." August 17, 1809: "I rode down to

Father Gorham's with Miss Whitman and 5 of my children a visiting. had Wm. Gorham's horse." Likewise, Ma'am Gorham visited the Whitman home to share work tasks and assist with the birth of Joshua and Lucretia's children.

Neighbors came together weekly at Sunday meeting or church service. Whitman regularly recorded his meeting attendance, often visiting the Universalist and Methodist meetings in the same day. Whitman, a Universalist, joined the church with his half-sister Abigail Gorham in 1819.⁷⁵ Whitman recorded the "meeting" at which Brother Issac Root and the Reverend John Strickland attended. Holidays were simply noted by Whitman and appeared to take on little importance during the course of a work day. Independence Day, not Christmas, merited a family trip into town to participate in the celebration. Thanksgiving, Candlemas on February 2, and Fast Day were also mentioned by Whitman.

Joshua Whitman regularly noted the dutiful performance of his civic responsibilities, such as "clearing pathes for the destrict," voting, attending town meeting, paying and boarding the school master, testifying in court, serving as the clerk of the school district, and participating in the militia. An 1809 journal entry recorded a "muster." By 1811, perhaps as a result of increased British military presence, Whitman recorded several militia events. September 10, 1811: "I rode to I. Leavitt's and up to Col. Woodberry's in Livermore to the annual

training." October 7, 1811: "Went to Ensign Soul's with a number of others to discharge small arms at 4 o'clock in the morning to keep up old customs. Rode down to Seth Staples to training with 3 companies." October 11, 1811, "I rode to Jay point to training. Join'd the regiment and paid cash 9d for $\frac{1}{2}$ pint of cherry rum. Rode to Buckfield and paid cash 3 cents for flints and tobacco at Lorings Store and join'd the squandron of horse companies."

From militia duty in Buckfield and hauling grain to Bradford's mill, to caring for a sick child, Joshua recorded the events of daily life in a turn-of-the-century northern New England community. His journals speak of interdependence among people, rather than isolated self-sufficiency. Joshua and his wife Lucretia were entwined daily with neighbors, be it to sell a pound of butter, lend a hog, or raise a barn.

A vibrantly detailed picture of Joshua emerges from the journals. He was a literate man and meticulously kept his accounts. He cared for his wife and shared household responsibilities with her. He was a dutiful father, provided for his children, sent them to school, and taught his sons the skills he possessed. As a farmer, he tended grain, storage crops, and vegetables, raised some livestock, built and mended chimneys, crafted his and other's farm equipment, made shoes and brooms, repaired

looms, and traveled to market. The list of activities is endless, suggesting that to farm a man needed a multitude of skills, and these he shared and exchanged with his neighbors. Joshua was a dutiful citizen and met his civic responsibilities. Weekly, he traveled to Sunday meeting.

Joshua also provided a picture of his wife, Lucretia, through his journals. She was an industrious woman, as any woman was expected to be. Raising children and managing the homestead were her duties, including the trade with neighbors of butter, feathers, cheese, vegetables, and skills such as spinning and weaving. Joshua entrusted Lucretia to lend equipment and surplus while he was away from home.

Joshua's journals reveal that life was not free from burdens or weighty problems. Life was exceedingly full, each season presenting challenges and risks to be faced. Weather was uncertain and could devastate a year's harvest. Disease could take an entire flock of sheep; a mare could fall and be of no more use. Markets fluctuated as a result of unstable conditions with Britain. Floods, crop blights, animal disease, and family illness were encountered by Joshua and his family.

Joshua lived in a time of anticipation. Throughout his lifetime, he witnessed the growing numbers of incoming mills and industries, the development of improved

farm equipment and better breeds of livestock. But change was gradual--not until late in the nineteenth century was change felt by a farmer like Whitman, such that he could afford the new plow or his wife could buy cloth rather than weave it. In the meantime, days went on as usual--filled with chores, meal preparation, trade, visiting, tending the fields and animals, child care, listening for the first frogs to peep, watching for the first snow flakes to fly. "Pleasant. N.W. wind," wrote Joshua on April 10, 1810, "good sap weather. Jesse Leavitt and I fell and junk'd dry trees. I lent Capt. Sawtell my oxen about 2 hours to haul wood. I hear'd a robin sing at night, the first I noticed."

CHAPTER TWO

"I SETTLED WITH HIM AND PASSED RECEIPTS."

September 1840. Yellow maples and the ripe apples of his orchard greeted Joshua Whitman as he looked upon his farm at North Turner Bridge. He strained to remember the deep forest that had met him upon his arrival in 1798. Ezekiel Holmes, editor of the Maine Farmer, assured Whitman that others were interested in an early settler's memories. Whitman sent Holmes a few of his diary entries that he had kept for forty years; November 7, 1840: "Mr. Holmes: Let it be understood I began on my farm in the woods, with only a bushed out road, but little traveled, and only by a few settlers. Records made of cutting down trees, chopping and piling logs, cannot be very interesting to your subscribers."¹

Whitman was mistaken--the subscribers were interested, for through Whitman's memories one could gauge change. Whitman's journals, kept from 1800 till his death in 1856, illustrated the effect of change over time upon landscape, agriculture, trade, and community. By 1840 Whitman's "farm in the woods" little resembled the 1798 picture. Whitman had seen Turner become a populous mill village much changed from the sparsely settled grant

of 1772.

Whitman's farm diaries recorded the rhythms of daily life, providing a "thick description" of a Maine community.² Analysis of Whitman's "descriptions" reveal how trade functioned in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Trade is an integral piece of the community puzzle and cannot be extracted and analyzed outside of the community context. Whitman's diaries provide an understanding of trade as it was tied to markets, kinship, property holding, seasonality, and community responsibilities.

To understand trade--a label as all-inclusive as "farmer"--one must understand the community.³ As early as 1820, Timothy Dwight commented upon New Englanders' "energy," "enterprise," "industry," "activity of mind," and "ingenuity," an image perpetuated by later historians' descriptions of the New Englander as stalwart, isolated, self-sufficient, subsistent, and non-entrepreneurial--in other words, a Yankee.⁴

The mentalité of the New England farmer/trader has been argued by several schools of historians. There are those who see in his entrepreneurial motives "an embryo John D. Rockefeller," while others see no entrepreneurial motive and "celebrate" the Marxian lack of it.⁵ Still others argue the timing of the market--did it begin with the first settlers in 1607 or wait until the

industrialism and increased population of the 1820s.⁶

Percy W. Bidwell, an early progressive historian, saw no market and thus no entrepreneurial drive for what he characterized as the subsistent, jack-of-all-trades yeoman farmer. If everybody was farming, asserted Bidwell, there was no opportunity to sell to a neighbor and thus "no market for agricultural produce in an inland town."⁷ Without an external market, a farmer did not exert himself to produce a surplus as his return was not real, but rather "psychological income."⁸

Supporting Bidwell's theory of no market/no profit motive was New Left historian James Henretta, who asserted the role of the lineal family as a strong determinant of this system. A lack of "risk-taking behavior" and pursuit of profit, suggested Henretta, was due to the importance of family and social relationships.⁹ The family set limits on entrepreneurial activity, emphasizing first and foremost the maintenance of social relationships within the community. Exchange was for the acquisition of a needed item, not profit. Henretta saw the primacy of kin, forgiveness of debt, cooperative work practices, and the persistence of subsistence agriculture and household manufacture as evidence of the total lack of "liberal consciousness," profit motive, and accumulation-oriented behavior in pre-industrial New England farmers.¹⁰

Henretta, like Bidwell, argued that a real market

economy was absent until the appearance of a non-agricultural population of the manufacturing towns, 1820-1860.¹¹ The presence of traditional enterprises such as saw mills, grist mills, and tanneries, argued Henretta, was not indicative of profit-seeking activity.¹² Local exchange among neighbors and townsfolk did not constitute a market economy, due to the lack of involvement of middlemen such as brokers and merchants.¹³

Farm diaries, travel descriptions, and account books do not support the theories of Bidwell, Henretta, and the Marxist historians. Failing to recognize these sources, Bidwell and Henretta, ignored the ubiquitous trade, commerce, and existence of market beginning as early as the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁴ Local exchange cannot be disregarded as market economy activity--in just one year, Whitman recorded 455 transactions with 136 people.¹⁵ Bettye Hobbs Pruitt, commenting on self-sufficiency in eighteenth century Massachusetts, argues that what one farmer sold, although small in comparison to large markets, does not mean that the local exchange was not a substantial portion of the farmer's economic viability.¹⁶ To ignore such local trade paints a bleak and misleading picture of pre-industrial exchange.

Consensus historians developed a far different theory than the Progressives or New Left historians regarding pre-industrial trade. Analysis of the presence

of farm surplus in farmers' accounts was evidence of the existence of agricultural markets throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁷ Surplus, as early as the mid-seventeenth century, had divided the Puritan community over issues of land speculation and political representation of economic interests.¹⁸ Profit motive and a capitalistic system accompanied the development of land as a commodity.¹⁹ The class divisions of "better," "middling," and "poor" farmers suggest that somebody was thinking about profits.²⁰

Analyzing farmer's account books from 1750 to 1855 Winifred Rothenberg, an economic historian, examined the behavior of farm prices to determine the advent of market. She suggests that the arbitrating activity of farmers among themselves--and as they traveled to trade--carried information about prices that revealed a strong market. Price information was not decided upon by the farmer's whim, but rather through his contact with regional, intercolonial and world markets.²¹ The same applied to millers, merchants, and itinerant peddlers who traded frequently, exchanging goods and assigning monetary value to commodities. Pre-industrial villagers did not wait for the advent of cheap transportation, industrial population, and middlemen to begin to trade. Coming to America failed to transform villagers of market town backgrounds into socialists. Self sufficiency was not the goal of the Massachusetts settlers--from their arrival

in America, trade, exchange, and the profit motive were a way of life.²²

The fact that the family and the labor it supplied determined what was produced does not mean that the family was self-sufficient.²³ Most farm families produced a small agricultural surplus for trade and actively engaged craftsmen for the processing of their goods. Home-grown and crafted commodities were supplemented with store-bought and traded goods. Richard Gross, a social historian, argues that the self-sufficient farmer was exceptional--and usually a large wealthy landholder.²⁴ The wealthy farmer could be self-sufficient because he was involved in trade, had money to hire labor, plant diverse crops, and raise sufficient livestock. The common farmer seldom owned a plow or a team of oxen and was forced to rely on neighbors and craftsmen to maintain a livelihood. In turn, local self-sufficiency is a false picture, since communities spent a large portion of their income on imported goods purchased at the country store or received in trade transactions.²⁵

At the center of the trade system was the family, which provided the labor to produce goods for trade, as well as the demand for goods for their own use. The family was organized around the productive system and seasonal demands.²⁶ Modified-extended families--two or more generations living within a single community in which the

dependence of the children upon the parents continued after the children married and lived under a separate roof--was the rule for pre-industrial farm families.²⁷

As a result of strong, first-generational control of land, offspring settled near their parents, but married outside of their community, forming geographic kinship clusters.²⁸ These clusters fostered trade networks among families and within the community, consolidated land holdings, and provided a cooperative work force.²⁹ By settling on or near a parent's land, the family shared land use, tools, animals, and labor. Parental control of the transfer of land to offspring assured the parents that they would be cared for in their old age.³⁰ Kinship coalitions provided training for young boys and girls, as well as the initial capital to begin on their own.³¹ As the land became less available to succeeding generations, offspring tended to settle wherever land was available.

The Whitman family exemplified the modified-extended family, John Whitman, the first ancestor, had settled on the original homestead and in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, about twelve miles south of Weymouth, until the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century. Perhaps due to land scarcity and Revolutionary War land grants, Whitmans began to migrate in the late 1700s to communities in Maine, including Winthrop, Norway, Waterford, Portland,

Minot, New Gloucester and Turner (see p. 82, 86). Joshua Whitman was brought to Turner, Maine in 1778 at the age of two by his mother, Hannah Tirrill and his step-father, Samuel Gorham.³² Joshua's real father had died after his first year of marriage, accounting for Hannah's lack of attachment to the Bridgewater area. Married on November 30, 1797, Joshua and his wife, who he referred to as "Miss Whitman," maintained close kinship ties and a system of reciprocity with his step-father Samuel Gorham and his mother, "Ma'am Gorham."

The seventh generation born to Lucretia and Joshua Whitman in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century stayed largely in Maine. Their grandchildren--the eighth generation--born in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century, began to move west and south to Florida, South Carolina, what is now West Virginia, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Kansas. Joshua's children were the last generation to maintain a strong reciprocal kinship network based on residence near their birthplace. His grandchildren experienced the shift to greater mobility, sought better western lands, and felt the effects of the Civil War.³³

The system of reciprocity within and among families extended throughout the entire community. Families were linked by trade, common land use, community responsibilities, social events, and exchange of labor. An archaeological

project in the hill farms of the White Mountain National Forest revealed such patterns of interaction developed by farm families. Farms were relatively near one another, joined by cultivated space, outbuildings, roads, and trails which were located between the farms.³⁴ Land was frequently shared or rented by adjoining owners who might need more pasture or another field to mow for hay. Joshua Whitman frequently worked with his neighbors, Mr. Root and William Gorham, on the fence that ran along their common boundary lines.'

Reciprocity was the common way of life in small, pre-industrial communities such as Turner, characterized by face-to-face familiar relationships.³⁵ Villagers came into frequent contact with one another, usually to exchange goods or skills. A visit to neighbors was often accompanied by a trade transaction. Joshua and Lucretia Whitman frequently visited Joshua's parents, joining in a meal together and afterwards followed by an errand, such as picking up the cart wheels Father Gorham had repaired for Joshua. "Socializing" was often combined with a work project that demanded the cooperative labor of many villagers, such as a barn or house raising.

Beyond the reciprocal ties among families and neighbors were those exhibited by the community at large. Families provided for the town's needs by collectively paying taxes, and as Joshua Whitman recorded, giving

their time to road repair, cutting wood for the school house, or boarding the school master. Taxes paid for necessities such as roads, schools, bridges, a new town meeting hall, a church, and the care of paupers and orphans.³⁶

Community networks were developed by trade between villages. An increase in these "vertical" ties occurred as new industry involved more of a village's population.³⁷ Emphasis on individual identity, rather than the family, accompanied the shift towards industrialism. A post-1800 study of naming patterns in Hingham, Massachusetts, revealed an increased emphasis on personal identity. More children were given new names, not necessarily passed-on family names.³⁸

An analysis of Turner in the first quarter of the nineteenth century reveals the patterns of community organization, such as reciprocity, closely-linked kin groups, and an intricate trade system. Re-creating the townscape and the personalities Whitman dealt with clarifies the interactive patterns of the villagers.

Glancing at a map, a visitor to Turner of 1809 saw the town bounded southerly by Auburn and Minot, westerly by Hebron, Buckfield, and Hartford, northerly by Livermore, and easterly by Leeds and Greene (see p. 80, 88). A visitor found Turner set amidst the rolling hills of western Maine, a day's travel from Portland and Bath on

the coast. Situated on the banks of the Androscoggin River, Turner's farmers made use of the fertile intervale land for their crops. Grazing cattle and apple orchards marked the ridge farms along Upper and Lower Streets.

Distinct villages within the community were based on a settler's tavern site, mill location, or store. A villager lived in Turner, but more specifically in Turner Village, Turner Center, North Turner Bridge, South Turner, East Turner, North Turner, Chase's Mill, Merrill's Mill, or Keen's Mill (see p. 80)

Joshua Whitman, brought to Turner but six years after the arrival of the first settlers in 1772, grew up among the first generation of villagers. His diary entries recorded frequent trade with Daniel Staples, Joseph Leavitt, and Abner Phillips--three of the first settlers to meet the terms of settlement of the original proprietors. Like Whitman's parents, settlers had migrated to Maine from Massachusetts, several having participated in battles of the Revolution.³⁹ (see p. 62 for military involvement).

Whitman wrote of trade transactions with a local potter, blacksmith, grist mill, saw mill, oil mill, fulling mill, and saw mill owners, storeowners, tavernkeepers, postmasters, and tanner. Luther Cary, a tanner as well as doctor, frequently tanned cattle and sheep skins for Whitman. Like Whitman, Cary came from Bridgewater, Massachusetts settling in Turner in 1798 at the south

end of Lower Street.⁴⁰ Dr. Timothy Howe, born in Hillsborough, New Hampshire in 1778, moved to Turner with his family in 1804. Whitman frequently traded crops, use of his mare and labor with Howe who lived nearby at Richmond's Corner. Howe exemplified the versatile settler--doctor, farmer, and postmaster. From borrowing Whitman's potatoes to delivering Whitman's children, Howe's trade relationship with Whitman was long term and varied (see *Appendix* for more information regarding trade partners).

The investigation of Whitman's trade activities generates many questions concerning the specifics of his trade patterns. Who traded with whom? Where did trade occur? What kinds of trade were there? An analysis of Whitman's farm diaries begins to answer these questions and provides an understanding of the extent of market in pre-industrial New England.

As seen in Joshua Whitman's farm diaries and the numerous surviving account books of New England farmers, trade was a type of "bookkeeping barter," a homemade system based on debits and credits.⁴¹ Whitman carefully recorded tending Dr. Howe's corn--a transaction to be paid not at the time of corn planting and hoeing, but later in the year, perhaps by a share of Howe's corn harvest and the use of Howe's stud for Joshua's mare. Little cash traded hands, more often, a transaction occurred, was recorded,

and "paid" for later. As Whitman would note, "we are to be made even." A state of mutual indebtedness prevailed in the community as a result of such barter transactions.

Commodity money--beef and pork, hoes, and milk pans--replaced scarce cash and bank notes. The "two way flow of trade" allowed goods to move between creditor and debtor.⁴² Whitman meticulously noted such arrangements to the point of collecting fourteen board nails William Gorham had borrowed a year earlier. In Turner of 1809, nails as well as the use of oxen or two bottles rum were money.

Farmers and merchants developed complex and efficient bookkeeping systems of credit and barter that gave monetary value to the traded commodities.⁴³ Whitman recorded "the prices of produce, etc. In January, 1811," giving his commodities standardized monetary value (see p. 66). A historical assumption has been that this in-kind trade or use of commodities for trade indicated a lack of market activity.⁴⁴ Cash-poor equaled self-sufficiency and a lack of market mentalite.⁴⁵ Whitman's price list and his continual recording of monetary value for his traded commodities proved this theory false.

The complicated accounting systems of farmer-craftsmen such as Whitman alter the romantic picture of a simple farmer's primitive records that occasionally noted goods and services traded with neighborly neighbors.

Whitman's journals reveal that cash value was important and that farmers were very aware of market prices. The isolated inland farmer disinterested in monetary value is a misleading image. The lack of specie made the farmer intensely interested in giving his commodities and services cash values.

The type of trade and means of payment were affected by seasonality. Trade was flexible--Whitman could not demand beef as payment in July for leading his plow in April. Few animals were butchered in summer, and thus, another form of payment would be offered, or Whitman would wait for his payment in meat until the fall butchering. What Whitman traded depended upon the season. During spring field preparation or harvest Whitman had few spare moments to carve an ox bow in exchange for the use of his neighbor's harrow. Most likely, he traded labor--a valuable commodity during work-intensive periods. As a farmer's activities were limited by the seasonal patterns of his farm, so was the availability of craft products for trade integrally tied to these patterns.

A farmer/craftsman such as Whitman traded with a variety of community members, as seen in the profile of Turner personalities recorded in Whitman's diaries. (see p. 65, p. 100 for trade list). Horizontal trade within the community was face-to-face and local. Joshua and Lucretia Whitman traded with farming neighbors whose farms were

located near theirs on Upper and Lower Street in Turner.

Trade was so familiar that a transaction with an unfamiliar trader was carefully noted by Whitman.

February 10, 1809: "I paid the said man 20 cents to [o] much in change," wrote Whitman. "Said man call'd his name James Frost. he said he lived at Newgloucester seven miles this side of Esqr. Foxcroft. he is middle size. about 20 years old. light complexion. he was rather meanly dressed. His mitten very much patch with divers colours. his horse was rather grey . . . I did not much suspect him then. if I had I should have been more perticular."

Whitman supervised the trade with his male neighbors of money crops from the field and livestock, while Lucretia Whitman managed the trade with her female neighbors of goods produced in the homestead. Rare was the household equipped to produce all the diverse items required by the family. Trade, barter, and borrowing provided the needed goods. Informal, local, oral trade, primarily among women, was Lucretia Whitman's domain; formal, distant, and highly visible trade was Joshua's responsibility. August 7, 1809: "Miss Whitman bot an old hat of Miss Root 2s.6d," wrote Joshua, "the journey of my mare [Root borrowed mare] to Buckfield has paid for the hat." September 30, 1809: "Miss Whitman paid Ester Phillips 4 lb of sheep wool for her spinning."

January 1, 13, 1809: "In the evening rode home with Miss True. She had work'd for Miss Whitman 2 days. Paid her 7 lb cheese and an old wash tub of the said Miss True and Miss Whitman agreed to give her one broom and one rolling pin." August 14, 1810: "Patty Strickland sew'd with or for Miss Whitman part of the day. Had Indian meal for her pay, and sold her $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. cheese."

Beyond an exchange of goods and labor, trade fostered a network among women neighbors.⁴⁶ Help with birthing, childcare, nursing, and harvesting--as well as companionship--was provided by women's networks. May 6, 1811: "I went and called in the neighbouring women for Miss Whitman," wrote Joshua. "She was taken sick and Dr. Howe delivered her of a son about one o'clock in the P.M. I sow'd some onion seed. Ma'am Gorham rode up to our house to wait on Miss Whitman." May 10, 1811: "Ma'am Gorham returns home. Elmira Sawtell begins to nurse Miss Whitman."

Parallel to women's trade networks were those networks developed by male neighbors. Whitman traded with his neighbors not only as farmers but in their capacities as businessmen, including store owners, tavern keepers, millwrights, blacksmiths, cobblers, doctors, carpenters, furniture makers, potters, ministers, and masons. Of these businesses, the general store was the most versatile trade center.

A trader turned to the country store for a variety of goods. Frequently, the store owner was also millwright and tavern keeper. "One-stop shopping" allowed the farmer to haul in goods for trade, logs to be sawed, grain to be ground, and assured him of finding room and board for the night. From hair combs and axes to raisins and cherry rum, merchants supplied imported goods and difficult to produce farm goods (see list of goods traded, p. 102-104).

Beyond his business with several local stores, Whitman traded with a number of small manufacturers and businessmen. Tanning skins, cobbling shoes, and shoeing a horses' hooves were but a few of the services provided by local craftsmen. Whitman most likely knew how to cobble shoes and shoe a mare, but lack of time--and outstanding credit for his own services--prompted him to patronize a craftsmen's business. Some crafts, such as the millwright's were so specialized that a farmer could not perform the activity on his own.

Mills were the first concern of a new settlement. Without a gristmill to grind grain and a sawmill to shape boards for homes, farming was a cold and hungry business. Whitman traded with the Turner millwrights throughout the year, hauling logs and wheat, corn, rye, and oats to be processed. Nathan Cole's fulling mill carded the wool sheared from Whitman's sheep and "press'd" the cloth

woven by Lucretia Whitman.

Moses Greenleaf, writing in 1816 and 1829 of Maine, commented on the numerous carding machines, fulling mills and "great numbers of yards of cloth produced." "This important cloth manufacture," wrote Greenleaf, "is conducted chiefly in private families; and it is well known that it is confined almost wholly to the female part of the families . . . and a large part of whom, without this manufacture, would probably have opportunity to contribute but very little to the general wealth of the State."⁴⁷

Whitman traded not only with his neighbors and local craftsmen, but at large markets in trade towns such as Portland, Hallowell, and Bath. The market trip--vertical trade--fostered an intricate linkage of networks which extended Whitman's trading ties between Turner and other communities. Traveling to numerous markets allowed the farmer to "shop around" for the highest price for his goods and the lowest costs for transportation to market⁴⁸ (see map of market travel, p. 82). Breaking the myth of the isolated New England farmer, men such as Whitman traveled good distances, actively affecting price behavior through the arbitration of trade prices.⁴⁹

Market trips were made three or four times a year during the winter and harvest time. Winter trips were preferred as sled travel on snow-covered roads was easier

than summer wagon travel. A typical Whitman entry described a trip to Portland; January 12, 1809: "I rode into Portland and sold my Load. Sold butter for 10 cents per lb. Tallow for 8 cents per lb. Linnen rags for 3 cents per lb. bot salt. gave 9s per bushell. 4s.6d. per gallon for molasses. 4s.6d. for gallon of new rum. 1s.6d. per oz. for Indigo. 12s. per quintal of fish. Lent cash 1 Dol. to John Bonney and rode home as far as Maj. Cobb's in Gray." January 13, 1809: "I paid cash at Cobb's 19 cents. paid 3 cents at Phelp's Store in Minot for 1 glass rum; 10 cents at Clark's Store for 1 gill of rum and a piece of Tobacco, lent John Haley 8 cents, and return'd home." A trip took two to three days for Whitman, considering the time spent lodging and trading at the smaller towns in route to the trade destination. A list of the principal roads and taverns, including several Whitman patronized was frequently published in the Farmer's Almanack⁵⁰ (see p. 71-73). Whitman's trade networks extended from Turner north to Livermore, east to the coast, south to Portland, and west to Norway/Buckfield/Paris. Between January 1, 1809 and the close of 1811, Whitman recorded market trips to: 1) Portland via Falmouth, Pejeboscot and North Yarmouth; 2) Livermore; 3) Norway via Buckfield via Greene; 5) Bath via Durham and Brunswick; 6) Topsham via Brunswick and Lewiston; and 7) Winthrop (see map, p. 82).

The livestock market in Brighton, Massachusetts, and local agricultural fairs offered other avenues of vertical trade for men like Whitman. Growing out of Elkanah Watson's 1807 Berkshire plan to promote improved farming were agricultural fairs and markets which were enthusiastically received by farmers and their families.⁵¹ The first cattle show at Brighton was sponsored by the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture in October 1816.⁵² By 1820 Maine was supplying a considerable portion of the fattened cattle and sheep for this market.⁵³ August 13, 1811: Whitman "viewed My young cattle and sheep with some droviers for they tell of buying." Drovers purchased livestock from a farmer, walked the animals to market, and sold them en route or at the market.

Trade is an all-encompassing word to describe the variety of transactions recorded by Whitman between himself and neighbors, craftsmen, and distant markets. A categorization of Whitman's trade for the year 1809 reveals as many as twenty types of transactions. Trade ranged from straightforward paid-with-cash purchases-- January 27, 1809: "paid cash at Blossom's and Leonard's Store 1 cent for a piece of tobacco and sold him $5\frac{1}{2}$ bushell ashes at 10d per bushell"--to involved credit systems of notes and orders which Whitman exchanged with others--January 23, 1809: "I settled with Dr. Howe.

He gave me a note for about $5\frac{1}{2}$ Dol. an order on J. Haley for 2 Dol. and 8 cents and pass'd receipts."

Whitman classified much of his trade as "lent to" or "borrowed from"--January 25, 1809: "Lent Dr. Howe 1 basket of potatoes. total 6. Lent Dolly Brown 2 sheets paper. Lent S. Soul 6 heel lifts for his boots. 4 were good." "Borrowers" paid for the lent-out goods by either returning the same type and amount of goods or a different good of equivalent value needed by Whitman. Whitman frequently lent potatoes to Dr. Howe for which Howe would later "pay" with the use of his mare or labor. Lending of such items as a plow, harrow, or sleigh was usually a straightforward borrowing transaction. Whitman charged no fee for lending such an item, as he would certainly need to borrow similar items at some time in the future.

A frequent lending transaction involved the trade of meat. Lack of refrigeration made it difficult for one family to properly store the quantity of meat available after butchering. To solve the problem, Whitman "lent" meat to neighbors who repaid Whitman when they butchered. November 8, 1809: "I cut and salted my beef. Lent J. Leavitt Jr. 18 lb. 10 oz. beef the shoulder blade and rib piece. Lent N. Perley Esqr. $13\frac{1}{2}$ lb. the stake piece."

Trade often centered upon the use of land. Such trade ranged from the lending of hay land to a neighbor

to taking a neighbor's sheep, mare, or cow to pasture. July 24, 1809: "Lent Wm. Gorham a piece of my mowing for a hog pasture." November 3, 1809: "Dr. Howe agreed to give me 8 bushels of potatoes for keeping his hog 4 months." November 7, 1809: I puttied a window for Dr. Howe and put up 2 horses for him to hay and took his mare to pasture."

The exchange of labor was a form of trade that the entire family participated in. August 10, 1809: "Patty Strickland, Miss Whitman, my children and I pulled Dr. Howe's flax." Whitman, alone, and often with his sons, assisted a neighbor with butchering or harvest activities in exchange for the neighbor's labor when Whitman required it. Hiring himself out to a neighbor for a half a day to a few days was also used as a form of payment for a previous trade transaction. Lucretia Whitman exchanged labor with other women in the form of spinning, sewing time, or childcare. September 8, 1809: "Patty Strickland has took care of my family since we have been gone [market trip] did her own work part of the time."

Labor exchange was most prevalent during intensive work periods such as harvest and spring field preparation. July 21, 1809: just at night rode up to J. True's and ho'd corn with about 13 more as a Frolic."

July 30, 1809: "Good hay weather. I help'd Wm. Gorham cart 3 loads of hay with my oxen and he help'd me cart 2 loads to my barn."

Examples of community labor exchange requiring cooperative work groups were seen in the larger tasks to be accomplished such as barn and house raisings and corn huskings. July 1, 1809: "In the P.M. I went to the raising of Dr. Lary's large barn." Cooperative work groups were formed from kinship clusters and neighbors. In exchange for the labor assistance, a family provided plenty of food, recreation, and the promise to return the labor favor.

The promise to pay, return "lent" goods, and the swapping of notes, orders, receipts, deeds, and mortgages made credit the most visible attribute of the trading system. A typical credit transaction went as follows: Nathaniel Sawtell had credit at Blossom and Leonard's Store, but owed Joshua Whitman for an ox yoke Whitman had crafted. Sawtell gave Whitman his store credit as payment in kind. This type of complicated "triangular transfer" paid for goods and labor while solving the problem of a hard money shortage.⁵⁴ Triangular transfer of goods was convenient when a trader needed to pay off a creditor, or might receive payment in goods he did not need. By searching for a third party who needed those goods and was perhaps one of the farmer's creditors, one trade transaction

would do away with two separate liabilities.⁵⁵ Triangular trade points to an entire community, concerned with the lack of money and searching for alternative trade systems.⁵⁶ Complicated barter was not solely monopolized by skilled merchants, but was also a common system employed by the plain farmer for his most simple transactions.⁵⁷

CONCLUSION

The many varieties of trade so painstakingly recorded by Joshua Whitman speak of the important role of such transactions in his life. Such local exchange and market trips were the "stuff" of pre-industrial market economy. To deny the status of "real" economic activity to the trade transactions of Whitman and those farmers and artisans like him is to paint a romantic picture of a myth: farmers, working alone, totally self-sufficient, no profit motive, and no market. Whitman's diaries and the many surviving account books like them reveal the more accurate picture: farmers, bound by intricate social, kinship, and trade networks, dependent upon each other for the provision and trade of goods and services, striving to be better farmers, and trying to make a profit. Profit did not mean the nullification of social and kinship ties, but rather the means to purchase spices, seed, a new coffee pot, or axe.

A description of Turner, Maine appears as one reads the daily, matter-of-fact entries of Joshua Whitman. Entry upon entry speaks of the diverse and vigorous nature of trade in pre-industrial America. Daughters, sons, wives, and husbands were integrally involved in a household system of production and trade repeated throughout the community. Trade was not insular but reached far afield as farmers traveled to market towns to sell a load of goods and return with traded items or cash. Type of payment depended upon the seasons.

Trade descriptions revealed the intricate ties among community members. Villagers interacted in a variety of roles, be it as farmer, craftsperson, banker, teacher, nurse, or friend. Entries of visiting and notices of community events were entangled in Whitman's trade transactions, reflecting that all parts of the system--trade, family, work, recreation--were interrelated.

The diaries became Whitman's written memories. To review his diaries, as he did his farm of the 1840s, Whitman must have marveled at the changes which had occurred. By the 1840s Whitman had seen a wilderness settlement become an industrialized mill town and forests become scientifically-managed farms. His children were grown, his first wife dead. His diaries survived, providing him and future readers with a clear view of change over time. November 7, 1840: "I began first about half a

century ago to keep a journal and continued it for several weeks, and laid it by as a simple and foolish concern, but was sorry I had not continued it," wrote Whitman to the Maine Farmer. "The first day of January, 1800, I determined as simple as it was, I would put down the weather, my out-goings and incomings, and go ahead, and from that time to the present I have made records everyday."⁵⁸

TABLE 1

Military Involvement of Whitman's Neighbors

War of 1812

Jacob Merrill*
 Theodoshus Merrill*
 Josiah Keen*
 Jacob Keen*
 Barnet Pumpilly*
 Capt. Seth Staples*
 Aaron Soul*

Defense of Boston

Samuel Blake*
 Mark Andrews*
 Levi Merrill*
 Richard Phillips*
 Abner Phillips*
 Joseph Merrill*

Continental Army

Luther Cary*
 Nathaniel Sawtell*

Massachusetts Militia

John Keen*
 Jesse Bradford*
 Joseph Ludden*

*traded with Joshua Whitman

From: French, History of Turner, p. 195.
 Merrill, History of Androscoggin County, p. 813.

TABLE 2

Religious Affiliations of Whitman's Neighbors

Congregationalists

Jacob Leavitt*	William Bradford*
Daniel Briggs*	Rev. John Strickland*
Jabez Merrill*	

Baptists

Mark Andrews*	Levi Merrill, Jr.*
Henry Jones*	Richard Phillips*
Jesse Bradford*	Samuel Gorham* (Joshua Whitman's stepfather)
Samuel Andrews*	Daniel French*
Samuel Blake*	Joseph Leavitt*
Joshua Keen*	Nathan Cole*
Josiah Keen*	

Universalists

Jabez Merrill*	Samuel Pumpilly*
Levi Merrill*	Seriah Merrill*
Jesse Bradford*	Reuben Thorpe*
Aaron Soul*	Nathaniel Sawtell*
Joseph Leavitt, Jr.*	William Gorham*
William Bradford*	Joseph Merrill*
Jabez T. Merrill*	Samuel Blake*
Thatcher Blake*	Daniel Briggs*
Daniel Cary*	Luther Cary*
Joseph Ludden*	Alden Blossom*
Rev. Issac Root*	Joshua Whitman

*traded with Joshua Whitman

From: French, History of Turner, p.110-140.
Merrill, History of Androscoggin County, p. 825-831.

TABLE 3
First Settlers to Turner in 1773

Daniel Staples*
Thomas and Elisha Records
Abner Phillips*
Joseph Leavitt*

*traded with Joshua Whitman

From: French, History of Turner, p. 30.
Merrill, History of Androscoggin County, p. 808.

TABLE 4

Trading Neighbors of Whitman

Turner Center

Hira Bradford*, fulling mill
 Joseph Ludden*, blacksmith
 Reuben Thorpe*, 1802, potter
 Jesse Bradford*, 1795, sawmill, gristmill
 General John Turner, 1795, sawmill, gristmill
 Henry Jones*, 1795

Merrill's Mill

Levi Merrill*, 1811 Luther Merrill

Turner Village

Samuel Blake*, millwright, 1774
 Oliver Pollard*, storeowner, millwright
 Daniel French*, tanner
 Daniel Gorham*, fulling mill
 Nathan Cole*, oil mill, fulling, carding mill
 William B. Bray*, storekeeper, tavern keeper

North Turner

Caleb House, Jr.*, 1792
 Joseph Merrill*, blacksmith
 John Keen*, 1803, millwright
 Edward Blake*, 1817, millwright
 Dr. Timothy Howe*, doctor, postmaster
 Jabez T. Merrill*, 1778

Keen's Mill

Nathaniel Robertson* Grinfill H. Keen*

North Turner Bridge

Joshua Whitman, 1798

*traded with Joshua Whitman

From: French, History of Turner, p.66-100.
 Merrill, History of Androscoggin County, p. 815-825.

TABLE 5

A list of "prices of produce, etc." January 1811, Joshua Whitman

corn 4/6
 carrots 3/
 turnips 2s.
 butter 1s. per lb.
 pork per lb. 6d.
 tallow per lb. 9d.
 been pr. bushel 6s.
 oxen per yoke 65\$
 cows per each 14\$
 sheep per each 2\$
 hay per ton 9\$
 labour per day 50 cents, per mo. 10\$
 ashes per bushel 15 cents
 school masters per month 14\$
 oats 2/6
 potatoes 2/
 cabbage head 5 cents each
 cheese per lb. 6d.
 bacon per lb. 7d.
 beef per lb. 3½
 paper per quoir 1/6
 linnen rags per lb. 3 cents
 goose quills per Dox. 4 cents

ILLUSTRATION 1: Whitman diary page, Jan., 1809

1809.
Jan. 15. 1805.

Hannah

20. 1811.

873.

Mary
in Lewisville

6.
816

1841.

1819

Tomas Marned

1849.

29. 1822.

Nov. 22. 1843.

B. & Lucretia

of the weather &c. for the year
1809

Sunday Jan. 1. 1809. Cloudy & some snow hail & rain.

Monday Jan. 2. Pleasant except a few flying clouds wind at S. W. I had my children to school made a hinge for Mr. Luddens Shop door finished washing my eye & winnowed it twice took about 1 bushel corn & in the evening I mended my eye line & pickfork handle.

Tuesday Jan. 3. Pleasant wind at S. W. I finished winnowing my eye & broke & winged flax which Whitman & I shettable Root of wood.

Wednesday Jan. 4. Fair & cold. I broke & winged flax which Whitman sold Miss Moore the fruit.

Thursday Jan. 5. Cloudy & begins to snow in the P.M. I rode down to Miss Broadfords mill & carried about 1 bushel of wheat & of corn. settled with B. Swaney was credited at Bluffton & Leonard's Store for 1 Iron basin 35. paid Nathan Gale 5/4. To flax & took a receipt in full sale to Leavitt Amherst 20. flax he paid me cash 20. paid Gale to T. Cary & Tal. & Ledger at Father's Garbans.

Friday Jan. 6. Pleasant. I settled with Mr. Haley for his 12 1/2 by way of the Rev. J. Spickhams brown ware but 3 bowls of R. Hoop & agreed to give him the fine brought home my cloth that Mr. Haley has been pressing to want into the wood of Miss Hall.

Saturday Jan. 7. Some warm sunshine & cloudy. I had work for me haying wood I chopped fire wood.

Sunday Jan. 8. Some squalls of snow very windy at 10 in the P.M. then Garbans his wife Miss Whitman & I rode down to Father's Cabin & I had out all the...


ILLUSTRATION 2

Whitman's 1817 Farmer's Almanack cover with children's penmanship practice and scribbles



ILLUSTRATION 3

1800 Farmer's Almanack Calendar for October

		OCTOBER, Tenth Month. 1800.	
			
<p><i>Pomona joyous spreads her copious stores, And with her blessings glads the fertile shores; The sky serene assumes a deep'ning blue, And ev'ry grove puts on a motley hue.</i></p>			
M.	D.	<i>Courts, Aspects, Holidays, Weather, &c. &c.</i>	<i>Farmer's Calendar.</i>
1	4	<i>Cool breezes.</i>	Winter apples should now
2	5	Midd. tides. ☽ eclips. visible.	be gathered in, as hard frosts
3	6	Day breaks 4h. 30m. ☽ flat.	hurt them much; remove those
4	7	Yard L. rises 1ch. 40m. <i>Cold.</i>	underneath the tree, and pick off
5	8	17th Sun. past Trin. <i>storm.</i>	with the hand all you can con-
6	9	☽ ☽ 7 ^h s or together.	veniently before you shake the
7	10	S. J. C. Len. C. P. Bos. Mach.	tree.
8	11	☽ Apo. <i>Pleas.</i> [Nant. Newbp.]	Harvest your Indian corn
9	12	St. Dennis. <i>ant for the</i>	without delay—the birds and
10	13	Very low tides. <i>sea-few.</i>	squirrels I am confident will.
11	14	<i>Clouds.</i>	Potatoes not dug this week
12	15	18th Sun. past Trin. <i>up.</i>	will be regretted next.
13	16	<i>More falling</i>	Flax that was put a rotting
14	17	<i>weather.</i>	last month, look to often the
15	18	7 ^h s sou. 2h. 5m.	heavy dews at this season will
16	19	Q. of Fr. behead. 1793. ☽ ☽ H	rot it very fast.
17	20	Burgoyne sur. 1777. <i>Pleasant.</i>	Indulge not your children in
18	21	St. Luke. ☽ eclips. invis.	eating too much fruit, and es-
19	22	19th Sun. past. Trin.	pecially that which is hard and
20	23	High tides. <i>Rain.</i>	unmellow, if you would save
21	24	S. J. C. Taun. C P Port. ☽ Per	the doctor a visit.
22	25	☽ sets 6h. 30m. <i>High, rough</i>	Let not Indian corn be long
23	26	<i>winds.</i>	in a heap before it be husked.
24	27	Yard L. rises 9h. 30m. <i>More</i>	Cyder finish making as soon
25	28	<i>moderate,</i>	as possible; to have it fine and
26	29	Crisp.	clear, grind the apples the eve-
27	30	20th Sun. past Trin. <i>with</i>	ning previous to laying it up,
28	31	☽ ☽ ☽ [Sts. Sim. & Jude.]	lay it up early in the morning
29		S. J. C. Camb. C. P. Tib. <i>wind</i>	and press it out moderately.
30		<i>and rain.</i>	Plough for summer fallows
31		Prof. ADAMS born. 1735.	at every opportunity that ten-
		<i>Warm again.</i>	sure will admit.
			Roots in general may now
			be gathered in, and the land
			manured and hoed up in ridges
			for the next year's crop.

From Kittredge, The Old Farmer and his Almanack, p.80.

ILLUSTRATION 4

Whitman's February-March 1808 Farmer's Almanack "Various Phenomena of the Heavens, etc."

1808. In MARCH are 31 Days.

VARIOUS PHENOMENA OF THE HEAVENS, &c.

Prof. 2. 4th day, 9h 30m. Mercur. In with the Moon.
 Full M. 14th day, 8h 30m. Mercur. In with the Moon.
 Last S. 19th day, 10 10m. Mercur. In with the Moon.
 New M. 26th day, 9h 30m. Mercur. In with the Moon.

Day	Sun	Moon	High	Low	Mercur.	Venus	Jupiter	Saturn	Weather
1	5 50	11 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
2	6 54	10 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
3	7 58	9 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
4	8 52	8 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
5	9 46	7 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
6	10 40	6 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
7	11 34	5 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
8	12 28	4 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
9	1 22	3 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
10	2 16	2 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
11	3 10	1 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
12	4 4	12 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
13	4 58	11 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
14	5 52	10 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
15	6 46	9 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
16	7 40	8 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
17	8 34	7 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
18	9 28	6 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
19	10 22	5 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
20	11 16	4 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
21	12 10	3 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
22	1 4	2 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
23	1 58	1 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
24	2 52	12 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
25	3 46	11 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
26	4 40	10 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
27	5 34	9 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
28	6 28	8 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
29	7 22	7 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
30	8 16	6 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
31	9 10	5 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear

AGRICULTURAL REMARKS.
 The Carrot is a well known and useful root for food. A family full is very proper for dryness; but they do very well in gravelly, and even in sandy soils, which made rich and moist, caused to a sufficient depth. The largest I have ever raised has been in gravel. The ground should be ploughed on deep, more than 18 inches deep, and well pulverized. I have found by long experience that carrots should be sown early. The last week in April is late enough, which blended for feeding of cattle, and they may be sown earlier, if set ground be in good order, and to dry, and to be made light and loose. The earliest sown will be the largest, and, in

1808. In FEBRUARY are 29 Days.

VARIOUS PHENOMENA OF THE HEAVENS, &c.

Prof. 2. 4th day, 9h 30m. Mercur. In with the Moon.
 Full M. 14th day, 8h 30m. Mercur. In with the Moon.
 Last S. 19th day, 10 10m. Mercur. In with the Moon.
 New M. 26th day, 9h 30m. Mercur. In with the Moon.

Day	Sun	Moon	High	Low	Mercur.	Venus	Jupiter	Saturn	Weather
1	5 50	11 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
2	6 54	10 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
3	7 58	9 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
4	8 52	8 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
5	9 46	7 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
6	10 40	6 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
7	11 34	5 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
8	12 28	4 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
9	1 22	3 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
10	2 16	2 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
11	3 10	1 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
12	4 4	12 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
13	4 58	11 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
14	5 52	10 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
15	6 46	9 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
16	7 40	8 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
17	8 34	7 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
18	9 28	6 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
19	10 22	5 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
20	11 16	4 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
21	12 10	3 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
22	1 4	2 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
23	1 58	1 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
24	2 52	12 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
25	3 46	11 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
26	4 40	10 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
27	5 34	9 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
28	6 28	8 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear
29	7 22	7 10	10 10	4 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	10 10	Clear

AGRICULTURAL REMARKS.
 The Carrot is a well known and useful root for food. A family full is very proper for dryness; but they do very well in gravelly, and even in sandy soils, which made rich and moist, caused to a sufficient depth. The largest I have ever raised has been in gravel. The ground should be ploughed on deep, more than 18 inches deep, and well pulverized. I have found by long experience that carrots should be sown early. The last week in April is late enough, which blended for feeding of cattle, and they may be sown earlier, if set ground be in good order, and to dry, and to be made light and loose. The earliest sown will be the largest, and, in

ILLUSTRATION 5

1802 Farmer's Almanack listing of roads "to the Principal Towns on the Continent, from Boston, with the Names of those who keep Houses of Entertainment"

ROADS			
To the principal Towns on the Continent, from Boston, with the Names of those who keep Houses of Entertainment.			
<p><i>The Author of this Almanack will be greatly obliged to any Gentleman for a correct List of the Innkeepers, Distances, &c. on any Post-Road herein mentioned, sealed up and lodged at the Sign of the Lamb, Boston, directed to R. B. Thomas, Sterling.</i></p>			
From Boston to Newport, over Seekhonk, through Rehoboth. Miles	Wellfleet Collins & Lombard 9	Dedham Everet 2	
Roxbury Whiting 8	Truro Knowles 7	Walpole Smith, Bil- lings & Smith 3	
Dedham Ames & Gay 5	ditto Stevens 1	Wrentham Hatch 4	
Ellis 3	Provincetown Nick- erson 7	ditto Bolcom 4	
Walpole Polley 7		Attleborough Hawes 5	
Wrentham Druce 6		ditto Newell 4	
Attleborough Holmes 5		ditto Barrows 2	
		Seekhonk Plain Sabins 2	
Rehoboth Carpenter 7	To Martha's Vineyard. Newell 4	Patucket Slack 1	
Warren Cole 8	Sandwich Fessenden 6	Providence Holmes, Hartshorn & Bafter 4	
Bristol Bourn 4	Falmouth Fish 10		
Ferry-House Pearle 2	Falmouthtown Hatch 8		
Portsmouth Congden 7	Wood's Hole Parker 4		45
Newport 5	Over the ferry to Vine- yard 9	To Charlestown, (New- Hampshire) & Crown- point. 91	
		Watertown Willington 8	
To Plymouth & Cape Cod. 69	Road to Taunton, Som- erset, Warren, Bristol, and Newport.	Waltham Townfiend 2	
Roxbury Kent 4		Concord Parkman 10	
Milton Pierce 3		Afion Jones 5	
Quincy Marth 2	ditto Vose 7	Harvard Parkhurst 8	
ditto Salisbury 2	ditto Bradley 3	ditto Atherton 2	
Weymouth Arnold 1	Canton Bent 4	Fitchburgh Cowden 11	
ditto Rice 3	ditto May 1	ditto Upton 3	
Hingham Waters 3	ditto Crane 2	Westminster Cooper 1	
Scituate Collamore 4	Sharon Savage 2	Ashburnham Cushing 2	
Hanover Wales 5	Eafon Wetherbery 5	ditto Russell 1	
Pembroke Baker 4	Taunton Porter, Bol- cum & Hodges 12	Winchendon Hale 5	
Kingston Little 6	Dighton Dean and Brown 7	ditto Kidder 4	
Plymouth Bartlett & Witherell 4	Somerfet Davis 4	Fitzwilliam Stone 4	
ditto Cornish 6	Swanzy Chace 5	ditto Reed 5	
ditto Ellis 5	Warren Warren 5	New Marlbro' Switcher 8	
Sandwich Newcomb & Fessenden 7	Bristol Keith 4	ditto Roberts 8	
Barnstable Howland 4	Over the ferry to New- port Townfiend 13	Keene Richardson Bullard 10	
Baxter & Chipman 8		ditto Edwards 6	
ditto Loring & Crocker 4		Walpole Moore 10	
Yarmouth Baffet & Thatcher 5	Post-Road to Providence. 74	ditto Bellows 2d 4	
Harwich Silk 7	Roxbury Whiting 8	ditto Bellows 3	
ditto Clark & Snow 1	ditto Draper 1	Charlestown Stone 9	
Eastham Knowles 6	Dedham Gay & Clap 2	ditto Willard & Carpenter 1	
ditto Knowles 3	ditto Ellis 3	Nott's ferry Stevens 3	
		Springfield Stevens 3	
Hamilton Brown & Adams 2		New-Castle Ferry Avery 5	Uxbridge Taft 6
Ipswich Swazey & Treadwell 4		ditto Nichols 2	Douglafs Whipple 5
Rowley Parley & Bishop 4		Nobleborough Huffey 5	Thompson Jacobs 7
Newbury-Port Dav- enport 8		Waldoborough Reed 2	ditto Nichols 2
Merrimack Bridge		ditto Sampson 7	Pomfret Grofvenor 7
Pearson 3		Cushing Packard 9	Ashford Spring 7
Maduncook		St. George's Ferry 1	ditto Perkins 3
Hampton falls Wells 7		Camden Gregory 7	ditto Clark 2
Hampton Leavitt 5			Wilmington Utley 4
Northampton Leavitt & Dearbon 2			Mansfield Dunham 4
Greenland Huft 5			Coventry Kimball 6
Portsmouth Brewster, Greenleaf, Geddes & Davenport 5		Duck Trap Ulmer 7	E. Hartford Wood- bridge 6
		Belfast Mitchell 12	ditto Little 9
		Frankfort Black 12	Hartford Bull 1
		The Ferry Parker 13	Weathersfield Wright 4
		Blue Hill Patten 7	Worthington Riley 9
		Union River Milliken 7	Meriden Robinfon 6
		Kilkenny Gookins 6	Wallingford Carring- ton 4
		Gouldsboro' Jones 19	North-Haven Ives 5
		Machias Longfellow 40	New-Haven Nichols and Butler 8
Road to Machias. (To Portsmouth, as a- bove.)			358
From Portsmouth, over the Ferry 1		From Boston to Passama- quoddy.	142
Portsmouth Ferry		To Salem	15
York Emerson & Preble 9		Ipswich	12
ditto Sewall & Wyer 5		Newbury-Port	22
ditto Cole 11		Portsmouth	12
Kennebunk Bernard & Jaffry 4		York	12
Biddeford Hooper 9		Wells	16
ditto Spring		Biddeford	14
Pepperelbo. Bradbury 4		Portland	18
Scarborough Burbank 1		N. Yarmouth	15
ditto Milikin 2		Brunswick	12
ditto Harmen 2		Bath	13
ditto Marsh 2		Scarborough	12
Falmouth Broad Pollard 4		Burbank 1	12
Portland Motley, Greele & Hufton 4		Penobscot	70
New-Casco Bucknam 7		Frenchman's Bay	42
North Yarmouth		Machias	40
ditto Loring 6		Passamaquoddy	48
ditto Elwell 2			376
Freeport Cummings 9		Middle Road to Hart- ford and New Haven.	
Brunswick Chafe 5		Dedham Ames 11	Wilbraham Grofvenor 4
Brunswick Falls Stone 5		ditto Colburn 3	Springfield Williams 10
Bath Lambert 12		Medfield Clark 6	Suffield Sykes 10
Herrdell's Ferry 2		Medway Richardson 5	Windfor Picket 7
Wilcasset Whittier 11		Bellingham Smith 6	Allen 7
		Milford Penniman 4	Hartford Lee 3
		Mendon Miller and Fuller 2	Weathersfield Wil- liams 10
			Middleton Johnson 8

From Kittredge, The Old Farmer and his Almanack, p.305.

ILLUSTRATION 6

Whitman's 1816 Farmer's Almanack listing of Roads and Taverns

OBSERVATIONS on the WEATHER, &c. the year past, beginning September 1st, 1815; and ending August 31st, 1816.

September, 1st, 6th—4th cool—5th stormy—10th and 11th very warm with showers—15th warm and wet—19th much cooler, with some frost that nips the tender plants; first this season—22d rain—23d rain with a most tremendous blow (from the S. E.) ever known in this part of the country, by the oldest men living; houses, barns and sheds unroofed, fruit and other trees blown down: the damage done was immense—27th first frost to injure vegetables.

October, 15th pleasant since the month came in—15th first hard frost, which reaches the hills—20th pleasant and dry—26th cooler, the month pleasant and fine.

November, 5th pleasant for the season—15th and 14th cooler—10th fell two inches of wet snow—18th no snow and moderate—20th Thanksgiving; the month generally pleasant, with little rain.

December, 1st much cooler—4th moderate—8th cold and freezing—18th fine the week past, no snow—20th continues fine—29th ground hard frozen but no snow—30th and 31st fell six inches light snow, first of any consequence.

January, 1816, 1st light snow—4th sleighing to Boston—9th very cold—11th and 12th driving snow storms—17th rain and thaw—18th sleighing spoiled—22d moderate and fine—31st thaw in the day time and freezes at night.

February, 2d continues fine—9th and 10th very cold—15th extremely cold, and ground almost bare—17th fell four or five inches of snow and hail, the only snow of any consequence for nearly five weeks past—18th and 19th rain—21st fell six inches snow—25th moderate and no sleighing.

March, 1st continues pleasant—8th and 9th cold and windy—12th fell nearly seven inches of snow—16th no sleighing, ground mostly bare—20th very cold for the season—1st fell eight or nine inches of snow—20th and 21st good sleighing—25th no sleighing.

April, 2d quite cold—4th frost—11th some snow—17th cold and uncomfortable for the season—24th cloudy cool weather for some days, vegetation scarcely began—28th quite warm and dry—30th a dark spot discovered in the Sun's Disk, which continues for several days.

May, 8th very dry and cool, vegetation backward, and hay dear and scarce—11th some rain and warmer—13th and 14th cooler with frost—21st warmer with showers—24th cool—28th rainy for some days past—29th quite cool, month cold and backward, very little feed for cattle, the canker worms scarcely made their appearance this Spring—S. now, winter past, 33: 11 in number, in depth four feet and six inches; most at once, nine inches, March the 19th.

June, 4th and 5th warmer with showers—6th extreme cold with high winds, freezes the ground at night—9th continues cold with a sharp frost at night which cuts beans and other tender plants to the ground—10th some frost—21st rather warmer; vegetation never known to be so backward—Indian corn scarcely fit to weed—28th cool.

July, 6th very cool for the reason—Indian corn and English grass very unpromising—18th dry and cool, no rain since the month came in of consequence—20th to 25th fine rain—26th English grass light and backward—people just beginning to hay.

August, 2d fine growing weather—winter rye scarcely fit to reap—15th fine—18th and 19th very sultry with showers—21st very cool—28th high winds and cool, some frost said to be seen in low lands.

ROADS

To the principal towns on the continent, from Boston, with the distances and names of innkeepers.

The author of this Almanack will be greatly obliged to any gentleman for a correct list of the innkeepers, distances, &c. on any road herein mentioned, scaled up and lodged at the sign of the Lamb, Boston, directed to E. B. Thomas, West Boylston.

From Boston to Newport, over the Neck, through Rehoboth, Wrentham, Attleborough, Rehoboth, Warren, Bristol, and Newport, 144	To Montreal and Quebec, 94 Walden 2 Rockingham 5 Chester 7 Cavendish 9 Ludlow 11 Montholby 12 Shrewsbury 13 Clarendon 14 Kendal 15 Gosh 16 Woodard 17 Johnston 18 Bell 19 Painter 20 Hawley 21 Barnes 22 Faries 23 Crain 24 Hullgate 25 Golden 26 Herry 27 Ferry to North Hero 28 Herry's Ferry 29 Alburgh 30 Swags Point 31 Latitude 43d		
To Plymouth and Cape Cod, 70 Dorchester 4 Quincy 5 Weymouth 6 Fingham 7 Scituate 8 Haverhill 9 Pembroke 10 Duxbury 11 Kingston 12 Plymouth 13	Road to New- Bedford, 40 Derchester 4 Quincy 5 Weymouth 6 Shaw 7 New 8 Brewster 9 Cross 10 Lancaster 11 Beth 12 Samson 13	To Walpole, Windsor (V.), Hanover, Dartmouth Col. &c., 60 Cambridge 4 Menotomy 5 Lexington 6 Concord 7 Acton 8 Littleton 9 Groton 10 Page 11 Brown 12 Warren 13 Attans 14 Meylan 15 Loring 16 Milklin 17 Sweeter 18 Melton, Pierce 19 Goodnow 20 Southard 21 Wightman 22 Hunt 23 Rly 24 Chase 25 Per 26 Childs 27 Woods 28	St. John's 4 Hall way house 5 Leopold 6 Ferry to Montreal 7 Fros Riviere 8 Quebec 9 492
To Martha's Vineyard, 60 Sandwich 60 Falmouth 61 Falmouthtown 62 Woods Hole 63 Over the ferry to the Vine 64	To Dartmouth College, &c., 40 Amherst & Windsor 4 Windsor 5 Woburn 6 Sileria 7 Charlottesville 8 Fynchborough 9 Swallow 10 Pollard 11 Patterson 12 Eaton 13 Convers 14 Ray 15 Green 16 M'Neil 17 Philbrick 18 Farnsworth 19 Barnard 20		

The lane of Russell and Bascom do not stand on the most direct post road.

ILLUSTRATION 6 a

Clarendon	12	Back road to Portland.	Pratford	Melrose
Windser	9	Ynnfield hotel	Lewis 12	Shute
Meriden	8	Topsheld hotel	Cleveland 11	Colley 1
Windsor Ferry	10	Newbury Port	Orland 11	Emerson 14
Lebanon	3	King Bridge	Wich 7	Wilham 14
Manover, Dartm. College	8	Hampton falls	Wich 7	Langdon 12
		Wheatland	Howe 9	Clark 7
		Piscataqua bridge	Dowse 8	Hill 3
		Round by Portsmouth Ex	Sullivan ferry	Hill 3
		miles further	Gouldsboro	Hill 3
10 Norwich & New London	26	Dover	Westworth	Upton 1
Atchborough	26	Somerworth	Howe 9	Archibald 11
Southwest	26	Berwick	Allen & Foss	Jocobson 11
Colchester	26	Doughy's falls	Hatch	Whitney 1
Schmitt	26	Wich	Littlefield	Chatham 1
10 Merrimack	26	Howe	Hobbs	
10 Merrimack	26	Kerns	Hobbs	
10 Merrimack	26	Kerns	Hobbs	
10 Merrimack	26	Kerns	Hobbs	
10 Merrimack	26	Kerns	Hobbs	
10 Merrimack	26	Kerns	Hobbs	
10 Merrimack	26	Kerns	Hobbs	
10 Merrimack	26	Kerns	Hobbs	
10 Merrimack	26	Kerns	Hobbs	
10 Merrimack	26	Kerns	Hobbs	

From Boston to Hartford and New Haven	9	Patridgebold	10	Whitney
	9	Whiting	10	Greenfield
	9	Waterman	10	Barnardston
	9	Allen	10	Brattleboro
	9	Broad	10	Gutney
	9	New Lebanon Springs	10	Walpole bridge
	9	Can. st	10	Charlestown, No. 4
	9	Stevenson	10	Williamstown
	9	Schoedick	10	Albany
	9	ditto	10	Albany
	9	Green both	10	Albany
	9	Albany ferry	10	Albany
	9	Albany	10	Albany
	9	Albany	10	Albany
	9	Albany	10	Albany
	9	Albany	10	Albany
	9	Albany	10	Albany
	9	Albany	10	Albany
	9	Albany	10	Albany
	9	Albany	10	Albany
	9	Albany	10	Albany
	9	Albany	10	Albany

Principal houses

Where stages stop

ILLUSTRATION 7

Whitman's 1800 Farmer's Almanack cover listing of roads and back cover used as diary page

April 16. to a journey to Mr. Whitman's from Paris for Goumel

April 24. to travel & attendance to Probate Court
to cash paid at Probate office - 0.75

May 1. to Notifying the Commissioner to a journey to G. Gorkham's after a gun belonging to the estate & a pair of sheepskins left at Gorkham's

May 3. to a journey to Lieut. Sturklands to sell personal estate

May 5. to a journey of Phillips after a saddle belonging to the estate & to G. Blake & paying him cash 3.20 towards road execution

July 5. to a journey to Frances

July 6. to service with D. Hale

July 7. to a journey to D. Hale & Porter, on Howard's execution

July 16. to a journey to Mr. Shinnery collect money to pay Howard's execution

17 to a jour to G. Porter & paying cash on Howard's execution.

to a journey to Major Pollard & settling & paying cash 1.18 to.

July 20 to settling with J. Silvester & paying a journey to G. Porter & cash \$5. towards Howard's execution

July 24. to a journey to G. Porter & pay cash 3.26 towards Howard's ex

BOOKS AND STATIONERY

WEST & RICHARDSON,
 Stationery Book-Store, No. 75 Cornhill, Boston.

HAVE constantly for sale, a well assorted and large collection of
 BOOKS in every branch of Literature. Also, Bibles, Testa-
 ments, and Spelling Books of every size. Psalm Books, Primers, &c. by the
 gross, dozen, or single together with every article in the STATIONERY
 line, with all of which Country Merchants and others may be sup-
 plied, Wholesale or Retail.

Social and Private Libraries supplied on reasonable terms.

(The bottom portion of the image shows a grid of small text, likely a list of books or stationery items, which is mostly illegible due to the image quality.)

ILLUSTRATION 7a



...for counsel how to
with the States property

May 12. to a journey to Capt. Belling
haver instructions & getting advices

May 14. to a journey to Lieut. Strickland
getting up advices

May 15. to a journey attending Vaudreuil

May 17. to a day settling with D. Hale
of Capt. & Dillingham settling
with Capt. Dillingham

to a journey to have to set

May 18. 45
to do David Hale & paying 5 92
on Howard's execution
to a journey to D. Gorham
and Lieut. Whitman for counsel
with the States

Aug 7 to the day with the Governor
by advertisement

Aug 14 to settling J. Boryant
with notes B. 7. 94
Keyholes note B. 13. 96.

Aug 21. to a day with the Governor

Aug 23. to a journey after

Aug 24 to a journey to D. Hale

ILLUSTRATION 8

1801 Massachusetts Militia Handbook, "the property of Nath'l Perley, Hastings Strickland, John Strickland, and Joshua Whitman, price 2/3, Turner, Maine."

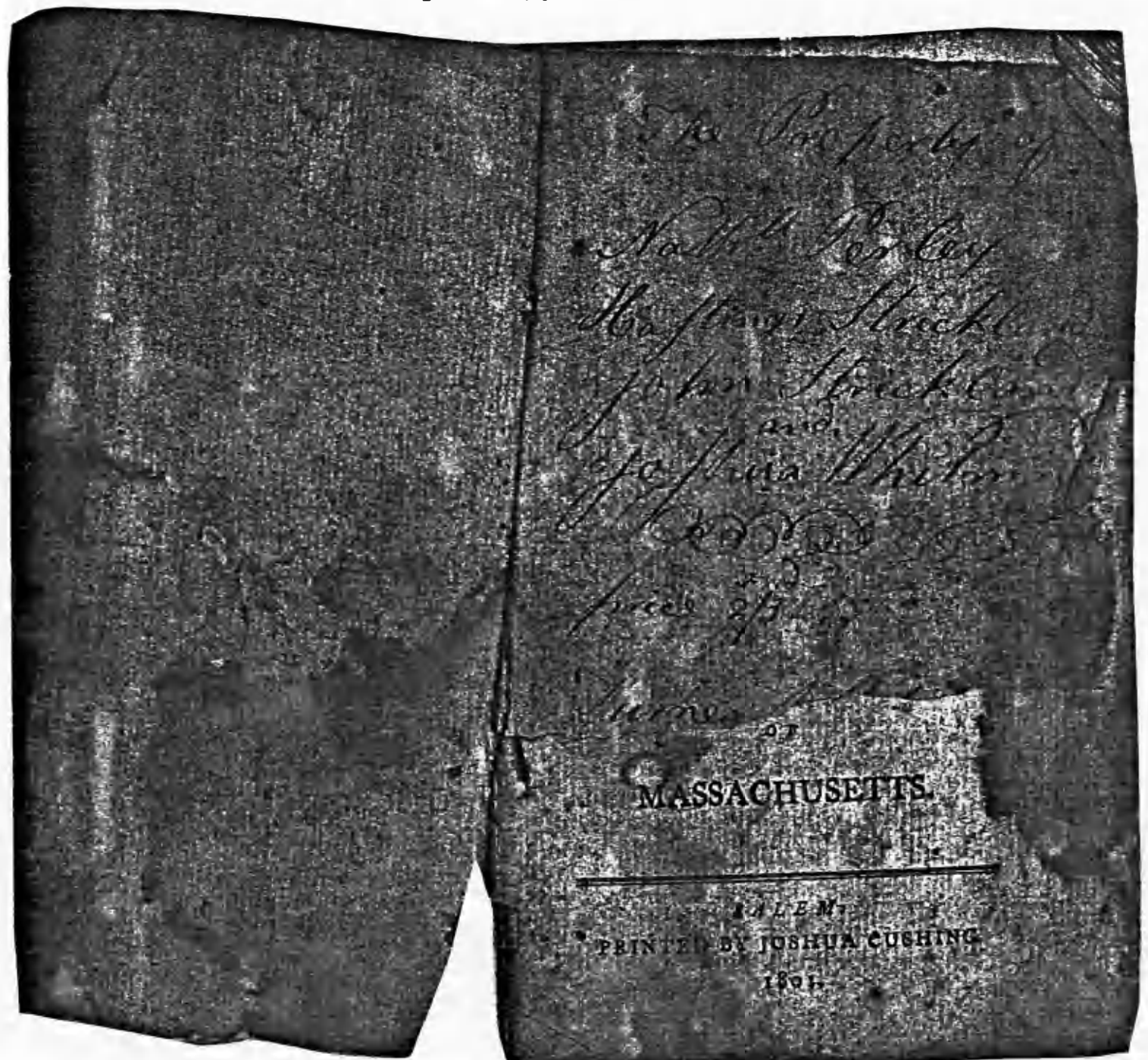


ILLUSTRATION 8a

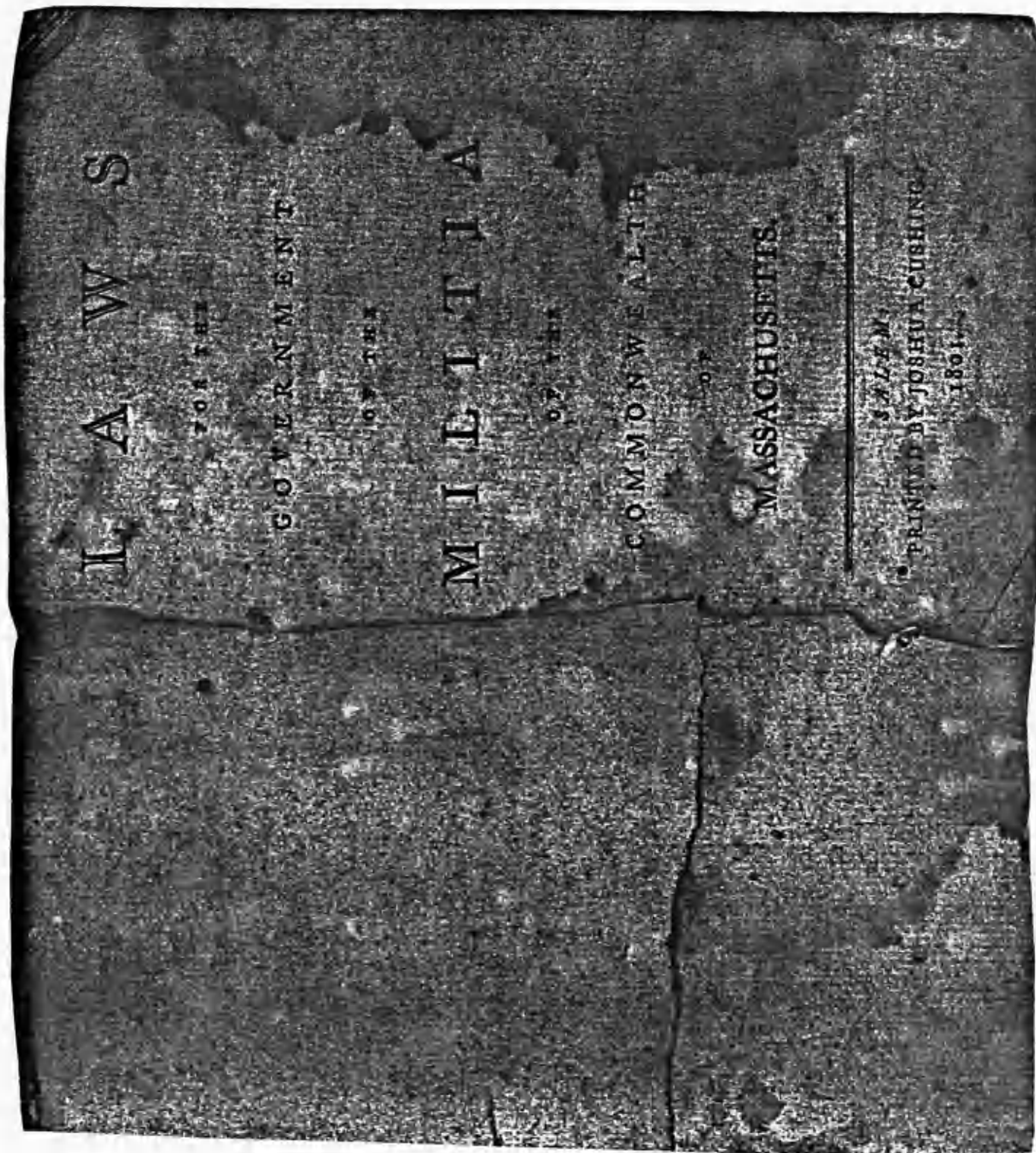


ILLUSTRATION 8b

L A W S

FOR THE

GOVERNMENT OF THE MILITIA

LAW OF THE UNITED STATES

Enacted May 11, 1902

Sec. 1. *E. is amended.* That, each and every free-born, white male citizen of the respective States, resident therein, who is or shall be of the age of fifteen years and under the age of forty-five years, (except as is herein after excepted) shall severally and respectively be enrolled in the militia by the captain or commanding officer of the company within whose bounds such citizen shall reside, and that within twelve months after the passing of this act. And it shall at all times hereafter be the duty of every lieutenant or commanding officer of a company to enrol every such citizen as aforesaid, and also those who shall from time to time arrive at the age of 18 years, or, being at the age of 18 years, and under the age of 45 years (except as before excepted) shall come to reside within his bounds, and shall without delay notify such citizen of the said enrolment, by a proper non-commissioned

ILLUSTRATION 9

Map of western and coastal Maine, noting Joshua Whitman's market trip destinations

From The Maine Map and Guide, DeLorme Publishing Co., Freeport, Maine, editor Jon Luoma.

ILLUSTRATION 9

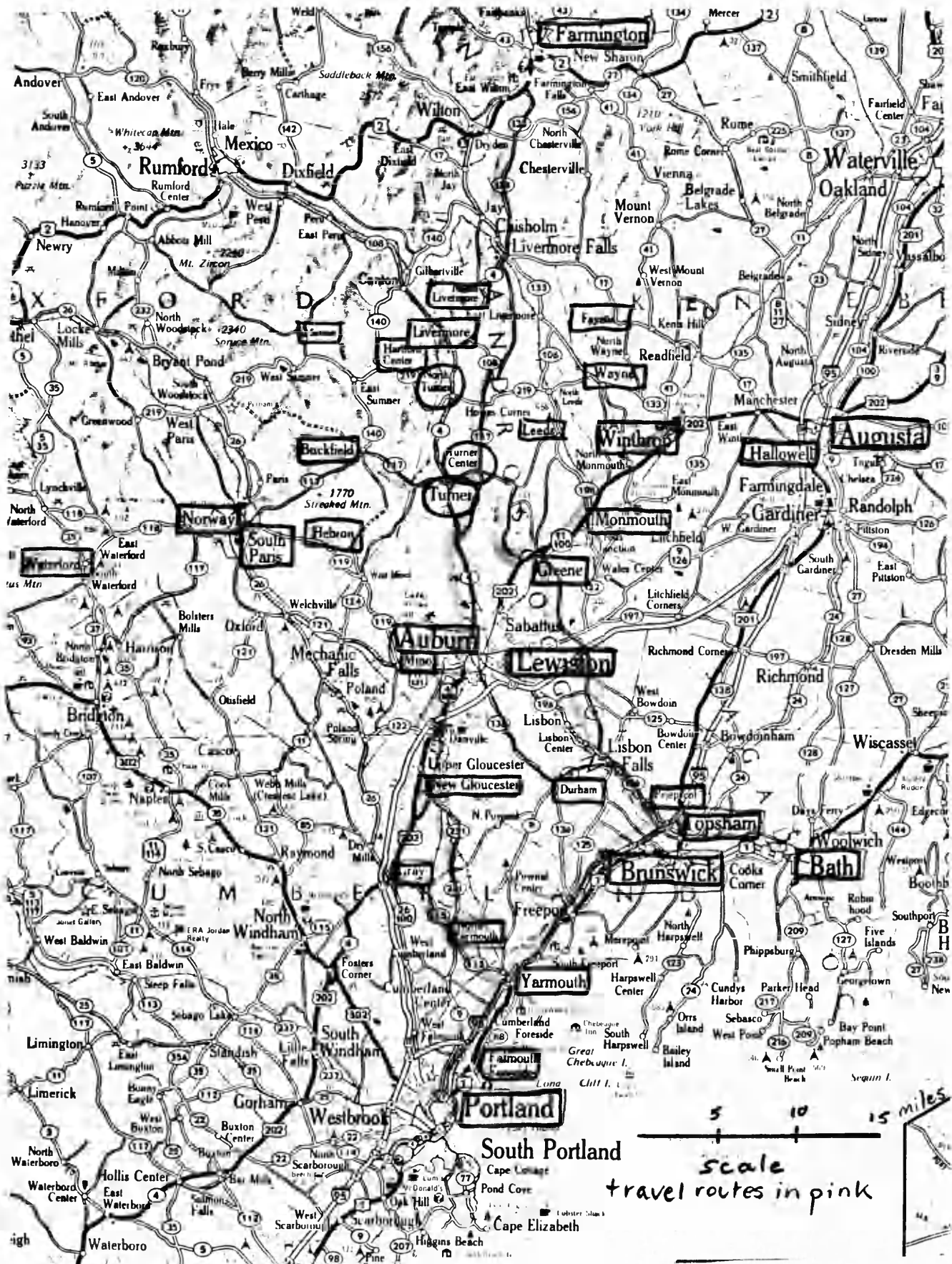


ILLUSTRATION 10

Map of Whitman Homesite and neighboring villages to Turner

From The Maine Atlas and Gazetteer, DeLorme Publishing Co., Eighth Edition, Freeport, Maine, 1983, Map 11.

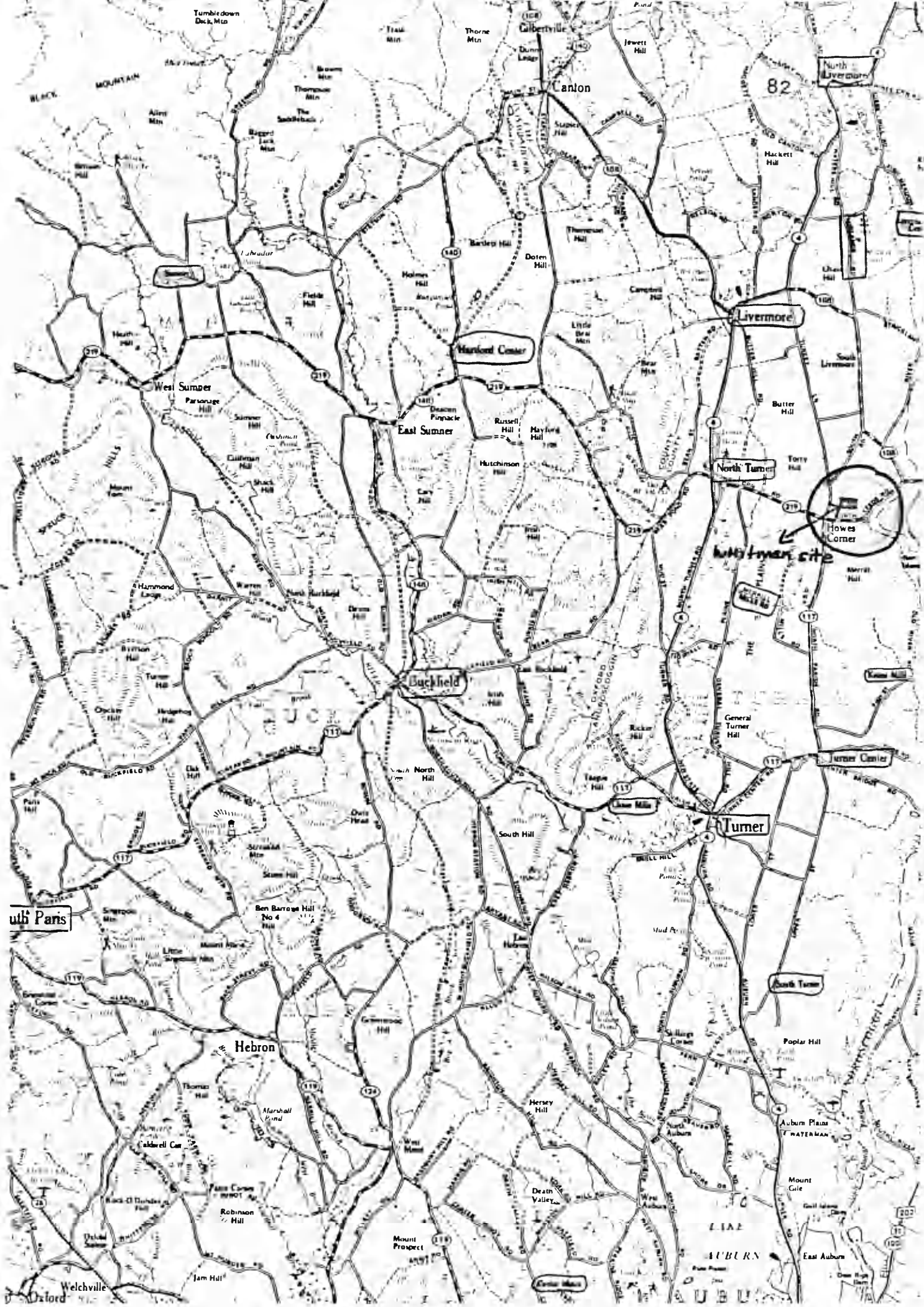
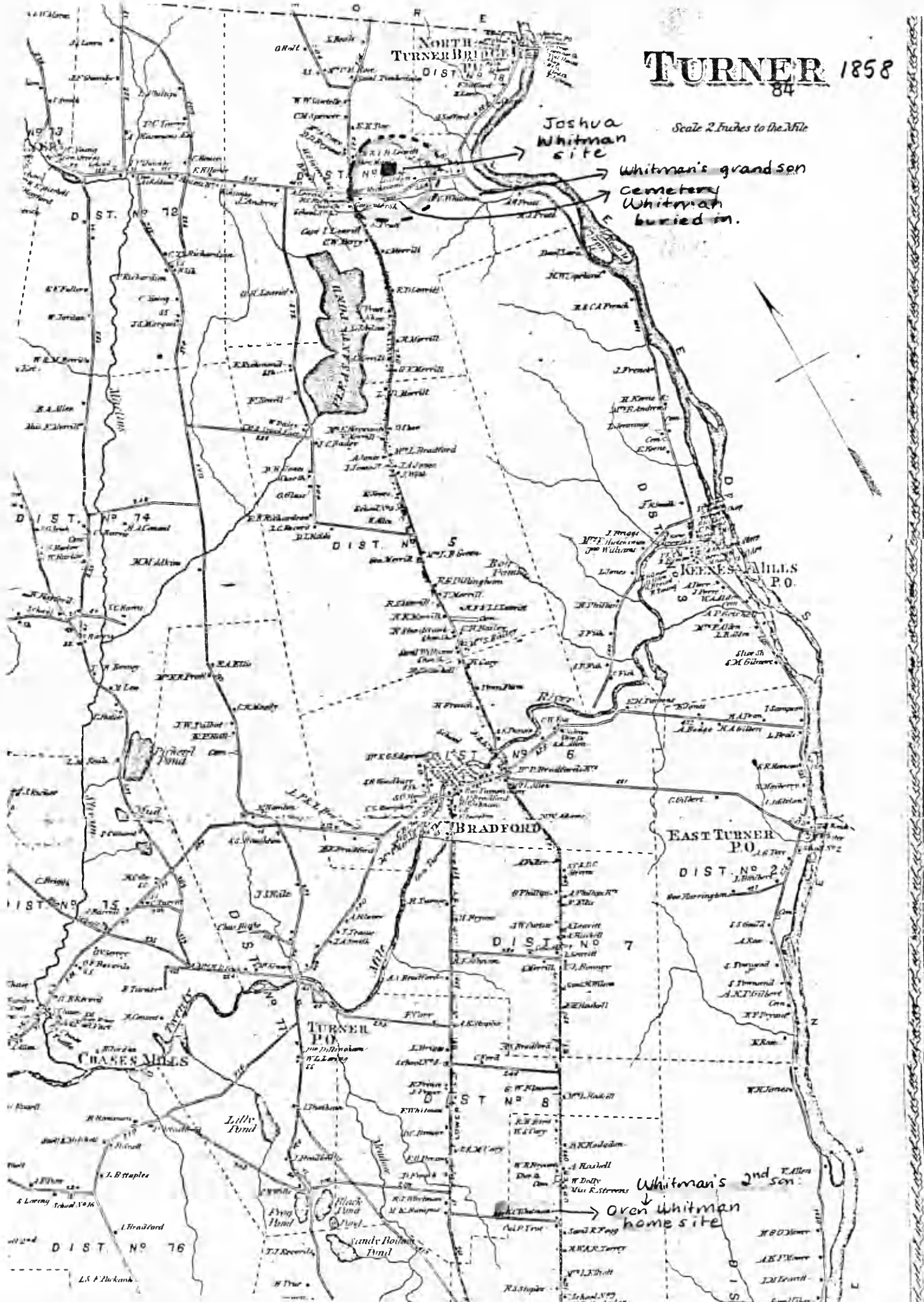


ILLUSTRATION 11
1858 Map of Turner, Maine

TURNER 1858

84

Scale 2 Inches to the Mile



Joshua Whitman site

Whitman's grandson Cemetery Whitman buried in.

EAST TURNER P.O.
DIST. NO. 2

BRADFORD

TURNER P.O.

Whitman's 2nd son
Oren Whitman home site

DIST. NO. 76

DIST. NO. 15

DIST. NO. 5

DIST. NO. 6

DIST. NO. 7

DIST. NO. 8

NORTH TURNER BRIDGE
DIST. NO. 78

GENESEE FALLS P.O.

L.S. F. Duckank

ILLUSTRATION 12
1795 Map of Maine

From Sullivan, The History of the District of Maine, 1795.

Scale of English Statute Miles

Explanation.
 Mountains
 Boundaries of Counties
 Boundaries of Towns and Plantations
 Courts Towns or Towns where Courts are held.



References

- A Granted to Sufferers of Portland
- B to Taunton Academy
- C to Proprietors of Warren & Goggin
- D to Herwick Academy
- E to Hollowell Academy
- F to Barnard & Others



ILLUSTRATION 13

Plan of the Town of Turner, Maine, 1887

From French, A History of Turner, Maine, 1887.

ILLUSTRATION 13

Plan of the Town of Turner, Maine, 1887

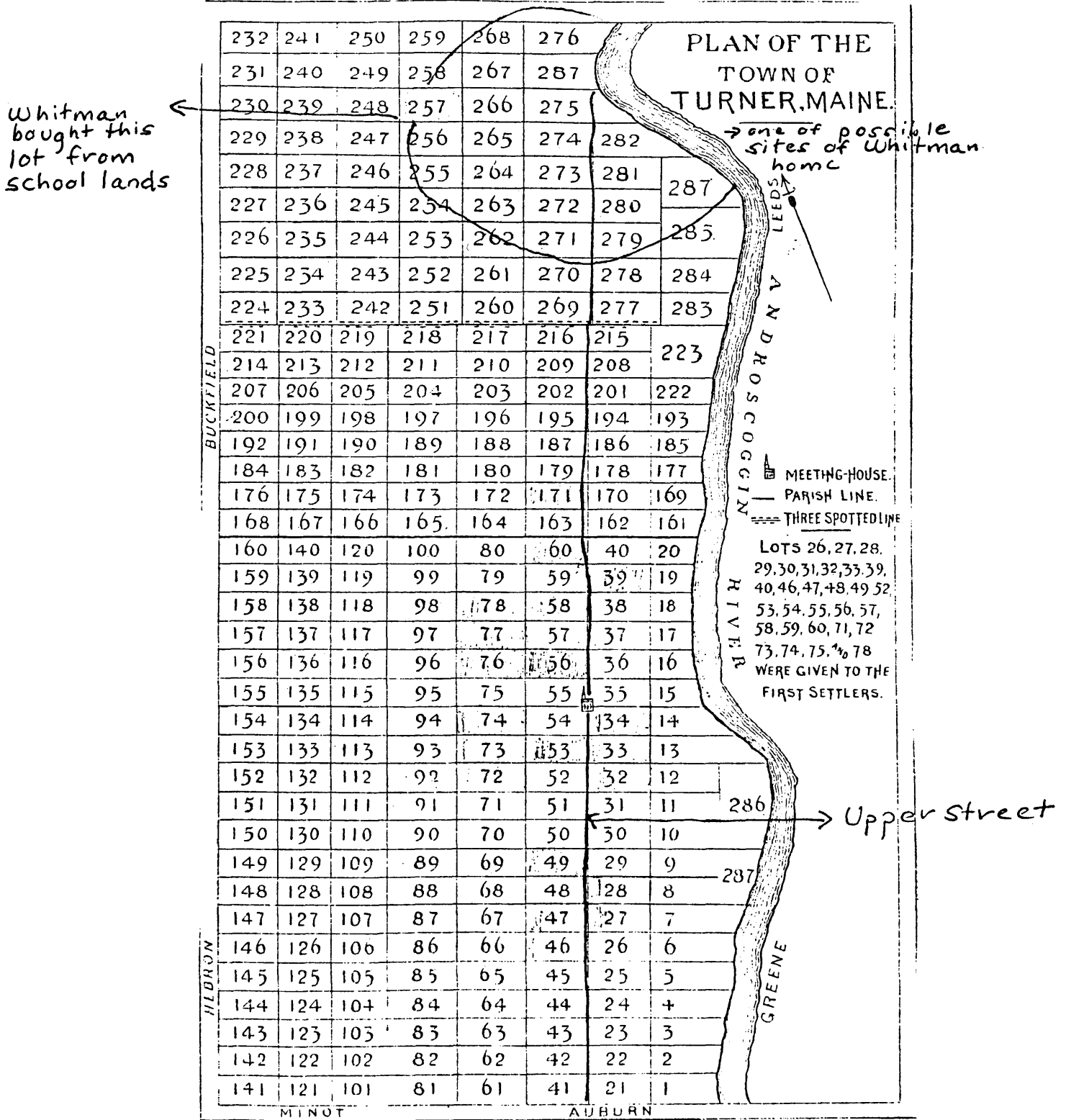


ILLUSTRATION 13 a

Key to the "Plan of the Town of Turner, Maine, 1887"

Exact lot number of Whitman's site is not known, but records indicated that he purchased Lot #257 from the school and this piece of property may have been located near the Whitman homesite. Local sources believe the first Whitman home was located on House's Hill, across from the cemetery in which Joshua and Lucretia Whitman are buried. (see location on Illustration 11)

The map lists lots primarily given to the early settlers. Joshua Whitman traded with these settlers and several neighbors in North Turner.

Israel Haskell: 27
 Moses Stevens: 32
 Hezekiah Bryant: 58
 Joseph Leavitt: 53
 Jabez Merrill: 58
 Abner Phillips: 28
 Richard Phillips: 39
 William Bradford: 56
 Samuel Blake: mill lot
 John Keen: 34
 Josiah Staples: 49
 Daniel Briggs: 48
 Stephen Bryant: 74
 Seth Staples: 33
 Daniel Staples: 33
 Jacob Leavitt lived with his son, Joseph.
 Jotham Briggs: 47
 Henry Jones: 77
 Ezekiel Bradford: 60
 Chandler Bradford: 47
 Jesse Bradford: 171
 Martin Bradford: 62
 Daniel French: 72
 Dr. Daniel Child: 78
 Dr. Luther Cary: 73
 Ezra Cary: 26
 Daniel Cary: 76

APPENDIX

Historic diaries, such as Whitman's farm journals, contain a wealth of information that contribute to the historical interpretation of rural early nineteenth century New England communities. However, reaching this information is a complicated task. The narrative, informal, and inconsistent format of such diaries, including no indexes, illegible handwriting, and the massive amounts of different data make diaries particularly cumbersome historical tools. Typed transcriptions of diary materials solve the illegibility problem, but do not provide a method of pulling particular data from the materials, except through page by page examination.

Computer assistance greatly facilitates the organization of journal data for historical analysis. The first step of this process is determining what particular journal information the user wants to examine, and then coding this data on to coding forms to make the journal material computer readable.

The particular data pulled from the Whitman journals for analysis was trade information which would contribute to the understanding of pre-industrial economy in New England. By pulling all descriptive data noted by Whitman regarding a trade transaction and coding this information, a data base for analysis was established. Information pulled from the Whitman diaries for each trade transaction for a year was

divided into three data sets: A) trade transaction descriptive information, B) identification of people involved in each trade transaction, and C) names of all trade partners and any descriptive personal information. A description of the data sets follows below.

Data Set A: trade transaction descriptive information including,

- identification number of transaction
- day, month, and year of transaction
- occupation of trade partner
- residence of trade partner
- sex of trade partner
- type of trade, ie, credit, barter, animal or land exchange, market trip, etc.
- type of goods traded, ie, wool, suet, tobacco, etc.
- amount of good traded, ie. number of bushels, gallons, feet, pints, etc.
- value of goods traded and type of currency, ie. dollars or pounds, cents or shillings
- cross indexing of trade transaction to other related trade transactions

Data Set B: identification of people involved in each trade transaction including,

- identification number of trade transaction
- identification of trade partner 1
- identification of trade partner 2

Data Set C: identification number for all people involved in trade for the year 1809, including

- identification number for person
- last name
- first name
- descriptive information

After coding all the necessary descriptive information for each trade transaction a program was designed to analyze the trade and determine various patterns. Questions asked included:

- the number of male to male trade transactions
- the number of female to male trade transactions
- the number of female to female trade transactions

- frequency of trade with particular individuals
- seasonal patterns of trade,
 - month or season most trade occurred
 - seasonal patterns of types of goods traded
- location of trade transactions,
 - frequency of local trade (vertical)
 - frequency of distant trade (horizontal)
- frequency of types of trade, ie. barter, credit, lending, loan of animal or pasture, etc.
- frequency of trade in pounds or dollars
- value of goods traded in a given time period
- frequency of types of goods traded
- frequency of particular occupations of trade partners

Trade patterns are but one of many types of information that can be analyzed in the Whitman diaries. Similar coding and programs can be written to examine agricultural patterns, foodways, visiting patterns, community relations, weather patterns, building patterns, etc. A two-fold project of transcribing the diaries onto a computer and organizing the data by topic, ie. trade transactions, seed types, meat preservation, weather, would transform the journals from interesting reading material into an organized source of retrievable primary historical material.

APPENDIX A
TYPE OF TRADE

Type of Trade	%	# of cases
Bought goods with money	18	112
Sold goods for money	11	68
Traded goods for goods	14	85
Exchanged labor	11	66
Borrowed goods to be returned	3	17
Took goods on credit	1	8
Returned lent goods	2	14
Paid out cash	7	44
Lent goods	21	129
Took "note" for future payment	2	12
Received an "order"	.5	3
Received pay for a transaction	5	33
Hired help	2	12
Returned borrowed goods	.2	1
Take animal to pasture	1	9
Traded notes	.8	5
Due Bill	.1	6
TOTAL	100	624

APPENDIX B

Percentage of Occupations represented in 1809 Whitman Trade

Occupation	%	# of cases
Cobbler	2	2
Doctor	7	7
Farmer	63	63
Fulling Mill	1	1
Hired Help	1	1
Minister	1	1
Storekeeper	10	10
Innkeeper	1	1
Tin man	1	1
Tanner	3	3
Potter	1	1
Blacksmith	2	2
Miller	2	2
Schoolmaster	1	1
Total	100	100

APPENDIX C

Number of Trade Transactions per month

Month	%	# of transactions
January	7	46
February	8	49
March	10	61
April	5	34
May	8	52
June	9	60
July	8	61
August	6	41
September	6	37
October	6	37
November	14	89
December	12	77
TOTAL	100	634

APPENDIX D

Frequency of Trade Transactions by Sex

# of Trade Transactions	MEN		WOMEN		Total # of Cases
	%	# of Men	%	# of Women	
4	9	10	3	4	14
3	14	16	2	2	18
2	15	17	2	2	19
1	30	35	8	9	44
5	3	4	.9	1	5
6	3	4	9	1	5
7	2	2			2
8	2	2			2
11	9	1			1
15	2	2			2
Total	83.76	98	16.24	19	117

APPENDIX E

Frequency of Trade Transactions per person with Whitman

# of trade transactions per person with Whitman	%	# of people
1	44	59
2	16	21
3	13	18
4	10	14
5	4	6
6	4	5
7	1	2
8	1	2
11	.7	1
15	1	2
16	.7	1
21	.7	1
43	.7	1
55	.7	1
68	.7	1
TOTAL	100	135

APPENDIX F

Frequency of Traders from Local Area to Turner

Residence	%	# of traders
Buckfield	.9	1
Durham	.9	1
Greene	.9	1
Livermore	3	3
Turner including	89	105
{ N. Turner S. Turner		
{ North Turner Bridge		
{ Turner Center		
{ Turner Village		
Norway	.9	1
Pejebscot	.9	1
South Paris	2	2
Sumner	.9	1
TOTAL	100	116

APPENDIX G

Women traders, 1809

Names of women traders	Residence	# of transactions
Patty Strickland	Turner	6
Lydia Sawtell	"	1
Abigail Yetten	"	4
Levina Sawtell	"	2
Phebe Root	"	4
Patty Root	"	5
Mehetable Root	"	3
Ruth Phillips	"	3
Esther Phillips	"	1
Dolly Brown	"	1

APPENDIX H

People who traded with Whitman 5 or more times in 1809

Name	Sex	Occupation/ relation to Whitman	Residence	# of transactions
Luscomb Andrews	M	neighbor	Turner	5
Blossom Leonard	M	General store	Turner	15
Mr. Cary	M	tanner	Turner	5
William Gorham	M	bandary neighbor	N. Turner Buidge	55
Dr. Timothy Howe	M	doctor/bandary neighbor	S. Turner	68
John Keen	M	saw mill	Turner	6
Joseph Leavitt	M	store owner tavern keeper	Turner	43
Joseph Ludden	M	blacksmith	Turner	11
J. T. Merrill	M	blacksmith	Turner	15
Abner Phillips	M	neighbor	N. Turner Bridge	21
Amos Phillips	M	neighbor	N. Turner Bridge	5
Oliver Pollard	M	store owner	Turner Village	7
E. Pratt	M	neighbor	N. Turner Bridge	6
J. Root	M	neighbor	Turner	
Patty Root	F	neighbor	N. Turner Buidge	5
Nathaniel Sawtell	M	neighbor	Turner	16
Samuel Soul	M	neighbor	Turner	7
Seth Staples	M	store owner	Turner	8
Patty Strickland	F	neighbor	Turner	6
Joseph Wellcome	M	neighbor	Turner	5

APPENDIX I

Sex of Trade Partners

		9%	TOTAL
Male initiated trade	male to male trade	92	575
	male to female trade	3	19
	total	95	594
female initiated trade	female to male trade	1	7
	female to female trade	4	22
	total	5	29
total		100	623

APPENDIX J

Goods traded most frequently

wheat
wool
flax
milk
catskins
cider
sheep
corn
sulphur
fixing loom
leather
upset axe
shaved shingles
cart bands
plow

APPENDIX K

Other Goods Traded, 1809

suet	harness leather
iron basin	ox shoes
brownware	feathers
ashes	horse shoe
penknife	ox goad
rum	tapts
tobacco	black ball
rides	flax seed
butter	peas
tallow	bind shingles
linen rags	repair work
salt	axe
molasses	gin
indigo	lard
fish	short coat
money	beans
lodging	spinning
pint cups	goose quills
steel	soap
pork	biscuits
turnips	hauled logs
paper	hay
potatoes	comb
heel lifts	tea
bees	veal
cib skin	barn raising
sulphur	harrow
cotton wool	make ropes
oxen	sugar
board nails	junk
help butchering hogs	pile
iron	apple trees
candles	set mares shoes
cheese	suck fish
milk pan	journal
shoes	cart
mare	calf
hides to be tanned	stud services
sleigh	plank boards
ironing sleigh	seed corn
spinning wheel	wash sheep
black elder bark	delivered baby
weld washing machine crank	nurse
paper pins	plant
darning needles	parchment
snuff	make fence on property line
corn to hoe	
fatten pig	

rot flax
 sealed measures
 cow
 lambs
 sow
 pigs
 scythe snath
 hoe
 broom
 trousers
 scythe
 haying
 carpentry
 linen hankerchief
 hauled grain to mill
 hog pasture
 brandy
 cake
 cheese tub
 coperass
 fish hooks
 thimble
 hat
 pulled flax
 out work
 reaped wheat
 sowed shingle bolts
 turned rye
 saddle
 pigeon stand
 tin for trooper's hat
 flint
 reaped oats
 umbrella brass
 apples
 nail gimblet
 shoat
 hauled vegetable for harvest
 husked corn
 ox bows
 harvest
 steers
 view oxen
 building chimney
 puttied window
 butcher
 beef
 livestock
 weaving rods and pole for loom
 hay seed
 hew timber
 tin candlestick
 milk dipper
 cat skin
 mend chimney

vinegar
 shot
 lodging
 corn stalks
 chopped wood
 lumber box
 almanac
 refuse sheepskins
 bricks
 rye sieve
 spelling books
 shingle shed
 desk
 saw
 harness
 traces
 turpentine
 bridle

NOTES

Introduction

¹ Joshua Whitman diary, 1816, loose slip of paper.

² Carole Shamas, "Consumer Behavior in Colonial America," Social Science History, 6 (1982), 67. Shamas summarizes the argument among historians regarding consumer behavior in Colonial America, presenting her belief that colonial Americans were far from being "commercial primitives." She focuses on the "in-kind" payment of farmers that were recorded in pounds, shillings, and pence, evidence of these colonists' participation in a tightly controlled British money market.

³ See Clarence A. Day, "A History of Maine Agriculture, 1604-1860," University of Maine Studies, Second Series, No. 68 (1954), 56 for the traditional image of the yeoman farmer and his wife of pre-industrial New England; "He was sturdy and self-reliant, lived wholly by his own labor, and saw his farm and buildings improve and his livestock increase year by year . . . the whole clothing industry from raw material to finished product flourished in every household . . . knitting needles clicked merrily, and quilting frames were a common sight in the kitchen.

⁴ Shamas, "Consumer Behavior," p. 83.

⁵ Bettye Hobbs Pruitt, "Self-Sufficiency and the Agricultural Economy of Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," William and Mary Quarterly, 12:3 (1984), 355.

⁶ Richard B. Sheridan, "The Domestic Economy," in Colonial British America, edited by Jack P. Green and J.R. Pole (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), pp. 67-68. Sheridan outlines the dominant historical interpretations regarding colonial domestic economy ranging from women's position in the economy to the issue of self-sufficiency to the commercial versus non-market argument. He states that economic historians studying colonial New England have traditionally focused on the external economy and viewed the domestic economy as the producer and processor of export commodities and as a market for imported goods.

Sheridan contrasts the externally-oriented economic historians with the work of social historians, who have focused on the individual, families, and communities rather than the large commercial whole.

⁷ Percy Wells Bidwell, "Rural Economy in New England at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century," Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences Transactions, 20 (1916), 268. See also Bidwell's "Agricultural Revolution in New England," American Historical Review, 26:4 (1921), 683-702; Bidwell and John J. Falconer, History of Agriculture in the Northern United States: 1620-1860 (New York: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1941); James J. Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mentalite' in Pre-Industrial America," William and Mary Quarterly, 35:3 (1978), 3-32; and Winifred B. Rothenberg, "The Market and Massachusetts Farmers, 1750-1855," Journal of Economic History, 41 (1981), 283-314. Rothenberg discusses the New Left and Marxian interpretations regarding pre-industrial market mentalite'.

⁸ Sheridan, "Domestic Economy," p. 73.

⁹ Ibid., p. 74.

¹⁰ Pruitt, "Self-Sufficiency," p. 356.

¹¹ Carole Shammas, "How Self-Sufficient Was Early America?" Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 8:2 (1982), 267.

¹² Sheridan, "Domestic Economy," p. 59. Sheridan points to the need to analyze New England towns in their regional settings, in the attempt to establish a "colonial data bank." Traditional narrative history, argues Sheridan, must be combined with "structural presentations derived from systematic analysis of long-term social, economic, and demographic change, drawing on not only quantitative data, but also letters, sermons, journals, and the like."

Chapter One

¹ Reverend W.R. French, History of Turner (Portland, Maine, 1887), p. 8.

² Ibid., p. 2.

³ Ibid., p. 5.

⁴ Ibid., p. 13.

5 Ibid., p. 15.

6 Ibid., p. 32.

7 Ibid., pp. 34, 38.

8 Ibid., p. 38.

9 Moses Greenleaf, Statistical View of the District of Maine (Boston, Massachusetts, 1816), preface.

10 Ibid., p. 16.

11 Moses Greenleaf, Survey of the State of Maine (Portland, Maine, 1829), p. 45.

12 William Willis, Journals of the Reverend Thomas Smith and the Reverend Samuel Deane (Portland, Maine, 1849), p. 361.

13 Charles E. Clark, Maine: A Bicentennial History (Nashville, Tennessee: American Association for State and Local History, 1977), p. 92.

14 Willis, Journals, p. 387.

15 American Husbandry (London, 1775; reprint New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), pp. 44-45.

16 Ibid., p. 37.

17 Greenleaf, Statistical View of Maine, p. 55.

18 Sheridan, "The Domestic Economy," p. 74.

19 Willis, Journals, p. 407.

20 Ibid.

21 Greenleaf, Statistical View of Maine, p. 55.

22 George Lyman Kittredge, The Old Farmer and His Almanack (New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1967), p. 121.

23 Ibid., p. 122. "There is a great satisfaction," wrote Thomas Bailey in 1807, "derived from living as much as possible upon the produce of one's own farm; where no poor slave has toiled in sorrow and pain; where no scoundrel has lorded over your fields; but where honest industry walks peaceful amidst the smiling fruits of his labour."

24 Nancy F. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood: Women's Sphere in New England, 1780-1835 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 24.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 Harry J. Carman, editor, Jesse Buel: Agricultural Reformer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947), p. 267.

28 Maine Farmer, 1833-1924. A weekly agricultural journal fostered by the Winthrop Agricultural Society and edited by Dr. Ezekiel Holmes until his death in 1835.

29 Reverend Samuel Deane, The New England Farmer, or Geographical Dictionary (Worcester, Massachusetts, 1790), p. 152.

30 Georgia Drew Merrill, ed., History of Androscoggin County (Boston, Massachusetts, 1891), p. 811.

31 American Husbandry, p. 49.

32 Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth Century America," Signs 1:1 (1975), p. 15.

33 Ibid., p. 7.

34 Ibid., p. 24.

35 Ibid., p. 11.

36 Ibid.

37 Shammass, "Self-Sufficiency," p. 253. Shammass notes that agricultural historians have paid little attention to the female side of farm production, focusing more upon the cultivation of field crops.

38 Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 39.

39 Ibid., p. 50.

40 Kittredge, Farmer and His Almanack, p. 183.

41 Timothy Dwight, Travels in New England and New York, edited by Barbara Miller Solomon (New Haven, 1822; reprint Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 1969), Vol. 1, p. 77.

⁴²American Husbandry, p.59.

⁴³Bidwell and Falconer, History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, p. 85.

⁴⁴Jared Eliot, Essays Upon Field Husbandry in New England and Other Papers, 1748-1769, edited by Harry J. Carman, Rexford G. Tugwell, and Rodney H. True (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934.) See also Deane, The New England Farmer, and Jethro Tull, Horse-Hoeing Husbandry (London, 1751).

⁴⁵William R. Baron and Anne E. Bridges, "Making Hay in Northern New England: Maine as a Case Study," Agricultural History, 57 (1983),170.

⁴⁶Willis, Journals, p. 368.

⁴⁷Day, A History of Maine Agriculture, p. 235.

⁴⁸Clarence Danhof, "Tools and Implements of Agriculture, 1790-1840", Agricultural History, 46 (1972),85.

⁴⁹Day, A History of Maine Agriculture, p. 104.

⁵⁰Danhof, "Tools and Implements," p.87.

⁵¹Howard S. Russell, A Long, Deep Furrow: Three Centuries of Farming in New England (Hanover, New Hampshire: New England University Press, 1982), p. 172.

⁵²Day, A History of Maine Agriculture, p. 104.

⁵³Ibid.,p.151.

⁵⁴Russell, A Long, Deep Furrow,p.130.

⁵⁵Joseph Schafer, Social History of American Agriculture (New York: MacMillan Press, 1936),p.55.

⁵⁶Day, A History of Maine Agriculture, p.130.

⁵⁷Baron and Bridges, "Hay in Northern New England." p. 169.

⁵⁸Ralph Singleton, "Agricultural Plants, 1790-1840". Agricultural History, 46 (1972),76.

⁵⁹Kittredge, Farmer and His Almanack, p.85.

- 60 Dwight, Travels in New England, Vol. 1, p. 19.
- 61 American Husbandry, p. 41.
- 62 Dwight, Travels in New England, Vol. 1, p. 19.
- 63 John Beale Bordley, Essays and Notes on Husbandry and Rural Affairs (Philadelphia, 1801), p. 132.
- 64 Deane, New England Farmer, p. 201.
- 65 American Husbandry, p. 42.
- 66 Pruitt, "Self-Sufficiency," p. 349.
- 67 Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "A Friendly Neighbor: Social Dimensions of Daily Work in Northern Colonial New England," Feminist Studies, 6 (1980), 399.
- 68 Cott, Bonds of Womenhood, p. 59.
- 69 E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," Past and Present, 38 (1967), 56-97.
- 70 Kittredge, Farmer and His Almanack, p. 81.
- 71 Ibid., p. 179.
- 72 Darrett Rutman, "The Social Web: A Prospectus for the Study of Early American Community," in Insights and Paralels: Problems and Issues in American Social History, edited by W.L. O'Neill (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Burgess Publishing Company, 1973), pp. 57-89.
- 73 Kittredge, Farmer and His Almanack, p. 169.
- 74 Jane Marie Pederson, "The Country Visitor: Patterns of Hospitality in Rural Wisconsin, 1880-1925," Agricultural History, 58 (1984), p. 355.
- 75 Charles H. Farnam, History of the Descendants of John Whitman of Weymouth, Massachusetts (New Haven, Connecticut, 1889), p. 339.

Chapter Two

- 1 Joshua Whitman, "Farmer's Records," Maine Farmer, Nov. 7, 1840, pp. 354-356.

² Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in The Interpretation of Cultures (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973), p. 6, 14. Geertz describes how ethnographic research is more than selecting informants, transcribing texts, and being out in the "field." It is a way of providing a "thick description" of a community. Whitman's diaries add to a description of what Turner, Maine was like from 1800 to 1856.

³ Chapter One discusses the multi-purpose nature of a farmer who besides being husbandman was also carpenter, cobbler, blacksmith, tanner, mason, etc. Most "farmers" possessed a myriad of skills and usually specialized in one or more as a side craft to help support his farming operation. Trade, like farming, had many guises--barter, lending, credit, use of pasture, land swapping, cash purchases, trade of notes and orders from person to person, labor exchange, and market trips.

⁴ Timothy Dwight, Travels in New England, Vol. 1, p. x.

⁵ James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms," p. 11. Henretta was referring to the theory of Charles S. Grant in Grant's book, Democracy in the Connecticut Frontier Town of Kent (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961). See also Winifred B. Rothenberg, "The Market and Massachusetts Farmers, 1750-1855," Journal of Economic History, 41 (1981), p. 285. Rothenberg discusses the historiographical range of "beliefs" regarding market mentalite' in the pre-industrial farm population, including those of the New Left as popularized in Barton J. Bernstein, editor, Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968). Rothenberg asserts that the New Left draws upon Marxist ideology and the perspective of Karl Polanyi finding the absence of market as clear evidence of pre-capitalist, cooperative societies. See Sheridan's "Domestic Economy," for a historiographical summary of the pre-industrial economy "argument."

⁶ Clarence H. Danhof, Change in Agriculture: The Northern United States, 1820-1870 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 1, 2. Danhof argues that the "change" in agriculture did not occur until 1820 when a market developed as a result of a growing population and industrialism.

⁷ Percy Bidwell, "Rural Economy in New England at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century," Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences Transactions, 20 (1916), p. 268.

⁸ Ibid., p. 330.

⁹ Henretta, "Families and Farms," p. 10. Henretta criticized the description of "liberal consciousness" and "accumulation-oriented behavior" to pre-industrial settlers in James T. Lemon's The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania (Baltimore, 1972); Philip J. Greven's Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (Ithaca, New York, 1970); Richard Bushman's From Puritan to Yankee (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967); and Charles S. Grant's Democracy in the Connecticut Frontier Town of Kent (New York, 1961).

¹⁰ Rothenberg, "Market and Massachusetts Farmers," p. 284.

¹¹ Bidwell, "Rural Economy," p. 353, and Henretta, "Families and Farms," p. 15.

¹² Henretta, "Families and Farms," p. 15.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Rothenberg, "Market and Massachusetts Farmers," p. 302. Rothenberg refers to the work of Rodney C. Loehr who used farm diaries and travelers' accounts that disagreed with the theories of Percy Bidwell. See Rodney C. Loehr, "Self-Sufficiency on the Farm," Agricultural History, 26 (1952), pp. 37-41.

¹⁵ To analyze the Whitman diaries the information was broken down into categories--trade, visiting networks, community events, seasonal activities, weather, people--and coded for a computer program. Linking of these data groups will facilitate analysis of kinship, trade, community organization, and market imbeddedness. See appendix.

¹⁶ Pruitt, "Self-Sufficiency," p. 363.

¹⁷ Grant, Democracy in the Connecticut Frontier Town of Kent. See also Bushman, From Puritan to Yankee.

¹⁸ Rothenberg, "Market and Massachusetts Farmers," p. 284, refers to Bushman, From Puritan to Yankee.

¹⁹ James T. Lemon, "The Weakness of Place and Community in Early Pennsylvania," in European Settlement and Development in North America: Essays on Geographical Change in Honor of Andrew Hill Clark, edited by James R. Gibson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 206.

²⁰ Ibid.

- 21 Shammass, "Consumer Behavior," p. 80
- 22 Ibid., p. 83. "Many of the major issues of the early national period," writes Shammass, "the formation of a national bank, the role of manufactures, tariff regulation, and the reliance on unfree labor--arose as a result of the conversion of America to nation-state status in the Capitalist world economy, not because some new market mentality had emerged with nascent industrialization."
- 23 Shammass, "Self-Sufficiency," p. 249. Shammass describes the development of the Yankee farmer as a source of national pride, adopted by early textbook writers as "a symbol of America's superiority over decadent Europe." See also Robert Gross, "Culture and Cultivation: Agriculture and Society in Thoreau's Concord," The Journal of American History, 69 (1982), 45.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Shammass, "Self-Sufficiency," p. 268.
- 26 Henretta, "Families and Farms," p. 21.
- 27 Philip J. Greven, Jr., "Family Structure in Seventeenth Century Andover, Massachusetts," in Interpreting Colonial America, edited by James Kirby Martin (New York: Harper and Row, 1978).
- 28 Rutman, "The Social Web," pp. 71-72.
- 29 Anne E. Yentsch, "Understanding Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Families: An Experiment in Historical Ethnography," (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Brown University, 1975).
- 30 Henretta, "Families and Farms," p. 21.
- 31 Ibid., p. 32.
- 32 Charles H. Farnam, Descendants of John Whitman, p. 338.
- 33 Ibid., pp. 339-348.
- 34 Richard C. Waldbauer, "Tending the Sacred Fire: The Archaeology of a Rural Ideal" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Williamsburg, Virginia, January, 1984), p. 4.
- 35 Rutman, "The Social Web," p. 74.
- 36 Ibid., p. 73.

37 Ibid., pp. 61, 83. Rutman discusses the vertical links of a community--those ties developed by villagers outside of the community that link several villages--and the horizontal links--those ties developed by villagers within the village.

38 Henretta, "Families and Farms," p. 29. Henretta refers to Daniel Scott Smith's "Child-Naming Patterns and Family Structure Change: Hingham, Massachusetts, 1640-1880," (unpublished paper, 1975).

39 French, History of Turner, p. 195.

40 Ibid., p. 169.

41 A day-long symposium was held at Historic Deerfield, Massachusetts, to emphasize the use of account books and diaries as historical sources; Historic Deerfield has over 375 account books in its collection alone. "Early American Account Books: Needs and Opportunities for Study," May 24, 1984. See also W.T. Baxter, The House of Hancock: Business in Boston, 1724-1775 (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1965), pp. 17, 34; and Sheridan, "The Domestic Economy," p. 73.

42 Baxter, House of Hancock, p. 17.

43 Sheridan, "Domestic Economy," p. 73.

44 Shammass, "Self-Sufficiency," p. 262.

45 Ibid.

46 Ulrich, "The Friendly Neighbor," p. 398.

47 Greenleaf, Survey of the State of Maine, p. 272.

48 Rothenberg, "Market and Massachusetts Farmers," p. 293.

49 Ibid.

50 Kittredge, Farmer and His Almanack, p. 304.

51 In 1807 Elkanah Watson, a western Massachusetts farmer exhibited two merino sheep on the Pittsfield town green. This exhibit encouraged Watson to pursue the idea of agricultural fairs as the method to reach the working farmers. Watson's fairs appealed to the working farmer who was interested in dollar and cents information, rather than the silver plate and premiums of the elite agricultural societies. Farmers turned to the agricultural fairs as a place to obtain practical information, while involving the

entire family in a celebration of the rural way of life. See Mark A. Mastromarino, "'The Best Hopes of Agriculture': The History of the Agricultural Fair in Massachusetts from 1800 to 1860." (Unpublished Bachelor's thesis, Boston College, 1983).

52 Anne E. Bridges and David Smith, "The Brighton Market: Feeding Nineteenth Century Boston," Agricultural History, 56 (1982), 3.

53 Ibid., p. 11.

54 Baxter, House of Hancock, p. 24.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid., p. 30.

57 Ibid.

58 Whitman, "Farmer's Records," pp. 354-356.

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