

The University of Maine

DigitalCommons@UMaine

---

Great Northern Paper Company Records

Manuscripts

---

1978

## The Great Northern Paper Company, Chapter 03: About the Land

John E. McLeod

Follow this and additional works at: [https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/great\\_northern](https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/great_northern)



Part of the [United States History Commons](#)

---

### Repository Citation

McLeod, John E., "The Great Northern Paper Company, Chapter 03: About the Land" (1978). *Great Northern Paper Company Records*. 140.

[https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/great\\_northern/140](https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/great_northern/140)

This Book Chapter is brought to you for free and open access by DigitalCommons@UMaine. It has been accepted for inclusion in Great Northern Paper Company Records by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@UMaine. For more information, please contact [um.library.technical.services@maine.edu](mailto:um.library.technical.services@maine.edu).

## C H A P T E R III

## ABOUT THE LAND

There is little land in the State of Maine which has not at some time been covered with forest. It is naturally a timber-growing country. It has the largest percentage of wooded area of any of the fifty states of the Union. Of its more than 19,000,000 acres, some 17,000,000 acres is timberland. Coincident with the existence of forested land is a generous supply of water, one depending upon the other. The economic history of the state has been very largely determined by the manner in which these natural resources have been used and misused.

In his "Lumber Industry in the State of Maine", written about 1898, and included as a section of the "Constitutional, Judicial, Educational, Commercial, Professional and Industrial History of the New England States, Samuel T. Boardman observes:

"....it is safe to say that no one in any active kind of business in our state is wholly independent of the lumber industry".

At the time this was written, the end of the lumber industry as the most important factor in Maine's economy was near, and the new day of the pulp and paper mill was just beginning. Maine's lumber industry is only a shadow of the past, but the statement would be as true today, if "pulp and paper" were substituted for "lumber".

The story of lumbering in Maine, from the time of the early settlements up to the time the Great Northern Paper Company was organized is a fascinating part of the industrial history of

America. Lumbering in the United States began in the District of Maine. Commercial lumbering was started as early as 1631 on the Saco and Piscataqua Rivers. Probably the first American export of manufactured lumber was made from Maine in 1634, when the ship "Pied Cowe" arrived at South Berwick from England, with two sawmills, and took on board a partial cargo of "cloave boards" and "pipe-staves" -- hand made clapboards and staves for wine-casks. One of the mills, erected on the Salmon Falls River at South Berwick in that year was probably the first sawmill to be operated in America. (1) Other dates and locations are mentioned in history, but the foregoing seems to be generally accepted.

Although the first sawmill in New England was in Maine, the cutting of timber and the manufacture of lumber, as an industry, developed in Massachusetts; worked northward into New Hampshire and thence, about the beginning of the 18th century, into Maine. The growth of the industry in the state up to the latter part of the 18th century was gradual. Timber had to be worked largely by hand; the population was unstable because of Indian raids; shipping along the Maine coast was precarious, and the colonists were more concerned with clearing land for farming than they were in manufacturing or trading in lumber. (2)

As a further deterrent, the British Government, when most of the settlements were consolidated into the Province of Massachusetts in 1691, forbade the cutting of the largest "pines and okes", requiring that these be left for the use of the Royal Navy. This regulation was of course grandly ignored by those who did cut logs for any purpose. Surveyors were then

sent out to claim individual trees and mark them with the government's "broad arrow". As early as 1706, the Surveyor-General of the King's Woods was trying to enforce the law against the cutting of these trees. (3) In 1769, the last Royal Governor of New Hampshire, who held the above title, was still trying, and in that year seized mast logs being driven down the Androscoggin River. (4)

The cutting of masts and spars was for over two hundred years an important industry, and much more glamorous than the production of lumber for local consumption. This trade began in 1634 or 1635, when several cargoes of mast pine were shipped to England from the St. George's River. (5) In the middle of the 18th century, Maine was in first place as a producer of masts, with activity centered in the Saco valley and at Falmouth (Portland). At least two very famous ships, Lord Nelson's "VICTORY" and our own "CONSTITUTION" were said to be masted with Maine pine. (6) The use of pine and the marking of pine trees to be reserved for this purpose has been questioned. Pine was a rather weak wood, and it has been suggested that in the early days all softwoods were called "pine", and that it is likely that the big trees marked and cut for masts were spruce, a much stronger wood. (7) It is the writer's impression also that the big lower masts of large naval vessels were "built-up" -- that is, made of several pieces bound together with iron hoops -- as early as the 1600's. At any rate, after the sawing of lumber became important, the masting trade declined.

Sawmills were built on the Presumpscot River between 1660

and 1670, and the operations moved gradually north and east along the rivers of the state in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. There was a mill at Gardiner, on the Kennebec River, in 1754, (8) and many small mills were built all along the coast, on or near tidewater, in the 1700's. It was nearly 130 years after the first lumber was sawed at North Berwick, however, before the lumbering industry came to the Penobscot. The first mill in this area was apparently established at Bucksport in 1764, although at just about the same time there was another at Sandy Point. Both were burned by the British in 1779. (9) Mills were running in Brewer in 1770, in Bangor in 1771, in Orrington in 1772, in Orland in 1773, and in Orono in 1774. (10)

After the Revolutionary War, lumbering expanded rapidly, By the early 1800's, good logs were becoming scarce on the rivers in the lower part of the state. In the 1820's, the industry really blossomed out. The lumbermen waded into the forests "with an axe in each hand", and in less than thirty years, Maine had become the lumber center of the world, with mills crowding every river and stream from the Piscataqua to the St. Croix, and the harbors alive with shipping loading Maine lumber.

To the early lumberman, the only tree in the woods was white pine, all others being considered nearly worthless. It was not until the pine was almost exhausted, and this did not take too long, that spruce and hemlock logs were taken, and the whole state was logged over again. Fir was not plentiful at that time, and was not thought to be fit even for pulp until into the 20th century. Cedar and hardwoods were cut in limited

quantities for special purposes, but pine was king while it lasted.

The forest of Maine was predominantly softwood, with the heaviest stand of pine in the southern and western parts of the state. In Northern Maine there was quite a lot of pine, but it was mostly along the river valleys in clumps and in mixed stand with spruce and other conifers. This is not to say that there was not big pine in Northern Maine. In 1852, it is reported that a pine tree was felled at New Limerick, in Aroostook County, which measured five feet in diameter at the butt, and was one hundred and eighty feet tall. (11) There are reports of logs six feet in diameter at the large end, nearly three feet at the small end, and one hundred feet long, scaling over 8,000 board feet. Some of the old trees had reached the age of 800 years. The lumbermen graded the pine stand in general into "old pine", "bull sapling" and "common sapling". Pumpkin pine was old pine that had grown in sandy soil, with plenty of light and air. Bull sapling grew along the waterways, and was harder and sounder than old pine. Common sapling was second growth. (12) Never, since the big trees were cut, have conditions allowed such another race of monsters to grow.

It might be of interest at this point to follow briefly the process by which the forest lands of Maine came into the hands of private owners. There are a number of accounts of different phases, and we have put together from these a story which is far from complete, but which, if not accurate in all respects is close to what happened, and will serve our purposes well

enough.

Disregarding the claims of France, Spain and Holland, the British Crown, in 1606, considered the 19,000,000 acres of territory now the State of Maine to be its property. The first Crown Grant of land was made in that year by James I to the London and Plymouth Company, or the Council of Plymouth, (13) which was to establish settlements and develop the resources. Its first attempt at colonization, the Popham settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec River, was a failure. The council then began to make sub-grants to prospective colonizers, the best-known of whom were Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason. (14) Its successor, the Council of New England, made other grants, notably the "Muscongus Patent", which lay just east of the Penobscot River. This land came into the hands of Gen. Samuel Waldo, and later became the property of Gen. Henry Knox, President Washington's Secretary of War. (15) Numerous other grants, sub-grants and sales, for colonization or as political rewards, many over-lapping, and most with indefinite boundaries, were made. In all, up to the period of the Revolution, the British Government had disposed of about 4,000,000 acres of Maine land.

The Province of Massachusetts had in 1763 successfully established its claim to the territory which is now Maine, as far east as the St. Croix River. (16) After the war, ownership of the remaining 15,000,000 acres of public land passed to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The new state found itself in the red to the extent of some \$5,000,000, with its share of the national debt about as much again. It had no revenue except

the general tax, which was unpopular. It was poor in everything except land. (17)

Governor Hancock called the attention of the General Court of the "Eastern Lands" of the District of Maine as a source of income. These lands were not part of the Federal domain, and were not subject to Federal policies. (18) In 1783, a Commissioner was appointed for their administration, a land office was established, surveys were made, and it was hoped that there would be a ready market at the price of fifty cents per acre which had been set. There were few takers. Someone then conceived the idea that a lottery would promote interest in the sale of this land, and such a lottery was approved by the General Court in 1786. The legislation provided for the disposal of fifty townships in what are now Hancock and Washington Counties, a total of 1,107,396 acres. The scheme called for issuing 2,730 tickets, to be sold for about \$200 each. There were no blanks, each ticket calling for a piece of land, the smallest 160 acres. The grand prize was a full township of some 20,000 acres, a Maine township being nominally a square, six miles to a side. There was little interest in this lottery. Only 437 tickets had been sold at the time of the drawing on October 12, 1787. (19) The grand prize was never drawn, but about 160,000 acres were disposed of.

During this early period, a great many grants of land were made to satisfy requests for aid for schools, colleges, churches and other public enterprises. Such grants were usually sold at once for whatever they would bring. The names of tracts of

land like the Sandwich Academy Grant, the Middlesex Canal town, Day's Academy, Taunton & Raynham and Bowdoin College date back to this period. Altogether, Massachusetts gave away in this manner, and as grants to soldiers and settlers, between 1783 and 1820, when Maine became a State, a total of 1,223,553 acres of Maine real estate.

Efforts to sell land privately had also been continued by the Commissioner, but without much success. Between 1783 and 1791 only about 300,000 acres, including the lottery prizes, had been sold. From the date of the lottery, prices declined, until in the 1790's land was selling at less than one-third of former figures. At these lower prices, interest began to revive, and was stimulated by the reports of Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, of Hingham, a man of excellent reputation, who had cruised a large part of the public lands. In the period 1791 to 1795 no less than 3,013,658 acres of land was sold by the state. While this total included a great many individual sales, the greatest part of it was represented by the immense transactions, involving more than 2,000,000 acres, known as the Bingham purchases.

In 1791, Gen. Knox, influenced by the reports of his friend Gen. Lincoln, and seeing opportunity in the failure of the lottery, contracted with the state to buy, as a speculation, fifty-two townships, or somewhat over 1,000,000 acres, east of the Penobscot River, including the balance of the land originally intended for the lottery, and an additional 1,000,000 acres on or near the Kennebec River, in what is now Piscataquis County and Somerset County. The price was 10 cents an acre. He agreed as a

condition of sale that he would settle forty families on each township of thirty-six square miles within a period of seven years. He was not in a position to put up any money, but planned to pay over a period of years, from the proceeds of sales, or if this failed, to borrow from his friends. However, he was not able to sell enough to pay expenses, and could not raise any great amount of money. Finally, William Bingham, a wealthy Philadelphian and a close friend of Gen. Lincoln, agreed to take over the speculation. Gen. Knox assigned the contract to Bingham in 1793, with the approval of the Massachusetts General Court. Stories vary as to the procedure which followed, and the actual prices agreed upon. Apparently the sale was made in two parts, the "Penobscot Purchase" and the "Kennebec Purchase", the former being made first, followed very shortly by acquisition of the land in this area from the people who had obtained it through the lottery. The price is generally given as 12½ cents an acre, although there is mention of a figure as high as 25 cents an acre for the Kennebec lands. Gen. Knox remained Bingham's partner, with a percentage of the expected profits. However, this deal was dissolved within a few years, and Bingham was given a new contract which provided for the issuance of a deed to the land when he had met the settlement provisions of the sale. He paid cash at once, a most unusual event, as few speculative purchasers of land at that time had any ready money. (20)

At or about the same time, many prominent Massachusetts men bought large blocks of Maine land on the same settlement

provisions, but none of them made full payment. Between 1783 and 1820, about 5,000,000 acres were sold, nearly all in the part of the State south of Bangor, but with some scattered sales and grants, the latter mostly for educational purposes, west of Moosehead Lake and in Aroostook County south of the Aroostook River. (21)

Neither Bingham nor any of the other purchasers could meet the settlement terms, and the end of seven years were obliged to petition the General Court for a seven-year extension. In the face of considerable political opposition, this was finally granted, but at the end of the extension the buyers had still not been able to locate a sufficient number of settlers, much of the land being unsuitable for farming. Eventually, after some politicking, and at the cost of three of the best towns in the Kennebec Purchase -- Lexington, Concord and Kingfield -- deeds were issued to Bingham's heirs and to the other landowners who held similar contracts, (22) a fact of interest to the Great Northern Paper Company which later became owner of some of these lands.

As a result of the opening up of the West, Bingham found himself very shortly overloaded with land. A substantial part of the Penobscot Purchase was sold almost at once to the English firm of Baring & Hope, which was to all intents and purposes young Alexander Baring, first Lord Ashburton, Bingham's son-in-law. Before Bingham's death, he appointed General David Cobb, who had been a member of Washington's staff, to manage his lands. Gen. Cobb made his headquarters in Gouldsboro.

Baring & Hope sent out a young Englishman, John Black, afterwards Colonel Black, only 18 years old at the time, to represent their interests. Black married Gen. Cobb's daughter and settled in Ellsworth. In addition to receiving a large salary, he was permitted to cut such logs from his employer's land as he could saw in his own mills. (23) He was energetic and efficient. While endeavoring to sell land, in accordance with his orders, he also did his best to stop trespassing -- the stealing of timber -- which was going on in many ways. He not only sent out agents, who, if they discovered trespass, seized everything they could find, but went into the woods camps himself, where, as he said, he "could not sleep for the dogs outside and the fleas inside". In spite of his efforts, it was impossible to sell enough land during the first thirty-five years to pay the taxes and expenses. (24) The boom in land from 1828 to 1836 bailed out the Bingham Estate, over 250,000 acres of its holdings being sold in the winter of 1834-35 alone.

Title to some of the Bingham lands was not cleared up until the early years of the 20th century, and his ghost still haunts the Registries of Deeds in the central and western parts of the State.

Townships north and west of his original acquisition, and elsewhere, were laid out in several surveys in times past, and in transferring titles, it is necessary to know not only the name of the town involved, but the survey. In these surveys, the towns not having names were identified by township numbers running northward and range numbers westward from the point of

departure, resulting in there being more than one town with the same numbered designation. However, the original Bingham lands were at some time identified by the letters "B.K.P." meaning "Bingham's Kennebec Purchase", and the several surveys of adjoining areas were "N.B.K.P." (North of Bingham's Kennebec Purchase); "N.W.B.K.P." (Northwest of Bingham's Kennebec Purchase) and so on. A later survey of the northern part of the state; which had no connection with the Bingham lands, at least not with the original Kennebec purchase, was "W.E.L.S." (West of the East Line of the State). So we have, for instance, three townships 2 Range 6, one W.E.L.S., and the others probably N.B.K.P. and N.W.B.K.P. respectively, judging from their location, although we have not troubled to find out, as it makes no particular difference.

When Maine became a separate state, on March 15, 1820, she did not become entirely free from Massachusetts as regards land ownership. At that time, Massachusetts owned, unsold, about 8,000,000 acres of Maine land, and retained about one-half of this, which she offered to the new state for 4 cents an acre. The Maine legislature decided that this price was too steep, and declined to buy. (25) Both states then continued their efforts to dispose of land. Until 1854, sales were complicated by the fact that the two states were selling property both jointly and severally. (26) The new State of Maine also continued the practice of granting land to schools and colleges, to provide income to pay teachers and ministers, and for public works. The construction of the original State House in Augusta, for instance was financed by the sale of ten townships of land.

Sales varied according to times and conditions, and were light from 1820 to 1828. In the latter year began the frantic speculation in Maine land (27) followed by the crash of 1836, foreshadowing the national panic in 1837 which grew out of the speculation in Western lands. This episode deserves a little examination.

The boom in Maine land is thought to have been touched off by the Bingham Heirs, whose agent, Col. Black, offered land for sale at that time in lots of whole townships for 75 cents an acre. This price attracted speculators, who bought large blocks and sold them piecemeal, at prices to fit the buyers. The boom started in Penobscot County a little late, but made up for lost time by a fast pace. The original Bangor speculators were said to have been Amos Davis and Samuel Smyth, who obtained options on lands by payment of 25 percent, with mortgages running for several years. (28) They then proceeded to sell, on the pattern established in other parts of the state, and a few fortunate purchasers, who were able in turn to sell immediately at a good profit, started the ball rolling. M. McCullough, "Men and Measures of Half a Century" (1888) says of the situation at the height of the excitement"

"Brokers' offices were open in Bangor which were crowded from morning to night and frequently far into the night by buyers and sellers. All were jubilant, because all, whether buyers or sellers, were getting rich."

The Bangor House was a center of this activity, and the brokers' offices elbowed the saloons on Exchange Street. Land

changed hands sometimes several times a day. (29) Mc Cullough says: "Lands which had been bought originally for a few cents an acre were sold for half as many dollars." The Newburyport Herald is quoted as saying, in the summer of 1835:

"It is rumored that one evening last week two paupers escaped from the Bangor alms=house and although they were caught early the next morning yet in the meantime, before they were secured, they had made \$1,800 each by speculating in timberlands." (30)

The fever spread to Massachusetts. A courier service was set up between Bangor and Boston. Land was for the most part purchased to be paid for in installments, and the most glowing fiction in regard to value was accepted as fact. (31) Phony maps and doctored estimates were common. A Massachusetts group, wishing to invest, sent out an explorer, who, carried away by the enthusiasms of his guides, bought for them, on the basis of an estimated stand of 80,000,000 feet, a township which when more carefully surveyed was found to have only one-fifth as much.

Gamblers and other dubious types invaded Bangor. Hotels became so crowded that there is a joke about a man paying 75 cents a night for the privilege of leaning against a signpost. One Smith, known as "Roaring" Smith, formed as a speculation the Bangor & Lower Stillwater Mills Company, interested among other things in Orono property. After advertising in Bangor, Portland, Boston, Providence and New York, they held an auction of lands in Bangor in June 1836. A caterer was brought in from

New York to supply refreshments, and I. Washburn, Jr. "Centennial Celebration of Orono" (1874) writes:

"There was poured out champagne from the original bottles into large washtubs from which each man helped himself at his own free will." (32)

The boom was paralleled in the sale of public lands, over 2,000,000 acres being disposed of in the eight years 1828 to 1835 inclusive. (33) Then the inevitable crash came. Some found themselves lucky, some not. Court actions resulted in little satisfaction for the disgruntled, and the tumult and shouting gradually died. But not for long. There was a secondary boom in 1839, and the pressure of the expanding lumber industry restored confidence. In 1845, Bangor went through a second binge, with the difference that this time real lumbermen were buying stumpage, rather than land. Some, at this time, were able to salvage the investment they had made ten years before. There is a record of a town bought in 1835 for \$620, and sold in 1847 for \$185,000, even though \$14,000 worth of timber had been cut from it in the meantime. (34) This activity also revived the sale of public lands, which had been withheld from the market for a number of years following the bursting of the bubble. In 1844, the states sold 420,000 acres of land, and 1,000,000 acres were disposed of in 1850. (35) Sales in 1852 were 320,000 acres, and in 1853, a total of 820,000 acres were disposed of.

In 1854, there were left unsold about 1,198,000 acres of the land which had been set off to Massachusetts 35 years before, and the Maine solons, finally seeing the light, purchased this remainder, for which they paid 30½ cents an acre. This acquisi-

tion brought the total of all public lands of which the State of Maine had been in possession to 5,150,162 acres. (36) It continued to sell and grant lands under legislative authority, although for a short time just before the Civil War, the policy was to sell stumpage rather than land. (37) In 1868, there were not much more than 1,000,000 acres left in the hands of the State. (38)

In that year, the European & North American Railway Company was formed, for the purpose of building a railroad from Bangor to Vanceboro, to connect with a line being built by Canadian capital from Vanceboro to St. John. The Province of New Brunswick had given a charter and voted a free grant of \$10,000 per mile for construction of the new road, which was intended to provide faster transportation to Europe, via St. John. The venture was popular, and was regarded as a very important project. The City of Bangor guaranteed the credit of the new company up to \$1,000,000. The State of Maine, emulating the example of the Federal Government, which was making large grants of western land to the transcontinental railroads, gave to the European & North American approximately 1,000,000 acres of land in 92 townships on the Penobscot and St. John Rivers, reserving the right to cut timber from some 200,000 acres for the support of schools. A great deal of the land had already been cut over, and much of it was poorly located. Construction of the railroad was completed, and it was formally opened at Vanceboro in October 1871. It was not a financial success, and ten years later the line was leased to the Maine Central. When the Canadian Pacific

Railway constructed its line across Maine, we believe about 1890, it built only from Mattawamkeag to the Quebec border, and made arrangements with the Maine Central to run trains over the section of the old European & North American between Mattawamkeag and Vanceboro on the New Brunswick end, and in 1974 it purchased this part of the line, some 57 miles, from the Maine Central for \$5,000,000 subject to approval by the I.C.C., pending as this is written.

Upon examination of the titles, it was found that the State did not have any ownership in a considerable part of the land which it had granted to the railroad, and for which deeds had been signed by Gov. Chamberlain. When the smoke cleared away, the road had been able to sell about 690,000 acres for a total of \$233,000, although it held some of the property for twenty years. Such land as was left in the possession of the State after this grant was considered to be of little value, and with the exception of a few lots, subsequently sold, it was disposed of at two public auctions held in Bangor in 1874 and 1875. (39)

The result of all this activity was that all of the 19,000,000-odd acres of Maine land claimed by the British Crown in 1606 was disposed of about as follows:

Grants prior to the Revolution	4,000,000	
Sold by Massachusetts	6,808,519	
Granted by Massachusetts	1,223,553	
Sold by Massachusetts and Maine jointly	1,706,303	
Granted by Massachusetts and Maine Jointly	146,961	
Sold by Maine	3,100,723	
Granted by Maine	2,049,339	
	<u>19,035,398</u>	(40)

There is no particular pattern to the prices obtained by the states in the original sales of the public lands. In most cases, they seem to have been reasonable for the times, although they would appear to us now to be ridiculously low. From the time of the Revolution up into the early 1830's, prices ran from 5 cents to 17 cents an acre. In the 1840's, the effect of the recognition of the value of land for timber, speculation, and the sale of cut-over land began to be felt, and prices varied considerably, figures of from 7½ cents to \$2.45 an acre being noted. In the 1850's, the average wholesale price was apparently around 30½ cents. The land sold in the auction of 1874 brought about \$1.25, and the odds and ends disposed of in the auction of 1875 about 45 cents. (41)

What all this boils down to is that beginning immediately after the American Revolution both Massachusetts and later Maine sold and gave away their public lands to everybody and his uncle as fast as they could. At first they were disposed of as farmland and the original reports on explorations of the various tracts always went into this subject. The stand of pine timber was a secondary item, and all other species were ignored. (42) Later, they were sold or granted for the timber on them, as we have seen.

We should note that in the deeds from the states there was reserved in each township a "Public Lot" for the benefit of the inhabitants if and when a town was organized. We have not made close inquiry, but it seems to us that these public lots varied in size, being perhaps as small as 800 acres or so, and as large as 1250 acres or more. Many were never specifically located on

the ground. Title to the land itself, even if the lot were not laid out, did not pass to the purchaser, but he had the right to remove the timber and grass from it, and this right was passed along from one owner to another.

The 400,000 acres or so represented by these bits of wild land scattered all over the state sat there minding their own business and giving nobody any trouble until they were discovered in 1973 by certain politicians who wish to raise the State flag over them, but do not know at this writing what to do with them once they get them. The discussion of this matter has evoked the statement that those villains, the big paper companies, bought up most of the timberland of Maine for "pennies an acre" which is pure uncut hogwash. People did acquire land from the State for pennies an acre, but that was long before there were any paper mills using wood pulp. Even after the lumber business had become important, and land was sold for the timber on it rather than for farming, prices remained relatively low. It was not until after the pulp and paper industry, led in the State of Maine by the Great Northern Paper Company, had demonstrated the practicability of sustained yield operations, that timberland values became realistic.

APPENDIX I  
NOTES -- CHAPTER III

- (1) Boardman
- (2) Wood
- (3) Holbrook
- (4) Wood
- (5) Boardman
- (6) Michell
- (7) Sloane
- (8) Boardman
- (9) Ibid
- (10) Ibid
- (11) Wood
- (12) Ibid
- (13) Boardman
- (14) Hayes
- (15) Boardman
- (16) Hayes
- (17) Boardman
- (18) Wood
- (19) Boardman
- (20) Hayes
- (21) Wood
- (22) Hayes
- (23) Ibid
- (24) Wood
- (25) Hayes

- (26) Ibid
- (27) Wood
- (28) Ibid
- (29) Ibid
- (30) Ibid
- (31) Boardman
- (32) Wood
- (33) Ibid
- (34) Ibid
- (35) Ibid
- (36) Hayes
- (37) Wood
- (38) Hayes
- (39) Ibid
- (40) Ibid
- (41) Ibid
- (42) Boardman

APPENDIX II

REFERENCE BIBLIOGRAPHY -- CHAPTER III

Samuel L. Boardman: "The Lumber Industry in Maine" in W.T. Davis' "The New England States, their Constitutional, Judicial, Educational, Commercial and Industrial History" ,1897, Boston, Mass.

John P. Hayes: "Disposal of Maine Timberlands". 1928. The writer's reference is a typescript from the files of the Great Northern Paper Company's Division of Forest Engineering.

Stewart H. Holbrook: "Holy Old Mackinaw", 1945. The MacMillan Co., New York, N.Y.

Edwin V. Mitchell: "It's an Old State of Maine Custom" 1948. Vanguard Press, Inc., New York, N.Y.

Eric Sloane: "The Cracker Barrel" 1967, Funk & Wagnalls, New York, N.Y.

Richard G. Wood: "A History of Lumbering in Maine 1820-1861". University of Maine Studies, Second Series, No. 33, 1935, University Press, Orono, Maine