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**REINSMEN, ROADWAYS AND THE EMERGING NORTHERN
MAINE FRONTIER, 1810-1860**

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A THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

(in Interdisciplinary Studies)

The Graduate School

The University of Maine

May 2022

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An Abstract of the Thesis Presented
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Nineteenth century reinsmen transported needed and scarce supplies, logs, people and mail in Northern Maine, on the few cut roads and rough trails before railroads arrived. Their work was the only land transportation method available to Northern Maine's lumber camps and settlements between 1810-1860, making their labors critical to Aroostook County's social, cultural and economic growth. Reinsmen drove teams of horses or oxen attached to a cart, wagon, dray, sleigh, sled or specialized log jumper into Maine's forests or from Woodstock, New Brunswick and Bangor, Maine to Aroostook County.

Reinsmen were once known and respected in Aroostook County for their hard work and daring, holding an esteemed place in society, but today are almost wholly forgotten and unknown. Untold numbers of men and some women were reinsmen in a sparsely settled and unforgiving environment of Northern Maine during the nineteenth century, yet few reinsmen stories survived. More is known about the roads they traveled, and equipment used than about the people themselves. One reinsman, Henry Allen, was not only unknown, but a mystery. Allen, a woman disguised as a man, performed the job successfully without revealing her gender. This research uncovers this early important, yet near forgotten occupation, by exploring reinsmen life stories, hazards and rewards, routes, equipment, and the people and businesses they encountered.

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LIST OF DEFINITIONS

| Term | Definition |
|-----------------|---|
| Aroostook Wagon | An early nineteenth century heavy wagon, uniquely designed to pull heavy loads on roads and rough trails in Maine's northern frontier, built with a high body, wheels with steel axles and heavy brakes. |
| Army Teamster | A title used to describe a person who transports supplies and goods for the U.S. Army. During the Aroostook War, several early reinsmen worked for the U.S. Army as Army Teamsters. |
| Cart | A wooden vehicle pulled by oxen to transport goods, often with interchangeable sides. Used extensively during the early nineteenth century in Northern Maine in settlements and on rough trails. Often had wide wheels to prevent sinking into muddy roads. |
| Cantdog | A wooden pole with a hook and metal spike used to maneuver logs in river drives or for handling logs in general. |
| Catamount | A general term for large wild cats in the nineteenth century. The term includes panthers, cougars, northern lynx, bobcat, mountain lion, puma or painter. It is a shortened version of cat-a-mountain. Early Aroostook County settlers encountered these animals, calling them catamount or Indian Devil. |
| Corduroy Road | A semi-cleared path with logs across, side by side, creating a rough wood road surface enabling animal-driven wagons or carts to navigate wet or marshy land on trails. |
| Cut Road | A cleared, leveled and constructed road with all stumps and large rocks removed and covered with packed gravel or stone. |
| Dray | A heavy flat cart used to haul heavy loads, similar to a flatbed trailer. |
| Driver | A person in nineteenth century Maine, responsible for driving, steering, maneuvering and controlling a vehicle pulled by horses or oxen loaded with supplies, goods, mail or people. |
| Drover | A person in nineteenth century Maine, responsible for driving, steering, maneuvering and controlling a vehicle pulled by horses or oxen loaded with supplies, mail, goods or people. |
| Hauler | A late nineteenth century Northern Maine term for a person responsible for driving, steering, maneuvering and controlling a vehicle by horses |

or oxen loaded with supplies and goods pulled, particularly to lumber camp on rough trails and roads.

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| Log Jumpers | A nineteenth century large wooden sled pulled by oxen to move logs in lumber operations. It had “a large hardwood roller in the front end, to roll over stumps, rocks, knolls, etc.” Behind the roller was “a birch bunk, usually a foot by a foot and a half in diameter.” (Hall, 1939, p.2). Also called Jumpers, Go-Devil or Glaziers, named after four Glazier brothers, who were successful lumbermen on the upper St. John (Hall, 1939, p.2). |
| Logging Road | A rough road or trail in the forest, minimally cleared by lumbermen to primarily move logs from one place to another or to the river. Normally not used for moving supplies in the nineteenth century. |
| Muskeag | A North American swamp or bog with stagnant water and dead vegetation, often covered with moss. Also spelled muskeg. |
| Ostler | Another term for hostler. One who looks after horses for travelers staying at public houses or inns. |
| Reinsman | A general nineteenth century term commonly used in Aroostook County, Maine, describing the occupation of a skilled person responsible for driving, steering, maneuvering and controlling a team of animals to pull a vehicle, such as wagon, cart, sled, sleigh, stage coach, mail wagon, dray, log jumper, school buses etc., to move logs, supplies, goods, people and mail on roads or trails. |
| Sled | A large winter vehicle used to haul supplies, goods or logs on snow covered roads and ground. Aroostook County lumber operations used a specialized sled four feet wide with a single runner to navigate packed snow paths. |
| Sleigh | A large horse drawn winter vehicle used in the nineteenth century to transport goods, people or mail over snow covered roads or trails. |
| Stagecoach driver | A nineteenth century occupation transporting people or mail for stage lines, on constructed roads with scheduled routes. These drivers’ personal stories and experiences are the most recorded of Aroostook County reinsmen. |
| Teamster | A person who transported supplies and goods to lumber camps or moved logs in the forest by animal driven vehicles in the nineteenth century. |
| Toter | A late nineteenth and early twentieth century title for a person who transported supplies and goods to lumber camps on tote roads. |
| Tote Road | A rough road or trail in the forest minimally cleared by lumbermen to haul supplies and goods to lumber camps. |

Toting A late nineteenth and early twentieth century term for transporting supplies and goods to lumber camps by animal-pulled vehicle.

Whip A term describing an expert reinsman or generally someone who handles a whip to drive animals.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The designs of the government, as it respects the great object of peopling Maine, and accommodating that population by giving lands to settlers, and opening roads to their doors, are encouragements without parallel within our knowledge.

*(Edward Robbins, Lothrop Lewis & Joseph Lee
District of Maine Commissioners, 1817)*

1.1. Aroostook County Frontier

Maine's northernmost county, Aroostook, hugs the Canadian border on three of its four sides. The region's history was shaped by the social, cultural and economic interactions between Native Americans and European traders and settlers, and eventually Americans and British Canadians. After the American Revolution, the region became Maine's last frontier, where New England and New Brunswick settlers came and dramatically reshaped this forested frontier¹ into a settled landscape ("Aroostook County" 1853, June 7, p.2).

Aroostook County's earliest years were transformed by settler actions and interactions. Settlers cleared land for farms, businesses and roads, opening the County² to development. Roads construction and reinsmen were critical to this development. The business of transporting goods, supplies, people and mail on the newly constructed roads was the work of reinsmen. Reinsmen became the primary, critical land transportation link bringing the urban, settled world to the developing sparsely-settled frontier of nineteenth-century Aroostook County. Reinsmen interacted daily with many and became an integral part of the region's socio-economic web. Although this

¹ The region had aspects of both a borderland and frontier. It had long been influenced by its borderland history reflecting the Wabanaki who were the first people of the region combined with European influence and settlements that transformed the region. Remnants of this long history existed during this international border dispute era and remain today. The region will be referred to as a frontier in this discussion to reflect the change New England and United States had during 1810-1860.

² Aroostook County has long been referred to as simply the County.

important common man's job was critical at the time, little historical attention or documentation has been given to it.

In the late eighteenth and into the early nineteenth centuries, the northern portion of Maine and New Brunswick was a part of the northeastern international border dispute between United States and Britain. This dispute developed at the close of the American Revolution in 1783, placing the region into a diplomatic limbo for six decades until the Webster-Ashburton Treaty was signed in 1842. This disputed territory, today primarily Aroostook County and Western New Brunswick, had long been a part of a larger multi-cultural region with interwoven social, economic and cultural ties since European colonial settlements in the seventeenth century (Craig, 2005, p. 75). Once the international border was established, this colonial northeast borderlands shifted from its transnational, intercultural past into a nationalistic frontier, gradually developing several social, cultural and political differences; yet the region remained connected (Hornsby, S. & Hermann, M. J. 2005, cited in Konrad & Nicol, 2008, pp. 83-84).

After the American Revolution, New Brunswick, Massachusetts and Maine began to exert dominion over the mostly unsettled region. By the 1830s, Maine and Massachusetts promoted the region as a place for great timber and agricultural potential to encourage settlement. In 1839, Maine established its last county, Aroostook, within this disputed border territory. In this region lived dwindling Wabanaki tribes, primarily Maliseet and Mi'kmaq³—ravaged by disease, colonial conflicts and disenfranchisement, living mainly along the Aroostook and Tobique Rivers—along with a remnant of French Catholic colonial settlers living along the Saint John River valley, and an ever growing English Protestant settler population in the

³ Also spelled Micmac by the Aroostook Band. Canadian First Nations peoples have traditionally used the term Mi'kmaq.

central and southern portions of Maine and New Brunswick (Ashby, 1978, p.66, Craig, 1986, pp.278-279; Prins & McBride, 2007, p. 248, 253).

The Wabanaki had long held regional hunting rights in the region; however, Maine and Massachusetts ignored these tribal rights by selling the Aroostook lands. (Scully, 1995, p.6). The French settlers remained in the north and continued to thrive along the St. John River, interacting with traders, officials and settlers from Britain and United States. The small numbers of inhabitants in the region could not prevent settlement by newcomers.

The American promotion for regional settlement is revealed in E. Fairfield's 1842 article published in the *Maine Farmer and Mechanics Advocate*, appealing to young men to go north and purchase farms by logging part-time:

Now let such a man 'shoulder his kit and make for the woods,' and he can readily find a lot on the State lands, that will make a farm as good as the best. Let him select, say 200 acres, and give his note for twenty-five dollars in cash, payable in four years, and another for seventy-five dollars, payable in three years in labor, making his own roads. The first season he can fall, burn and clear ten or fifteen acres, besides hiring out with his neighbors in haying and reaping, enough to buy his supplies. In the winter, if he chooses he can hire with the lumberman from three to five months, at from fourteen to twenty dollars per month, and get money enough to buy his seed and a years [sic] clothing and perhaps part of his cash notes. (Fairfield, 1842, p.3)

Dr. Ezekiel Holmes, the appointed Aroostook lands surveyor of the Board of Internal Improvements, reported on the influx of settlers, stating, "There are now more than one hundred individuals on their way to the Aroostook County to select lots under the new land law, for themselves, and for others by whom they are employed (Holmes, 1838, June 9, p. 2).⁴ By 1840, the

⁴ Ezekiel Holmes held a Doctorate of Medicine from Brown University, taught Natural Sciences at Gardiner Lyceum between 1833-1837, taught Chemistry and Natural History at Waterville College, started the *Maine Farmer and Journal of Arts*, later named *Maine Farmer*, was the Secretary of the Maine Board of Agriculture; Appointed as Superintendent of Survey for a scientific survey of the State of Maine in 1861 (Bennett, 2002, pp. 114-115).

newly-formed Aroostook County had its population increase from 3,891 in 1830 (2,487 in the St. John Valley) to 9,413 (3,460 in the St. John Valley) (U.S. Census, 1840, p. 570).

The large influx of settlers profoundly changed the landscape by their use of the land and land ownership. Settlers repeated their pioneer ancestors' approach of becoming “desperate forest destroyers...racing against time to clear land and grow food and fodder before winter” (Judd, R. 2014, p.92). Joel Wellington, grandson of General Wellington, the original settler of Letter A, Range 1 (now Monticello, Maine), reiterated this by stating, “In the matter of farming the people generally followed the methods of the older sections of the state from which they came.” (Buxton, 1939, p. 12).

As settlements increased, so did the border conflicts between the two countries, which led the United States to send troops to the region. The United States, as well as Massachusetts and Maine, recognized that to protect and settle the region, constructed roads were critical. In 1820, regional modes of transportation were waterways and rough trails, which were inadequate for supplying the military. Road surveys and construction began in 1820s and opened the wide forested expanse to the military and to additional settlers, lumber operations and businesses.

The newly constructed roadways created a massive demand for reinsmen, who hauled goods using horse- and oxen-drawn carts and wagons. Reinsmen had been moving settlers, hauling supplies to lumber camps, and transporting passengers and mail since 1804 on early southern regional rough trails. Once the first fully constructed road, the Military Road, was passable in 1831, reinsmen dominated the roadways with their teams of animals and laden vehicles to meet the emerging transportation demands.

The 1842 Webster-Ashburton Treaty ended the six-decade international border dispute between the United States and Britain. The treaty resolution divided the territory between Maine

and New Brunswick, creating opportunities for lumber operations and settler farmers to enter the newly formed Aroostook County. Many people went north from New England or west from the Maritimes to capture Northern Maine's forests and other natural resources (Judd, 1984, p. 56). Between 1810 and 1860, many English-speaking settlers arrived to occupy the wild northern lands, clearing land for farms, lumber and crude transportation routes.⁵

1.2. The Reinsman Occupation

As Aroostook County roads were built and settlements and businesses became established, many goods and services were not regionally available ("Aroostook County," 1853, June 7, p. 2). Aroostook County businesses were unable to produce many goods and services needed, and mail routes were not well established. Lumber camps needed supplies transported by land as their operations moved farther from waterways. This land transportation became the business of reinsmen. Early reinsmen hauled on rough logging, tote and cut roads (see List of Definitions) with heavy wagonloads and teams of horses over steep hills and boggy lowlands in this forest-covered landscape. Without their labors Aroostook County would not have developed as quickly during the early half of the nineteenth century.

A reinsman worked with and for settlers, lumber operations and developing communities. Reinsmen labors were pivotal to the advancement of businesses and settlements before the age of rail transportation in Aroostook County. The reinsmen interplay between settlers and businesses made them important players in the region's socioeconomic web. Early nineteenth-century lumber wealth would have slowed without reinsmen since they became the primary means for hauling logs and large quantities of supplies as lumber operations moved farther into the woods and away from

⁵ After the 1842 border treaty, County settlers that originated from New Brunswick were allowed to remain in Northern Maine by the State of Massachusetts and Maine Commissioner ruling. Their established lots were deeded and known as "treaty lots" ("Castle Hill," 1934, November 15, p. 7).

rivers and lakes (“Art. V.” 1856, p. 2). Aroostook County settlements would have been stymied without the movement of goods hauled and passengers carried by reinsmen. Many local industries and businesses supporting the growing settlements would have slowed or been delayed without the robust land transportation activity.

“Reinsman” was a general term used for this occupation. More specific terms were given depending on the type of goods or location of the work (see List of Definitions). This occupation employed many men and a few women. Unfortunately, few known firsthand accounts exist from reinsmen. Most accounts are secondhand and written by men in time-period newspapers, and local stories from those who encountered or knew them. Secondhand accounts list reinsmen’s names, describe their general routes and the time period they lived, but fail to provide personal insights into their labors or life.

Men dominated this occupation. The overwhelming amount of recorded information is centered on men and written by men. Although rarely documented, women did perform the job of reinsman. Stories about women working as reinsmen exist in a handful of newspaper accounts, biographies and legends, such as Henry Allen and Charley Parkhurst.

Reinsmen were respected, reliable and well-known figures in nineteenth century Northern Maine, according to several local newspaper accounts (Mattawamkeag, 1858, p.2; Sketch, 1890, p.1). Although these accounts recorded some names, routes and their overall importance to settlers and the region, no reinsman was quoted about their life and work. The missing first-hand accounts is an example of the lost and missing common man’s history, rarely captured and frequently overlooked. This project seeks to reveal who the reinsmen were and the role they played in Aroostook County’s early developing history.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ROADS TO PROGRESS

The importance of a good military road to Fort Kent, is strongly urged, and which is deemed necessary that we may no longer be disgraced in witnessing the arrest and imprisonment of our citizens for no other offense than that of acting under the laws of the State.

(“Abstract of the Report of the Land Agent of the State of Maine,” 1842, p. 2)

Well-constructed land transportation became critical for the defense and settlement of Aroostook County. Massachusetts, Maine and the Federal Government recognized constructed roads were needed to protect and inhabit the region. Roads opened up the region to rapid expansion by settlers and businesses and became the genesis for the high demand of reinsmen. This gave opportunities for many to be hired and provided employment as well as an elevated social status by the interaction between reinsmen and the growing population. Without early constructed roads and reinsmen, nineteenth Aroostook County would have stagnated as an out of reach frontier.

Before 1830, most transportation in Northern Maine was by connective waterways on the St. John River and its tributaries (Melvin, 1977, pp. 3-4). River travel remained advantageous for those living or doing business such as lumbering along rivers, as it was faster, easier and more navigable in the warm months, and could be used in the coldest months with sleds (Melvin, 1977, p. 4). But this mode restricted travel to water-connected settlements and required portaging from one river or lake to another, then going overland to reach landlocked settlements. Dr. Ezekiel Holmes noted the difficulty of travel with the lack of roads and the need to portage in the region in 1838, stating:

The business of carrying by, or over the portages, is exceedingly laborious. It is astonishing to me that nobody, neither State nor proprietor, nor lumber men, have ever lifted their hands towards improving these portages. In many places, not even the vestige of a road, not the beginning of a path is to be found. In others you will find a rude *trail* miscalled a road, over which, the men have to shoulder the barrels of

pork like Jacob's son Isaac 'bowing between two burdens.' (It being Sunday, I trust that I shall be excused for quoting scripture a little). (1838, June 9, p. 2)

During the early decades in the nineteenth century, settlers in the southern portion of the region arrived through the St. John and Meduxnekeag Rivers to Woodstock, New Brunswick, then traveled twelve miles overland to Houlton, Maine ("History of Houlton," 1840, p. 357). Settlers continued to rely on this route until the late 1830s. This Houlton-Woodstock cross-border interaction created a strong regional borderland connection, not only for trade, but by the growing number of new settlers who traveled from New England through New Brunswick or simply from New Brunswick ("History of Houlton," 1840, June, p. 357).

The cross-border interaction was important for the settlers' survival in Houlton, and also in the Saint John Region and along the eastern Aroostook River area. Shepard Cary's life is but one example of cross-border influences. Shepard Cary arrived with his family to southern Aroostook County in 1822 but left soon after to work as a carpenter in New Brunswick, then later returned to begin a business with his father, William, in the late 1820's (Wiggins, 1922, p. 11). He was well known for his New Brunswick lumber business connections during 1830-1850, becoming a prominent landowner, lumberman, and later a legislator in Aroostook County (Barnes, 1889, pp. 44-45).

The second regional transportation route established was from Bangor, Maine, north through connected waterways on the Penobscot, Mattawamkeag and Baskahegan Rivers to a rough overland trail ending at Houlton, Maine. The early trails went through thick woods before properly cleared routes were completed (Pioneer, 1884, p. 24). Overland trails were often referred to as corduroy roads, since once cleared, paths had sections of logs laid side-by-side to traverse the frequent wet and rough pathways (Melvin, 1977, p. 3; Putnam, 1958, p. 57; see Appendix E for image of toters on a corduroy road).

Limited frontier transportation was an ongoing problem for early settlers and reinsmen who traveled the roads (“Dear Sir,” 1840, p. 2). Early land routes were long and difficult to navigate, often only marked by “a line of spots,” or blazes on trees, causing many to lose their way (Ashby, 1978, p. 107). Joseph Kendall⁶, an early Houlton settler, related how his family headed towards Houlton from Bangor by water then land in Fall 1814:

At Old town, twelve miles above Bangor, we hired seven men, five whom were Indians, with bark canoes, to convey the family and goods, accompanied by Messrs. Marshall and Butterfield, making nine loaded canoes, all bound for the River St. John. (Pioneer, 1884, p. 19-20)

Once arriving to Baskahegan River and Schoodic Lake, they continued their trek to Houlton:

In the morning, having carried our canoes and baggage to the western shore, we launched our *flotilla* in the waters of the limpid lake, which then, to us inlanders, appeared rather oceanic... It is astonishing to see with what dexterity the Indians control their canoes, propelling them so steadily and safely against the surging waves, and the whirling, foaming current. From the lake we passed down Eel river to the carrying place as it is called, to the St. John, where we were obliged to lug all our baggage four or five miles, dodging along the winding of a bridle path. After six weeks journeying through the country, up the rivers and over lakes, we arrived at Houlton, happy to see our old friends and neighbors, who met us with affectionate salutations. (Pioneer, 1884, p. 22)

Houlton settlers began to push for a direct Bangor to Houlton Road starting in 1810 to supplant the water transportation and rough overland trails (Putnam, 1958, p. 57). Land transportation was key to future settlements and economic development, yet costly (Le Duc, 1947, pp. 11, 13). The first cut road completed in the southern portion of the County was from the Baskahegan River to Houlton in late 1827, shortening the distance from Bangor to Houlton (Wiggin, 1922, p. 13). General Joel Wellington, who later settled Monticello, Maine, was the agent hired by the State to determine the route from Mattanawcook (now Lincoln) to Houlton and later the Aroostook Road (Putnam, 1958, p. 58; Buxton, 1939, p. 1). The Mattanawcook State Road

⁶ Edward Wiggin, also a local Aroostook County historian, said that Kendall “wrote a voluminous history of Houlton, which however was never published” during his lifetime, but later published *History of the town of Houlton, Maine, from 1804 to 1883* under the name Old Pioneer in 1884 (Wiggin, 1922, p. 18).

allowed for horses, oxen and goods to be brought partly by water, then loaded and driven to Houlton more quickly than before (Pioneer, 1884, p. 48).

As land routes were established, several entrepreneurs came north to supply goods to the isolated settlements not found in this frontier territory, selling goods “at such exorbitant prices” (Pioneer, 1884, p. 49). Businesses such as Wood & Bradbury of Bangor started in 1817, selling common goods such as “boots, shoes, tea tobacco, cotton cloth...[and] making ample profits, though the difficulty and expense attending transportation must have been considerable” (K.J. 1858, p. 1).

They not only understood, with Yankee shrewdness how to buy and sell animals, but they soon evinced not a little sagacity in the manner of transporting goods, which they did by fastening packs upon the neck and horns of the oxen, as well as upon the back of horses, which proved a successful device. Their goods sold at a greater profit than the stock, and doubloons, \$16 pieces were as common and current as \$5 bills are now. (Pioneer, 1884, p. 16).

2.1. The Military Road

It took the threat of war to fund the first constructed road, appropriately called the Military Road, which began “from the mouth of the river Matanawcook, [*sic*] where it enters into the Penobscot river, to Mars Hill, near the Northeastern boundary” (Military Road Act, 20 U.S.C. § 2 1828). Roads and reinsmen were the avenue to safely and regularly supplying the U.S. Army in this unsettled forested region. The long distance from Bangor, Maine north meant the better that roadways were planned and constructed, the faster reinsmen could navigate and deliver the necessary military supplies and civilian goods to their destination.

The Military Road construction was approved by the U.S. Congress on May 24, 1828, at a cost of \$15,000, and built by soldiers and settlers alike (Barnes, 1889, p. 66, 82-85; Military Road Act, 20 U.S.C. § 2 (1828). The road connected to other Northern Penobscot roads, canals and ferry crossings, allowing for easier travel to and from Bangor (see Appendix C.1 for 1840 Maine map).

This federally-funded road was proposed by military authorities and provided better access to Northern Maine during the Aroostook War and many decades later. This first turnpike road in the region became passable by 1831 and was completed in 1832, causing prior routes such as the Baskahegan Trail and Soldier Road to be less traveled (Barnes, 1889, p. 24; Putnam, 1958, p. 40).⁷ Army teamsters helped build the Military Road and later transported wagonloads of military supplies and civilian goods to the Houlton Barracks, Fort Fairfield and Fort James (now Kent) Blockhouses, and other military encampments such as Soldier Pond, during the Aroostook War.

The Military Road brought soldiers and their money, creating work for local settlers, new businesses and a needed influx of cash and prosperity to Houlton (Wiggin, 1922, p. 13-14). From north to south, the initial route began in Houlton, traveled through Haynesville, onto Lincoln, then south to Bangor (Day, 1981, Chap XV). The first company to hire reinsmen to haul supplies for the military was Towle & Parsons of Bangor on the Old Soldier Road in the late 1820s (Wiggin, 1922, p. 13). Others soon followed after 1831, with a steady flow of military supplies and general goods, traveling on the newly completed Military Road to the Houlton Military Barracks and increasing the demand for reinsmen.

Upon completion, the Military Road soon became the transportation and communication lifeblood for the region before railroads were built. It was the primary route for reinsmen in the early years of Aroostook County. Edward Wiggin claimed, “nearly all the supplies for this upper county were hauled over this road” (1922, p. 76). Joel Wellington, grandson of General Joel Wellington, stated that in his grandfather's era everything was hauled up on the Military Road to

⁷ Turnpiked roads in early nineteenth century Maine were normally private toll roads, built with little or no state or federal funds (Opal, 2010, p. 628). Investors would recoup the upfront costs by controlling the road with a toll house and barricades and charging set fees depending on the vehicle size (Judd, et al, 2011, pp. 311-13). However the Military Road was federally funded.

adjoining crude roads where goods were then moved by horseback or oxen and carts in the summer and horse-drawn sleighs in the winter (Buxton, 1939, p. 11).

This major transportation artery also became the primary mail and passenger travel route, eventually dotted with hotels, public houses and stables to meet the demands of moving people, communication and goods (Wiggin, 1922, p. 76). The road “was so fine a road that a party who left the town of Freeman, in Franklin County, on the 16th day of December of that year, [1832] drove to Houlton in four days” (Wiggin, 1922, p. 14). The passenger and mail travel furthered the reinsman employment opportunities.

2.2. The Aroostook Road

The second major land transportation artery in the County was the Aroostook Road, which intersected the Military Road (“Latest,” 1839, p. 174; see Appendix C.2 for Military and Aroostook Roads). This route began at Molunkus, traveled through Patten, Masardis, Ashland and Portage Lake, and ended at Fort Kent (Day, 1981, Chap XV).⁸ This second turnpiked road initially stretched “to the upper waters of the Aroostook, which is the western Aroostook road” when opened in 1841 (“Aroostook County,” 1845, Jan. 14, p. 2; Public documents, 1845, p. 7). This road was a joint venture between Massachusetts and Maine, costing \$1,000 a mile from the intersection of the Military Road to Masardis, a total of sixty-four miles (Public documents, 1845, p. 7). The expenditure for the remaining 56-mile portion of the Aroostook Road from Masardis to Fort Kent was \$8,192, above the \$6,000 joint state estimate (Public documents, 1845, p. 6). The *Bangor Whig*

⁸ Nineteenth century maps depict the entire road as Aroostook Road but the 1845 land agent report referred to the lower portion of the road from Molunkus to Ashland as the Aroostook Road and Ashland to Fort Kent as the Fish River Road. Edward Wiggin makes only one reference to the Fish River Road. The road was called the West Aroostook Road after the East Aroostook Road was constructed, but later referred to as the State Road in the late nineteenth century. Today the entire road is referred to as State Highway Route 11.

and *Courier* newspaper reported on November 24, 1841, the road's ongoing construction and regional development, stating:

In 1831 the Aroostook road was surveyed thro' [sic] an unbroken wilderness, and the first settlement was made upon it in 1831. No part of the road was turnpiked until 1836, and it is now completed for the distance of sixty four miles, from the military road to the Aroostook and nearly every lot upon it taken up by settlers; lateral roads are made in many places, and not less than fifteen hundred inhabitants settled upon the road. ("Progress of Settlement," 1841, p. 2)

The progress of the Aroostook Road was reported to the Maine Governor regularly by land agents, concerning its condition and access between this road and the Military Road. An excerpt of the January 25, 1845 report, written by Levi Bradley and printed in the *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, stated that the Military Road was "kept in a good state of preservation" and made easy access for wagon traffic ("Report," 1845, p. 7). The Aroostook Road at the time was only completed as far as Portage Lake, just north of Ashland ("Report," 1845, p. 4). The land agent's report expressed grave concerns about the growing traffic with heavy loads of supplies negatively impacting the construction and future maintenance of the road over the eventual 110 mile stretch from Molunkus to Fort Kent, and how important the road was to the economy and settlement of Aroostook County, stating:

Great quantities of goods are now transported over this road, and in loads so large that the road is fast giving away. Four tons, including the wagon, is a common load for six horses, and six tons, it is said, are sometimes carried on a wagon drawn by ten or twelve oxen, not on the road, but *through* it. During the spring, and after the heavy fall rains, no road built over light loamy land will bear such loads.... It has become a matter of serious inquiry whether the carrying of such loads should be permitted. ("Report," 1845, p. 1)

By August 1841, six new roads were completed off the Military and Aroostook Roads in the County for a total of "114 miles, 292 rods" at a cost of "\$20,415.37--15,965 labor", which further opened the County for development ("Examination," 1841, August 9). These roads quickly filled with reinsmen and teams of horses transporting goods.

2.3. Lumbermen & Settler Farmers

The State of Massachusetts and Maine, landowners of the territory, and newspaper accounts enticed people to work their way to land ownership by building roads to accelerate settlements (Benson, 1838, p. 110). The State of Massachusetts lowered “the price of land to fifty cents per acre in road labor” to encourage settlements and road building (Wiggin, 1922, p. 221). Numerous 1840s newspaper accounts appealed to New Englanders to settle the Aroostook lands. The *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier* newspaper championed settlement to the northern territories by describing the exchange of road labor for land purchases:⁹

The State offers liberal encouragement to settlers by the low price of land, and an opportunity to improve the roads by the payment of a portion of the amount, upon them in labor. (“Progress of Settlement,” 1841 Nov 24, p. 2)

Maine land agent published reports were included in regional newspapers to state which townships were available and “lotted for settlers ...for sale and settlement” (“Aroostook Lands, Loco-Focoism,” 1838, p. 2). Excerpts from Governor Kent’s messages, printed in local papers, openly encouraged settlement of the “unsettled territories” of Maine (“Extract,” 1841, January 23).

The picturesque beauty and agricultural prospects of the region was another appeal for settlements by newspaper accounts, as was the frequent updates on Aroostook settlements progress. *The Maine Farmer* article, “Aroostook Falls,” provided a glowing description of the County’s rivers and falls, and reassured readers “the Aroostook war, which cost more mammon than blood, has settled that business, and the restless Yankees have now flooded in the valley” (1845, Jan. 2, p.2).

The *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier* newspaper article stated a similar point:

This is the latest settled county in the State and is filling up more rapidly than any other. —Within the limits of this county, there is a vast amount of excellent farming

⁹ This was a New England common practice at the time to establish needed roads (Opal, 2010, p. 627,633).

lands, and no where [*sic*] in New England is agricultural enterprise better rewarded. (“Aroostook County,” 1845, Jan 14, p. 2)

Thoreau commented on the influx of settlers when he traveled in Northern Maine:

Here immigration is a tide which may ebb when it has swept away the pines; there it is not a tide, but an inundation, and roads and other improvements come steadily rushing after. (Thoreau & Moldenhauer, 1972, p. 124)

Many settlers who relocated paid for their land by clearing the woods and building the roads (Wiggin, 1922, p. 112). The population steadily grew as settlers arrived and soldiers stayed after the close of the Aroostook County military operations to buy land and establish farms and businesses (Ashby, 1978, p. 102; “Jottings,” 1852, p. 2). It was reported by the Maine State Land Agent that “four hundred and sixty-five claims of Revolutionary soldiers, to land allowed; and twenty-nine for officers and their widows,” had been allotted for soldiers (“Report,” 1841, p. 2).

Early settler Daniel Robinson of Masardis, Maine, in southern Aroostook County, relayed to his brother back in Mt. Vernon, Maine, his current status in a letter dated July 8, 1844 (Maureau, 1984, pp. 60-61). His letter described buying land and working in the woods to supplement his income to establish his farm:

Dear Brother,

I take this opportunity to pen you that I am well, hoping you enjoy the same blessing. I have raised a good crop of grain, about a hundred bushels of wheat and oats. I have bought a lot of land and have paid two thirds down for it, and have felled five acres of trees on it, but I have not burnt them. I think I shall have a chance to burn next spring in time to get the land into a good crop. We have raised as good a crop of wheat, oats, barley, rye and potatoes as I have ever seen grow. I am well contented as yet to stop in Township No. 11, Range 5 [now Ashland, Maine], and try what I can do in farming. I should like to have you come over and see, the courtesy, if nothing more. I intended to go over and see you next fall if nothing unforeseen [*sic*] should happen. Produce fetches a good price, oats are worth fifty cents a bushel, potatoes, fifty cents to five dollars. I have let myself to work in the woods for eighteen dollars per month. We have about two inches of snow and expect more soon. Write as soon as you receive this letter with all the news, and don't fail.

Your obedient servant and brother, Daniel Robinson (Maureau, 1984, pp. 60-61)

The letter alludes Robinson was working on an established farm, since he had only cleared five acres of his land. He may have worked on a lumber camp farm, such as Shepard Cary's Seven Islands farm or Eldridge G. Dunn's large farm in Ashland, since he mentions working in the woods and stated to "have raised as good a crop of wheat, oats, barley, rye and potatoes as I have ever seen grow" (Maureau, 1984, p. 60; McGrath, 1989, p. 147). To produce such a great crop, the fields would have been cleared and cultivated for a few years. Normally, in the first years of a farm many stumps remained. Early settlers often explained, "for several seasons we planted crops around the stumps" (Buxton, 1939, p.5).

Curiously, Robinson also stated "We have about two inches of snow and expect more soon" in a letter dated July 8, 1844. Such cold summer temperatures made growing most crops especially difficult and provided a partial reason why farm commodity prices were so high. Additionally, Robinson's urgent request for a reply from his brother or a visit, suggests great homesickness for family and familiar surroundings in the sparsely settled frontier land.

The economic growth from the lumber operations and farming increased population in Aroostook County during the early nineteenth century creating a strong need for reinsmen to move tons of goods, people and communication across the newly established roads (Judd, 1984, pp. 64-65). The lumber business alone "created a demand for more labor than this new country could then supply," and along with labor, it also "called for horses and oxen, which were furnished from...Penobscot and Kennebec" Counties (Pioneer, 1884, p.16). In the woods, teamsters hauled logs and lumber with specialized sleds called jumpers or go-devils, or simply toted needed supplies to the lumber camps by wagon (Hall, F., 1939, p. 2).

The expanded lumber businesses streamlined their operations by growing crops and keeping oxen and other livestock during the summer (Barnes, 1889, p. 45; Bennett, 2002, p. 76). Some farms

exceeded 600 acres, such as David Pingree's Chamberlain Farm, which Henry David Thoreau visited and described in 1857 (Thoreau & Moldenhauer, 1972, p. 240). But even though farms were established, hauled goods and supplies were still needed.

Oxen were the preferred animal to haul supplies and logs during the first few decades. Later, horse teams became preferred over oxen, since horses were faster and generally more agile. This change created the need to establish lumber camp farms for hay and grain to feed horses, not previously needed with the oxen, who grazed and foraged in the woods (Judd, et.al, 2011, p.273).

Reverend John Todd journeyed up into Northern Maine in the fall of 1849 and published his trek in the *New York Evangelist*, titled "Incidents of a Journey for Health," making several observations on the lumber operations' impact on the local economy:

There is, to be sure, the military road running to Houlton, made by the United States during the last war with England, but it runs through a forest, much of the way, and there seems to be no great travel on it. But it is not so in the winter--when every team is on the lumber business, then some of these houses will have an [*sic*] hundred men to lodge and to feed, with their teams. Everything that can be raised from the earth will command a high price at the farmer's door. We found a beautiful farm far up the Penobscot, where they cut from sixty to one hundred tons of hay, and often sell it at \$25 per ton. The beautiful land on which it was raised costs three dollars an acre in its wild state. (p. 188)

The construction of the Military and Aroostook Roads and the reinsman who drove teams over them expanded the settling of Aroostook County by lumbermen and settler farmers. The work of the frontier reinsman became synonymous with the County's growth and development by providing the means for the region's growth. Their work began by supporting the U.S. Army with road building and transporting supplies, but then rapidly switched to supporting the burgeoning settler population, forever changing this frontier.

2.4. Tote Roads & Routes

The roads from Bangor to the Military and Aroostook Roads were passable, but the final stretch, beyond the Aroostook Road, was on the timber lands' rough tote roads in the dense woods. Tote roads were minimally cleared by lumbermen "by cutting and clearing away the underbrush, and such trees and old logs as may be in the way" ("Logging," 1837, p. 142; *The North American*, 1837, p. 361). Tote roads were often corduroyed with logs and used to haul "food and supplies for the camps [that] were 'toted' or hauled in" (Melvin, 1977, p. 90). By 1840, tote road building accelerated rapidly to supply the growing lumber operations (Bennett, 2002, p. 68). The total one-way route to a camp could be over two hundred miles, such as Seven Islands Farm, which was estimated at 270 miles from Bangor (Public documents, 1845. pp. 7-8; Wiggin, 1922, p. 12). These trips were long and arduous whether it was summer or winter.

2.5. The Road Conditions

The weather and road conditions made the job of reinsman as difficult as the number of miles. Both the Military and Aroostook roads went through dense woods, with steep hills and muskegs filled with murky water and thick moss-covered decaying vegetation (Buxton, 1939, p. 9). Roads often had "plenty of mud and ruts in the summertime and huge drifts in the winter to plow through" ("Early Stage Drivers," 1940, p. 1). The corduroy roads sometimes gave way under the weight of the horse teams and wagon loads, causing a wheel to get stuck or crack under the weight of the load (Lufkin, 1976, p. 207). Bridges and roads would wash out during rainy weather causing delays or requiring loads to be doubled onto another wagon (Lufkin, 1976, p. 207).

The heavily forested region included a wide variety of trees that could cause unexpected issues for teamsters (Holmes, 1838, June 12 p. 137). Heavy windstorms throughout the year caused

wind-toppled trees to crisscross the roads, causing the teamster to stop and cut the trees, and move them off the roadway (Melvin, 1977, p. 35). Another frequent danger was forest fires in the woods, as described by traveler Reverend John Todd during his trip north in 1849:

While in upon the river [Passadumkeag], we noticed that the sun was red like blood, and was shorn of his beams, while the heat was suffocating. On ascending a hill we looked off and saw the mighty forest on fire. The smoke rolled up ‘like the smoke of a great furnace,’ and ashes fell around us like snow. We were probably thirty miles from it. But a fire in the forest is a fearful thing. It travels with great rapidity and with a heat that nothing can resist. At this time there were no less than eighteen fires raging, between St. Johns and the Alligash [*sic*] rivers. One of these had just passed over our path one day, and though its power had passed on and we were in its trail, the heat was fearful and we were glad to be past it. We never pitched our tent without looking out to see if a fire would be upon us before morning, and took good care to be so near a river or lake that we could plunge into the water in case of emergency. The fact that so many fires were all around us, turned us aside from our contemplated course. (Todd, 1849, p. 188)

Winter travel conditions were often precarious with heavy snow-filled roads. Trudging through deep snow created too much weight for the horses to pull the loads even with sleds, especially on the steep hills (Melvin, 1977, p. 35). Henry David Thoreau traveled on the “lumberer’s road called the Eagle Lake road, from the Seboois [*sic*] to the east side of the lake” and commented on the winter sleds used by teamsters (Thoreau & Moldenhauer, 1972, p. 236).¹⁰ According to Thoreau, as snow became deep, loads were carried on through the woods by horse driven sleighs on a cleared single track with sleighs set at a standard four feet width and one runner so it “may go in one rut and the other follow the horse (Thoreau & Moldenhauer, 1972, p. 236).

Teamsters, like others in Northern Maine, needed to dress appropriately in the long winters. Lyle Gardner stated normal winter clothing for toters included woolen stockings, shoe packs (oiled leather shoes, knee or calf high, heavy tied moccasin-like boot), heavy knit or quarter-inch thick

¹⁰ This is a part of the Seboois [*sic*] Lakes which serves as an outlet and “the head waters of the eastern branch of Penobscot River,” close to the Aroostook River (Hayward, 1839, pp.365-366)

flannel undergarments, sweaters with Mackinaw frocks or big overcoats made from buffalo, bear, coonskin and various other animal skins (Gardner, 1972).

It was common to get caught in a winter storm in Northern Maine, causing the teamster to take shelter in a farmer's home with the horses safely in the barn (Lufkin, 1976, p. 209). Light teams of horses with empty sleds would "break the snow" for the teamsters with loaded wagons coming afterwards (Gardner, 1972). Many stories have been recorded as the one below from Edward Wiggin about the difficulty during the winter months hauling goods.

Late in the winter of 1838, Mr. Pollard left Old Town with five tons of supplies loaded on sleds for the far off Aroostook. The West Aroostook road was passable for teams at the time as far as the Knowlen place, where the road turns off to go down through Smyrna to Houlton. Arriving at that place, Mr. Pollard sent his teams back and with a crew of eight men [and] made hand sleds with wide runners and went to work to haul the supplies to Masardis. This was a work of much magnitude, and was performed in this way: Loading the hand sleds the crew would start in the morning and proceed through the woods all day, camping at night. They would then return and haul another load to this camp, and when all was up proceed another stage, and in this way they continued until all the goods were up to a camp some four miles from Masardis, where the road now turns off to the Oxbow. It was now late in March and finding a good sugar berth at this place, the party camped here and made 300 pounds of maple sugar and then proceeded to haul their goods to Masardis. (Wiggin, 1922, pp. 156-157)

During the winters in the 1840s and 1850s, the S. Cary Company ensured an open road was maintained "on the river as far up as Seven Islands and large quantities of supplies [were] hauled up the river to the lumber camps above" (Wiggin, 1922, p. 193). A road, referred to as the California, Allagash or Winter Road was completed in the late 1840s under the direction of Shepard's brother William Holman as relayed in "A Week in the Tall Timber," published in the *Presque Isle Star-Herald*, by the author who traveled into the timber lands:

The trunk line road¹¹ through the wilderness from Ashland to Seven Islands, 87 miles, was pushed through by Holman Cary, so that the road our party traversed on our trip must be at least as old and probably older than the Military Road, which was

¹¹ Term described by Richard Judd as "well-constructed thoroughfares that would carry travelers from one end of the state to the other" (2008, p.383).

constructed at the time of the Aroostook War. This road, sometimes called the 'California Road' and sometimes the 'Allegash [*sic*] Road,' has ever since been the main artery of traffic and communication, and as such has served all the lumbermen who have operated in this great timber domain for the past nearly ninety years. ("A week", 1921, p. 1)

Reinsmen of all types managed the roads and stops along the way each day driving. They met and interacted with men and women settlers, farmers, businesses and, in the woods, lumbermen. Each stop meant something different, whether it be a chat, or assistance with their horses or repair a wagon. They left their legacy in the interaction. They were considered guardians of goods and people and were well known and respected for their labors.

The nineteenth century regional development of land transportation altered this landscape by opening it to regular, daily travel and transportation of goods. This single change combined with the common man's labors created and established Aroostook County. Each mile traveled by the reinsman brought something that accommodated the settlers' lives and businesses. Settlers began to rely on this daily labor in many aspects of the life and work. Passenger service became a weekly occurrence to and from the County. Mail was received and sent more rapidly. Needed and desired goods were now available from local merchants. Lumber operations moved farther into the timberlands, extracting timber at astonishing rates, opening land as never seen before. The daily work of the reinsman caused this regional socio-economic churn. Their central role remained only as long as other transportation modes were kept at bay. Once rail, automobiles and trucks entered the region, land transportation morphed, and gradually made the work of a reinsman obsolete.

CHAPTER THREE

BANGOR TO THE TIMBER LANDS & BACK AGAIN

In the lumber camps, as elsewhere, there is much rivalry among teamsters as to the merits of their respective teams. At night after the men have eaten supper and are smoking their last pipe before turning in, many and wonderful are the stories told of monster loads hauled over impossible roads.

(“Loaded to an Ounce.” The Star – Herald, 1893, Nov 16, p. 1)

Land transportation in Aroostook County developed over several decades during the nineteenth century. The critical routes were long and sometimes tedious. The roads and trails teamsters traveled on varied by construction, condition, distance and terrain. Teamsters learned to memorize the routes and be prepared for adverse weather conditions and predatory animals along the way that might jeopardize their load, animal teams and livelihood. Although both the Military and Aroostook Roads were eventually turnpiked, the journey was a long slog through the vast timberlands or wild land townships owned by land speculators and lumber barons with only a few small towns and settlements along the way (“Abstract,” 1842, p. 2; Judd, et al., 2011, p. 271; Wiggin, 1922, p. 193). This chapter describes some of these early routes, the services and economy that developed along the way.

3.1. The Growth of Services and a Regional Economy

The typical route north from Bangor went through Orono and Old Town, then crossed the river by ferry near Passadumkeag or Enfield (R., 1850. p. 2). It then continued north through Enfield, Lincoln, Chester and Indian Township, where the road splits into the Aroostook and Military Roads, beginning at Mattawamkeag (Judd, et al, 2011, p. 349; see Appendix C.1 for map of area). Teamsters destined for Houlton veered slightly right, heading northeast on the Military Road, going through several townships before arriving in Houlton (see Appendix C.3 for an 1860

map of the region). As teamsters made their way north, the landscape of southern Aroostook County was an almost “unbroken forest” that was “well wooded and well watered” with few settlements and a growing number of taverns, hotels, and stables to accommodate teamsters and their teams (“Notes,” 1842, p. 3).

If heading north towards Fort Kent, a slight left was taken at the intersection of the two roads, onto the Aroostook Road at Molunkus in the southwest township of the County (see Appendix C.2 for 1850 map of region). From Molunkus the road “continues northward through several townships such as Township No. 1, Benedicta, Sherman, Pattern” (“Aroostook County,” 1845, p. 2; Wiggin, 1922, p. 211). To reach the lumber camps, teamsters continued north on the Aroostook Road, climbed Chase Mountain, crossed the Aroostook and Fish Rivers, and passed Portage, St. Froid, and Eagle Lake settlements before entering Fort Kent. At Fort Kent, teamsters would turn left into the timberlands and travel along the St. John River or established tote roads. A heavily loaded wagon with a six-horse team averaging fifteen miles daily made the trip from Bangor to a lumber camp in eighteen to twenty days in the early years. This included nightly stops at taverns and hotels to rest and shift teams of horses (“Early Stage Drivers,” 1940, p. 1).

3.2. Stops on the Road: Public Houses, Taverns & Inns

The life of teamsters required regular stops for sleep, food and deliveries. Before 1828, overnight accommodations were limited north of Bangor. Once the Military Road opened, many settlers found ways to accommodate the teamsters with “primitive houses of entertainment” (Barnes, 1889, p. 84; Wiggin, 1922, p. 266). Several local historians documented the proliferation of hotels, inns, public houses, taverns and stables that provided accommodations for teamsters and travelers while on the road. Besides overnight accommodations, many other businesses developed

along the routes: farms, saw and grain mills, sutler's stores,¹² blacksmith shops, harness shops, boot and shoe shops, lumber supply stores, drug or apothecary stores and various other mercantile stores and shops. Businesses provided food, liquor, grain, hay and other miscellaneous supplies to teamsters for their horses and wagons, as well as to the lumber operations and settlers (Wiggin, 1922, pp. 132-33).

The bulk of the new businesses during 1820-1850 were in the southern portion of the County or the northern portion of Penobscot County, especially at key points along the road, such as the intersection of the Military and Aroostook Roads at Mattawamkeag. Reverend John Todd noted on his journey into Northern Maine about taverns along the way:

For the first fifty or sixty miles above Bangor, the traveler will find the banks of the Penobscot inhabited, and now and then a farm laid out on a great scale, with fine-looking houses. Many of these have the tavern-sign, and you wonder what can support them all. There is, to be sure, the military road running to Houlton, made by the United States during the last war with England, but it runs through a forest, much of the way, and there seems to be no great travel on it [*sic*]. But it is not so in the winter—when every team is on the lumber business, then some of these houses will have an [*sic*] hundred men to lodge and to feed, with their teams. (Todd, 1849, p. 188)

Public houses popped up along the newly constructed roads in both Penobscot and Aroostook Counties. Overnight accommodations varied in the level and types of services provided. Hotels were normally in towns and geared for stagecoach passengers with finer rooms. Taverns, houses and inns were more humble accommodations and often served teamsters. The Campbell's Stage House in Haynesville, Maine advertised in the *Aroostook Herald*, in the advertising section on August 16, 1860, stating the business owner was:

¹² A historic term for a merchant who traveled with an army and sold goods to soldiers in the field or at a post often from a wagon or temporary tent; also referred to as a victualer. James Thomas and later Nathaniel J. Treat held the Sultership at the Houlton Barracks and later on the road near the barracks between 1820s and 1840s (Barnes, 1889, p. 78, 90). William Holden Cary was the sutler at the Fort Hill block house post in the late 1830s and into the 1840s (Wiggin, 1922, p. 84, 86).

A faithful and experienced Ostler [who] is constantly in attendance and [has] ample accommodations for 50 horses.

Stage Passengers dine at this house, which is the “Half-way House,” between Houlton and Mattawamkeag.

Remember the place “ON THE HILL,” two miles from “The Forks.” (“Hotels,” 1860, p. 4)

Hiram Gould advertised in the same newspaper edition stating:

It is well known that he keeps a strictly TEMPERANCE HOUSE and those who favor him with a call need not go away hungry.

TEAMSTERS will find this a desirable stopping place when night overtakes them, as his stable is commodious and warm. A faithful ostler always on hand. (“Hotels,” 1860, p. 4)

William J. Tasker’s *The Road to Bangor: The Teamsters and Old Hotels on the Military and Aroostook Roads* discussed the wide range of accommodations along the Northern Maine roads during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (2007). Typical accommodations were small, two-story wood frame homes converted into an inn, public house, or tavern, or often the main farmhouse where the owner lived. Buildings were usually built by lumbermen of the region or settlers (often couples); soon after they arrived they cleared and burnt their land and built barns with stables. Many innkeepers opened up their own homes to travelers, and some later built a separate inn from their home as the business grew. However, the turnover of public house ownership was frequent (Tasker, 2007). Milton Lufkin, author of *Henry: Man of Aroostook County, Maine*, about his father's life, stated that by the 1860s, “Each hotel had its long barn of a stable for any and all horses that came,” and provided additional needed services for their teams (1976, p. 200).

An occupational hazard of public houses was fires. Many public houses had damaging fires, sometimes completely destroying the house and stables (Wiggin, 1922, p. 262). A fire could destroy not only the inn and stables, but the teamster’s main investment, their horses and wagon; without

insurance, all would be lost in one fire (Lufkin, 1976, pp. 208-09). Regardless of the many fires, accommodations for teamsters, travelers and incoming settlers remained profitable for several decades along the Military and Aroostook Roads.

Teamsters normally stayed in less expensive public houses or inns with stables attached. Many had favorite stops as well as places to avoid due to poor management or a disagreeable proprietor, no matter the inconvenience (Lufkin, 1976, pp. 206-07). The Military Road had several public houses. Some teamsters would “tie up at a farmhouse a mile back, or even more pointedly, drag on for a couple of miles farther” to bypass an unpopular house, regardless of the service or accommodations, if the owner or manager was difficult (Lufkin, 1976, pp. 206-07).

3.3. Bangor to Points North

Bangor, Maine was a lumber city with a busy port, which supported many hotels, inns, public houses and taverns with stables during the nineteenth century (Tasker, 2007, p. 226). Some establishments were owned and operated by stage companies and meant for passenger travel. Reinsmen chose establishments that best accommodated themselves, their wagons and horses.

The area between Bangor and Lincoln was very settled with the most accommodations and businesses servicing reinsmen on the road. Reinsmen often began or ended at Bangor, Maine, staying overnight either in Bangor or Orono after arriving from the County with a wagonload of goods, such as clapboards, shaved cedar shingles or farm products (Tasker, 2007, p. 218; see Appendix D for lists of 1810-1860 township stops). Before inns were established, or if between inn locations, reinsmen were forced to either camp outdoors or in a farmer’s barn and stables.

Goods delivered from the County would be bartered or sold to city merchants. Goods to be brought back to the Aroostook County lumber camps or stores were then loaded for the return back.

In the early nineteenth century, teamsters were businessmen who went to Bangor and bought what they needed, plus extra to sell to other settlers (Wiggin, 1922, pp. 164-65). Later teamsters were normally hired by lumbermen and merchants.

Upon leaving Bangor, reinsmen drove north on the Orono Road along the west side of the Penobscot River, making the frequent stop at Old Town, a distance of 12 miles (Tasker, 2007, p. 218). Old Town had several hotels, public houses and boarding houses for mill workers and laborers. During the nineteenth century, the known hotels were the Bridge Hotel, Codman Hotel, Cousins Hotel, Eagle House, and Old Town Exchange (Tasker, 2007, pp. 218-19). A secondary stop to Old Town was Orono, where the Orono House was owned and operated by Thomas and Susan Whitney until the 1840s, and later by P.T. Whitney (Tasker, 2007, p. 218). From this location, teamsters could cross the Penobscot River by ferry as Henry David Thoreau had done, to land either at Passadumkeag or Enfield, then onward to Lincoln approximately 40 miles north (R. 1850, p. 2; Thoreau & Moldenhauer, 1972, p. 6).

Lincoln is south of Mattawamkeag and was “the largest and most important town on the Penobscot above Oldtown [*sic*],” (Tasker, 2007, p. 182).¹³ There was an upper and lower village two miles apart (R., 1850, p. 2). The lower village had “five or six stores, two large taverns, several mechanics shops, mills, &c., a meeting house, a town house and an academy... a place of considerable business” (R., 1850, p. 2).

The upper village had a “meeting house, stores, shops, a tavern and a very good grist mill, &c. The Military Road began near the lower village” (R., 1850, p. 2). There were several Lincoln hotels operating between 1830-1860 for travelers and reinsmen. The Lincoln House was frequented by teamsters between Bangor and Aroostook County (“An auto,” 1916, p. 3). In the early years, the

¹³ Originally called Mattanawcook in 1823 but changed to Lincoln in 1829.

establishment fed and accommodated many teamsters, woodmen and travelers (“An auto,” 1916, p. 3). Another early public house serving teamsters was the Whittier House run by Colonel Joseph and wife Nancy Whittier between 1838-1850 (Tasker, 2007, pp. 182-90).

3.4. Driving Northeast on the Military Road to Houlton

The second main section of the route north to Aroostook was from the Military Road to Houlton. On the Military Road was Mattawamkeag,¹⁴ which was a major hub in the reinsman era with “two taverns, a store, two or three mechanics’ shops, and several dwellings,” and hotels throughout the nineteenth century (R. 1850, p. 2). Connections could be easily made to Houlton, Patten and points north. Traffic from Bangor to Mattawamkeag grew rapidly after the Military Road construction. Mattawamkeag lies along the Mattawamkeag and Penobscot Rivers and was used for lumber operations and two stage lines during the nineteenth century (Tasker, 2007, pp. 143). The Bangor to Mattawamkeag line operated daily and the Mattawamkeag to Houlton line operated six days a week, both owned by Woodbury and Bailey (Tasker, 2007, pp. 143). These operations kept many reinsmen actively employed for several years.

Driving north on the Military Road in 1850, the area was sparsely populated until reaching Molunkus, where the Military and Aroostook roads intersected (R. 1850, p. 2). Molunkus had the Libby Hotel, built by Richard Libby. Henry David Thoreau stayed at the Libby Hotel in the fall of 1846 while on his excursion to Northern Maine.

Before our companions arrived, we rode on up the Houlton road seven miles, to Molunkus, where the Aroostook road comes into it, and where there is a spacious public house in the woods, called the “Molunkus House,” kept by one Libbey [*sic*], which looked as if it had its hall for dancing and for military drills. There was no other evidence of man but this huge shingle palace in this part of the world; but sometimes even this is filled with travellers. I looked off the piazza round the corner

¹⁴ The town was first called Township No. 1 East Indian Purchase before renamed.

of the house up the Aroostook road, on which there was no clearing in sight. (Thoreau & Moldenhauer, 1972, p. 12-13)

The Libby Hotel was sold in the late 1840s to Samuel Crocker, believed to be a stagecoach driver in the 1850s (Tasker, 2007, pp. 230-31).

Teamsters drove northeast from this point on the Military Road to deliver or gather supplies from Houlton, where several businesses were located. The first town on the Military Road, past the intersection with the Aroostook Road, is Macwahoc Plantation, east of Molunkus and where the Molunkus and Macwahoc Streams form the Mattawamkeag River.¹⁵ Hotels and taverns were located in the area. A well-known hotel in the north end of the Macwahoc Plantation was run by Hugh Reed and known as the Reed or Ramsdell Place (Wiggin, 1922 p. 261). The popular, long running hotel was first built by John Rollins, who had cleared the land and built a house and large stable in 1848, later by owned by Reed (Tasker, 2007, pp. 130). The hotel was bought and sold several times and remained in business for decades serving teamsters and travelers (Wiggin, 1922, p. 262).

Continuing northeast from Macwahoc Plantation, teamsters crossed into the northwest corner of Reed Plantation. The first settler of Reed Plantation was Captain John Clifford of Dover, Maine, who cleared land for farming in 1832, then built several “buildings and kept a public house for many years” (Wiggin, 1922, p. 265). Wiggin noted “nearly all the settlers along this portion of the road” kept some type of public house due to the demand during the mid-nineteenth century (Wiggin, 1922, p. 266). Other settlers followed, such as Gorham Rollings, who:

built a log house and stable for the purpose of putting up teamsters and travelers upon the road, as the transportation of supplies for the garrison at Houlton had already caused considerable business on this road. Large lumber operations also were carried on in this vicinity, bringing in many men and teams and making lively business for these primitive houses of entertainment. (Wiggin, 1922, p. 266)

¹⁵ According to Henry David Thoreau, he was told during his travels by an Indian the name *Mattawamkeag* meant “a place where two rivers meet” (Thoreau & Moldenhauer, 1972, p. 141)

The public houses of this region were close to one another and near the Military Road, with a few at the intersection of Baskahegan and Military Roads, called Happy Corner (Tasker, 2007, pp. 112-114; Wiggin, 1922, p. 265). Hotels and stables for travelers and teamsters remained in the township for many years due to the high road traffic (Wiggin, 1922, p. 267). At Reed, the Military Road continued on, cutting diagonally through the town's northwest corner from the west to the north, crossing through Glenwood Plantation and into Haynesville.

Haynesville was an early critical transportation hub of the County between 1820-1860. It was referred to as “the Forks” since it was located where the Mattawamkeag River’s two branches meet (Wiggin, 1922, p. 74). In the late 1820s, the buildup of the U.S. Army in Houlton and the construction of the Military Road led to the “handling of large quantities of supplies at times [and] brought quite a number of men to this point” (Wiggin, 1922, p. 74). The settlement became a stopover for soldiers, teamsters and travelers after the Military Road opened (Tasker, 2007, p108). Most town residents opened their homes for travelers as public houses; there were also many businesses (Wiggin, 1922, p. 74).

The first “house of entertainment, or a stopping place for those whose business called them to this wilderness region” was operated by Jonathan Wilson, Haynesville’s first settler, who arrived in 1828 and built in the woods before roads were established (Wiggin, 1922, p. 75; Tasker, 2007, pp. 108-9). Settlers flocked to the area after the road construction began (Wiggin, 1922, p. 75). The area hotels were very popular and remained in service for decades (Wiggin, 1922, p. 76). East and south of Haynesville were more hotels, public houses and taverns in Orient, Weston and Amity, off the Military Road (Wiggin, 1922). Stagecoach and mail routes went through Haynesville beginning in the late 1820s, but decades later, railroads caused many hotels in the area to close by the early 1920s as transportation routes changed (Wiggin, 1922, p. 76).

The Military Road continued into Letter A and Linneus. Letter A House was a public house owned by Benjamin Alexander, son of Hugh Alexander, a well-known Army teamster and lumberman (Wiggin, 1922, p. 53). The hotel continued operating until the early twentieth century (Wiggin, 1922, p. 55). From Letter A, the road continued north into Linneus and the Old Soldier Road, then crossed over the far northwest corner of Hodgdon and then into Houlton (Wiggin, 1922, pp. 48, 50)¹⁶

Houlton was the first English-speaking settlement in the northern region of the District of Maine, established by the New Salem Academy land grant, sold to six settler families from Massachusetts.¹⁷ This settlement was considered “the extreme northeastern outpost of the United States” before the Webster-Ashburton Treaty (Wiggin, 1922, p. 7). In the first couple of decades settlers worked quickly to establish homes, businesses and transportation and communication routes, but Houlton rapidly changed after the U.S. military became established in the region, creating many jobs and business opportunities (“How,” 1852, p. 557; Wiggin, 1922, p. 12, 14).

Joseph Houlton established the Houlton Tavern in his large house in 1817, and boarded and fed travelers, new settlers and military officers until permanent homes or barracks were built (Melvin, 1977, p. 9; Wiggin, 1922, p. 11). The William Shepard family boarded at Joseph Houlton’s tavern until their home was built, including brothers Shepard and William Holden Cary (Wiggin, 1922, p. 11). This close Houlton-Cary association forged a frontier business mindset in the

¹⁶ The Soldier Road was the first road cleared in the region, in 1828, and was used by the U.S. military prior to the construction of the Military Road. Soldier Road “began at what was called Soldier Landing on the east branch of the Mattawamkeag some two miles below the mouth of Beaver Brook, followed up the brook across the township of ‘Letter A’ and after entering Linnaeus turned in a northeasterly direction from the height of land...following nearly the line of the present military road...entering Houlton near the southeast corner of that town” (Wiggin, 1922, pp. 48-50).

¹⁷ Including Mrs. Lydia Putnam, Joseph Houlton, Varney Pearce, John and Joshua Putnam and Dr. Samuel Rice and families, all related by marriage and blood (Barnes, 1889, p. 24; Wiggin, 1922, p. 8). Mrs. Lydia Trask Putnam, her son Aaron and family were the first to arrive in 1805, with others arriving over the next decade (Wiggin, 1922, pp. 8-9).

brothers, who later became well known businessmen. Joseph's son, James, built a large house in 1828, which served as a tavern; his early tavern patronage included occasional teamsters arriving from Bangor (Tasker & Drost, 2007, n.p.).

Three other notable accommodations during the first half of nineteenth century were Lander's tavern, Putnam Tavern and the Snell House. Lander's tavern was thought to be owned by James Lander, the first mail carrier from Houlton to Calais (Wiggin, 1922, p. 55-56). The Snell House was built by Luther Snell in 1844 and remained in operation until the 1880s and was noted as a "plus ultra for freighters," meaning it was too formal and expensive and not normally used by teamsters (Lufkin, 1976, p. 206; Tasker, 2007, pp. 85-86). Aaron Putnam built a very large home in 1812 that later operated for several decades as a "semi-private hotel" called "Putnam's, Putnam's Tavern, [and] Putnam's Inn" (Melvin, 1977, p. 13-14; Putnam, 1958, p. 192). The house was also used for early court sessions, held on the upper floor, while in the basement were "two brick structures said to have served as cells when needed for temporary housing of prisoners" (Melvin, 1977, p. 14).¹⁸

John James Audubon visited Houlton in the early 1830s on his expedition to Maine and New Brunswick, leaving journal entries of Aroostook County's difficult travel and expansive wilderness.

Houlton is a neat village, consisting of some fifty houses. The fort is well situated, and commands a fine view of Mars' Hill, which is about thirteen miles distant. A custom-house has been erected here, the place being on the boundary line of the United States and the British Provinces. The road which was cut by the soldiers of this garrison, from Bangor to Houlton, through the forests, is at this moment a fine turnpike, of great breadth, almost straight in its whole length, and perhaps the best now in the Union. It was incomplete, however, for some miles, so that our traveling over that portion was slow and disagreeable. The rain, which fell in torrents, reduced the newly raised earth to a complete bed of mud, and at one time our horses became

¹⁸ Aaron's son, Black Hawk, inherited the house after Aaron's death and turned the house into the Black Hawk Putnam Tavern or Inn, which later included a restaurant and tearoom. The house still stands in Houlton. (Melvin, 1977, p. 14; Putnam, 1958, p. 192; Tasker & Drost, 2007, n.p.).

so completely mired that, had we not extricated by two oxen, we must have spent the night near the spot. Jogging along at a very slow pace, we were overtaken by a gay wagoner, who had excellent horses, two of which a little 'siller' induced him to join to ours, and we were taken to a tavern, at the 'Cross Roads,' where we spent the night in comfort. While supper was preparing, I made inquiries respecting birds, quadrupeds, and fishes, and was pleased to hear that many of these animals abounded in the neighborhood. Deer, Bears, Trout, and Grouse were quite plentiful, as was the Great Gray Owl. (Audubon, 1897)

On March 8, 1831, Houlton was incorporated and named the Aroostook County seat by joining the New Salem grant and "the half town granted about 1815 to the trustees of Williams College, of Williamstown, Mass." (Wiggin, 1922, p. 12). From Houlton the Military Road eventually continued north on to Mars Hill, traveling through a number of small towns with various public houses.

3.5. Heading North on the Aroostook Road to Fort Kent

The last section of the route for teamsters going north to Fort Kent was on the Aroostook Road. The Aroostook Road connected the Penobscot, Aroostook, Fish and St. John Rivers, as well as providing improved access to many lakes and streams, making it a critical transportation artery. It was the most unsettled portion of the trip. Immediately north of Molunkus, teamsters ascended three steep hills, once referred to as two-, three- and four-mile hills in Township 1, Range 5 (Tasker, 2007, p. 231).

In 1840, seven miles north of Molunkus, Stephen Cobb and brother Dean cleared land, built a house and set up a hotel, but later abandoned the house and land "for the Far West" (R, 1850, p. 2; Tasker, 2007, pp. 233). In 1850, this wooded unsettled area was referred to as Cobb's place and described as having "fine ridges of land on the road, covered with a mixed growth of hard and soft wood" (R, 1850, p. 2). The hotel was maintained for teamsters and travelers until the 1900s (Tasker, 2007, pp. 232-34).

North of Township 1, Range 5, the road travels through Benedicta then Sherman. Sherman developed after the completion of Aroostook Road in 1832. Alfred Cushman bought 200 acres from the State of Massachusetts at \$1.75 an acre, which he cleared for his farm, selling the wood to lumber operators (Tasker, 2007, pp. 252-53). During 1836-37, he built a tavern and operated it for two years but sold the business because of his dislike of serving alcohol to his guests. (Tasker, 2007, pp. 252-53). Two other long-running hotels were in the area, one built by Richard Boynton in 1850 on the south end of town on Aroostook Road, which ran until 1898, and a second hotel run by Edward A Jackman, which remained until the 1880s (Tasker, 2007, pp. 254).

From Sherman the Aroostook Road skirted west along the eastern portion of Penobscot County for 3 townships, Staceyville, Patten and Mount Chase. Patten became the most developed in this stretch of the road. The opening of Aroostook Road and the international borderline resolution fueled Patten's growth during 1840-50. By 1841, Patten had developed to include:

three stores, a saw and grist mill, and tannery, a potash, and other machinery, with mechanics' shop, two taverns, and six barns [*sic*] that cost one thousand dollars each, besides other barns [*sic*], and the buildings of the inhabitants. The settlers in this town have a surplus of hay, and grain the present year to the amount of from [*sic*] seven to eight thousand dollars for all which they will find a ready market. ("Progress," 1841, p. 2)

Hay and grain were easily transported from Patten into the timberlands. Patten's first settlers in 1841 were predominantly young men, totaling between two and three hundred from Kennebec County. Many purchased lands from the State of Maine with loans and their road labor ("Progress," 1841, p. 2). Two hotels were established in the area in the late 1840 and 1850s (Tasker, 2007, pp. 256-57).

North from Patten and Mount Chase, the Aroostook Road entered Hersey, then Moro Plantation, and three unorganized territories, Townships 7, 8, and 9, (or T7, T8, T9) in Range 5. These unorganized territories had two roadside hotels and stables in T7 and T8, both owned by

Robert Boody, who was a cooper who came to the area in late 1850s and operated the hotels until the 1880s (Tasker, 2007, pp. 235-36). The cooperage was a needed business for barrels to haul food for camps and settlements.

North of the unorganized territories is Masardis, which was an important stopping point for the teamsters, military and travelers going north to Fort Kent. The town was established in the 1830s but not populated until 1839. In 1843, Joseph Pollard bought land and built a house and “commenced keeping a tavern, which he ran until the 1880s, known as the Masardis House” (Wiggin, 1922, p. 157; Tasker, 2007, pp. 259-60). Pollard worked for lumber firms in search of potential land for lumber. A second Masardis hotel was built by William H.H. Fitzgerald, who ran it between the 1850s and 1870 (Tasker, 2007, pp. 259-60).

Straight north from Masardis was Township 11, Range 5, which was later incorporated as the town of Ashland in 1862 (Wiggin, 1922, p. 74). Ashland was a critical crossroads in Aroostook County. Travelers could go west into the timberlands, east to Presque Isle, a major commercial area, or north to Fort Kent and the St. John Valley. Early settler Solomon Soule bought land, built a house and ran a hotel until 1855, which was used frequently by the local lumber operations and teamsters (Wiggin, 1922, p. 69). This hotel was later run by George W. Smith until the 1860s (Tasker, 2007, p. 277).

Ashland developed several productive farms and was considered by Wiggin as “one of the best farming towns in the county” with large fields of hay and grain for the many teams of horses used in lumbering (1922, p. 74). Ashland was the base of the Peter Dunn, Elbridge G. Dunn and John S. Gilman lumber and farm operations. Dunn and Gilman became quite wealthy in lumbering and buying up timber lands in Aroostook County, making Ashland the “headquarters of the vast lumbering business of the upper Aroostook [which] has played a most important part in the business

history of the county,” and hiring many men in the woods and on the roads (Wiggin, 1922, p. 67-70). The various lumber operations established saw and grist mills which made clapboards, barrels and shingles in Ashland (Wiggin, 1922, pp. 70-71). Ashland was also the beginning of an alternative wilderness route to Seven Islands Farms, initially overland in the winter, but later as a cut road made by W.H. Cary from Ashland to his farm and camps, cutting a significant amount of time in reaching both for the teamsters (Barnes, 1889, p. 45).

Portage Lake lies north of Ashland and Nashville Plantation on the Aroostook Road and was a regular stopping point for teamsters and stages. Many hotels opened up in the town, and settlers would frequently open their homes up for travelers when needed (Tasker, 2007, pp. 280-2). An early hotel was run by Melzar Drake beginning in 1855, and continued until the late 1860s (Tasker, 2007, pp. 280-2). From Portage Lake, teamsters continued north through several sparsely populated townships until arriving at Fort Kent.

Fort Kent was the end point for the Aroostook Road after its completion in the 1850s. Fort Kent’s first hotel was run by Joseph Nadeau in the 1850s. The second was Eagle Hotel, run by Samuel Stevens between the 1850s and the 1880s (Tasker, 2007, pp. 296-98). Upon leaving Fort Kent, teamsters would go slightly south and west and enter the timberlands on tote roads to the lumber camps.

CHAPTER FOUR

FRONTIER REINSMEN AT WORK

The stage driver was the central figure and star actor in these old times scenes, but the teamsters were also persons of great note and much looked up to.

(“Early Presque Isle Journalism,” The Star Herald, 1903, p. 1)

Reinsmen helped create economic churn in the early development of Aroostook County and became known and reliable figures in the settlements and timberlands. Life on the roads as a reinsman required much during their days-long journeys north. Nineteenth-century reinsmen were responsible for the teams of horses or oxen and security and delivery of critical goods, traveling in treacherous weather extremes through a dense forest filled with roaming wild predators. Reinsmen traveled alone or in small groups or caravans hauling important cargo unattainable during the early years in Northern Maine’s history. Along the way they developed and transported a social hub of information and personal connections with those they encountered. The following collection of local resource information helps frame the frontier reinsman occupation by describing the types of reinsmen, their daily work and social interactions and the animals, vehicles and loads they carried.

4.1. Reinsmen Life Stories

Little first-hand documentation has been left to tell the story of reinsmen. The few local Aroostook County historical resources listed 41 men as reinsmen working between the 1810s and the 1860s, some are listed in more than account (see Appendix B for lists of known drivers). William J. Tasker listed many more men who worked during 1860-1905, not included in this study. The local accounts provide only basic information about their life and occupation, such as their route or base location, who they worked for, and approximate dates worked. It is unknown how

many individuals worked in more than one area, such as in the woods or on the roads, or simply specialized in one. Overall, the records show many reinsmen worked a decade or more.

Presumably more people worked in this occupation than documented between 1810-1860 because of the expansive demand for land transportation. The lack of documentation is likely caused by limited communication and education in the region at this time. It took several decades before enough schools were built in Aroostook County for most children to attend (Melvin, 1977, p. 13). In the early years, mail delivery had limited mail routes before the first post offices, mail carriers and routes were established (McGrath, 1989, p. 141). By 1843, only a dozen post offices existed in the southernmost portion of Aroostook County, all below Masardis (McGrath, 1989, p. 139). Local newspapers didn't begin until the late 1850s, limiting local information or news being recorded in the first half of the century (McGrath, 1989, p. 139). The lack of literacy and communication left little opportunity for written records to survive past the era, such as in family letters or documents describing the lives of reinsmen.

Another dynamic was the ever-changing number of settlers in the region. The population in Southern Aroostook grew throughout the nineteenth century, but settlers came and left the County when unable to get established quickly (Visitor, 1841, p. 2). Earlier settlers were widespread and often isolated from one another. Reinsmen simply may not have been known outside of their traveling area, leaving few oral stories or local legends for potential later historical or newspaper accounts.

Early settlers, including reinsmen, may not have had the time or inclination to record their lives. Many accounts discussed how surviving in the early years was all-consuming, leaving little time for reflection and leisure. Local accounts discussed how pioneer settlers had multiple jobs to stave off poverty and hunger, from building roads, cutting and selling shingles, and working as

loggers, farmhands or reinsmen on the road. By juggling several jobs, people may not have considered themselves solely in one occupation, or may have viewed themselves in their primary occupation, such as a farmer.

Another reason for the lack of recorded accounts might stem from how the work was perceived by those doing the job. A man born in the late nineteenth century, Lyle Gardner, spoke about the job of toting (a late nineteenth and early twentieth century term for someone who hauled supplies to camps). He and his father worked as toters, and according to Lyle, “toting wasn’t much of a job; I didn’t like it” due to the dangers of frequent breakdown (interview with Helen Atchison in 1972). Gardner began the job at age 15 around 1900, when his father fell ill, working briefly on the road then moving into the woods hauling logs (1972).

Breakdowns caused drivers to repair a wheel on the open road, regardless of the weather. If impossible to repair, they were forced to walk to the nearest camp or farm for help (Gardner, 1972). A typical day began at 6 a.m., driving over very rough, muddy, corduroy roads in the woods or rocky trails over the highlands (1972). These rough roads often had deep holes that easily buried a wheel in the swampy lowlands or damaged a wagon on the rocky highlands (Gardner, 1972). The hard work and uncertainty might have made this job considered as a temporary job for some, leaving little reason to record it.

4.2. Types of Reinsmen

Reinsmen were referred to by several different names in Maine, based upon their duties or the writer documenting the occupation. Generally, the term reinsman seemed to be the most common during the nineteenth century, regardless of the exact duties and responsibilities. Other titles included teamster, hauler, stage driver, mail carrier, drover, or toter (see List of Definitions).

In Maine, some titles were used interchangeably, such as reinsman and teamster, whether they drove on roads or in the woods. Whip or crack was often used to describe someone who was an expert handler of horses.

The title of stagecoach driver and mail carrier described the job of carrying people and mail, respectively. A reinsman transporting passengers was referred to as stagecoach driver, stage driver or drover. Stage drivers frequently doubled as mail carriers since they often stopped at the same location as the mail drop off, and the mail delivery routes ran less frequent than the stage routes (“The Mail” 1859, p. 2). During the mid- to late-nineteenth century these two types were recorded more than all other reinsmen, particularly in local newspapers.

Newspaper accounts detailed how stagecoach drivers and mail carriers left a big impression on settlers and travelers due to their regular interaction. Local County newspaper accounts often heralded stagecoach drivers in particular. One of these, George Gosline, at the time of his death was described as “an interesting character—a man of marked personality, who seemed to fit in exactly with his physical and social environment.” (“A Glance,” 1919, p. 1).

Settlers often depended on the regular stagecoach driver for daily needs. A local traveler noted during a cold winter stage drive on December 23, 1858, how difficult ‘Driving Stage’ was:

We left Houlton this morning, in a regular north east snow storm [*sic*], but snugly encased in one of Bailey’s covered sleighs, well wrapped up, with the accommodating *Bickford* on the box, we suffered but little from cold. ‘Driving Stage’ in pleasant weather would be to us anything but agreeable, and how much more so must it be in cold, blustering, wintry weather like to-day. And then the thousand and one errands to do. We cannot imagine how the ‘drivers’ remember all they are requested to do. We did not count the number of commissions entrusted to *Bickford*’s care to-day. One man wanted him to get three pounds of white sugar down to the P’int [*sic*]. Another wanted him to look after them seamless bags. Anon, and ‘the stage’ was hailed by a shrill female voice, and the driver was entrusted with a two dollar bill, with orders to ‘lay it out in *wool*, if it did not cost more’n [*sic*] a quarter of a dollar a pound.’ She ‘didn’t want him to go and give a great big price, and if it cost more’n [*sic*] a quarter, she thought one

pound would do her.' George of course, promised to do all she wished. Oh no, we should not like to be a stage driver. ("Mattawamkeag House," 1858, Dec. 23, p.2)

The unassigned tasks endeared them to local settlers, businesses and travelers, making their job more than the delivery of goods, passengers and mail.

Teamsters transported supplies and general goods to lumber camps and settlements between 1810-1860. They performed the most difficult job among reinsmen by hauling supplies and goods over the roughest terrain and on the longest routes in the most isolated, unsettled region of Maine's northeastern frontier. Teamsters "were rough and ready, genial and trustworthy," working singly or in caravans of wagon and sleds, stopping at the taverns and inns along the way ("Early Stage", 1940, p. 1). The term teamster was used both on the roads and in the woods, moving supplies or logs. An Army Teamster worked supplying the army, but also building roads. The term toter was later used exclusively for someone who hauled supplies to lumber camps. This term became common when timberland roads became designated for hauling logs or supplies (Emerson, 1895, 478; p. Melvin, 1977, p. 90). By the late nineteenth century, the term freighter began to be used to haul on roads to settlements and businesses (Lufkin, 1976, p. 199).

Generally, teamsters were considered herculean by what they accomplished on the road by themselves.

Both stage drivers and teamsters were of a strong individual type each in their way. The six horse teamsters were particularly heroic figures, as men deserved to be to handle the reins and whip over six gigantic horses and conquer the hills and sloughs and buffet through the winter storms of that old Aroostook road. If there was anything removed from child's play, and calculated to call for lung power, robustness, determination of mind and endurance of body it was the business of the Aroostook six horse teamsters in the early pioneer days. ("Sketch," 1890, p. 1)

Long distance hauling was difficult for many reasons. It created more concerns over the horses, heavy wagons, weather, varied road conditions and greater exposure to the elements and wilderness. Teamsters drove more miles on each trip and hauled on both unsettled rough and settled cut roads,

whereas stagecoach drivers and mail carriers remained on the cut roads, in more settled areas of the County, with often shorter scheduled routes. Unsettled regions of the County meant contending with more animals and rugged terrain. Additionally, the heavy loads on supply wagons were more treacherous to maneuver than a stagecoach or mail wagon. If stranded, it meant a long horseback ride or walk to get help. Teamsters hauled loads on open wagons in summer and covered sleds in winter from Bangor to lumber camps (“Early Stage Drivers,” 1940, p. 1). The teamsters' primary concern was to get the goods to their destination quickly, yet safely. While on the road, the teamsters were given the right of way over other travelers (“Early Stage Drivers,” 1940, p. 1).

4.3. The Work of a Reinsman

After the Aroostook War ended, teamsters practically lived on the Military Road, since it was the main transportation artery to and from Bangor and Houlton (Wiggin, 1922, p. 76). The Aroostook Road became a critical route for hauling through the northern settling lands and timberlands. A typical day started at dawn by preparing the teams and wagon for the frontier trek. Horses could be finicky and obstinate, forcing a reinsman to coax with words and whip to move teams. If a wagon wheel cracked under the weight of its load traveling over a deep rut, drivers looked only to themselves to fix it, unless fortunate enough to be in a caravan with others.

Weather was an unpredictable factor. Heavy rains and strong winds washed out roads and blew trees across roads and trails, leaving reinsmen to reverse course or take matters into their own hands and clear the path. In the summer, marshy muskegs were filled with animals of all sizes, from the bull moose to no-see-ums. The latter being the smallest, yet most troublesome after the forest ground warmed, releasing untold numbers of the biting pests into the air attacking both drivers and teams. At night, if forced to sleep under the stars, reinsmen heard the howl or screech from the

Northern Maine owl, wolf, coyote or catamount, prompting their watchful eyes to guard their horse teams and wagons loaded with barrels of food. Northern Maine's bitter cold and snowy winters made travel even more difficult and dangerous.

In 1846, Dr. Alexander Wotherspoon, Assistant Surgeon of the United States Army, conducted a survey on "the medical topography of Fort Kent, Maine," during a visit to the region (1846, p. 9). He recorded many detailed observations and analysis about the St. John region, and the surrounding "dense, unbroken forest," stating:

The climate, at this post, [Fort Kent], is almost Siberian in its rigor; the mean temperature for the year ending June 1845, being 35.90. The long, dreary winter commences during the last weeks in October, when repeated falls of snow cover the ground, to remain unmelted to the succeeding spring. (1846, p. 2)

The wilderness or wild lands at the time abounded in many animals, small and large. Larger animals, such as moose, deer, caribou, and black bear were seen in the region, as well as packs of wolves. Dr. Wotherspoon named many species of plants, animals and insects found in the region in his report, noting how "occasionally moose, cariboo [*sic*] and deer are seen; but these animals are said to be fast deserting the country" (1846, p. 2). Also, he notes "two species of wolf, the loup cervis, bear, and glutton" as well as "a few beaver, [*sic*] otter, sable and mink" are trapped, but that wild pigeons, partridges, and ducks are found in inconsiderable numbers" (1846, p. 2). He continued to describe the abundance of "trout, togue and other fine fish" and noted the "very numerous, and very annoying" biting insects in the summer, such as the "*no see 'ums*" and "black fly" (1846, p. 2). His insect information was extensive and explained how they impacted humans adversely, causing tumors, pain, swelling and red marks covered by blood stating "the only possible method of remaining in the woods during a warm, clear day, is to smear the exposed surfaces with some oily and odoriferous substance, such as oil of camphor" (Wotherspoon, 1846, p. 2).

Wilmot Ashby, an Aroostook County nineteenth century historian, recorded several other animals such as the “Canadian Catamount, or Indian-devil, panther, the northern lynx, bobcat and wild cat, [that] yelled and screamed in the tree tops; the packs of gaunt, hungry wolves threatened nightly to devour the small band of surveyors” (1978, pp. 142-43). Ashby described two kinds of northern panther in Aroostook County:

The common mouse-colored panther, more common in Vermont, New Hampshire and New York, and the big fierce, man eating catamount, or Indian-devil. Those were never found south of the 45th parallel of latitude. Some are black in color, and all of them nearly so. The panther and Rocky mountain lion are about the same thing, but a little different in color. They weigh when full grown about one hundred and twenty-five pounds each. But a full-grown Indian devil will weigh two hundred pounds; they leap from the tree on to their pray [*sic*]. They are a terrible animal, and it is a blessing they have left Aroostook. They kill for the love of killing. One of them would spring from the tree top, drag down a deer, tear out his throat, suck the blood and leave the carcass for the wolves. An old Indian once told me that those great cats once killed more of his people in olden times than any disease the Red Man ever had. The Indians feared them more than all the other animals together, and if all the stories and legends about them are true, well they might. (1978, p. 145)

Local stories claim Shepard Cary’s crew had a catamount come into their Allagash camp and “broke down a stable door and killed a horse, while the men were asleep” (Ashby, 1978, p. 146). Thoreau mentioned an “Indian spoke of the *lunxus* or Indian devil...as the only animal in Maine which man need fear; it would follow a man and did not mind a fire” (Thoreau & Moldenhauer, 1972, p. 139).

Mrs. Lucy A. Bean, who was born in Limerick, Maine in 1840, was interviewed in the 1930s about her childhood in Aroostook County. She recalled the “swift running streams and big timber,” and log cabin life where “deer grazed fearlessly” and “bears roamed in large numbers” (Buxton, 1939, p. 1). At night she remembered “the howling of wolves” which “were so thick on our land that father set traps for them” (Buxton, 1939, p. 1). She recalled to writer Henry Buxton:

Often I used to go to the spring with my brother, Charles, to get water for mother. This spring was in the woods, and was a favorite place for bears, deer, and other wild

animals to slake their thirst. We were aware of this, and Charles always used to go ahead of me to make sure that there were no bears around the place. He would make me stand in one spot until he shouted that it was safe to come on. One day I heard him cry out: 'Run back to the house, Lucy, there's a big bear drinking at the spring.' Both of us hurried back to the house and got the family dog, old Cuff. The dog soon routed the bear; kept trailing the animal the rest of the day, coming back at night all beat out. (1938, p. 1)

Many early historical accounts comment on the number of animals seen by settlers. Early settlers refrained from keeping sheep until portions of the woods were cleared because of the threat of wolves attacking them (Ashby, 1978, p. 73). Eventually the wolves were heavily hunted by settlers using log wolf traps, built as a small, enclosed building twenty feet long and eight to ten feet high, with an opening at the top (Ashby, 1978, p. 73). A sheep would be placed inside, and wolves would enter from the top and be trapped inside until the next morning and shot (Ashby, 1978, p. 73). As more settlers and businesses became established, the frontier transformed, especially in Southern Aroostook.

Teamsters worked for a variety of employers. In the early years, some worked for themselves, such as Edward Cone, but most worked for others (Barnes, 1889, p. 55). Early teamsters also worked for the U.S. Army. Lumber companies hired many to haul logs and supplies (Carlisle & Shatney, 1909, p. 10). Henry Lufkin worked for a freight company.

An 1853 account in the Boston Journal, titled "Life in the Backwoods of Maine. —No. 2.," discussed teamsters transporting supplies for loggers and their oxen in October 1840 for a Shepard Cary and Company lumber camp. The author began at the Penobscot River in a party of fifty men and thirty oxen to start the winter lumber operations and commented on how the teamsters supplied the lumber crew and oxen:

This operation of transporting provisions for the men and grain is no small job, when we calculate the amount that fifty men will consume in six months, and the grain that thirty oxen will consume during the same time. I shall be understood, when I say that it took twenty-five men about two months to transport our stock of provisions to the

'logging camp.' From Oldtown, by the river, the distance was about two hundred miles. (The Boston Journal, 1840, p. 1)

Unfortunately, no names were listed for the teamsters to give credit for their arduous work.

4.4. Horses and Gear

Reinsmen's most important skills were the keen understanding of oxen's and horses' needs and abilities, and the strength and weaknesses of the vehicle transporting their loads. Reinsmen drove from two- to eight-horse teams, or pairs of oxen, attached to a cart, wagon, dray, sleigh, sled or specialized log jumper, depending on the job (Barnes, 1889, p. 45; Wiggin, 1922, p. 12). It was important to have the right animal for the load and road conditions. Lighter animals were used for speed and ease of clearing snow paths; heavier animals such as oxen and draft horses pulled enormous loads.

Horses were primarily used on turnpiked roads because "the ox is not as well adapted as the horse to the road service, especially for long trips" ("Advantages," November 1848, p. 290). Common dirt roads could be soft, and constructed or frozen roads were often rough and hard, making it difficult for their short legs and cloven feet ("Advantages," November 1848, p. 290). Horses began hauling at five years of age and averaged seven years of service ("Advantages," November 1848, p. 290).

Normally, wagonloads required "eight horses together, in the summer, and six in the winter," which required many men to care for and drive the horses in the woods and to and from for supplies (Barnes, 1889, p. 45). Six horse teams with a load weighing 6,000-8,000 pounds, could travel sixteen miles a day, at an average nineteenth century cost of \$65 dollars a day ("Advantages," November 1848, p. 290). In the early twentieth century, Lyle Gardner described lighter horses

weighing 1300 pounds or less that were used to move sleds over snow-packed roads rather than the normal draft horses used in the warmer months (1972).

Horses needed regular daily care to make the long journey from Bangor to Northern Maine. Reinsmen carefully paced the horses to ensure a good day's travel. If pushed too fast and far, a horse would be overworked and "impair his usefulness and value" (P. 1858, p. 218). While on the road at midday, horses were rested, watered and fed ("Horse Department," 1869, p. 261). Throughout the day, horses had to be given as much water as they could drink to keep moving ("Horse Department," 1869, p. 261). Teamsters could experience horse handling difficulties that could "drive teamsters out of the barn," making them adjust their behavior accordingly (Lufkin, 1976, p. 208). Horses that easily spook or have a bad temperament can make handling an entire team difficult.

After a day's journey, horses were "unhitched quick as possible and unharnessed," then fed while being rubbed down and cleaned "until the hair became dry and until the skin felt cool" ("Horse Department," 1869, p. 261). After supper, horses were "well curried with comb and brush, and again rubbed down, especially the legs, then "well bedded down and given grain...and all the hay they could consume" ("Horse Department," 1869, p. 261). Horses were "fed exclusively on grain and hay" ("Advantages," 1848, November, p. 290).

Horses, associated gear and wagons were costly. The wagon, horse and gear was normally not owned by the reinsmen, but by the owner of the freight business or lumber operation, who also paid their wages (Lufkin, 1976, p. 209; "Logging," 1837, p. 142). Early teamsters interviewed on November 17, 1843, for *Plough, the Loom and the Anvil* newspaper discussed some of the associated costs:

They average one set of shoes monthly, each horse; cost of shoes, one dollar each per month; feed, four bushels of oats per day, four-fifths of a bushel per day to each

horse; the same of corn in the *ear*; hay, twenty five pounds. (“Advantages,” November 1848, p. 290)

Harnesses in the late 1840s could cost twenty dollars per horse and normally lasted six years (“Advantages,” 1848, December, p. 353). Whether owned or not, extreme care had to be taken to protect the horse and maintain the use of the gear and wagon to ensure profitability, as stated by the following excerpt from *The New England Farmer* newspaper article:

The teamster who loads his dray or wagon so heavily that the horse or team attached to it cannot draw it but a short distance, without being so exhausted of strength as to be unable to proceed, without stopping to rest, or breathe awhile is an unmerciful and unwise man.

Whoever practices such a mode of loading his team is ignorant of true economy, and is wanting in merciful feelings—is inhuman. It is ever injurious to the beast of burden or draft to overload him; such loads as require the exercise of the full, or nearly the whole strength of the animals to move them forwards, strain their nerves and sinews and stifle them. The over-driven or over-worked horse is injured in his strength and speed. It is uneconomical to manage and use a horse in such a manner as to impair his usefulness and value. (P., 1858, p. 218)

4.5. Wagons and Loads

Wagons varied in weight and size. The larger the wagon, the heavier the load it would carry, and the higher the cost. During the 1840s, the weight load ranged from 6000 to 8000 pounds, with an average wagon weight around 3500 pounds, and their costs ranging from \$150 to \$250 (“Advantages,” November 1848, p. 290). The early Aroostook style wagon, also called a tote wagon, hauled heavier loads than other wagon types. It was high bodied and “high wheeled, had steel axles, and had brakes that could hold any load on any of the vicious hills” (Lufkin, 1976, p. 203; Gardner, 1972). These heavier wagons were sometimes referred to as truck wagons and were often oxen-driven in the early years (Melvin, 1977, p. 34). During Thoreau’s Northern Maine expedition, he described an Aroostook wagon at Molunkus:

There was a man just adventuring upon [the Aroostook Road] this evening, in a rude, original, what you may call Aroostook, wagon—a mere seat, with a wagon swung under it, a few bags on it, and a dog asleep to watch them. He offered to carry a message for us to anybody in that country, cheerfully. I suspect, that if you should go to the end of the world, you would find somebody there going further, as if just starting for home at sundown, and having a last word before he drove off. (Thoreau & Moldenhauer, 1972, p. 13)

Teamsters hauling into lumber camps delivered barrels of salt pork, flour, beans, tea, dried apples, potatoes, molasses, “quintals¹⁹ of codfish,” (Hall, F., 1939, p. 2;), and “Indian meal for oxen, and sometimes hay and oats” (The North American, 1837, p. 361; Wotherspoon, 1846, p. 9). In the earlier years, rum was provided, but was later discontinued (“Logging,” 1837, p. 142). Barrels of food were very heavy with the denseness of the goods and weight of the wooden barrels.

Early nineteenth century Aroostook County teamsters loaded and unloaded supplies several times as they entered and exited waterways or reached their final destinations. This was described as “no association of pleasure connected with the journey” (Barnes, 1889, 80). Generally, hauling goods required great strength. Hugh Jamieson was a teamster, farmer and “physical giant.”

[He] handled barrels of flour and pork, as common grocery clerks do kegs of lard. His six big horses were just as responsive and obedient to his voice as the New Brunswick R.R. locomotive is to the engineer’s hand on the throttle valve. Necessarily this must be so in good teaming.

Imagine a little man with a small weak voice at the foot of London Hill, Bridgewater, with six horses and a load of eighty hundred on his wagon! You could bet ten to one on the chances of his staying at the foot of the hill and be dead sure to win. Those enormous loads were pulled up over steep pitches as much by the will and resolution of the rugged strong lunged teamsters as by the horses themselves. (“Sketch,” 1890, p. 1)

Ferries were eventually established along rivers, making crossing them easier as wagons did not have to be unloaded at each crossing. Reinsmen simply loaded their vehicles at the pickup location and unloaded goods at their destination (Wiggin, 1922, p. 72). As more roads were constructed, hauling also became faster and more efficient for teamsters.

¹⁹ A quintal weight equaled 100 pounds in the nineteenth century

The life of a reinsman meant managing heavy loads, passengers or precious correspondence to the County settlers during 1810-1860. The reinsmen labor was “looked upon with great public respect and admiration” for the work they accomplished. (“Early Presque Isle,” 1903, p. 1). The roads and routes they traveled further explain their life and impact on the changing frontier in Northern Maine. Many settlers recognized that this occupation was not only important to them for supplies and communication but provided a means of revenue.

4.6. Individual Reinsman Profiles

More details emerge for reinsmen in the late nineteenth century accounts by local County writers as they looked back to the early frontier days (see Appendix A. for source information). Local historians Frances Barnes and Edward Wiggin record brief stories of several by name, though each described a different set of men. Both discussed five early teamsters: Edward Cone, James Taylor, Hugh Alexander, William Cunliffe and James Lander.

Edward Cone drove during the 1810s “between Houlton and Woodstock, with a pair of oxen and a two wheeled cart, the Express team for the settlers” when the route was a rough trail with logs, stones and brush across its path (Barnes, 1889, p. 55). James Taylor and Hugh Alexander worked for the U.S. Army as army teamsters moving supplies on the Beaver Brook Road to Houlton Barracks and assisting in building the Military Road. Taylor was well respected for “his skill with an ox team was more than ordinary, and he soon took up the task of hauling the stores from the [Soldier’s] Landing” (Barnes, 1889, p. 80). Both Taylor and Alexander operated when only rough corduroy roads connected several bodies of water, which made for several “changes from water to land and land to water again” (Barnes, 1889, p. 80). Alexander was a teamster as a young man but later established a farm, became heavily involved in lumber operations, and was the

town clerk for Linneus, Maine, and the Aroostook County Commissioner (Wiggin, 1922, pp. 52-53, 148).

James Lander is considered the first person to carry mail from the Baskahegan stream to Houlton, originally by foot, then on horseback and eventually by carriage. He still traveled from Houlton to Calais as late as the 1850s (Wiggin, 1922, p. 13). He, like Alexander, became successful and involved in the developing County. Lander became a tavern and store owner providing goods and accommodations for travelers (Barnes, 1889, p. 55; Wiggin, 1922, p. 47).

Barnes discussed Aaron G. Putnam as a teamster who worked for Shepard Cary. Putnam was one of the three early settlers of the New Salem land grant, arriving with his extended family in 1805, from Boston by ship to Woodstock, then ox cart on the trail to Houlton. He worked for Shepard Cary during the 1840s driving horse teams with “eight horses in summer and six in the winter” hauling supplies and squared lumber, from July to the following spring (Barnes, 1889, p. 45). Putnam became a successful businessman establishing an early mill dam, a saw and grist mill, several houses (one considered a mansion), and a large log barn (Wiggin, 1922, p. 11; Barnes, 1889, pp. 36, 121).

Frances Barnes, William Tasker and Edwards Wiggin all discussed William H. Cunliffe, who began as a teamster but later became an influential businessman of Northern Maine. Cunliffe started working for the S. Cary Company soon after arriving in the County in 1846. He was “hired by the month to drive a pair of horses between Houlton and Woodstock, and then became the foreman of the hewing crews on the Allagash” (Barnes, 1889, pp. 44-45; Tasker, 2007, p. 309; Wiggin, 1922, p. 174). Cunliffe later began his own lumber operations in 1857 in Fort Kent, then later partnered with William Cary in a lumber operation called Cary & Cunliffe in 1865 (Wiggin, 1922, p. 174). Later he joined with Walter Stevens. This lumber operation cut as much as twenty-

two million feet of logs annually in the latter part of the nineteenth century (Wiggin, 1922, p. 174). Cunliffe and his sons continued to dominate the lumber and merchant trade business for several years in Northern Maine (Wiggin, 1922, p. 175; McGrath, 1989, p. 149).

The few documented stories provide only a slice of what it meant to be a reinsman. A 1903 *Star Herald* newspaper article reminisced about early teamsters:

The stage driver was the central figure and star actor in these old time scenes, but the teamsters were also persons of great note and much looked up to. They were nearly all characters in their way, and when they got on to the pinch of any of the big hills on their route with a load of perhaps eighty hundred pounds on their wagons, the authority they could put into their megaphone voices would cause every horse in the string of six to pull his shoes off. (“Early Presque Isle,” 1903, p. 1)

4.7. Franklin Hall’s Henry Allen Story

Reinsmen stories were written from a male perspective and appeared to be exclusively for men, much like lumbermen in the woods. Northern Maine women, however, worked alongside men establishing farms and businesses, and oftentimes worked alone maintaining the homestead when men were gone (Weiner, 1997, p. 6). It seems logical that frontier women were capable of driving a team of horses and could have worked as reinsmen. There are a few accounts recording women as reinsmen. Local accounts mostly show women filling in for a family member. Franklin W. Hall is the only local writer who described women doing teamster work on a regular basis.

Aroostook County celebrated one hundred years in 1939. Many centennial celebrations and remembrances were held, reflecting back on the early pioneer frontier days. *The Houlton Pioneer Times* carried a special edition covering many topics of the frontier pioneers of the region. Franklin W. Hall’s article in this special issue, “Rugged Woodsmen, Risking Life and Limb, Blazed Trail to

Prosperity for Aroostook,” focused on the early lumber industry and key pioneer settlers who established the County to its 1939 state (1939, pp. 1-4).

Every region, town or place has stories uniquely defining who and what they are, and Hall’s article was a stirring rendition of local history. His article’s subtitle enticed readers to continue reading by stating, “Colorful Figures Once Known Widely for Deeds of Daring and Celebrated for Skill with Axe And Cantdog, Now Take Place in Legend And Lore of the Pine Tree State” (1939, p. 1). Hall’s story provided a glimpse into the frontier Northern Maine, no longer experienced.

Hall included one unusual and mysterious story of “Henry Allen,” who according to Hall was a woman disguised as a man who worked as a reinsman, delivering supplies to lumber camps for an unknown period of time in nineteenth century Northern Maine (1939, p. 2). Hall provided few details on who Henry Allen was or when she worked as a reinsman. The missing details make the story appear more of a legend than fact. What follows is an excerpt of Franklin Hall’s story.

Famous Women

Numberless women took mens’ [*sic*] places in those days and nothing thought of it. No mention of equal rights or woman suffrage. It was just taken for granted. The work was there to be done; nobody cared who did it, any more than they did in later years in the mines of the West. Who cared who sank the shaft so long as the golden glitter was brought to the surface? Just so in the lumber camps of Aroostook. Nobody cared who brought in the hay and grain, so long as the teams were kept eating to do more work.

One outstanding woman lived in those stirring times, who always dressed as a man and was always cool, thoughtful, and deliberate. She would go to Bangor with her four horse team, put on her load, destined for Shep. Cary’s camps at the Seven Islands, and haul through to Number 11, Range 5 (now Ashland). There she would leave the Soldier Road to Fort Kent—turn sharp to the left, taking an almost direct western course and on to the Islands over another 80 miles of tote road, which required two days and maybe three—depending upon how many windfalls she might have to cut out of the road or how many wolves and bobcats she had to chase away from her barrels of pork or quintals of codfish, to say nothing about keeping them from killing her horses.

When she landed in camp always happy and cheerful, she would in the evening entertain the 100 or more men with her beautiful songs of the “Wounded Hussar”, “James Bird”, “The Flying Cloud”, and dozens of others. She had a

wonderfully sweet voice and a great assortment of songs and was always acquiring more from the rough and ready throng she was mixing with. Any man who had a choice song was only too glad to write it down for her to commit to memory on the road. Or she would take the violin (always one or more there) and play any of the old timers, (favorites then) as “Boney’s March over the Alps,” “Coming thru the Rye,” “Garry Owen” or “Run Boys, Run Boys, Daddy shot a Bear.”

Pioneer Element

She was known to the world as Henry Allen, the crack reinsman of the Military road. It was many years before her identity was known, except to a very few. The masses never knew. She became the mother of one of the prominent families. Her descent is still active in the various pursuits of today. (1939, p. 2)

Hall devoted four paragraphs to describing Allen’s daring and amazing feats, yet never mentions Allen’s given name or her Aroostook County prominent family or other important details, such as her birth and death dates or where she lived. Hall fails to provide when she dressed and passed as a man and performed this audacious work. Hall does, however, mention other women in his article who hauled goods into the lumber camps, Mary Castonie and Phidolene Coreaux (1939, p. 1-2). He described Mary Castonie as a successful farmer who “raised 2,000 bushels of oats, which goes to show that the men were not monarchs of all they surveyed, for Mary could raise oats as well as they” (1939, p. 1). Hall continued about Phidolene Coreaux:

Phidolene Coreaux not only raised her own hay and grain; she also delivered it, during the winter months, into the camps with her own teams. She could shoulder a bag of oats, pitch off a load of hay, or cut open a water hole as well as any teamster on the road. (1939, p. 2)

Unfortunately, no verifiable information has been found about Henry Allen, Mary Castonie or Phidolene Coreaux to date.²⁰

²⁰ The 1860 U.S. Census records a man Louis Castonie (farmer, 38 years, born in Canada) married to Mary Castonie (23 years, born in Canada) in Aroostook County in Township 12, Range 16. The household had three children, ranging from two to twelve, (two males, one female) with two other older males as laborers. This could possibly be the same woman Hall described (1860 United States Federal Census, Schedule 1. p. 104). No records were found for Phidolene Coreaux in the census records.

Edward Wiggins mentions an early settler Henry G. Allen, a farmer in Ludlow who purchased cleared land from Jesse Gilman after 1828 (1922, p.146). Later in 1877, the name Henry Allen is shown on a plat map as the owner of land in Sherman township. The 1830 census of Township 23 of Washington county, (Aroostook County was a district in the county at the time), lists a Henry Allen married, aged between 30-40 and his wife

Hall suggested that Allen entered this occupation simply because she wanted to and could do the job (1939, p. 2). Once arriving at the lumber camps, Allen unloaded her barrels of food, socialized and sang camp English, Scottish and Irish songs along with the men. But could a woman in nineteenth century Aroostook County have pulled this off? The duties of a long-distance hauler or reinsman included many things, let alone fitting into a male-dominated lumber camp.

First and foremost, as described previously, reinsmen had to contend with handling the teams of horses and managing heavily loaded wagons or sleds on difficult undeveloped terrain, with few level roads. Upon arriving at the lumber camps, Allen had to work as a man, unloading supplies and goods and apparently joining in the evening revelry. Given the right set of circumstances and personality, it is possible Allen could have accomplished this disguise, but is it plausible? Was Henry Allen a real person or a colorful figure of Hall's imagination, or simply a local legend? Nineteenth century ideals of women limited their ability to explore nontraditional ways of life; however, social restraints were considerably less on the Northeastern Maine frontier. (Ashby, 1978, p. 78).

Northern Maine's frontier environment enabled pioneer women to live beyond the life of domesticity driven by nineteenth century gender limitations seen elsewhere, in a more rugged and unconstrained lifestyle, making Henry Allen's story potentially possible (Saslow & Cott, 1997, p. 64). Northern Maine writers described nineteenth century Aroostook County as similar to the frontier west, which was developing at the same time, and different from the rest of New England ("Emigration," 1838, p. 2). Settlers lived in relative isolation before communities were settled

between 20-30 years old with five children, three boys ranging in age from 0-9 and two daughters between 0-10 years old, but with no first names (United States Federal Census, 1830, p. 250). The 1840 U.S. census records Henry G. Allen from the Belfast Academy Grant, (later Ludlow) was married with one male child between 5-10 years old (United States Federal Census 1840, p.77). Both Henry and his wife were between 40-50 years old. This same man, Henry G. Allen and his wife, Deborah are listed in the 1850 census as well with no children, but have a small farm recorded with livestock and grain production (United States Federal Census, Productions, 1850). Unfortunately, not knowing Franklin Hall's Henry Allen given name, it is impossible to connect this Allen family with her.

("History of Fort Fairfield. The women," 1893 February 24, p. 4). It was hard to regularly obtain goods living away from roads, waterways or settlements, so people made do by weaving homespun clothing and bartering goods with neighbors or simply going without. Aroostook County settlers continued to live in log cabins late into the 1880s, when Southern Mainers built large substantial homes (Melvin, 1977, p. 37).²¹

Finally, Wilmot T. Ashby's account of early settlers in central Aroostook County provides insight into the local pioneer women habits that might explain how Henry Allen could have blended in and fooled many:

The settlers' wants were few: they sought comfort, but had no regard for style of fashions. The ladies wore men's hats, red flannel gowns, and Indian moccasins. They milked the cows, tended the swine, sheared the sheep, carded, spun and wove the wool, and helped to clear the land. They knew nothing of stays, bonnets or frills, but were excellent cooks, indulgent mothers, and kept their log cabin homes neat and clean. (1978, p. 78)

It seems reasonable if a woman had been less interested or unable to dress as a common nineteenth century woman, it was possible to dress and act as a man on a job in this frontier. The rugged frontier clothing combined with the necessary layers of clothing to survive Northern Maine's long, cold winters, provides a tenable reason Henry Allen could have passed as a teamster.

No other local sources on teamsters mention women working long-term on their own in Aroostook County, a teamster named Henry Allen, or a female teamster in or near Aroostook County that fits Hall's story. The lack of documentation, however, may be a result of the lack of attention to women by historians, more than reality. The missing details of the real Henry Allen's unique life is a common problem found in local nineteenth-century history concerning both pioneer

²¹ Another similarity to the American West was cattle drives. Driving herds of animals was common in the early nineteenth century from Aroostook County to Bangor. The first cattle drive was in 1828 by John Varnum to feed the military barracks. Later drives included herds of cattle, sheep and hogs, which continued until the coming of the railroad after the Civil War (Melvin, 1977, p. 37). Houlton pioneer Robert Palmer reminisced in his old age of herding sheep and cattle to Bangor as a young man in the 1860s, which took six days one way (Buxton, 1937, pp. 9-10).

men and women. However, there are a few articles documenting women doing related reinsman work in Aroostook County and New England, either to help out a male relative or, as Castonie and Coreaux did, as a way of life on the farm.

One local Aroostook County newspaper article, “Early Stage Drivers Had Difficult Tasks,” revealed a woman who worked as a mail carrier in the mid-nineteenth century (1940, p.1). The article mentions Charles Hubbard Foster’s daughter, Mrs. Elden Taylor, who drove the mail stagecoach “when he was sick and unable to attend to these duties...[and] handled the reins in an efficient manner” (“Early Stage,” 1940, p. 1). Foster’s mail route was between Presque Isle and Caribou in the nineteenth century. Charles Foster’s lifetime miles driven reportedly “would total twice the circumference of the globe,” which might explain why he might occasionally have needed assistance (“Early Stage,” 1940, p. 1). The exact years that Foster delivered mail is missing from the article, so it is impossible to determine if Mrs. Elden Taylor could have been Henry Allen or a contemporary.

A life story similar to Allen’s is that of Charlotte Darkey Parkhurst. Marianne Monson wrote about Parkhurst in *Frontier Grit: The Unlikely True Stories of Daring Pioneer Women* (2016). Charlotte was a native of New Hampshire who lived a similar but more daring life as a reinsman than Henry Allen (2016, p. 168). Parkhurst was born in 1812 and orphaned as a child. She ran away from the orphanage and ended up at a livery stable in Massachusetts, where she adopted her boyish dress and lifestyle, caring for and driving the owner’s horse teams (Monson, 2016, p. 170). She shortened her name to Charley but was later also referred to as One Eyed Charley, Mountain Charley and Six-Horse Charley (Weiser-Alexander, 2019). Eventually Charley moved westward across the United States and became known as a whip, “a term applied to the best and fastest drivers,” (Monson, 2016, pp. 168-69).

Parkhurst, like Henry Allen, dressed as a man and successfully lived as a reinsman. She began driving stagecoaches in the 1840s, continuing until the 1860s, working for Wells Fargo and other stage lines without anyone knowing her real gender (Monson, 2016, pp. 168-69). Only after her death on December 18, 1879, caused by tongue cancer from years of chewing tobacco, did the residing doctor reveal her gender and that she had given birth to at least one child (Monson, 2016, p. 175; Weiser-Alexander, 2019). Charlotte “Charley” Parkhurst escaped New England’s social constraints by settling in the frontier west, and lived her adopted lifestyle by keeping her gender obscured, like Allen and probably many others.

Another look at women working in male-dominated jobs and environments is found in interviews with Mainers who worked in lumber camps in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Lumber camps are described as being solely occupied by men for much of the nineteenth century. Grover Cleveland “Pat” Field, originally of Caribou, Maine, worked in the woods in Ashland, Maine, starting in 1912 by driving a team of horses (1970, p. Bodwell-2). When interviewed, he was asked if women worked in the camps and stated emphatically, “No!,” but added he had learned of a woman who was a cook in a camp that everyone thought was a man (Field, 1970, p. Bodwell-2). The cook always dressed and acted as a man and stayed with the camp’s Cookee, a cook’s assistant who did dishes and gathered wood and water for the kitchen. Later a man from the same camp saw the cook in Bangor working and dressed as a woman (Field, 1970, p. Bodwell-3).

Several women recorded in Helen Atchison’s *Aroostook County Oral History Project*, from 1971-1972, revealed that women worked as lumber camp cooks. Most women working as cooks did so in local family-run lumber camps. Sophie Pinette Brown described how she and her sister cooked in her father’s camp in the late nineteenth century (1972). Stella Oliver worked in her husband’s

camp for several decades from 1917 to 1963, cooking meals while raising kids and maintaining a farm in Amity, Maine (1972). Stella's story and others point to the possibility a nineteenth century woman could have worked in male dominated occupations such as a reinsman.

Hall's story of Henry Allen provides a glimpse into a woman he considered extraordinary. It is possible that Hall used one woman's story, or a compilation of stories of women, as his basis for Henry Allen. However, without known facts, Henry Allen appears to be an Aroostook County local folk story—as Hall stated, a life that “now takes place in legend and lore of the great Pinetree State” (1939, p. 1). Like Paul Bunyan the giant lumberjack, Henry Allen might have been created to reflect the strength of Aroostook County pioneer women. Unfortunately, the truth of the real Henry Allen disappeared in 1946 with Franklin W. Hall's death.

Along with Henry Allen, many unnamed reinsmen's lives have been lost to time by the lack of records capturing their experiences. How many men, and possibly women, called themselves teamsters, haulers, stage drivers or toters, and shouldered the roads with a team of horses and heavy loads, is impossible to determine. More is known about the horse teams, wagons, gear and the roads they traveled, which helps reveal the unknown layers of the reinsman occupation.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION: THE FADING FRONTIER

The old stage coach was the essentially picturesque and prominent feature of pioneer Aroostook, and the men who figured as their drivers together with the oldtime teamster who survive, are perhaps the most typical those early days of anything we have in our midst.

(“Early Presque Isle Journalism,” 1903, p. 1)

5.1. Reinsman Decline

By the 1860 census, the Aroostook County population alone swelled to 22,479, partly due to the increased land transportation and reinsmen easing the movement of goods and people (U.S. Census, 1860, p. 200). Reinsmen worked for settlers, businesses and lumber camps in the region. They worked along lumbermen moving logs in the woods or transporting barrels of food and other needed supplies to the lumber camps and settlements on rough forested terrain and in a place with extreme weather. They were the key to the accelerated land movement of settler goods, people and mail, accomplished by first using overland-driven carts by oxen, then horses with wagons, sleds, or sleighs (K.J., 1858, p. 60). They also developed a unique social standing among the region’s inhabitants providing informal connections along their hired duties.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Aroostook County looked less like the wooded isolated frontier wilderness and more like other populated rural areas of Maine. As transportation avenues improved, and the overall economy surged, the pioneer days of Aroostook County faded. Slowly reinsmen with their wagonloads of goods and stagecoaches of passengers pulled by teams of horses disappeared. Developing new technology and industrialization made the reinsmen too slow compared with the newer transportation methods supporting the burgeoning economy.

By 1900, reinsmen were rarely seen on the road, having been replaced by railcars, automobiles and trucks, leaving only a memory of a job once done by many and their teams of

horses. Railroad transportation not only diminished the demand for teamsters, but for wagons, teams of horses, and the taverns and inns that supported them (Hall, J., 1858, p. 2). Development moved from the old roads to the rail stations and along rail lines. Even in the woods, teamsters were slowly replaced by steam and gas powered machines.

Agriculture was also transformed by improved land transportation. Faster land transportation took farm products faster to market. Aroostook County farming became regional, having developed on a much larger scale, both by the number of acres and the output per acre. As agriculture expanded, large swaths of land were now open fields rather than being blanketed with massive trees, transforming farms and towns. The County's population continued to grow. Settlements became incorporated as towns, filling up with shops, churches, post offices, schools, local newspapers and numerous sawmills and starch factories.

The development and expansion of rail and later automobiles and trucks directly impacted reinsmen. People began to regularly ride passenger trains rather than stagecoaches. Local manufacturing became more viable as the faster land transportation developed and the County's population increased. Local industries now had a strong local market and access to larger markets with faster transportation to move products south. Small manufacturing established boat building, cabinet and coffin makers, sash, blind and door companies, carriage builders, blacksmiths, millinery and dressmaking shops and brick makers ("Presque Isle's First Settlers", 1940, pp. 1, 4; Pullen 1902, p. 23).

Communication and modern conveniences improved by the beginning of the twentieth century. Communication, once the reinsman's domain, was now overtaken by telephones. Telephone lines slowly reached the County, transforming everyday life in the region. What once took days for a reinsman to deliver now took minutes by phone lines or a few days by a mail truck.

By 1900, electricity and water works began in several towns, bringing urban conveniences, which improved the daily lives of Aroostook County residents (Pullen, 1902, p. 79). Local nineteenth century writers reflected on the prosperous transformation from the County's early pioneer day of hardships to modern prosperity:

In those days the pioneer on his small clearing among his fresh tree stumps would have been more incredulous on a statement that twenty years would bring Aroostook the transformation of hundred foot barns, fine houses, mowing machines, horse rakes, pitching fork reapers and binders and thirty acre potato fields than he now is of the statement in Democratic papers that free trade would improve his market and better his condition. ("Sketch," 1890, p. 1)

The County roads that reinsmen hauled over changed as well. The once-premier land transportation route, the Military Road, was transferred to the State of Maine from the federal government, but neglect of the road caused major deterioration by the end of the nineteenth century (Barnes, 1889, p. 85). Public houses, taverns and inns dwindled as fewer drivers, residents and visitors traveled the aging Military Road. The Aroostook Road remained and continued its strong lumber connection but became referred as the State Road.

The end of the traveling reinsmen marked the end of Aroostook County's primitive frontier days. The occupation of reinsman reflected the nineteenth century Aroostook County pioneer days of few roads, rough trails, isolated settlements and businesses. By the early twentieth century, many County writers reminisced about the bygone days of the teamsters' horse-drawn wagons and stagecoaches, believing "any four-horse stage manned by any sort of a driver, who was reinsman enough to handle such an equipment, naturally made an appeal to the pioneer imagination" ("A Glance", 1919, p. 1).

5.2 Reinsman Legacy

By 1900, reinsmen's pivotal role in the region's economic, social and cultural networks, that of being the primary regional transportation link, was gone. The nineteenth-century reinsman labored in winter and summer, over dry roads and muddy muskegs, amidst difficulties and hardships, to provide the flow of urban and frontier goods, passengers and communication to and from lumber camps, businesses and settlers. A local writer summed up the work of the teamster in the local County newspaper *The Star – Herald*:

The primitive functions [reinsmen] exercised have been transferred to the railroad, and elaborated into departments, and high officials titles; but in these early days they were all embodied in the teamster and stage driver. The former had a good right to be a man of rugged force of mind and body, and the latter had a right to assert the dignity, authority and public importance of his position. ("Sketch of Aroostook," 1890, p. 1)

Reinsmen were depicted by many late nineteenth century local writers as lone, rugged men harnessing the wild in their hands. In reality the men (and a few women) who took hold of the reins and drove teams and goods throughout the County and region played an integral part in the social web of all they encountered. They hauled not only needed, scarce goods, but fashionable, urban goods afforded by the few. Reinsmen carried the written mail, but also the spoken word from gossip, personal stories or the latest news from the last stop's tavern owner, stage passengers and Bangor merchants to their next stops ("Early," 1903, p. 1). Stagecoach drivers gladly picked up the mailbag waiting for delivery along their regular stops to shorten the time residents would wait for their mail ("The Mail," 1859, p. 2). Drivers helped out neighbors by running small errands or picking up goods at a local store.

Teamsters hauled supplies and scarce goods over thousands of miles of rough terrain in extreme weather conditions each year, keeping the lumber operations stocked, but also joined in the lumber camp revelry. Teamsters tested their strength and horse teams in friendly competitions with

each other, forming bonds of camaraderie in lumber camps and on the road (“Loaded,” 1893, p. 1). Henry Allen, according to Hall, was known for her singing entertainment and no doubt bits of news and gossip gathered from her roadside stops and shared at the evening meal with lumbermen (Hall, 1939, p. 2).

Between 1810 and 1860, the Aroostook County reinsmen with their teams of horses, stagecoaches, and Aroostook wagons, their bellowing voices and the sharp crack of their whip, symbolized the rugged pioneer days. Although most reinsmen’s names and life experiences have been erased from the County’s collective memory, this occupation of daring and dangerous work ultimately left a long lasting legacy on Aroostook County's sense of place and pioneer identity. As County residents moved away from their nineteenth century ways, they held onto this rugged pioneer identity. From its very beginning, this region was labeled as a wilderness and referred to as “The County,” alluding to its vastness and separateness, which continues today, as if channeling the reinsmen and their labors.

The work of a reinsman played a pivotal role in changing this frontier and undefined region into a settled rural county fueled by lumber, agriculture and local industries. The reinsman’s labors supported and worked alongside soldiers during border dispute and Aroostook War era between Maine and New Brunswick, by helping clear land, build roads and move supplies. Without the work of reinsmen, Maine’s border with New Brunswick may have taken on a completely different shape.

Reinsmen were as important to the local economy as the businesses they supported. Reinsmen transported passengers and mail from the earliest decades of the nineteenth century until replaced by rail in the 1890s. They were the premier land transportation available in their time. Each hour a reinsman drove another settler had goods available in the local stores. Lumber operations were maintained by reinsmen by delivering critical barrels of food for their hungry crews

of men and teams of animals. Nineteenth century businesses and industries had a viable land transportation link with reinsmen to move their goods to needed markets.

The Aroostook County nineteenth century culture and society would have been very isolated and separated from the rest of Maine and New England if not for reinsmen. Reinsman were the reliable mail carrier, stagecoach driver, toter, hauler and local teamster everyone recognized as they and their horse teams rounded the corner to deliver their load. They were primarily common men who played this critical role at this time and place. No lofty words were recorded to describe their labors, just simply unadorned brief descriptions. Gathering and reassembling the daily life of a Northern Maine's frontier reinsman helps to recover a common man's occupation and the invaluable role it played in Aroostook County's nineteenth century history.

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APPENDIX A: CORE INFORMATION SOURCES

Primary sources used were published firsthand accounts in books and regional Maine newspapers articles written between 1830-1860, including Joseph Kendall's early settler account of Aroostook County, *History of the town of Houlton, Maine, from 1804 to 1883*, published in 1884 and written under the pseudonym "Old Pioneer." Kendall's account was published after his death based upon his extensive research and writings. Parts of his research was published in local Aroostook County newspapers during his lifetime. Also referenced are Henry David Thoreau's *The Maine Woods*. Thoreau's work provides a firsthand account of his stay and encounter with a local reinsman at the Libby House in Molunkus, Maine.

Regional newspapers researched were primarily *The Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, between 1830 and 1860, and *The Maine Farmer*, between 1844 and 1860. These two newspapers included many firsthand accounts from travelers, land agents and state observers about the movement of goods, as well as early Aroostook County life and events. Aroostook County newspapers from the mid- to late nineteenth and into the early twentieth century included the *Aroostook Pioneer*, *Aroostook Herald*, *Houlton Pioneer Times*, *Fort Fairfield Review*, *The Loyal Sunrise*, *The Northern Leader and Star-Herald* as secondhand accounts reminiscing about past reinsmen lives.

Other secondhand accounts used were several local Aroostook County historians such as Wilmot T. Ashby's *A Complete History of Aroostook County and its Early and Late Settlers: Written in 1906-1907*, published in 1978; Frances Barnes' early history published in 1889, *The Story of Houlton: From the Public Records, and From the Experiences of its Founders, Their Descendants, and Associates to the Present Time*, and Edward Wiggin's account, *History of*

Aroostook, published in 1922 by George Collins, the editor of the *Presque Isle Star Herald*, but collected, researched and written by Wiggin during the nineteenth century.

The three local histories written by Ashby, Barnes and Wiggin were based upon interviews of early settlers. Their accounts detail pioneer experiences by capturing firsthand accounts and information describing Aroostook County's borderland and later frontier period. Ashby and Barnes concentrated their accounts on their own communities, Fort Fairfield and Houlton, whereas Wiggin covered the entire County. Wiggin traveled around the region and interviewed pioneer settlers, recording their life stories and describing the physical landscape before and during his lifetime. Ashby and Wiggin's works were published after their deaths. The newspaper accounts, firsthand accounts, state records and local historical accounts and stories reveal the reinsmen experience.

The earliest Northern Maine reinsmen information comes from regional Maine and Aroostook County newspapers. Regional Maine newspapers, such as the *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier* and the *Maine Farmer*, published short articles about the occupation and roads traveled. The second area of reporting came from Aroostook County newspapers such as: *The Loyal Sunrise*, *The Star Herald*, and *The Aroostook Pioneer* accounts beginning in the late 1850s . These accounts provided some personal details and a few photos.

Other reinsman information came from four local Aroostook County late nineteenth-twentieth century writers: Joseph Kendall, Frances Barnes, Edward Wiggin and Franklin W. Hall. All four men lived in Aroostook County during the nineteenth century and wrote local historical accounts. The accounts provided brief stories about men and women working as reinsmen; however, do not cover all the same people or time periods. A few reinsmen are mentioned in more than one account.

Joseph Kendall briefly mentioned individuals and companies who brought goods into Southern Aroostook County and used the term drover for the occupation (1884, p. 16). Frances Barnes and Edward Wiggin provided reinsman names, types of jobs performed and who they worked. Francis Barnes referred to those who transported mail and supplies or worked clearing the Military Road as army teamsters or teamsters (1889, p. 80). Edward Wiggin used several terms to describe reinsman work: teamster, army teamster, stage driver, mail carrier and drover (1922).

Franklin Hall mentioned a few reinsmen, but is the only one to include John Goddard, whom Hall stated “drove in with his pair of harnessed moose” to Bangor, stopping at Penobscot Exchange, a well-known hotel of the time. (1939, pp. 1-2). Goddard is an unusual example of a teamster not mentioned by other local writers, which suggests this could be a local legend. Franklin Hall is also the only local writer to claim women worked as reinsmen as an ongoing occupation. Hall’s inclusion of unusual reinsmen in his information, places some doubt on this information however, much of his remaining information is factual. Hall used the occupational titles reinsman and teamster (1939, p. 1-4).

Other reinsmen accounts came from twentieth century local writers such as Cora Putnam and William J. Tasker. Cora Putnam’s book focused on stagecoach drivers in the Houlton area. William J. Tasker’s account reviewed reinsmen and innkeepers who accommodated them on the road. He provided a list of names, dates and locations with very brief narratives about their lives. His information covered the entire Aroostook County, but he called his listing “a partial list” that is “not at all conclusive but is added to give perspective on the men that made the long trips that kept a young County in business” (2007, p. 307). Many names, dates and locations differ between these later accounts. Cora Putnam used the terms teamster, oxen team teamster, army teamster, drover

and stage driver (1958, pp. 62, 66). William Tasker used the most terms in his book: teamster, mail carrier, stage driver, and truckman (2007, pp. 307-17).

APPENDIX B. LIST OF 1810-1860 REINSMEN

Table B.1 Joseph Kendall's Reinsmen of Houlton, Maine

| Name | Driver Type | Era | Route |
|--------------|-------------|-------|-------------------|
| Mr. Wood | Speculators | 1810s | Bangor to Houlton |
| Mr. Bradbury | Speculators | 1810s | Bangor to Houlton |
| Mr. Gordon | Drovers | 1810s | Bangor to Houlton |
| Mr. Holyoke | Drovers | 1810s | Bangor to Houlton |
| Mr. Dudley | Drovers | 1810s | Bangor to Houlton |
| Mr. Webster | Drovers | 1810s | Bangor to Houlton |
| Mr. Bailey | Drovers | 1810s | Bangor to Houlton |

(Pioneer, 1884)

Table B.2 Francis Barnes' Reinsmen of Southern Aroostook County

| Name | Driver Type | Era | Route |
|----------------------------|------------------|------------|-------------------------------------|
| Edmund Cone | Teamster-Express | 1815-1820s | Houlton to Woodstock N.B. |
| James Taylor | Ox Teamster | 1820-60s | Houlton Barracks & Soldiers Landing |
| Isaac Smith | Ox Teamster | 1820-30s | Houlton Barracks |
| Hugh Alexander | Army Teamster | 1820-30s | Houlton Barracks & Soldiers Landing |
| James Lander ²² | Mail Carrier | 1820-50s | Baskahegan Stream to Houlton |
| James Nowland | Mail Carrier | 1820-40s | Bangor to Houlton Barracks |
| John Clough | Ox Teamster | 1830-40s | Military Road & Molunkus Stream |
| Aaron G. Putnam | Teamster-Timber | 1840s | Northwest Aroostook County |
| William H. Cunliffe | Teamster-Timber | 1840s | Houlton to Woodstock N.B. |

(Barnes, 1893)

²² Lander started on foot in 1827 on Baskahegan Trail, then went by horse, once roads were established, he used a carriage

Table B.3 Edward Wiggin’s Reinsmen of Aroostook County

| Name | Driver Type | Era | Route |
|----------------------|---------------|------------|---------------------------------------|
| James. U. Taylor | Ox Teamster | 1820-1860s | Military Road |
| Hugh Alexander | Army Teamster | 1820s | Houlton to Bangor |
| Edmund Cone | Teamster | 1815-1820s | Houlton Region |
| Sanfield Reed | Army Teamster | 1830’s | Masardis to Fort Kent |
| Captain George Waite | Teamster | 1830-50s | Unknown |
| James Lander | Stage Driver | 1820-50s | Houlton to Baskahegan Stream & Calais |
| William H. Cunliffe | Teamster | 1840-50s | Fort Kent to South |
| Lewis DeLaite Jr. | Teamster | 1840-50s | Houlton to Bangor |
| Adrian Vandine | Stage Driver | 1850-60s | Houlton to Calais |
| Lewis Johnson | Teamster | 1850-60s | Littleton to Bangor |

(Wiggin, 1922)

Table B.4. Cora Putnam’s Reinsmen of Southern Aroostook County

| Name | Driver Type | Era | Route |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| James Taylor | Oxen Team Teamster, Army Teamster | 1830s | Military Road |
| Hugh Alexander | Teamster, Army Teamster | 1830s | Military Road |
| John Hasey | Stage Driver | Pre-Civil War | Military Road |
| Ira Bailey | Stage Driver | Pre-Civil War | Military Road |
| Samuel Crocker | Stage Driver | Pre-Civil War | Military Road |
| Daniel Seavey | Stage Driver | Pre-Civil War | Military Road |
| Henry S. Wing | Stage Driver | Pre-Civil War | Military Road |
| Henry Edwards | Stage Driver | Pre-Civil War | Military Road |

Table B.4. Cora Putnam's Reinsmen of Southern Aroostook County Continued

| Name | Driver Type | Era | Home Location |
|--------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| Isaac Jones | Stage Driver | Pre-Civil War | Military Road |
| Samuel B. Jamieson | Stage Driver | Pre-Civil War | Military Road |
| Hugh Jamieson | Stage Driver | Pre-Civil War | Military Road |
| Hiram Forbes | Stage Driver | Pre-Civil War | Military Road |
| George Goslin(e) | Stage Driver | Pre-Civil War | Military Road |

(Putnam, pp. 62,66)

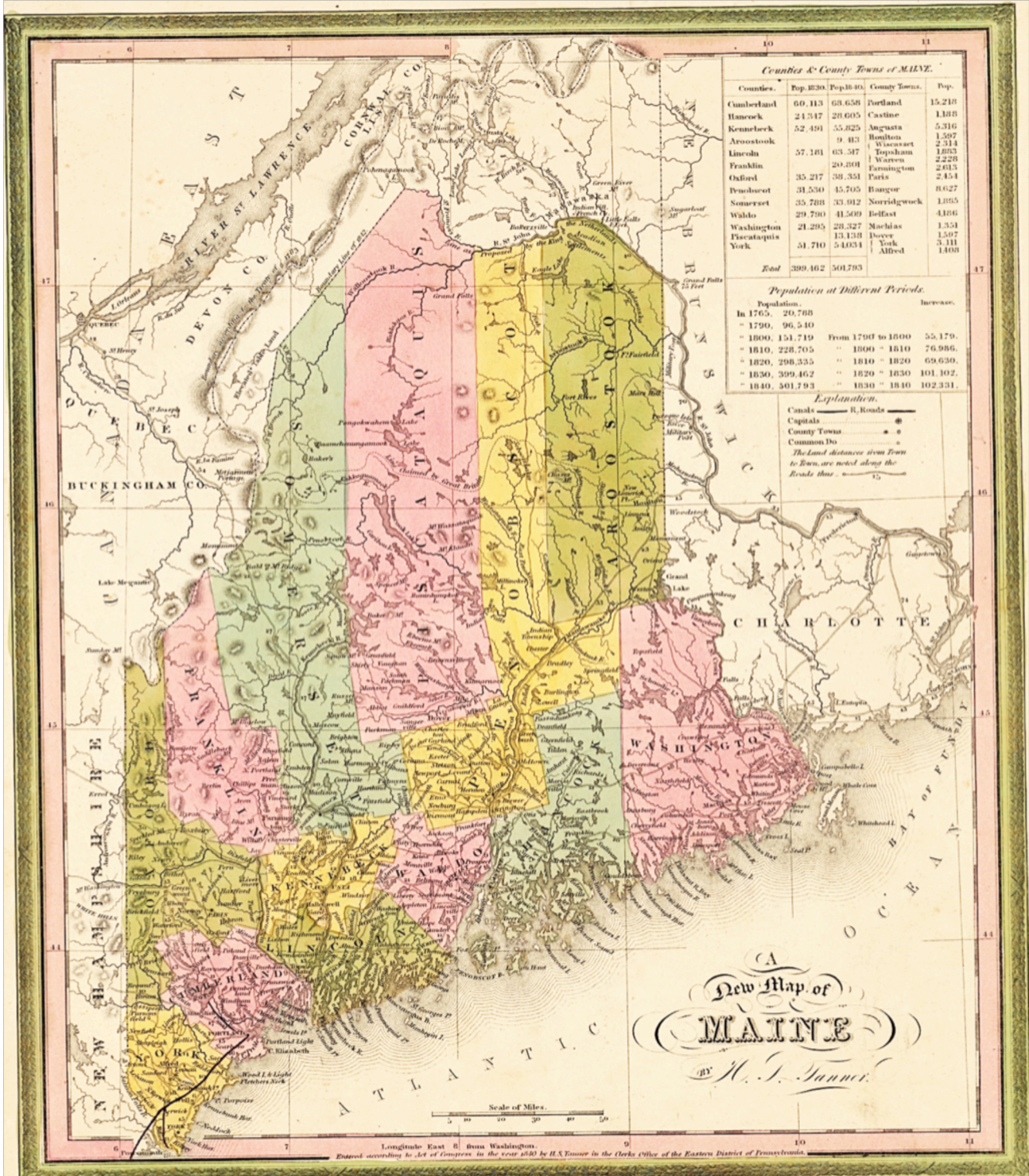
Table B.5 William Tasker's Reinsmen of Aroostook County

| Name | Driver Type | Era | Home Location |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| Joshua Parker | Teamster | 1860s | Presque Isle |
| George Whitney | Teamster | 1860s | Presque Isle |
| George Snow | Teamster | 1860s | Dalton (now Ashland) |
| Richard Smith | Teamster | 1850-60s | Houlton |
| Benjamin Atherton | Truckman | 1840-60s | Houlton |
| Daniel Atherton | Truckman | 1840-60s | Houlton |
| Richard Sinclair | Teamster | 1850s | Houlton |
| James Lander | Mail Carrier & Stage Driver | 1820-1850s* | Houlton |
| William Cunliffe | Teamster | 1850s | Houlton |
| Josiah Cripps | Stage Driver | 1850s | Houlton |
| Silas Southard | Teamster | 1860s | Presque Isle |
| George Lander(s) | Teamster | 1860-80s | Monticello |
| Gilbert Brown | Teamster | 1850-80s | Patten |
| Hugh Jamieson | Teamster | 1860-70s | Presque Isle |
| George Goslin(e) | Stage Driver | 1860-70s | Houlton |

(Tasker, 2007, pp. 307-17)

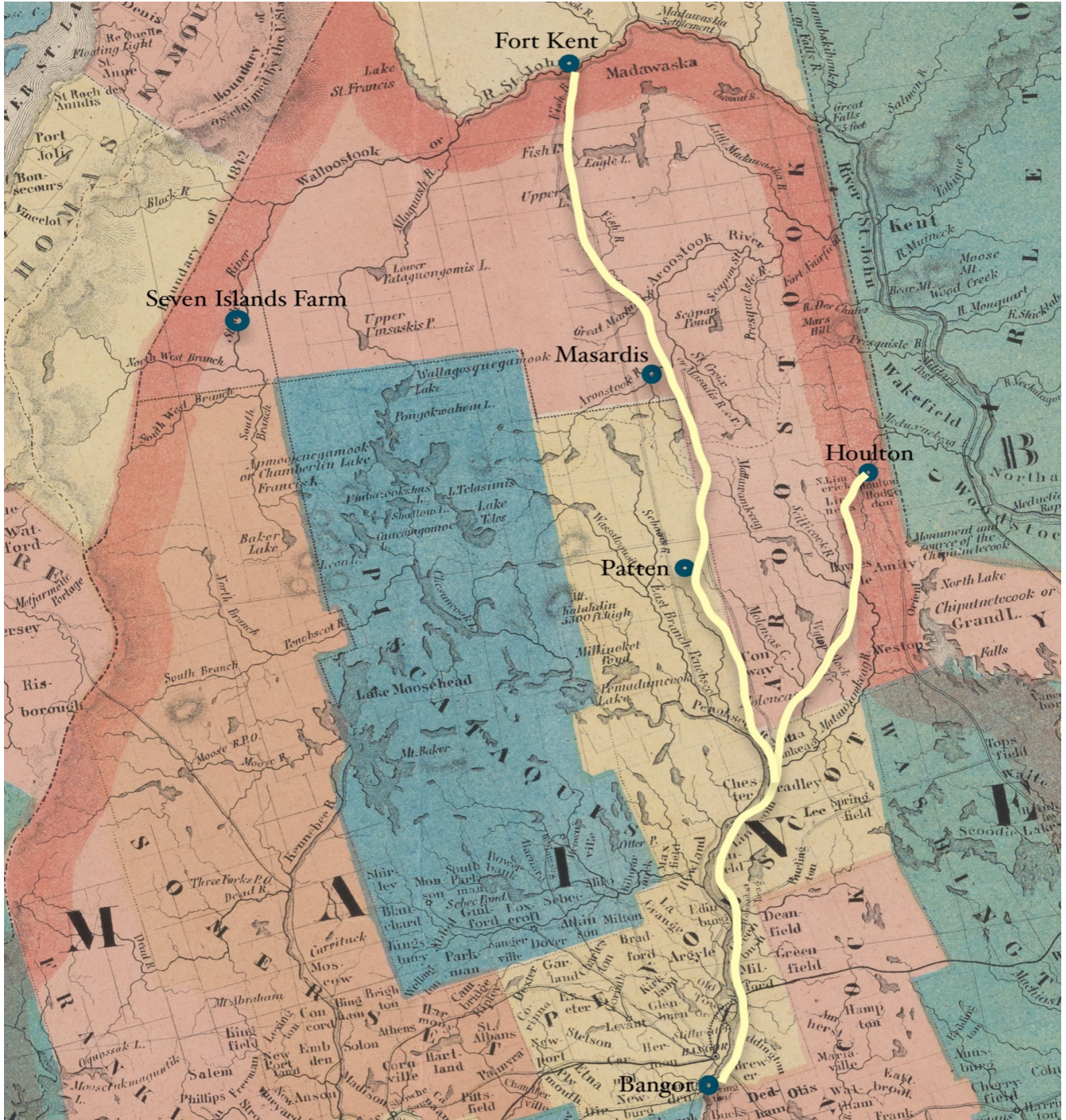
APPENDIX C: MAPS OF MAINE

Figure C.1 Newly Established Aroostook County in 1840.



Note: Adapted from *A new map of Maine 1840* by H.S.Tanner, 1840. In the public domain.

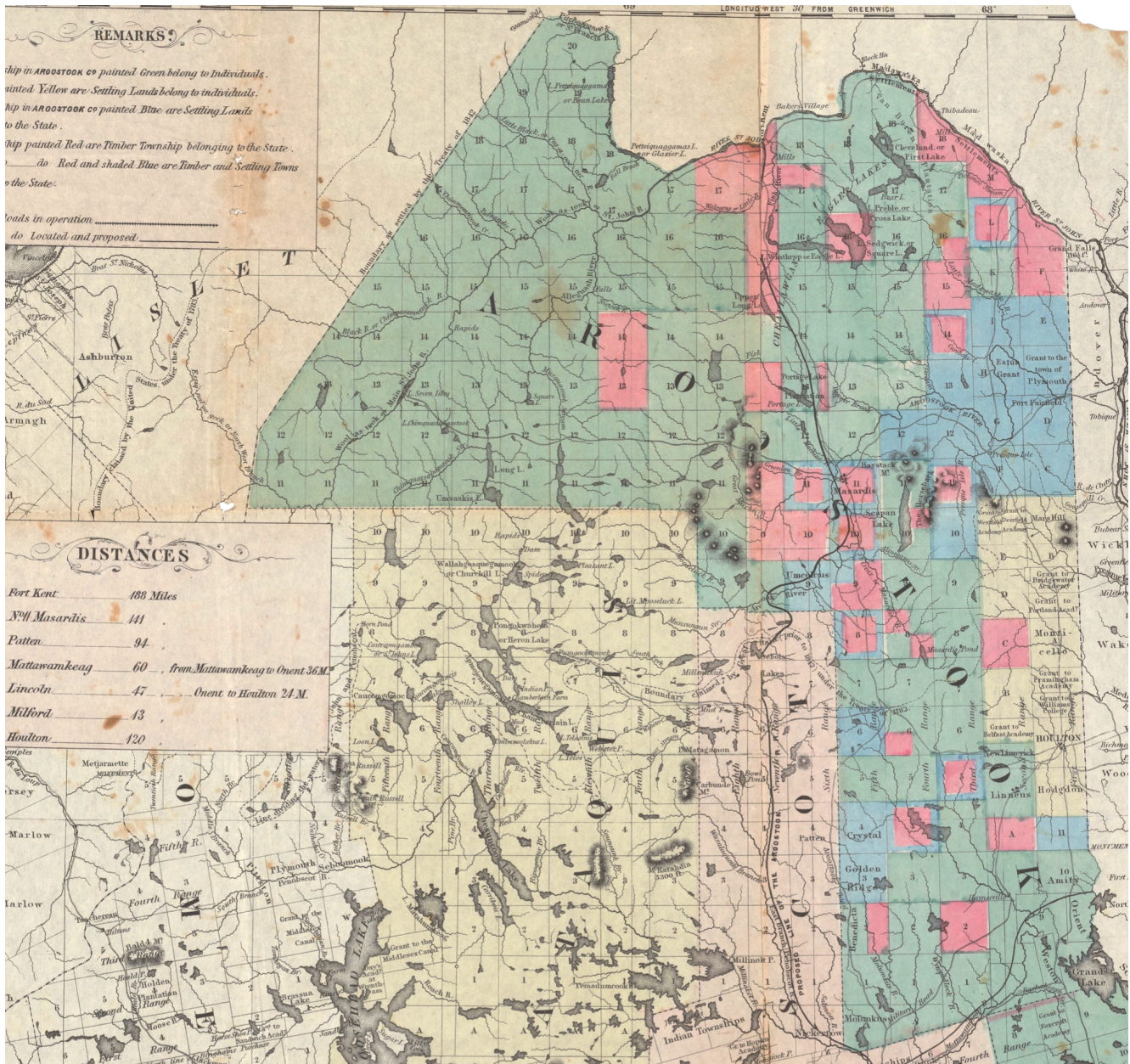
Figure C.2 1850 Route from Bangor to Aroostook County. The route begins at Bangor to Lincoln, Maine, then north at intersection of Military and Aroostook Roads, to Fort Kent and Houlton, Maine. Aroostook Road is unfinished from Masardis to Fort Kent.



Note: Adapted from *Maps of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont 1850*, by Map collections at the Maine Cultural Building, 1850. In the public domain.

Figure C.3 Aroostook County Settling & Timber Lands. The map below shows the breakout of land ownership by township in the County in 1860, which was overwhelmingly owned by individuals. The map remarks explain the townships shading as:

- Green - Belonging to individuals
- Yellow - Settling lands belonging to individuals
- Blue - Settling lands belonging to the State
- Red - Timber townships belonging to the State



Note: Adapted from *Map of the eastern part of Maine 1860*, by J. Tanney, 1860. In the public domain.

APPENDIX D: 1810-1860 TOWNSHIP STOPS ON MAIN ROADS

Table D.1 Bangor, Maine North to the Military Road Intersection:

| Township | County |
|--------------|-----------|
| Bangor | Penobscot |
| Old Town | Penobscot |
| Orono | Penobscot |
| Passadumkeag | Penobscot |
| Lincoln | Penobscot |

Table D.2. Military Road North to Houlton, Maine

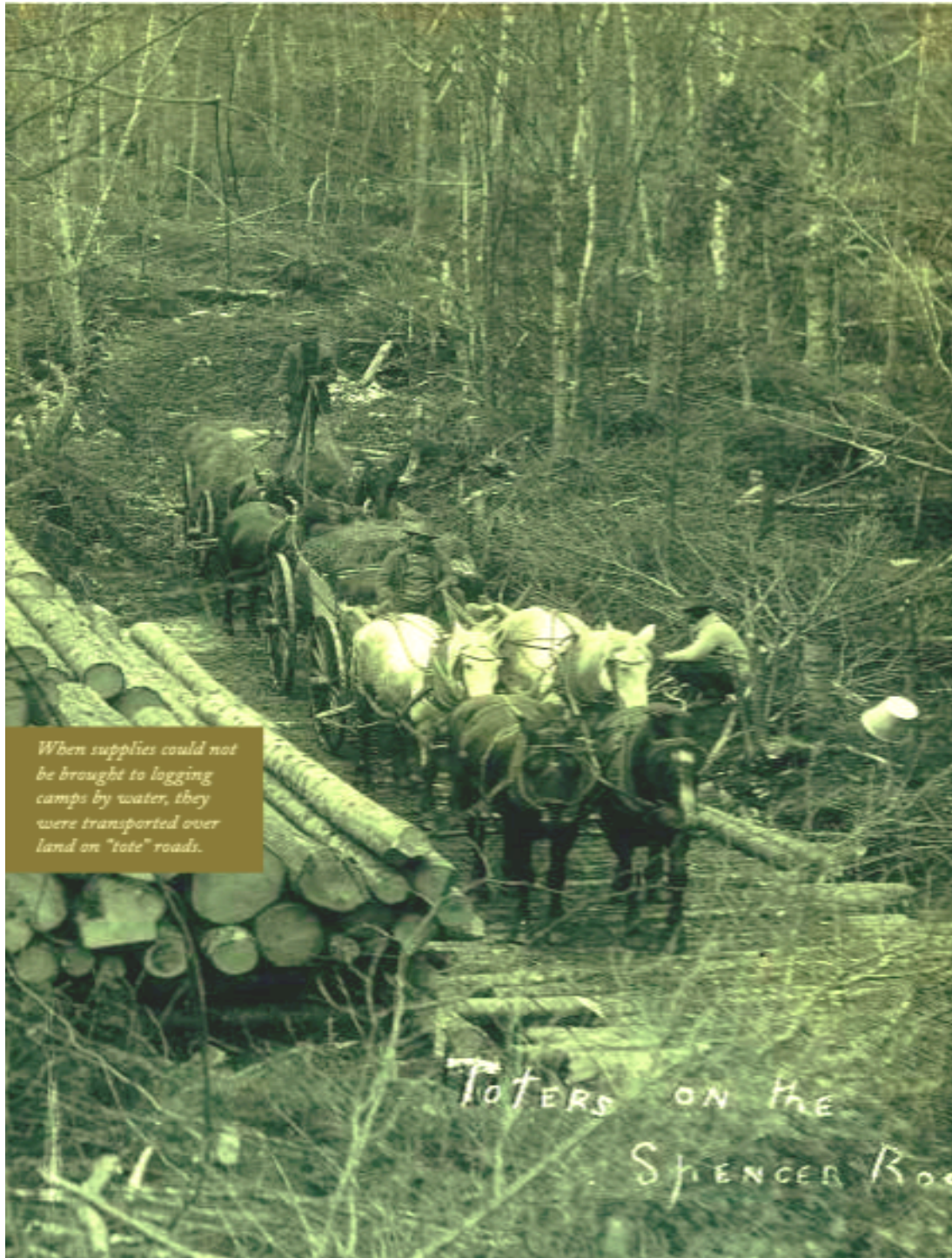
| Township | County |
|---------------------|-----------|
| Mattawamkeag | Penobscot |
| Molunkus | Aroostook |
| Macwahoc Plantation | Aroostook |
| Reed Plantation | Aroostook |
| Happy Corner | Aroostook |
| Haynesville | Aroostook |
| Letter "A" | Aroostook |
| Linneus | Aroostook |
| Houlton | Aroostook |

Table D.3. Aroostook Road North to Fort Kent, Maine

| Township | County |
|---------------------|-----------|
| Molunkus | Aroostook |
| Township 1, Range 5 | Aroostook |
| Sherman | Aroostook |
| Patten | Penobscot |
| Township 7 | Aroostook |
| Township 8 | Aroostook |
| Township 9 | Aroostook |
| Masardis | Aroostook |
| Ashland | Aroostook |
| Portage Lake | Aroostook |
| Fort Kent | Aroostook |

APPENDIX E: PHOTOGRAPH OF MAINE TOTERS

Figure E.1 Toters in the Maine woods. This undated image depicts toters hauling hay to a lumber camp.



Note: From *Forest Trees of Maine* by Maine Forest Service, 2008, p. 8. Copyright 2008 by Maine Forest Service. Reprinted with permission.

BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR

Loretta M. Risner was born in Rock Island, Illinois in 1958 and raised in Wyoming, Iowa. She graduated from Midland Community High School in 1976 and entered the workforce. Between 1982 and 1988, she first attended Northeast Missouri State University (now Truman State University) in Kirksville, Missouri and later Saint Ambrose University in Davenport, Iowa, graduating with a BA in History in May 1988.

In late 1988, she moved with her husband and two children to Virginia, remaining there until 2014. Between 1988 and 1998, Loretta worked in various jobs while raising her two children. In 1999, she was employed by the U.S. Army as a Management and Program Analyst. In 2003, she competed and was accepted into the Army Comptroller Program, a 15-month, dual degree master's program at Syracuse University in Syracuse, New York. In 2005, she earned a Master of Business Administration and Master of Arts of Public Administration from Syracuse University. After graduating, she returned to work for the U.S. Army Headquarters in the financial management and comptroller career field in several different positions; Management and Program Analyst, Program Analyst, Senior Program Analyst, Senior Budget Analyst, Financial Management Analyst Inspector at the Pentagon in Washington D.C and other locations in Virginia.

She continued working for the U.S. Army until 2014, when she retired from the U.S. Army Inspector General Agency as a Financial Management Inspector. After retiring, she and her husband relocated to Aroostook County, Maine in 2014. In 2018, she began the online Interdisciplinary Studies Master's Degree in Maine Studies, focusing her studies on women in Aroostook County. Loretta is a candidate for the Master of Arts degree in Interdisciplinary Studies from the University of Maine in May 2022.