

8-1972

Maritime Enterprises of a Kennebunk Shipowner: William Lord, 1820-1860

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THE MARITIME ENTERPRISES OF A KENNEBUNK SHIPOWNER:
WILLIAM LORD, 1820-1860

By Bonita A. Coro

An Abstract of the Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts
(in History). August, 1972

A study was made of the William Lord Collection of business papers in the Brick Store Museum, Kennebunk, Maine, relating to the activities of William Lord as a merchant and as a shipowner between 1820 and 1860. Lord ran a country store from 1820 to 1828 and from 1830 through 1840. He commenced to invest in ships in the early 1830's.

As a merchant, Lord sold goods shipped from Boston and returned some local produce for sale in Boston or for reshipment to southern ports. The Kennebunk offerings were mainly hay and lumber. Products purchased and sold were carried on coastal schooners running between Boston and Kennebunk.

In his shipowning endeavors Lord contracted for the construction of vessels at Kennebunk and sent them into the foreign trades, in particular the West Indies sugar trade and the combination New Orleans cotton--European emigrant business. His career as a shipowner was separated into three main periods, varying with changes in United States trade patterns. In the 1830's his ships carried much sugar and some cotton; the 1840's brought a decline in the sugar traffic and an increase in the cotton and passenger traffic

which went on to the early 1850's. After 1853 and 1854 fewer passengers were carried; cotton remained with the supplement of heavy freights such as European coal.

Lord owned shares in primarily Kennebunk-built vessels in cooperation with their captains, with his own relatives, and with other business associates. His peak of ownership interests occurred in 1854 when he owned shares in eight vessels in service at once.

The study provided an illustration of how a businessman in a small Maine port operated his local business and expanded to significant involvement in maritime trade routes.

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By

BONITA A. CORO

A THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

(in History)

The Graduate School

University of Maine

Orono

August, 1972

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The papers in the William Lord Collection came to the Brick Store Museum in cardboard cartons, with the papers folded and tied in small bundles. The only handling of those papers has been the unfolding and rough classification done in the past few years. The help provided by Mrs. Donald Kimball, curator of the Brick Store Museum, in the research done with those papers and with locating general historical material about the town of Kennebunk was much appreciated. The helpful criticisms provided by Dr. Robert G. Albion in the initial stages of preparation of this study were also appreciated.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES.....	5
INTRODUCTION.....	6
 Chapter	
1. NEW ENGLAND MERCHANT TRADE AND THE LORD FAMILY.....	10
UNITED STATES.....	10
MAINE.....	27
KENNEBUNK.....	41
LORD FAMILY.....	56
2. LORD OF KENNEBUNK: 1820-1840.....	72
EARLY ACTIVITIES: 1820-1828.....	72
EARLY EXPANSION OF THE KENNEBUNK OPERATION: 1830-1840.....	89
MANAGEMENT AND SHIPS: 1830-1840.....	111
3. LORD AND THE WORLD MARKET: 1840-1860.....	153
1840-1850.....	153
1850-1860.....	197
CIVIL WAR AND DECLINE.....	222
4. THE SUCCESS OF WILLIAM LORD.....	225
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	230
APPENDICES.....	238
A. The Descendants of Nathan Lord.....	239
B. The Descent of Nathaniel Lord Thompson.....	241
C. The Children of Samuel Lord.....	242

D. The Children of Nathaniel Lord.....	243
E. The Children of Mehitable Lord.....	244
F. The Children of Abigail Lord.....	245
G. Total Tonnage Owned, by Customs Districts (Registered, Enrolled, and Licensed).....	246
H. Exports and Imports: 1821-1861.....	247
I. Value of U.S. Cotton Exports: 1821-1861.....	248
J. List of Major Schooners in Boston-Kennebunk Traffic: 1830-1840.....	249
K. Summary of Captains and Vessels: with Dates Vessels were Acquired.....	250
BIOGRAPHY.....	252

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.1	Cotton Bales Exported from New Orleans.....	14
1.2	Average Tonnage Built per Year.....	15
1.3	Average Tonnage Owned.....	16
1.4	Quantity and Value of Cotton Exports.....	22
1.5	Tonnage Sold Foreign: 1861-1866.....	26
1.6	Maine's Position in 1831.....	29
1.7	Total Tonnage of Kennebunk, 1820.....	46
2.1	Hay Shipments by William Lord.....	82
2.2	Main Vessels in which William Lord Acquired an Interest Before 1840.....	126

INTRODUCTION

Little study has been done concerning the maritime history of the small Maine port of Kennebunk, either in regard to the town or the local shipowners. As the nineteenth century opened, Kennebunk had a somewhat more significant position in comparison to other Maine ports in tonnage and commerce than she had in later years. As ships became larger they outgrew the small town of Kennebunk and the shallow local rivers. In addition, during the period from 1820 to 1860, the ports of Boston and New York became the centers for foreign entries and departures in American commerce. Maine remained an important shipbuilding state, but much of her commerce was carried on through Boston or a few of the larger Maine ports such as Portland.

The availability of the William Lord Collection at the Brick Store Museum in Kennebunk provided an opportunity to delve into the business of a noted local merchant and shipowner, and to illustrate how he operated his business in that small Maine port. The study was not meant to show how all merchants or shipowners in small ports functioned, but to show how Lord managed his affairs and was related to the town and to world trade routes. The focus was on the Lord Collection and did not attempt to compare or contrast Lord with figures in other ports.

William Lord's business career came during an active

period in American sailing commerce: 1820-1860. There were a number of possible foreign trades in which he might have engaged: the West Indian and Baltic routes, the South American, the Mediterranean, the Western European, and the Far Eastern. The coastwise trades were also important in maritime affairs. It was necessary to look at those general patterns of commerce, the major ports of the United States, the positions of Kennebunk and Maine, and to determine which, if any, general patterns were applicable to Lord. The sugar and cotton trades were vital during parts of the era and many ships concentrated on freighting of those products. Statistics for cotton exports showed cotton as a key item in American commerce. As a small port, Kennebunk had limited possibilities. Tonnage statistics portrayed Kennebunk as a declining port in comparison to the rest of Maine. Boston, as the closer of the two major ports of Boston and New York, was the better possibility of the two if Lord were to be related in business to one of them. In regard to the major trade routes, those on which Boston and Maine concentrated were more likely to be his emphasis.

As a local merchant, Lord operated his business from 1820 to 1840 with one brief interruption. He began to make investments in ships around 1830 and then gradually confined his interests to ships until the Civil War. It was essential to study Lord's connection to the development of Kennebunk as a local merchant, and to determine whether his involvement was primarily in local buying and selling or whether it

expanded to include other towns or states. The purchase of foreign imports for sale at Kennebunk was considered. In sum--whether Lord served as a middleman for domestic exports and foreign imports was a question. Files of the Kennebunk Gazette added to the picture of Lord as a merchant.

The study centered primarily on the Lord collection of business papers, including correspondence, invoices of various types, materials relating to the construction of ships such as bills and running accounts. The thousands of items were categorized according to their general nature. A great deal of overlapping naturally was true as Lord was both a merchant and a shipowner; individual items referred to both pursuits. Letters received when Lord functioned only as a shipowner referred to construction, movement, cargos, management and ownership of vessels.

To form a picture of store activities newspaper ads, freight bills, and extracts from letters indicated his activities in buying and selling and methods of acquisition of local and Boston goods. The hay trade was both related to his store and to his ships and provided a case study of the combination of buying and selling.

As a shipowner Lord was concerned with construction, cooperative ownership, management, cargos and movements of his vessels. Inasmuch as Kennebunk was a small port--did he run his vessels from Kennebunk or from another larger port? Over the thirty-year span of time changes in any of those aspects of shipownership were important.

Lord's activities were traced chronologically including all vessels in service, adding new ones as they were built. Each vessel was charted yearly with all cargos and known ports of call. Groupings were then drawn for all vessels in one year periods to look for general yearly activities for the number in operation. All were grouped for five and ten-year blocks to see trends for the longer time spans. Concurrent charts were kept on information relating to shares of ownership and masters for the various ships.

Letters provided much of the information on those factors as well as on methods of management. Genealogical material was studied to show family concerns in vessels. Of any historical work on Kennebunk, Remich's History of Kennebunk was most useful on area trading and shipowning.

Chapter 1

NEW ENGLAND MERCHANT TRADE AND THE LORD FAMILY

UNITED STATES

Commerce and shipbuilding in the United States between 1815 and 1860 revolved around a trend toward the creation of pivotal centers for commerce and construction. Much of that era was of basic concern to this study. The development of New York City in the 1820's, the early rise of the cotton and coastal trades and their connection to shipbuilding were key factors in maritime activity. In the period from 1815 to 1860, Massachusetts and particularly Boston, with some of her key trade routes, the important coastal trade and its further development linking Boston and New York were vital to an understanding of this era. Also of special importance are the peak years of the cotton trade (1830-1860) and of the packet lines with their immigrant cargos.

William Lord operated within the Boston sphere of influence, especially during the height of his business career. His Maine-built vessels followed the most notable routes of the day, engaging in the early coastal traffic, the foreign trades, and especially in the cotton and immigrant routes of the 1830's, 1840's, and 1850's. His active business career ended with the onset of the Civil War.

Massachusetts was the leading shipowning state at the onset of the War of 1812; among ports Boston and New York were the most significant, with Portland, Maine an important port as well. After the war, smaller ports declined and even more concentration occurred in larger ports. Massachusetts remained supreme as a shipowning state until the 1840's, but smaller ports had lost to Boston even further.¹

Tonnage however was not the only factor in maritime standings. By 1825, much of the trade was well centered in larger ports, and New York City led Boston by three to one. New York had hit upon the right combination of circumstances to clinch and enhance her position while the move west and the rather sluggish opening of British ports after the War of 1812 left Massachusetts in an unfavorable position. Dr. Robert G. Albion has provided a classic description of these changes in New York in The Rise of New York Port. When the War of 1812 ended, that port which could most quickly prepare itself for the resumption of trade would stand well in the battle for supremacy among the East Coast ports. Western goods were abundant and England was ready to sell her surplus cottons; she chose to "dump" those goods in New York. By passing legislation to promote auction sales of those imports, by establishing ocean packets, by

¹Statistics for total owned tonnage are contained in Appendix G. Between 1815 and 1861 New York City was always in the lead, with Boston second.

construction of the Erie Canal, and by developing coastal packets, New York was able to keep Britain's concentration focused on that port.²

New York gained nearly complete control of the European textile exports to the United States which comprised 1/3 of United States imports. Auction sales in New York City more than doubled between 1820 and 1827 and the hordes of country traders they brought encouraged other imports as well.³

The enterprise of New Yorkers took a second form in the establishment of regular liners, or ocean packets, to Liverpool with the commencement of the famed Black Ball Line in 1818; by 1822, this line sent out 4 ships a month and returned freight, immigrants and cabin passengers. After an initial lag due to generally depressed economic conditions, the line's regularity and good service helped to give New York a commanding position for imports.⁴

The completion of the Erie Canal (1825) and the development of the coastwise trade and coastwise lines of packets also influenced the "port race." Although perhaps

²Robert G. Albion, "New York and Its Disappointed Rivals, 1815-1860," reprinted from the Journal of Economic and Business History, III (August, 1931), 606; see also, Robert G. Albion, The Rise of New York Port: 1815-1860 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939), p. 410.

³Albion, "New York and Its Rivals," p. 608; see also Albion, Rise of New York Port, pp. 13, 58-63.

⁴Ibid.; see also Carl C. Cutler, Queens of the Western Ocean: The Story of America's Mail and Passenger Sailing Lines (Annapolis, Maryland: United States Naval Institute, 1961, pp. 103-105.

sometimes overrated in the analysis of the growth of New York, the Erie Canal in combination with other benefits provided to shippers did have great effects. The coasting trades on steamers and sailing packets boomed in combination with the foreign trades; New York became an entrepôt in the 1820's, shipping southern cotton to Europe, and western produce (flour, grains) and European imports south or north.⁵ She channeled European trade into her own port benefiting from production all around her.⁶

Among East Coast ports, New York had more geographical advantages than some in the drive for development; her harbor was well-sheltered and ice was not generally a problem. Her location was not up-river but still provided good connections with the hinterland and with the Erie Canal. Ultimately a port must reach the ordinary farmers and this New York did with the canal and the coastal packets. The most imaginative merchants of Boston could not compensate for the favorable location and interior of New York. New England was geographically closer to Europe but further from the focus of the coasting trade. Hustling New York merchants arranged both imports and exports to their advantage and found navigation to handle them as well. New

⁵Robert G. Albion, Sea Lanes in Wartime. The American Experience: 1775-1945 (2d ed.; [n.p.] : Archon Books, 1968), p. 142; see also Albion, Rise of New York Port, pp. 13-14; see also Albion, "New York and Its Rivals," p. 608.

⁶See Appendix H: comparative import-export statistics for the U.S., N.Y., Mass., and Maine: 1821-1861.

York was never satisfied to be merely an import-export center and found vessels of her own and those of New England to carry goods for her profit, to the disadvantage of New England and the South.⁷

A specific major factor in the developing coastal trade and growth of New York in the 1820's was cotton. New York vessels might make voyages to Savannah, Mobile or New Orleans and then go in one of 2 directions: return to New York and then to Liverpool or Havre, or go direct to Europe. From Europe, the ships could return freight or passengers to New York and then go south with freight or ballast. Cotton was of key importance in New York's transshipment scheme. Between 1822 and 1825 a rising portion of cotton exported from New Orleans went to New York for use or re-export:

Table 1.1 Cotton Bales Exported from New Orleans

<u>Shipped direct to</u>	<u>1822 (156,000 bales)</u>	<u>1825 (204,000 bales)</u>
Great Britain	64,000	101,000
France	33,000	32,000
Coastwise	51,000	69,000
New York	28,000	51,000
Philadelphia	10,000	3,000
Boston	7,000	7,000

Source: Albion, Rise of New York Port, pp. 100-101.

⁷Albion, "New York and Its Disappointed Rivals," pp. 604-605; see also Albion, Rise of New York Port, pp. 28-31, 76-94.

As shown, New York absorbed all of the increased coastwise shipments plus some from other ports.

Although the coastal fleet nearly doubled with small brigs (enrolled rather than registered) for the West Indies and coastal trades in greatest demand after the War of 1812, the greatest advances in shipbuilding and foreign trade did not occur until the 1830's. New England remained supreme in ship construction as the South had too few skilled laborers and greater interest in the profits of cotton and tobacco. Larger ports, such as Boston and New York, turned to outports to fill their needs; as compared to many small New England ports, the larger ports owned a greater ratio than they built. For example, in 1820, Boston built 1695 tons and purchased 3497 elsewhere.⁸ The following sets of figures illustrate the sluggish nature of building in the 1820's as compared to the 1830's:

Table 1.2 Average Tonnage Built per Year

Years 1812-1819	69,989
Years 1820-1829	88,656
Years 1830-1839	112,696

Source: U. S., Bureau of Statistics under the Direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1886, Ninth No. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887), p. 163. Computed from statistics therein.

⁸John G. B. Hutchins, The American Maritime Industries and Public Policy, 1789-1914 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941), pp. 189-191, 228-229, 245.

The amount of tonnage owned presented an even more striking picture for the 1830's:

Table 1.3 Average Tonnage Owned

Years 1810-1819	1,337,400
Years 1820-1829	1,420,000
Years 1830-1839	1,695,000

Source: J.D. B. Debow, Statistical View of the United States, Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census (Washington: A.O.P. Nicholson, Public Printer, 1854), p. 185. Computed from statistics therein.

The 1820's show only an increase of 83,000 tons over the previous decade; the 1830's, an increase of 275,000 tons over the 1820's.

In addition, the amount of registered sail tonnage fell from 619,048 in 1820 to 575,056 in 1830, but rose by 1840 to 895,610 registered tons.⁹ The concentration was still on schooners and sloops. Comparing 1830 and 1840, 2/3 of the tonnage increase was in enrolled or licensed vessels for the coastal trade.¹⁰

Concentrating more closely on Massachusetts and Boston as a port between 1815 and 1850 one finds that after the War of 1812 several problems existed. Western produce was being channeled through New York, New Orleans, and

⁹Boston Board of Trade, Eighth Annual Report of the Government, Presented to the Board at the Annual Meeting, on the 15th of January, 1862 (Boston: Alfred Mudge and Son, 1862), p. 113.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, computed from statistics therein.

Baltimore, Boston being further from the areas of population concentration. The generally depressed economic condition of the nation was especially bad in New England during the 1815-1817 period and even to 1822. Much available capital was channeled into outlets besides navigation--such as manufacturing. Over the long period 1815-1850, while Boston was losing commerce to New York, shipbuilding did increase in New England as a whole; vessels grew in size (from 250 to 1000 tons average) as did total tonnage. Larger vessels were considered easier to maintain than several smaller ones. Total Massachusetts tonnage increased from 316,069 tons in 1820 to 685,437 tons in 1850. But by the 1850's more capital was being invested in railroads, banking, and textiles; Massachusetts had become a manufacturing state and had lost her lead as a shipowning state to New York. Remaining commerce centered in Boston, with emphasis on oriental goods, Philadelphia coal, southern cotton and domestic cotton production.¹¹

Boston benefited as did New York with the appearance of coastal sailing packets after the War of 1812 and the improvement in the coastwise trades; Boston rose from fourth to second as a port in the remaining commerce. The availability of manufactured goods also provided a stimulus. There were no basic changes in patterns of commerce to 1850; after 1815 the West Indian, South

¹¹Samuel Eliot Morison, The Maritime History of Massachusetts: 1783-1886 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921), pp. 213-215, 398.

American, Mediterranean, Baltic, East India, China and coastwise trades were begun again. The trade with New Orleans increased somewhat. Even as New York was taking the general lead, Boston held an edge in some fields. For example, Boston led New York in the China trade but more and more of the China cargos, even on Boston vessels, were sold in New York as time passed. In 1857 there were 41 arrivals from China at New York and 6 at Boston; New York had better re-sale facilities.¹²

In the Baltic and Mediterranean trades, Boston also overshadowed New York between 1820 and 1850. For the Mediterranean market, Bostonians gathered cargos of South American woods, East India goods, sugar and coffee, as well as their own rum and fit this indirect trade together for outward cargos; Boston led New York until 1850 in imports of Mediterranean fruits and wines.¹³

Boston built up a triangular trade based on shipbuilding and sugar for the Baltic market. The ships of William Lord often followed these routes. Northern cargos to Havana were used to purchase sugar which was exchanged for Baltic hemp and iron for sale to New England and New York shipbuilders. With shipbuilding concentrated in New England, Boston was the logical place for distribution of

¹²Morison, *ibid.*, pp. 255, 273-279, 396; see also Cutler, Queens of the Western Ocean, pp. 113-116; see also Albion, Rise of New York Port, p. 200.

¹³Morison, Maritime History of Massachusetts, pp. 287-291.

these cargos. Some Boston merchants (such as William Ropes) further cemented their position in the Baltic trade by establishing trading houses abroad. In 1857 Boston still had 23 arrivals from Russia, compared to 8 for New York.¹⁴

The new ice trade also was primarily based in Massachusetts. Commencing with a few shipments to the West Indies before the War of 1812, it expanded to ports in the southern United States between 1817 and 1820, and finally even to Calcutta by 1833. Up to 1850, the trade in ice continued in the major ports of South America and the Far East. Although others were somewhat involved, Frederic Tudor was the most famed of the ice shippers; even William Lord carried some of his ice.¹⁵

Coastal trades were doing well in New England after 1820, with 2592 coastal arrivals in Boston in 1825. Prosperity was returning; freights were up; the population was growing, stimulated by immigration; canals were being built and steamboats were becoming more common (even Maine built 2 on the Kennebec River in 1821); there was plenty of pork, beef, corn and wheat from the west to ship. Packets were becoming common all over New England, from Connecticut to New York, from Maine (especially Portland) to Boston, and from Boston to New York.¹⁶

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 294-5, 396. ¹⁵Ibid., pp. 282-283.

¹⁶Cutler, Queens of the Western Ocean, p. 146; see also Edward Chase Kirkland, Men, Cities and Transportation: A Study in New England History, I (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948) pp. 7-9.

In the 1820's and 1830's Boston was the only major competition for New York in import shipping and commerce. The coastal trade between the two was also of major importance and they often traded their special imports until Boston began to route many vessels direct to New York. For example, Boston often exchanged her Baltic and Mediterranean goods for French imports. In her attempt to maintain second place, Boston sent shoes and boots to New York in return for leather and flour. In 1835 there were 494 coastal arrivals at New York from Boston, more than from any other single port. There were 410 from all of Maine. Lacking salable exports, Boston fell behind and New York had a larger fleet and more commerce by 1845. The practice of sending Boston vessels to New York from abroad actually aided the growth of New York. What success Boston had was based on her shipping; she carried or owned much of New York's imports, but still carried 83% of her own. Maine also helped Boston by carrying her own raw materials to New York, but purchasing her imports at Boston.¹⁷

In an article entitled "Yankee Domination of New York Port," Dr. Robert Albion wrote of an important link between New Englanders and New York enterprise. He described the movement of many Yankees to New York between 1820 and 1860 and their participation in the growth and

¹⁷Albion, Rise of New York Port, pp. 126-127; see also Morison, Maritime History of Massachusetts, pp. 227-228.

control of New York commerce. Many were involved in shipping and often had their vessels built in New England. Those from Maine were often captains. Maine vessels made up half of those used in major trades, even though Maine's portion of the trade was small.¹⁸ Boston commission houses selling local dry goods established at least 19 branch houses in New York between 1849 and 1859. These houses, with sales of \$25 million a year, found it advantageous to use New York's superior shipping facilities.¹⁹

All over the United States, cotton cargos stimulated a tremendous boom between 1830 and 1860, affecting shipbuilding and general commerce--both foreign and coastwise. This boom, most notable in the 1840's and 1850's put 47% of the registered fleet into the foreign portion of the cotton trade in 1852.²⁰ As noted above, New York had previously received most of the coastwise cargos, but by the 1840's, more was going to Boston, mostly for local manufacture; in 1836-1837, Boston received 39,000 bales from New Orleans as compared to 23,000 for New York. Also more was going to Europe, by-passing New York.²¹

¹⁸ Albion, Robert G. "Yankee Domination of New York Port, 1820-1865," reprinted from The New England Quarterly, V, 4 (1932), Southworth Press, 1932, pp. 665-684.

¹⁹ Hamilton Andrews Hill, "Boston's Trade and Commerce for Forty Years: 1844-1884," pamphlet printed for the American Statistical Association (Boston: Press of T. R. Marvin and Son, 1884), p. 9.

²⁰ Hutchins, Maritime Industries, pp. 264-265.

²¹ Albion, Rise of New York Port, pp. 99-116.

The following chart shows the growth of cotton exports, noting the percentage made up by cotton:

Table 1.4 Quantity and Value of Cotton Exports

Year	Total U.S. Exports (Dollars)	Cotton Exported		
		Pounds	Value (Dollars)	Percentage of Total
1830	\$ 73,849,508	298,459,102	\$ 29,674,883	40
1840	132,085,946	743,941,061	63,870,307	48
1850	151,898,720	635,381,604	71,984,616	47
1860	400,122,296	1,767,686,338	191,806,555	48
1861	248,505,454	307,516,099	34,051,483	14

Source: Boston Board of Trade, Eighth Report, pp. 114-116.

The growth shown can be further appreciated in noting that the percentage of cotton exports in 1821 was 31%, and 51% in 1851.²² Thus the growth of cotton in the 1840's and 1850's was in large part responsible for the success of American commerce; however, the decline from 51% to 14% in 1861 was just as spectacular when the Civil War brought a crashing halt to the boom.

Between 1815 and 1860, transatlantic packets and immigrant vessels also played a part in American commerce.

²² Debow, Statistical View of the U.S., pp. 185-188. Computed from statistics therein. A more complete chart (1821-1861) is presented in Appendix I.

According to Carl C. Cutler, 90% of the American sailing lines were begun and ended between 1820 and 1840, numbering about 60 transatlantic and 500 coastal lines.²³ Their success during this era was based on good service and capture of the best freight from some of the regular traders. New York's transatlantic packets had the greatest success; she also built most of these packets. The toughest of all vessels, they grew from 300 or 400 tons to 1000 tons by 1838.²⁴

After their initial success, the lines were hurt by competition from steamers between 1838 and 1858 which took over the mails, but left the passengers and some of the valuable freights. After a brief depression (1837-1843) coupled with an oversupply of tonnage, economic conditions improved and a boom occurred, spurred on partially by immigrants escaping the Irish famine and general crop failures. Larger and more tramps and packets were needed; few vessels had been able to carry more than 300 passengers due to an 1819 law limiting vessels to 2 passengers per 5 registered tons.²⁵

During the 1847-1854 passenger boom, commercial houses often chartered the "between decks" area of a ship and filled it with steerage passengers. Actually the

²³Cutler, Queens of the Western Ocean, xiii. His appendix is a gold mine of information about these lines.

²⁴Albion, Rise of New York Port, pp. 43-47.

²⁵Cutler, Queens of the Western Ocean, pp. 222-233, 259.

immigrant lines did not deserve the name, because they often sent vessels only one way, and had no ownership or control of the chartered vessels as did the regular packet lines. A series of vessels were merely dispatched with some semblance of successive sailings; some vessels only served a line once or twice.²⁶

After 2 high marks for immigration in 1847 (235,000) and 1854 (425,000) business failures, southern crop shortages and yellow fever brought 7 bad years, dropping immigration to 92,000 by 1861. Most immigrants had come by sail, but by 1858 steamers had won. The sailing packets had lost even the immigrants and were reduced to the ignoble business of heavy freight, leaving them undeserving of the title of packets at all.²⁷

In summarizing developments up to 1860, New York continued to consolidate her position as a focal point for imports, exports and tonnage cleared. For example, in 1861, New York had about:

- 5 times Massachusetts' imports
- 123 times Maine's imports
- 10 times Massachusetts' exports
- 40 times Maine's exports

New York cleared about $5\frac{1}{2}$ times as much tonnage as

²⁶Ibid., p. 375; see also Albion, Rise of New York Port, p. 340.

²⁷Cutler, Queens of the Western Ocean, pp. 222-223, 317, 325; see also Albion, Rise of New York Port, p. 43.

Massachusetts, and about 13 times as much as Maine. Of the U. S. total, New York had about 63% of the exports, 70% of the imports, and 62% of the clearances.²⁸ New York had surpassed Massachusetts in owned registered tonnage, but still lagged significantly behind Maine and Massachusetts in shipbuilding.

In all cases, the commerce, tonnage and shipbuilding of Maine and Massachusetts accounted for the most of that in New England, in many cases, as much as 90%. New York had gained rapidly in the area of foreign commerce, nearly doubling her percentage in 40 years. As far as actual building went, Maine was of major importance as a single state, accounting for the majority of vessels in 1851. New York never challenged Maine or Massachusetts in that field.²⁹ As a single port, Boston had about 8-10% of the registered and enrolled tonnage of the U. S. in the period 1850 through 1860.³⁰

The Civil War affected the merchant marine in several ways. The actual physical damage done by

²⁸U. S., House, Executive Documents, 37th Congress, 2nd Session Vol. XII, 1861-1862, Commerce and Navigation, Part II, No. 13 ([Washington]; Government Printing Office, 1862), pp. 440-441. See Appendix H, import-export statistics: 1821-1861.

²⁹Albion, "Yankee Domination of New York Port."

³⁰Boston Board of Trade, Eighth Report, p. 103. See Appendix G, owned tonnage: 1815-1861.

Confederate vessels is sometimes over-rated. Some of the side effects, however, lasted into the twentieth century. Losses were greatest for New York, Massachusetts, and Maine, those states owning the most vessels. High insurance rates (up to 10%) drove many shippers to the use of neutral vessels, and many shipowners to a foreign registry, a one-way street.³¹ For example, among registered and enrolled vessels between 1862 and 1865, tonnage was sold foreign at alarming rates:

Table 1.5 Tonnage Sold Foreign: 1861-1866

1861	26,649	1864	300,865
1862	117,756	1865	133,832
1863	222,199	1866	22,117

Source: Hamilton Hill (sec.), Seventeenth Annual Report of the Boston Board of Trade, for the year ending January 11, 1871 (Boston: Barker, Cotter and Co., 1871), p. 210.

More normal rates are shown in the statistics for 1861 and 1866.

The Civil War ended an important era for the American merchant marine. Many major trade routes had been altered. The China trade had moved to New York. Boston clung to the East India and Mediterranean trades, but she, as well as other ports, were hurt by the advent of steam and the onset of war. Sailing packet lines declined and the war signalled the end of the combination

³¹Albion, Sea Lanes in Wartime, pp. 150-170.

cotton and immigrant ships. Only Maine managed to keep sail alive. The cotton trade had peaked in 1860, but war, steam, blockade and foreign competition crippled a major American carrying trade, never to fully recover. The decline of Boston was further hastened by these developments. New York had become without question the center of commerce and ownership of vessels.

MAINE

Moses Greenleaf, in two early works providing statistics and summaries concerning the economic status of Maine, presented a picture which remained basically true during the age of sail in relation to the shipbuilding and commerce, foreign and coastwise, of Maine. Although somewhat chauvinistic in tendency, his conclusions were essentially correct. Greenleaf summarized his findings in a work published in 1829 by stating that his study had shown:

. . . the superior importance of Maine to the general commerce of the Union, in relation to the proportion of its tonnage to its population. And if we suppose that Maine consumes an average proportion of foreign commodities, as is probably nearly the case, it shows also that much of the largest proportion of foreign imports to Maine is made coastwise from other ports in other States, where they were originally entered; and the amount of duties accruing on them which are paid, eventually by the consumers in Maine, appears wholly to the credit of the commerce of the [original] states. . . .³²

³²Moses Greenleaf, A Survey of the State of Maine, In Reference to Its Geographical Features, Statistics and Political Economy (Portland, Me.: Shirley and Hyde, 1829), pp. 266-267.

He implied that direct foreign imports were abnormally low.

An earlier report presented much the same conclusion. Greenleaf's 1816 report to the Massachusetts legislature, A Statistical View of the District of Maine, stated that the exports and imports of Maine were largely carried, directly or indirectly, through other ports. He explained that the coasting trade was therefore inextricably intertwined with the foreign trade. Boston was singled out as the focus for reshipment of Maine imports and exports.³³

Thus the 1829 publication reiterated his basic premise, stating that customs house records showed only Maine's direct trade with foreign ports, not taking into account immediate reshipments. Greenleaf added New York and a few other ports to Boston as key markets for foreign imports brought on Maine vessels. The inference was that Maine vessels were going further afield. Admitting that a proper ratio would be only an estimate, Greenleaf believed that the Maine vessels used in the foreign trade of other states would balance the tonnage used elsewhere to import goods for Maine consumption, thus perhaps showing that Maine tonnage registered in the overseas trade did best show the actual concern of Maine.³⁴

³³Moses Greenleaf, A Statistical View of the District of Maine (Boston: Cumming and Hilliard, 1816), pp. 64-66.

³⁴Greenleaf, A Survey of the State of Maine, pp. 218-219. See Appendix G, chart on owned tonnage: 1815-1861.

Maine had about 3% of the population of the United States in 1830, but had a greater proportion of its citizens involved in commercial activity than any state except Massachusetts. Maine had about 4 times her share of the total tonnage, of the coasting and fishing tonnage, and of the registered tonnage of the United States. Computations based on the 1830 census were made to illustrate Maine's share in commerce and tonnage:

Table 1.6 Maine's Position in 1831

	<u>U. S.</u>	<u>Mass.</u>	<u>Maine</u>	<u>N. Y.</u>
Total Tonnage Owned-- tons per 100 persons, 1830	9.2	54	40	14
Tonnage Cleared for Foreign Ports, per 100 persons, 1831	9.6	27 ^a	27	17
Foreign Imports, Value per person, 1831	\$8.00	\$23.39	\$2.36	\$29.75
Foreign Exports, Value per person, 1831	\$1.55	\$ 6.08	\$0.015 ^b	\$ 5.11
Domestic Exports, Value per person, 1831	\$4.75	\$ 6.60	\$2.01 ^b	\$ 3.19

^a1831 had unusually low clearances of foreign vessels--generally would have been 2-3 points higher.

^bLow year--Average foreign exports for 1830's about 5¢, average domestic exports about \$2.50.

Source: U. S., Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Lines to 1957 (Washington: [n.n.], 1960, pp. 7, 13; see also Debow, Statistical View of the U. S., p. 185; see also Commerce and Navigation Reports, tonnage owned for Me., Mass., N.Y., 1831, as cited in Albion, Rise of New York Port, p. 403; see also J. Smith Homans, Jr., An Historical and Statistical Account of the United States (New York: G. P. Putnam and Co., 1857), pp. 9, 15, 21, 64.

Maine was most certainly a seafaring state as shown by the ratios and statistics, most pointedly those for amounts of tonnage cleared and those for owned tonnage. Maine owned and used her vessels for foreign voyages; however, the ratios for imports from foreign ports were quite low in comparison, indicating that returning vessels entered other U. S. ports, most probably New York or Boston. As Greenleaf described, many of Maine's imports were first entered elsewhere and came to Maine on coastal vessels. Maine needed foreign goods other than those she could buy with her own exports. Her exports were low as well. Thus the large number of Maine vessels were not being employed in her own trade but more in that of New York or Boston--New York had surplus domestic exports brought through the Erie Canal and needed more tonnage than she owned.

Thus although the total tonnage of Maine was small, it represented a great deal of commercial activity for a sparsely populated state. Nevertheless Maine still imported goods through other ports. Her export trade was rather specialized and the coastal trade helped Maine to purchase goods imported from regions which had no need for Maine products.

Maine revolved primarily in Boston's orbit in early as well as later years. Coastwise vessels often took products from Maine to New York, but returned to Boston, perhaps with flour, to buy Boston's foreign imports with

profits made in New York. No Maine port had as much potential as New York or Boston for becoming a major American port. Factors needed for acquisition of such a status included central location, deep water, good hinterland with connections to the port, and sufficient depth of channel. Neither Portland nor Boston had bars to hinder traffic; both had sufficient depth. The Portland and New York channels were good, while fair at Boston. Ice was sometimes a problem at Portland.³⁵ However, two vital factors kept Portland from achieving the status of New York or Boston: off-center location and lack of a sufficient hinterland to furnish markets and goods. This did not mean that Portland was not a major port, but that it could not hope to rival New York; there was speculation in some quarters at various times that Boston could be surpassed.³⁶

Attempts were made to create an entrepôt at Portland for goods brought from New York. Although Boston already had steam service to Portland, an attempt was made to by-pass Boston with schooner packets to New York in 1825; however, the attempt failed. Maine materials (lumber, granite and lime) continued to go to New York, and Portland often sent some of her molasses imports; but basically Boston held on to the trade of Maine in general, especially

³⁵Albion, Rise of New York Port, pp. 23-30.

³⁶See below, pp. 35-36.

her imports. Tradition played a part in this coastal traffic, based on long-standing family and business relationships built up with Boston firms.

An ex-governor of Maine, in an address to the Maine House of Representatives, referred to the Maine of 1812 as a commercial state with 150,000 tons of shipping and exports of nearly \$1 million a year. He added that the War of 1812 had served as a stimulus for local industries such as wool, cotton, glass, and metal; when peace was renewed, and foreign competition returned, the spurt of manufacturing and the market for raw materials from the farms ended.³⁷ This development was comparable to other states, but others were more able to sustain their manufacturing.

Maine tried to return to the old West Indies trade after the war; she quickly brought out vessels which had been hidden away and even stripped of gear and mast. But except for the very earliest arrivals in the West Indies, commerce was poor as compared to the post-Revolutionary War years.³⁸ In the West India trade between 1815 and 1840, profits were slim and even pirates were a problem. The problem of piracy, worst between 1818 and 1825, was difficult to pinpoint; there were roving bands which engaged in murder, torture and burnings, spurred on for

³⁷Maine, Journal of the House of Representatives, Address of Ex-governor Chamberlain to the House on the State of Maine, February 6, 1877, 56th Legislature (Augusta, Maine: Owen and Nash, Printers to the State, 1877).

³⁸William Hutchinson Rowe, The Maritime History of Maine: Three Centuries of Shipbuilding and Seafaring (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1948), pp. 106-110.

revenge against Spain after independence movements in Latin America. Cuba was a haven for pirates, expanding the difficulties of a major trade route. The pirates were more interested in gold, dry goods and sugar than in Maine hay and lumber, but there are cases of torture and burnings of Maine vessels, Kennebunkers included. By 1825, the United States Navy had essentially ended the menace.³⁹

Not until 1840 did commerce become dependable again, but the goods exported remained chiefly the same: lumber in numerous forms, fish, apples, and potatoes. Actually Maine trades in general in the 1820's consisted of the export of those goods, as well as other frontier offerings such as leather, oats, and hay. Maine was still a prime source of pine and had not yet reached its peak, nor had Bangor yet become a "lumber capital." Many of Maine's foreign returns came to Portland where a good deal was reshipped to Boston or New York.⁴⁰

The 1830's and 1840's were good years for Maine commerce, and Maine, as well as other states, had seen the value of a productive hinterland, well-connected to the seaports. Between 1820 and 1840, twenty-five charters for canals were granted to connect the frontier regions. Of considerable importance was the Cumberland and Oxford Canal, completed in 1830, enabling the Sebago Lake region

³⁹Albion, Sea Lanes in Wartime, pp. 139-146.

⁴⁰Kirkland, Men, Cities and Transportation, I, pp. 10-14.

to send goods to Portland for the West Indies trade. Portland, in return, imported and distributed rum, coffee and molasses from the West Indies. Businessmen in Maine soon saw profit opportunities in local rum production, and molasses rose to the status of "chief import." Cuban coffee imports reached their death in 1844 after destructive hurricanes in Cuba--so molasses remained and rum was consumed by "Mainers" in great quantities. By 1845, Portland had its own "sugar house" to refine sugar: by the 1860's, it had three.⁴¹

Rowe, in his Maritime History of Maine, indicates that 10% of the vessels which entered Havana in 1826 were from Maine--bringing the high quality lumber needed in Cuba as the sugar and molasses trade was recovering. By the 1850's Portland had managed to gain a monopoly on the shook trade which provided the needed boxes, hogsheads, and other containers used in shipping Cuban sugar and molasses.⁴² Return imports of molasses to Portland in 1860 gave her second place, after New York, for national imports of the popular sweetening.⁴³ In addition, the total rum production of the United States for 1860 took place in three states: Massachusetts (2,300,000 gallons), New York (1,300,000 gallons), and Maine (450,000 gallons).⁴⁴

⁴¹Rowe, Maritime History of Maine, pp. 112-116.

⁴²Shooks are pre-cut, partially assembled containers.

⁴³Rowe, Maritime History of Maine, pp. 116-118.

⁴⁴Albion, Rise of New York Port, p. 180.

Maine, as well as Massachusetts, had a part in the ice trade, expecially after 1840. The first ice shipment took Kennebec River ice from Gardiner to Baltimore on the brig Orion in 1824. Kennebec River ice gained a great reputation for its purity in the pre-pollution days. Large amounts of ice were sold for the account of Frederick Tudor, the famous "ice-man" of Massachusetts, who built ice houses at Gardiner in the late 1820's and early 1830's. The boom years of the ice trade fell between 1840 and 1900, most notably after 1860; ice was shipped to Port au Prince, Jamaica, Trinidad, Savannah, and many other large cities in the United States.⁴⁵

The advent of railroads in other parts of the nation was not ignored in Maine as a means of supplementing the coastal and foreign trades. In the 1830's the Eastern Railroad and the Boston and Maine Railroad connected Boston to Portland through Portsmouth and Saco; however, the coastal trade was already served by sail and steam.

Portland was looking for an opportunity to rival Boston as a port; it was the largest city in Maine and had a good, usually ice-free harbor. Portland was closer to Liverpool, if only by about 40 miles. The idea of a railway system to connect Montreal was embodied in an

⁴⁵Ernest Marriner, "Frozen Gold: The Ice Industry on the Kennebec," A History of Maine, A Collection of Readings in the History of Maine: 1600-1970, ed. Ronald Banks (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Co., 1969), pp. 234-237; see also Rowe, Maritime History of Maine, pp. 258-260.

1845 charter for Portland; the odds against this line included topographical problems and a planned route through a relatively unproductive area. In addition, fearing competition, Boston attempted to stymie the project.⁴⁶ The speculation of Portlanders was well-expressed in the following excerpt from a letter to William Lord in 1845:

The enthusiasm runs high here on account of the projected Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad--the million is already subscribed, and all the men, women, children and babes are in extacies [sic]--some are sanguine enough to suppose that at no very distant day Portland will outstrip Boston or New York.⁴⁷

The line opened in 1853; Boston sulked; trade increased to the west and some Liverpool business did come to Portland in the 1850's. It could not be said that the great expectations were fully realized.⁴⁸

The consolidation of railroads, begun in limited fashion in the 1850's, did not really hurt the sailing packets; railroads and steam continued but bulky goods such as granite, lime, pine and ice were far easier and cheaper to gather and transport by sea.

The West Indies and the coastal trades gave Maine ports a great deal of business in the 1830's and 1840's between actual trading and shipbuilding, another major

⁴⁶Kirkland, Men, Cities and Transportation, I, pp. 192-198, 204-214.

⁴⁷William Lord Collection (MSS in Brick Store Museum, Kennebunk, Maine), letter, Joseph Curtis to William Lord, September 1, 1845.

⁴⁸Kirkland, Men, Cities and Transportation, I, pp. 204-214.

activity of Maine businessmen. The simplicity of rigging, easy shifting of sails, and the smaller crews had made schooners dominant in Boston arrivals by and after 1835, with brigs in the coastal trade being their nearest rival. The State of Maine built up a near monopoly in the construction of those small brigs after the War of 1812.⁴⁹ Those brigs bound for the West Indies generally made 2 trips a year, leaving Maine in late December, arriving out the first of January, and home about the end of February. A second voyage would bring them home in late April, whereupon they would lay for the summer during hurricane season. However, some ambitious owners would send their brigs out coastwise in October. Some merchants had made connections with West Indies merchants, to insure more reliable markets and return cargos, but most owners merely dispatched their vessels to the general area.⁵⁰ This thriving business of the 30's and 40's provided a great stimulus to shipbuilding in small and large ports alike.

Other states began to look to Maine for vessels as early as 1815; even New York got most of her brigs from Maine between 1815 and 1860 for the coastal, Caribbean, or even Latin American trade routes. Shipbuilding did well in the 1820's, and surpassed both Massachusetts and New York in succeeding years. The entire

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 187-188.

⁵⁰Rowe, Maritime History of Maine, pp. 108-109.

36

30-year span from 1830 to 1860 made building a lucrative industry. Generally increased demands for tonnage, promoted by the more efficient connection to west, the focusing of industry and foreign commerce in the larger ports, and the huge cotton exports helped promote building in Maine yards, the outports, to meet needs elsewhere. Maine's construction of the less glamorous, but tough, freighting vessels for Boston and New York accounts was her forte, especially in the 1840's.⁵¹

Carl C. Cutler, in Queens of the Western Ocean, stated that Maine's building boom of the 1840's was perhaps overemphasized by maritime authors. He did believe that there was a good increase in shipbuilding, encouraged partially by the coastal coal trade from Pennsylvania and Maryland in the 1840's in addition to factors noted above. Cutler concluded that New York did not look to Maine for many vessels until the coal trade, the Irish famine, and the gold rush forced her to go further afield. Cutler explained that Maine vessels were made from poor types of timber, often receiving poor ratings by Lloyd's of London as "soft-wood" ships.⁵²

In choosing timbers for shipbuilding, numerous qualities had to be balanced: resistance to strains,

⁵¹Ibid., p. 142; see also Albion, Rise of New York Port, p. 306; see also Hutchins, Maritime Industries, p. 285.

⁵²Cutler, Queens of the Western Ocean, pp. 260-261.

hardness, stiffness, lightness; if for speedy vessels, resistance to dry rot, ability to hold fastenings well, and workability of the timber. If a vessel of the highest quality was desired, live oak from the Gulf states was the strongest; however, the white oaks of Virginia or New Hampshire were also principal timbers. The use of white oak was largely eliminated by the 1860's due to weight and expense. Secondary woods such as beech, maple, other oaks, hackmatack, hickory, and spruce also had their places. The pine and especially the spruce of Maine which did not last well and had a poor reputation as "soft" were sometimes used, but only for certain sections of vessels. For planking, white oak was preferred and southern pine was also used; for decks, white pine and spruce were sufficient. Maine builders often used rock maple, beech, birch, and hackmatack notwithstanding their inferiority to live oak. Those woods were widely used in the many tramps and schooners in various combinations, but not in first-class ships such as transatlantic packets.⁵³

In the early days, building had been spread over wide areas and in many small villages; the cost of vessels built with lumber a few hundred yards away was certainly cheaper. As vessels grew larger and certain local supplies were not so abundant, more yards tended to be concentrated closer to the open sea, where lumber from other regions

⁵³Ibid.; see also Hutchins, Maritime Industries, pp. 78-81, 93-94.

could be more easily imported. Maine supplies were, of course, still less costly.

In 1855 Maine vessels accounted for over 1/3 of U. S. production but they sold for less than those of other states. Comparative prices quoted for the mid-1850's show the following costs per ton for several building areas:

New York	\$60-70	Portsmouth	\$50-60
Boston	\$55-65	Maine	\$45-65

Cheaper labor in Maine was estimated to have accounted for 2/3 of the difference in costs.⁵⁴

Regardless of Maine's leadership in shipbuilding in the 1840's, she remained conservative in the craze for sharper vessels; not until the early 1850's was this trend seen in Maine, and its duration was short, primarily covering the period from 1851 to 1854. In 1855 with American and Maine shipbuilding at its height, with Maine leading, the urge for speed began to diminish. The decline continued, and the panic and depression of 1857 ended the Maine clippers, never a large part of her construction. There was an 80% decline in Maine building between 1855 and 1859. Tonnage owned in Maine declined from 739,840 tons in 1859 to 274,468 tons in 1866. Bath, Portland and Waldoboro owned the majority of the tonnage in both cases. A report on shipping in Maine, given to the Maine legislature in 1868, expressed concern for the

⁵⁴Hutchins, *ibid.*, pp. 281-282; see also Albion, *Rise of New York Port*, p. 406; see also Rowe, *Maritime History of Maine*, pp. 188-189.

decline; the lower revenues received by the state were vitally needed in the state economy. The report quoted the costs for new tonnage at \$75 a ton in 1865 and 1866, as contrasted with \$48 a ton in 1859-1861. Some action was needed to save the industry, due to the tremendous decline in tonnage; Bath had 22.3% of her tonnage left; Saco had 4.6%; and Kennebunk had 10.8% of her tonnage left as compared to 1859.⁵⁵

KENNEBUNK

To place in context the description of William Lord's activities as a Kennebunk shipowner, one must trace the growth in trade (especially the West Indies trade) and its eventual decline in the small Maine port which brought a greater concentration on shipbuilding in Kennebunk as well as in Maine in general as described above. As a port, Kennebunk had the disadvantages of a small population, poor hinterland, location up-river and on shallow water besides. Kennebunk could not collect sufficient goods or find large enough markets to be a major distributing center. Kennebunk is located about 4 miles up-river from the open sea at Kennebunkport; the Mousam and Kennebunk Rivers, both leading to Kennebunk, are shallow and winding and have poor outlets to the ocean. However, Kennebunk shipbuilding

⁵⁵Maine, House, Documents Printed by Order of The Legislature During Its Session A.D. 1868, 47th Legislature, House Document No. 30 on Shipping Interest of Maine (Augusta, Maine: Owen and Nash, Printers to the State, 1868).

covered an 80-year time span on the Kennebunk River, a good deal of it at the Kennebunk Landing, an area on the river downstream from the village, so-called due to the meadows along the banks at the Landing. Much of the timber for the West Indies trade and for shipbuilding came downstream on gondolas and rafts and was landed on the banks.

By the late 1700's Wells, Maine (Kennebunk was about 5 miles "down east" of Wells and was then included in Wells) had a fleet of vessels engaged in the West Indies trade. At that time these vessels were mainly sloops, 2-masted schooners and small brigs. Fish, farm produce and timber goods, including hoops and shooks, were exchanged for molasses and molasses products. Shipbuilding had commenced on the Kennebunk River in the 1750's with building and the coastal trade of Kennebunk having been transferred around 1755 to this river from the Mousam River (a smaller river in the southern side of town). The people near the Mousam formed a company in 1792 to make a new outlet and a canal to change the course of the river and improve their competitive position in the thriving West Indies trade but a ledge ended the attempt and reserved the river for only very small vessels.⁵⁶ Even the Kennebunk River saw only relatively small vessels, a brig launched in 1775 being the first over 100 tons. But by 1798

⁵⁶ Daniel Remick, History of Kennebunk From Its Earliest Settlement to 1890 (Kennebunk, Maine: By the Trustees, Carrie E. Remick and Walter Dane, 1911), pp. 169-170.

there were 36 Kennebunk River vessels in the West Indies trade. A new pier at the mouth of the Kennebunk River in 1798 had helped the river and the whole town of Kennebunk to take better advantage of this trade after the Revolution, bringing great prosperity to builders and owners.⁵⁷ Through the construction of this pier vessels did not have to go over the bar at the mouth of the river to load cargo.

Until 1800 Biddeford had served as the collection and entry port for a customs district including Kennebunk and Wells. By 1799, with 36 vessels in the West Indies trade, petition was made to Congress for the establishment of a new customs district for the sake of convenience. In 1800 the Port and District of Kennebunk was established including Wells, Kennebunk, and Kennebunkport.⁵⁸ Between 1800 and 1820 the West Indies trade was active and much building was done, with the exception of the period of the War of 1812 which brought a great decline; over 200 vessels were built in the Kennebunk District between 1800 and 1820, from a 20-ton boat to a 439-ton ship. Indeed the leading industries of Kennebunk were navigation and building, giving income to farmers, mechanics, lumbermen and traders who exchanged their wares and services for rum, molasses and sugar. Actually much of the return cargo was discharged in Boston, not all being necessary for consumption in this Down East port. This cost Kennebunk about half of the duties which

⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 169-173. ⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 173-174.

her vessels might have brought in, even though \$500,000 was collected between 1800 and 1810, mostly from the West Indies trade, regardless of the embargo. Much of the tonnage of Kennebunk (about 8550 tons in 1810) was in freighters which carried lumber to the West Indies, and returned to Kennebunk in ballast or entered at Boston and made sales and purchases there.⁵⁹

As Maine was achieving statehood in 1820, Kennebunk was established as a town separate from Wells, the culmination of long movement. Kennebunk, the Second Parish in Wells, had begun a move toward division in 1799 in order to better promote her own interests. By 1814 the Second Parish had seen more growth than the First Parish of Wells; Kennebunk had grown from a population of 800 to 2100 and business could be more efficiently handled if Kennebunk people did not have to go to the village of Wells. Although the expenses of apportioning the assets and expenses of Wells put separation off until after the War and recovery, the division was a reality after the town had come to an agreement and the first session of the Maine legislature in 1820 had approved the move.⁶⁰

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 174-177; see also S. E. Bryant (comp.), District of Kennebunk: A List of Vessels Built, From 1800 to 1873, With a Supplement from 1874 to 1884, Published by the Brick Store Museum from the original documents, 1874, (Kennebunk, Maine: Press of Arundel, 1950), pp. 1-4

⁶⁰Remich, History of Kennebunk, pp. 291-294.

In reference to the move to separate Maine from Massachusetts, begun as early as 1785, Wells had been one of the several Maine towns which had opposed Maine statehood. The inhabitants of the First and Second Parishes in Wells, as well as some other coastal towns, found it more convenient to retain their connections with the Boston legislature as the seat of government rather than with one at Augusta or even Portland. The commerce of these towns had long been involved with the extensive coasting trades to Boston and useful personal connections had been established, giving profits to farmers and millers which would have been negligible without navigation. The people of Wells had even considered petitioning New Hampshire for annexation, but it came to nothing and Maine was admitted to the Union in 1820. After the new government was set up there was relatively little trouble between the minority Federalists who had opposed separation and their Republican adversaries.⁶¹

By 1820 Kennebunk had a population of 2145 people and the main business of her larger vessels was with the West Indies lumber trade. In 1820 there were 71 clearances for foreign ports, 57 entries from foreign ports, 53 coastwise clearances and 48 coastwise entries.⁶² There

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 286-289; see also Kennebunk Sesqui-centennial Edition, York County Coast Star, June 24, 1970, Sec. V, p.4.

⁶²Remich, History of Kennebunk, p. 204.

were 5 ships, 43 brigs and many schooners and sloops owned by Kennebunkers, manned almost entirely by Kennebunk seamen.⁶³ The total tonnage fell as follows in December of 1820 for the Kennebunk District:

Table 1.7 Total Tonnage of Kennebunk, 1820

7279	15/95	Permanent Registered
238	82/95	Temporary Registered
951	71/95	Permanent Enrolled and Licensed
29	41/95	Licensed Coasting Under 20 Tons
72	68/95	Licensed Cod Fishing Under 20 Tons

Source: U. S., Congress, American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive of the United States, 1789-1823, Class IV, Vol. II, Commerce and Navigation (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1834), p. 518. See Appendix G for tonnage owned in the U. S. and selected Maine ports, 1815-1861.

Charts prepared by Moses Greenleaf for his 1829 study of Maine show Kennebunk in 1820 as third among Maine customs districts after Portland and Bath in duties collected on merchandise, gross amount of revenue, and net amount of revenue collected. The collections amounted to about 1/3 of the totals for Portland and a little more than 1/2 of the amounts for Bath; Kennebunk accounted for about 10% of the state totals in those categories.⁶⁴

W. G. Saltonstall, in Ports of Piscataqua, referred to the limited revival and then decline of the West Indies

⁶³York County Coast Star, June 24, 1970, Sec. V, p. 2.

⁶⁴Greenleaf, A Survey of the State of Maine, pp. 228-229.

trade after the War of 1812 as the "Ghost of the Dead West Indies Trade (1815-1845)" and described the decline of foreign trade in general after 1815 in the Piscataqua district of New Hampshire.⁶⁵ Maine was no exception to this problem; by 1840, arrivals from the West Indies were few indeed for both Piscataqua and Kennebunk. Boston and New York were taking precedence in entries from nearly all foreign ports. Based on 851 tons in coasting vessels in 1825, an estimate of \$37,400 was made for Kennebunk exports in 1826; these exports, as shown by the experience of the previous few years, would be primarily shipments of wood to Boston. These coasters made about 10 trips a year and had cargos valued at about \$221 per 100 tons of wood.⁶⁶ Remich, in his History of Kennebunk, explains that the death of the West Indies trade in Kennebunk by 1840 was due to a decline in the quantity and quality of lumber after years of cutting off pine; formerly gondolas had brought timber to Kennebunkport from the interior towns and the Landing until the merchants could not get enough good lumber to ship. Thus the old export of "lumber suitable for the Havana market" was dying and wood that remained was shipped to mainly Boston. By 1840 the great decline had left only the firm of Capt. Eliphalet Perkins,

⁶⁵W. G. Saltonstall, Ports of Piscataqua: Soundings in the Maritime History of the Portsmouth, N. H. Customs District (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1941), pp. 192-196.

⁶⁶Greenleaf, A Survey of the State of Maine, p. 247

Sr. and Sons in the West Indies trade. With their 3 brigs they usually made 3 trips a year shipping lumber to Puerto Rico, and unloading return cargos at New York, Boston or Philadelphia, often returning to Kennebunk in ballast.⁶⁷

Between 1841 and 1845 foreign exports from the Kennebunk Customs District were limited. A few cargos went to Ponce, Puerto Rico, the British West Indies and Cuba, totaling \$35,500 and consisting of 2,300,000 feet of boards, other lumber and hoops, shooks, shingles, spars, 967 quintals of dried fish and 1680 barrels of potatoes. Very little cleared after 1845. Foreign entries were also few between 1841 and 1845; in 1841 and 1842 several brigs with sugar and molasses entered, partly due to good crops at Puerto Rico and a depressed state of trade at the large cities with low prices. Captain Eliphalet Perkins entered those cargos to store for later marketing. A total of 4 foreign cargos entered in 1841 and 4 more in 1842, one of which was a cargo of Cadiz salt. Two more cargos of salt, from Turks Island and Cadiz, entered in 1843, but after 1845 few foreign entries came to Kennebunk.⁶⁸

Thus by 1840 Kennebunk was reduced primarily to the coasting trade, and especially with Boston which took some Kennebunk produce and provided foreign imports in return.

⁶⁷Remich, History of Kennebunk, pp. 262-263, 383.

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 393-394.

There had been a flurry of granite speculation in the 1830's when it was discovered that several quarries were available at Kennebunkport with good granite for building. Local and outside investors established several companies which operated for a few years, shipping granite to Portland, Boston, New York and a few other markets. However, the expenses of getting the granite to the wharves essentially ended the operation by 1840 and only local buyers remained.⁶⁹

While foreign commerce was breathing its last, shipbuilding flourished between 1815 and 1840. The coasting trade had increased after 1820 as had fishing; the advent of textile mills helped to improve the coastwise trade in cotton. Schooners and brigs were popular in the coastwise trades and stood highest on the lists of arrivals at Boston by the mid-1830's; Maine built a large number of these vessels, especially the brigs. Freighting to and from foreign ports was increasing in the United States after 1815 and larger vessels were needed on these routes. The Kennebunk builders did not begin to build more of these larger craft until the 1830's but were fully involved by the early 1840's.⁷⁰

There were seven yards operating in the 1820's at Kennebunk Landing, run by:

Nathaniel Gilpatrick

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 403-404. ⁷⁰Ibid., p. 382

John Bourne (later George Bourne, then Bourne & Kingsbury)

Jacob Perkins (later Titcomb's Yard)

George and Ivory Lord (later Robert Smith Jr., then Mark Poole)

Isaac Kilham

Hugh McCulloch

David Little⁷¹

In the 1820's a village water power site was available for manufacturing, and in 1826 The Kennebunk Manufacturing Company was incorporated to build a large cotton mill. Before incorporation several owners had purchased the water power rights on the Mousam River and standing mill property (1825). This mill had a problem in the difficulties of transporting purchased material and in delivering goods to market because the open ocean at Kennebunkport was four miles away, down the shallow Mousam River. Although the company was declared bankrupt in 1828, plans were proposed to improve the river. They came to little until an 1846 petition to the state for the incorporation of The Mousam River Navigation Company to straighten the river and open a new outlet to the sea, to enable larger vessels to come up river. Two of the ten incorporators were William Lord (who became president) and

⁷¹The yard of the Lord's and Smith was taken over by James and George Titcomb and Nathaniel Lord Thompson, making it the largest; see Margaret J. Thompson, Captain Nathaniel Lord Thompson of Kennebunk, Maine and the Ships He Built, 1811-1889 (Boston: Charles E. Lauriat and Co., 1937), p. 14.

his nephew, William F. Lord. The Mousam River Navigation Act allowed the Company to cut bends, build dams, embankments, wharves, piers and otherwise act to improve the channel. They held the right of steam navigation for three years and could charge tolls on vessels of over 10 tons. Capital of \$5,000 was raised at \$25 a share to build a canal, but even that did little good as the river was too shallow.⁷²

Far more important to the future of Kennebunk shipbuilding was the Kennebunk River where building centered at the Landing. As vessels had grown larger and the Kennebunk River had not grown deeper, causing larger vessels to wait several tides to get over a small falls, a lock was proposed to hold the tide water back. The Kennebunk River Company was incorporated in 1847 for the purpose of constructing this lock, to be at the lower falls, about 3/4 of a mile above the wharves. The lock was completed in 1849 at an expense of \$5500, and proved to be an essential part of the shipbuilding business of the Landing for the next 18 years until vessels became too wide and deep for the river. During the period of the lock's operation, it was still necessary to launch a vessel upstream, stern first, due to the narrowness of the river. The vessel was then turned at a bend in the river and from there towed to the lock; actually the vessel was "warped"

⁷²Remich, History of Kennebunk, pp. 371-377; see also William E. Barry, Stroll By a Familiar River (Kennebunk, Maine: Enterprise Press, 1911), pp. 69-74.

down river with at least 4 tides needed for a large hull, a pilot and crew of about 25 men being employed for this arduous job of towing the vessel down the narrow, winding river. The hull had first been tested for leaks and a "salting" process, consisting of pouring salt into the frames, was used to resist decay. As was usually the case with launchings anywhere, the Kennebunk vessels went down without masts; they were rigged and furnished at Kennebunkport. The rigging and outfitting might be done by the builder, owner or even a master; many owners preferred to buy a bare hull and do this themselves, getting the sails, rigging, blocks, chain, anchors and other articles from independent contractors in Kennebunkport or Boston, or even Portsmouth. Sometimes a builder would construct a vessel on speculation and hold it for sale. Kennebunk was not really a seaport, and it became more and more of a problem for the builders at the Landing to get the increasingly larger vessels down the river. The lock had proved its value, but had simply been outgrown.⁷³

Captain Nathaniel Lord Thompson was the first shipbuilder to leave Kennebunk Landing and move down-river to Kennebunkport. Before his move, he had entered a partnership at the Landing with James and George Titcomb, and had taken over the yard once operated by George and

⁷³Remich, History of Kennebunk, pp. 384-385; see also Thompson, Captain Nathaniel Lord Thompson, pp. 24-28; see also Rowe, Maritime History of Maine, pp. 122-123; see also Hutchins, Maritime Industries, p. 119.

Ivory Lord and Robert Smith Jr.; Thompson had made it into the largest and most prominent yard. His move from that yard was motivated by the increasing dangers of moving vessels down river; in 1852, a week had been necessary to get Thompson's Golden Eagle (1273 tons, the largest built to that date) down the river. In addition yards at Kennebunkport were better situated to get timber from the south. Captain Thompson severed his connections with the Titcombs and set up his own yard at the Port in 1854 and kept it running until 1881.⁷⁴

Kennebunkport was definitely more convenient after 1865, due to the larger size of vessels, and the lack of lumber from the interior forcing the Landing builders to bring timber up river. By 1867 almost all of the building at the old site had ceased and no large vessels were built there after 1867.⁷⁵

Maine had gained and held its shipbuilding leadership before the Civil War; timber had decreased but low wages helped to maintain a competitive position. For the longer trades, skilled Kennebunk builders had provided kettle-bottoms, which had deep, flat-bottomed holds which bulged at the water line and then narrowed up to the deck. By the old method of determining tonnage the capacity of the hold was obtained in tons of 40 cubic feet each and

⁷⁴Thompson, Captain Nathaniel Lord Thompson, pp. 14-18.

⁷⁵Remich, History of Kennebunk, pp. 384-385.

these kettle-bottoms were built quite deep with a beam continuing at the same width for a longer section of the length than usual; they were bluff-bowed and square-sterned and could carry more cargo than expected by the registered tonnage. This made a good vessel for the coastwise trade and a very good freighter for southern cotton voyages. However the square-rigger essentially came to an end with the Civil War. The pre-war depression beginning in 1857, as well as the war itself, combined with other problems to drastically reduce foreign trade. The tonnage of Kennebunk was reduced 89.2% between 1859 and 1866, the second largest drop in the state after Saco.⁷⁶ From a position of 6th in owned tonnage in Maine in 1820, Kennebunk had dropped to 11th. Maine did not turn as rapidly to industry, being possessed with few raw materials except timber; her only hope was to concentrate on shipbuilding. Now she emphasized the coastal trade even more with larger fore-and-aft rigged vessels. The large schooners were built for bulky cargos such as lumber and coal.

The narrow Kennebunk River and poor timber supplies also hurt Kennebunkport as a building site but some vessels were still launched after the Civil War. David Clark was the foremost builder to keep Kennebunkport building alive at the mouth of the Kennebunk River, especially with

⁷⁶Charles S. Morgan, Shipbuilding on the Kennebunk: The Closing Chapter, Publication No. 1 of The Historical Society of Kennebunkport (Boston: Fidelity Press, 1952), pp. 8-10; see also Maine, House Document No. 30 on Shipping Interest of Maine, 1868.

three-masted and four-masted schooners. His building covered a span of nearly 50 years and over 100 vessels, ending with the four-masted schooner Savannah in 1901, the year before his death.⁷⁷ The only builder of major status left was Charles Ward and with his four-masted schooner Kennebunk (1918), the last vessel of any size had been launched on the Kennebunk River.⁷⁸

Thus it can be seen that the shipbuilding era in Kennebunk covered over an 80 year span of time. This small village had been involved in the West Indies trade and to some extent the European trade up to 1840. After 1820, however, more concentration on the building of vessels, especially larger vessels for primary use from other larger ports such as Boston or New York was the rule. Kennebunk had tried to enhance her position with improvements on her rivers but geography could not be completely overcome, nor could the decline in the prime export of lumber which had kept business going up to the 1840's. The West Indies trade ended as did the European trade for locally registered vessels, and Kennebunk had to build for the use of other ports to bring in income. The District of Kennebunk remained primarily conservative in shipbuilding partly by choice and and partly by necessity. Within the

⁷⁷Morgan, Shipbuilding on the Kennebunk, pp. 11-12.

⁷⁸Kenneth Joy, The Kennebunks; Out of the Past (Freeport, Maine: Bond Wheelwright Co., 1967), pp. 65-66.

District, Kennebunk maintained an important position as a building town until just after the Civil War, but built almost nothing after that time. Kennebunkport had gradually replaced Kennebunk Landing as the center of building activity for the District after the Civil War and kept tradition alive until the turn of the century.

As will be shown, William Lord fit well into the pattern of this period: engaging in the old West Indies trade, building vessels at Kennebunk for the tramp trades out of Boston and southern and foreign ports. As the West Indies trade was dying Lord was adjusting his navigation to the southern cotton trade which he continued until no longer involved in business.

LORD FAMILY

The ancestors of William Lord settled in Maine during the Colonial period and were independent farmers for 150 years before many of his generation turned to the building and owning of ships as a way of life. As the fortunes of the colonies and of Maine improved, so did those of the Lords. The many children spread out, increased their land holdings, and invested in various businesses. The Lords were one of many families who had a part in the growth of Kennebunk and the surrounding area.

William Lord was a sixth-generation Lord; his family can be traced back to Nathan Lord who emigrated to the colonies from the County of Kent, England shortly

after 1650.⁷⁹

Nathan settled in Old Kittery, Maine upon receiving a grant of 60 acres on December 16, 1652; he continued to add to his land holdings in what is now Eliot and South Berwick (both part of Old Kittery). At the time of his death(1690), Nathan held about 200 acres.⁸⁰

The line of descent from his son, Nathan Lord Jr., is the concern of this study (Nathan Jr. continued to reside in the Berwick area). As provided in his will, land from the family holdings was set aside upon his death in 1733 for a Lord family cemetery at Rocky Hill in Berwick. Always called "Old Fields," this land remained in the hands of the Lord family until the twentieth century.⁸¹ The Kennebunk Lords were descended from Nathan Lord Jr., his son John, and grandson Captain Tobias Lord.⁸²

⁷⁹See genealogical chart, Appendix A.

⁸⁰George E. Lord, A History of the Descendants of Nathan Lord of Ancient Kittery, Maine. Arranged for publication from material compiled by C. C. Lord (Concord, N. H.: The Rumford Press, 1912), pp. 1-14. George E. Lord notes that the town records of early Kittery mention tracts of land granted to Lord as well as numerous purchases. See also Charles Edward Lord, The Ancestors and Descendants of Lieutenant Tobias Lord ([n.p.]: privately printed, 1913), p. 11.

⁸¹Lieut. John A. Lord, "Historical Address: Dedication of Boulder and Bronze Tablet Erected to the Memory of Nathan Lord and Descendants--Ancient Kittery, Maine, 1652. Old Fields, South Berwick, Maine, on the 28th Annual Reunion of the Sons and Daughters of Nathan Lord," unpublished speech: August 17, 1922, carbon copy (ESS in Maine Historical Society), pp. 1-3.

⁸²See Appendix A.

Captain Tobias Lord (born in 1724 in Berwick) moved eastward in 1747 with the family and a cousin, Benjamin M. Lord. They built their homesteads in Arundel (bordering Kennebunk), in an area opened for settlement in 1728; by the time the Lords settled there, Arundel had 300 inhabitants--York County had 12,000 residents. Captain Tobias became a prosperous farmer and brick-maker, and was listed as a proprietor of Arundel.⁸³ Captain Tobias acquired his military title during the American Revolution; six of his sons also served in the army during the war. One son, Jeremiah, served with Benedict Arnold at Quebec and died in prison there. Another son, Tobias Jr., served with his father during part of the war and achieved the rank of lieutenant.⁸⁴

Tobias Jr. fathered the generation of Lords which is of prime concern in this paper. The children of Tobias Jr. and their spouses provided the primary base for the wealth and influence of this branch of the Lord family through numerous succeeding generations. Kennebunk was developing as a port and they took advantage of its growth. Tobias was born on February 11, 1748 or

⁸³A proprietor was one who had purchased land from the original grantees of the British Crown or one who lived in the town when the Massachusetts government presented the deed for the town to the people. The proprietors owned the undivided land of the town and could sell it. See Charles E. Lord, Ancestors of Tobias Lord, pp. 168-170.

⁸⁴Ibid.

1749.⁸⁵ At the age of 15, he was sent to Sanford, Maine to learn milling. He was drafted from that town for the Revolutionary army. Following the war, Lieut. Lord returned to Kennebunk and built up a business and reputation as a merchant; he built what was later known as the Gillespie House and constructed a small store nearby.⁸⁶ Tobias began what was to be the most important concern of the later Lords--shipbuilding; his small vessels were constructed on the Mousam River. In 1873, a list of vessels launched in Kennebunk was compiled by S. E. Bryant, a customs collector; the Bryant list, an invaluable aid in this study, lists the launching of the following vessels for Tobias Jr. as main owner: 1801, scow Concord and brig Alliance; 1803, schooner Patriot; 1806, ship General Green and brig Somers; 1807, brig Advance.⁸⁷ Eventually finding his business affairs too demanding, Tobias went into semi-retirement in 1803 and moved to Alfred from Kennebunk Landing where he had lived since 1790. At the time of his death his holdings included 2 lots totaling 190 acres in Alfred and Kennebunk, 1000 acres of woodlots, a saw mill, a pew in Alfred,

⁸⁵If his gravestone in Hope Cemetery in Kennebunk can be considered authoritative (his death is marked as occurring January 16, 1809 at the age of 59) his date of birth would have been in 1748. Charles E. Lord lists his date of birth as 1748 on pages 15 and 171. It is listed as 1749 on p. 101 but the correct date of death is given. George E. Lord lists 1748 on p. 68 and on p. 72.

⁸⁶Charles E. Lord, Ancestors of Tobias Lord, pp. 171-177.

⁸⁷Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, pp. 1-2.

interests in a pier and wharf in Kennebunk, farm equipment, the brig Alliance and part-ownership in the brig Merchant.⁸⁸

Lieut. Lord thus began the tradition of shipbuilding and ownership carried on by later Lords; he left a family of sons who became even more significant in building and navigation; he left daughters whose marriages helped to bring other businessmen into the family circle. Lieut. Lord's first wife, Mehitable Scammon, gave him 3 sons before her death: Nathaniel, Samuel, and Tobias III. Tobias' second wife, Hephzabah Conant, bore him 9 children; three of her sons, most important to this study were George, Ivory, and William.⁸⁹

The following sketches of some of the members of this generation sired by Tobias Lord Jr. will establish more clearly the growth of the Lord family practice of shipbuilding, ownership, and management. The Lords were quite selective in their business associations. Generally persons closely related by blood or marriage were involved as the major partners in ventures in building or operating vessels. Often Lords or relatives were chosen as ship

⁸⁸Charles E. Lord, Ancestors of Tobias Lord, pp. 172-175; William Lord as one of twelve children of Lieut. Lord, being eight years old at the time of his father's death, received his fair share of his father's estate after an allotment was made to Mrs. Lord who continued to reside in the town of Kennebunk.

⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 19-20, 101-102, 172. Mehitable Scammon was a great-great-great-great granddaughter of William Brewster of the Mayflower.

captains as well: Lords, Thompsons, Williamses. The relationships and importance to William Lord of the individuals mentioned below are indicated. In addition to the brothers of William, certain other relatives (Nathaniel L. Thompson, Charles Williams, William Lord Jr.) have been chosen to further show the concentration on family business connections.⁹⁰

William's three half-brothers (Samuel, Nathaniel, Tobias III) were all more than 20 years older than himself, thus nearly constituting another generation; of the three, record could be found of transactions or communications with only Tobias, the youngest of the three.

Samuel Lord (1774-1851) served as his father's bookkeeper from 1795 through 1800 and then commenced a career as a shipowner, having a few vessels constructed at Kennebunk Landing. The Bryant list notes the following vessels launched for Samuel as principal owner: 1802, brig William; 1804, brig Agenoria and schooner Confidence; 1806, brig Rover; 1823, sloop Betsey.⁹¹ Samuel Lord was also part-owner of many other vessels but after losing much of his money, he moved to New York and began trading; he entered his son's (Samuel Jr.) ship brokerage business

⁹⁰Genealogical charts are provided in the appendices for selected persons, showing some of William's nephews more contemporary in age to himself.

⁹¹Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, pp. 1-4; see also Charles E. Lord, Ancestors of Tobias Lord, p. 202.

in New York for a 10 month period in 1834 until his son's health failed and the business was dissolved. In January of 1835, he entered the wholesale grocery business with his brother Tobias III at New York; he returned to Kennebunk in 1848 whence he remained until his death.⁹² William did some business with the ship brokerage firm of Samuel Jr. prior to the failure but no other clear connections could be made between William and Samuel Lord.⁹³

Nathaniel Lord (1776-1815) of Arundel was also a prosperous shipowner. Charles E. Lord, in his work on the Lord family, records Nathaniel's reputation as an excellent businessman who found account books superfluous, being able to remember the details of his widespread shipping concerns. Also mentioned are Kennebunkport custom house records with Nathaniel listed as consignee of cargos from the West Indies and London.⁹⁴ Nathaniel is listed as main owner of the following vessels launched in Kennebunk: 1808, brig Neutrality; 1804, brig Merchant; 1811, bark American.⁹⁵

⁹²Charles E. Lord, Ancestors of Tobias Lord, pp. 202-204.

⁹³Samuel Lord Jr. obtained another position in 1835, with E. N. and C. B. Gregory and Company (purchasing, shipping and commission merchants in New York) and requested William Lord to send him some business, but there are no indications that William complied. William Lord Collection (MSS in Brick Store Museum), letter, Samuel Lord Jr. to William Lord, March 28, 1835. Hereinafter this collection is cited as Lord Collection.

⁹⁴Charles E. Lord, Ancestors of Tobias Lord, pp. 204-206.

⁹⁵Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, pp. 1-3.

William's third half-brother, Tobias III (1778-1854), presents an interesting and varied career. A transcript of an unpublished biography in the Lord genealogical files of the Brick Store Museum indicated that Tobias had a brief career at sea during his youth, unmentioned in all other sources.⁹⁶ Letters from Tobias to William illustrate more clearly than those from other relatives the close family connections, intertwining business and personal, which were often the rule.

By the time the War of 1812 broke out, Tobias was already engaged in building up a business in Kennebunk and following the war his active business involved him in major interests in a number of vessels. He is listed as principal owner of the following vessels launched and registered at Kennebunk:

1810: brig Forest

1811: sloop Alert, brig Dromo

1813: boat Trim--one of only 5 small vessels launched that year.

1814: sloop Trim--one of 2 sloops launched that year. Only two schooners were launched.

1815: boat Raven, sloop Alert, brig Thetis

1816: sloop Hope

Between 1810 and 1816 Tobias Lord III was the only Lord to be engaged in launching vessels with the exception of the

⁹⁶Lord Genealogical File (MSS in Brick Store Museum, Kennebunk, Maine) Tobias Lord III, "Unpublished Biography: 1816-1825," stipulation that it never be published, pp. 2-9.

bark American launched by his brother Nathaniel Lord in 1811.⁹⁷ About 1810 Tobias had moved to Boston and had become engaged in the West Indies trade, and a general commission business, with concentration on the ownership and operation of vessels. Between 1818 and 1828 he was one of the most prominent shipping merchants of Boston.⁹⁸ He continued to have vessels built in Kennebunk for Boston registry, including the following brigs: 1819, Howard; 1821, Bud; 1822, Vineyard; 1823, Somers; 1825, Vine; 1825, Grape; 1826, Reward; 1826, Carroll. The Vine was built by George and Ivory Lord, their first vessel; they also built the Reward for Tobias Lord.⁹⁹ In his Boston office, Tobias Lord employed young George Callender who eventually became a well-known and successful shipping merchant, handling William Lord's shipping accounts in his own office. After serious business problems in Boston, Tobias Lord moved to New York City in 1830 and started a new commission business; he bought and sold corn, oats and other grains.¹⁰⁰ Throughout the 1830's, Tobias' business problems persisted; he varied location and tried farming, running a country store and a wholesale grocery

⁹⁷Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, pp. 2-3.

⁹⁸Edith Cleaves Barry (comp.), "The Fairfield, Cleaves and Lord Families of Saco, Biddeford and Kennebunk, Maine; As Seen through Old Records and Pictures" (MSS in Brick Store Museum, Kennebunk, Maine, 1939 Typescript), pp. 1-2.

⁹⁹Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰⁰Edith Barry, "The Fairfield, Cleaves and Lord Families," pp. 1-2.

business. During most of these business ventures, William had business dealings with Tobias. Tobias' letters to "Brother William" seemed to have a more cordial tone than those received from other relatives, perhaps due to the financial aid he received from William.¹⁰¹ Tobias was not particularly content with his financial reverses and at times chided William for the latter's prosperity--asking at one time whether William would like to buy some ploughs or harrows for his store or whether that was ". . . too small for a man who has a ship making 6000 dollars in a few months?"¹⁰² Tobias wrote in 1837 that some persons had recommended ". . . coming to Kennebunk to live in peace and happiness" but that it was a bad thing to be poor among rich relations when one has been well-known.¹⁰³ He had become more pointed in regard to William's business by 1839: ". . . I hope you will rest now the M.C. (Marcia Cleaves) is off--I fear you are a little too avaricious--that is, labour more than is prudent or necessary--you have enough already for your family + also for me + some other poor relation:."¹⁰⁴

William Lord's two brothers, George and Ivory Lord, were prominent Kennebunk merchants and shipowners. The firm

¹⁰¹Charles E. Lord, Ancestors of Tobias Lord, p. 211; see also Lord Collection, letters, Tobias Lord to William Lord, October 27, 1831, September 8, 1832.

¹⁰²Letter, *ibid.*, September 8, 1832.

¹⁰³Lord Collection, letter, Tobias Lord to William Lord, September 8, 1837.

¹⁰⁴Lord Collection, letter, Tobias Lord to William Lord, February 10, 1839.

of G. and I. Lord built and managed several vessels with family members concerned in their ownership. William and his two brothers occasionally had shares in each others vessels; William, however, did not contract with the firm formed by his two brothers for any vessel of which he was the main owner; their yard was operated by Robert Smith Jr. by the time William was actively having vessels constructed for his account (William did have several contracts with Smith).

George Lord (1791-1861) had an extensive career, serving as master of the brig Alliance launched in 1815 for his brother-in-law, Francis Watts, and later building several vessels himself. George left the sea in 1817 and went into partnership with his brother, Ivory, forming the shipbuilding firm of G. and I. Lord; they also ran a country store at the Landing. Between 1825 and 1828, G. and I. Lord launched the brigs Vine, York, Reward and Hudson. The brothers let their shipbuilding lapse and the yard go to weeds with the election of President Andrew Jackson--typical of the fear held by builders, shippers, and merchants for future prosperity under "King Andrew." They did venture to launch the brig Lima in 1830.¹⁰⁵

George Lord continued to hold large shares in vessels--mostly larger ones than those he and Ivory had built; in his later years their vessels were managed by

¹⁰⁵Charles E. Lord, Ancestors of Tobias Lord, pp. 219-220.

his son, George C. Lord.¹⁰⁶ George Lord was the main owner of the following vessels, all launched in Kennebunk between 1817 and 1847: schooner Beluga; brigs Francis, George, and Ivory Lord; barks Bohemia and Finland; ships York, Riga, Ancons and Henry Ware.¹⁰⁷ The Bryant list of Kennebunk vessels agrees with the above listing of Charles E. Lord with the exception of the schooner Beluga, which was listed at the time of registry as principally owned by Ivory Lord. The Bryant list also lists George Lord as main owner at time of registry of the brig Plato, ship Ashland, and ship George W. Bourne.¹⁰⁸

Ivory Lord (1794-1868), shipmaster, merchant, shipowner, and second partner in the firm of G. and I. Lord, went to sea as master of the brig Favorite in 1815 only a few months before George Lord sailed on the Alliance. In 1816 he was master of another West India trader, the ship Hebrus. Both of these vessels were launched in Kennebunk for Hugh McCulloch as main owner.¹⁰⁹ An important family

¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 221. George C. Lord began as a clerk in the dry goods house of Holbrook and Bowman and Co. in 1847 he formed George C. Lord and Co. shipping merchants, with his brother Charles H. Lord. Edward Chase Kirkland adds that George C. Lord later became President of the Boston and Maine Railroad in the 1880's after having become noted as a major Boston merchant in dry goods and in groceries. See Kirkland, Men, Cities and Transportation, II, p. 458.

¹⁰⁷Charles E. Lord, Ancestors of Tobias Lord, pp. 219-220.

¹⁰⁸Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, pp. 3-8.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 3; see also Charles F. Lord, Ancestors of Tobias Lord, pp. 225-226.

connection already made with the Thompsons of Kennebunk (see below) was further strengthened by the marriage of Ivory Lord's daughter, Elizabeth W. Lord, to Capt. Nathaniel Lord Thompson, shipbuilder of Kennebunk and frequent master of Lord vessels, including those of George, Ivory, and William.¹¹⁰

Further mention should be made of Captain Nathaniel L. Thompson (1811-1889), a well-known New England shipbuilder, shipowner, and member of the Lord family by descent and marriage. Captain Thompson was the great grandson of Captain Tobias Lord whose daughter Elizabeth Lord married Benjamin Thompson Jr. a fellow soldier in the American Revolution. As well as being married to William Lord's niece, he was William's second cousin; Captain Thompson was no exception to the practice of family shipping concerns and numerous examples might be given showing his connections to Lord shipping. At the age of fifteen, young Nathaniel went to sea with his brother, Charles, as a cabin boy in the brig York under Captain William Lord Jr. Four years later, in 1830, he sailed on the brig Lima for Liverpool under Captain John Lord, a cousin of William. Both vessels were built, owned and commanded by Lords. By 1834 Thompson was a master himself, commanding the bark Nimrod. Captain Thompson served as master on some of the vessels run by William Lord (the ship

¹¹⁰See Appendix B showing descent of Thompson.

Puthelia, brig Caroline and ship Marcia (cleaves). Captain Thompson retired from the sea in 1850 (at the age of thirty-nine) whereupon he began to build vessels himself. Over a thirty-five year time span he build 101 vessels as main owner or contractor.¹¹¹

Another business connection made through marriage into the Lord family was that with Charles W. William, who was married to William Lord's sister, Abigail. He was a shipowner, and several of his sons were part owners in William Lord's vessels and masters of them in addition. One son, Captain Charles Williams (1807-1892) was a major partner of William Lord's. He went to sea at eighteen as supercargo for his father and became a master by the time he was twenty-one; he was part-owner of many of the vessels which he commanded before he retired from the sea to concentrate more completely on his activities as an owner. Captain Williams commanded and had shares in several of William Lord's vessels.¹¹²

Another important member of the Lord family who contributed to the development of family shipownership and management was Captain William Lord Jr. (1803-1860), an illegitimate son of William Lord's half-brother, Nathaniel Lord. Capt. Lord had many business connections with William

¹¹¹Margaret J. Thompson, Captain Nathaniel Lord Thompson, pp. 1-3

¹¹²Charles E. Lord, Ancestors of Tobias Lord, pp. 213-214. See chart, Appendix F.

and was even more closely connected with George and Ivory Lord. William Lord Jr. was a master by the time he was twenty-one years of age and continued in this phase of his career for about 10 years. He was master of at least three vessels built by George and Ivory Lord: the brigs York and Bohemia and the ship York. Captain Lord then worked for George Callender and Company of Boston (William's main agent) and George C. Lord and Company among others, contracting for and running Kennebunk vessels. Captain Lord is listed as principal owner of four barks, 6 ships, a brig and a schooner--all launched at Kennebunk between 1840 and 1858. He became one of the wealthiest men in the area, owner of the famous Wedding Cake House in Kennebunk and a director of the Ocean Bank.¹¹³

William Lord, the merchant and shipowner under consideration in this study, was born on July 3, 1799 at Kennebunk, the sixth son of Lieut. Tobias Lord Jr. As a child he attended school at Kennebunk Landing under the tutelage of Hugh McCulloch (also a shipowner); later he attended Limerick Academy and finally Thornton Academy, after having served his brother-in law Robert Waterston (husband of sister Hephzebah) as clerk. On October 23, 1820 young William married Sarah Cleaves who was the daughter of a deceased (1817) but once prominent Biddeford man,

¹¹³Ibid., pp. 39-40, 210; see also Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, pp. 5-9; see also Lord Genealogical File (MSS in Brick Store Museum).

Daniel Cleaves.¹¹⁴ Going to sea and rising to the position of master was a common beginning for shipowners and shipbuilders; however William never went to sea. His beginning was achieved through another common means, his education and apprenticeship as a clerk. In an age of family-run businesses and shipping houses where many family members were concerned in ownership and management of vessels it was not at all unusual for William to become interested in becoming a merchant or shipowner; his father, Tobias Lord Jr. had been the originator of a merchant and shipowning tradition, and William was given an early opportunity to learn business practices and purchase small shares in vessels. The Lord family was already being launched into a prominent position that was to last for several generations in Maine, Massachusetts and even New York in shipowning and eventually manufacturing and railroading. In the 19th century Kennebunk offered many opportunities for a young merchant and aspiring shipowner; although not a large port nor endowed with the advantages of the larger commercial centers, Kennebunk became prominent as a shipbuilding center and afforded the Lords an opportunity to engage in shipping and in building for the longer trades.

¹¹⁴Kennebunk Weekly Visitor, October 27, 1820.

Chapter 2

LORD OF KENNEBUNK: 1820-1840

EARLY ACTIVITIES: 1820-1828

True to family tradition and example, William Lord embarked early upon a career of activity as a merchant, shipper, shipowner, and investor in other promising enterprises. He opened a country store, then began to bale and export hay and finally made major investments in vessels.¹

After his education at Kennebunk Landing, Limerick Academy, and Thornton Academy, William was employed as a clerk by a young merchant, Robert Waterston. First established in South Berwick in 1805, Waterston and Pray and Company was later removed by Waterston to Kennebunk. While in Kennebunk, Waterston married William's sister, Hephzebah (Hepsea).² After announcement in the Kennebunk Weekly Visiter, the stock owned by the company was sold at auction in 1815, and Waterston and Pray moved to Boston to

¹Lord also became involved in a company formed to make cotton cloth. He was a director of the York Bank at Saco; had factory interests including mill privileges, buildings and land; he also owned several farms in the Kennebunk area.

²Charles Edward Lord, The Ancestors and Descendants of Lieutenant Tobias Lord (n.p.): Privately Printed, 1913), pp. 215-216.

establish a wholesale dry goods business.³ The dates of service to his brother-in-law in Boston were not clear, but William received a Boston tax bill in 1819 for commonwealth, town and county taxes totaling \$3.10.⁴ Apparently Waterston employed William in the Boston location. Shortly thereafter Lord returned to Kennebunk to commence his own career as a merchant. When he was setting up his first store, he was not yet 21 years of age.

Charles E. Lord wrote of William opening a store with Henry Kingsbury in 1820; however, no indication was found of any partnership between the two until 1825.⁵ According to Remich's History of Kennebunk, the Kennebunk business directory for 1820 indicated that William Lord--not Lord and Kingsbury--was 1 of 15 traders in the village of Kennebunk (his brothers, G. and I. Lord, ran 1 of 6 businesses at Kennebunk Landing). Further, Remich wrote of a public notice in the Kennebunk Weekly Visiter for April 14, 1820 announcing that Lord had taken the store of J. M. Hayes and offered a large stock of goods for sale.⁶

³Daniel Remich, History of Kennebunk From Its Earliest Settlement to 1890 (Kennebunk, Maine: By the Trustees, Carrie E. Remich and Walter E. Dane, 1911), p. 245.

⁴William Lord Collection (MSS in Brick Store Museum, Kennebunk, Maine). Invoices Before 1830, Boston tax bill, Ward #9, October 25, 1819. Hereinafter material in this collection is cited as LC, followed by folder title, if not obvious by nature of item cited. See bibliography for description of the Lord Collection.

⁵Charles E. Lord, Ancestors of Tobias Lord, p. 228.

⁶Remich, History of Kennebunk, pp. 411-412.

Lord must have prospered adequately as he was also the owner of a store in Saco by 1824. Insurance policies with Merchants Insurance Co. of Boston note its location at the eastern end of Cutt's bridge and occupied by lessee, Mark Huntress. Lord took out a policy of \$800. on this store in February of 1824, and increased the amounts in 1825 and 1826.⁷

There were no records available showing the particular firms supplying merchandise handled by Lord up to 1828; nevertheless, it was fairly clear that goods were ordered from Boston and probably arrived via coastal schooners. Insurance policies for store and stock were written by Boston firms. During this early period of his career, Lord's business functioned as a country store, distributing imports and domestic goods purchased in Boston. There were no indications of Lord's buying local produce for export until he embarked on the hay trade in the late 1820's.

By 1824 William Lord had located his store in the center of the Kennebunk business district across the street from the Unitarian Church. In an advertisement in the Kennebunk Gazette for October 16, 1824, Lord announced that a shipment of fall and winter goods were ready for sale "very cheap for cash"; fabrics, blankets, handkerchiefs, gloves, shawls, scarfs, groceries, and crockery

⁷LC, Insurance Papers, policies on Saco store, 1824-1826.

were among his listings.⁸ Presumably the shipment was from Boston; William had lived and worked in Boston, had relatives there, so was more likely to make his business connections in that port than in Portland which was somewhat closer. Numerous coasters sailed between Kennebunk and Boston.

A partnership between William Lord and Henry Kingsbury was foreshadowed in a public notice of November, 1824 indicating that Lord, ". . . being about to make a new arrangement in his business begs leave to inform his friends and customers, that he will sell off his present stock of goods at very reduced prices."⁹ The copartnership agreement, provided for a partnership:

. . . for a term of time not exceeding three years from the date of the agreement nor less than the above term of time, unless it is judged ¹⁰ by the parties conducive to their mutual interest.

Lord agreed to turn in his current stock of goods, valued at \$6000. The stock constituted the entire capital of the new business. William placed 1/3 of the stock's value in Kingsbury's name, as the junior partner's 1/3 share, and charged interest on the amount (\$2000.) as Kingsbury made no actual monetary investment.¹¹ A public notice of the

⁸Kennebunk Gazette, October 16, 1824.

⁹Kennebunk Gazette, November 20, 1824.

¹⁰LC, Brick Store File, copartnership agreement between William Lord and Henry Kingsbury, December 13, 1824.

¹¹Ibid.

partnership appeared in the January 1, 1825 issue of the Kennebunk Gazette, with an advertisement for English, India, and West India goods newly received, as well as domestic goods such as Genessee and Alexandria superfine flour--all to be sold for cash or country produce. The flour, with the New York State place names, probably came down the Erie Canal and then to Boston for reshipment via coastal schooners, combined with the foreign goods. Although Lord offered to accept local produce in payment, there was no indication at that time that he intended to reship it.

By 1825 Maine had been a state, and Kennebunk a town, for five years. The growing community had a pound, public support for the poor, schools, public snow removal, a public hall, an apothecary, and a lawyer. There was a print shop run by James Remich, who published the local newspaper (the Kennebunk Gazette).¹² The development of the town and surrounding countryside presented many opportunities for a country trader. Consequently it was understandable that as an enterprising young merchant, Lord would choose to build a substantial store for himself. He made a series of agreements early in 1825 to have a brick store built on Main Street. William contracted with Jere Roberts to furnish the timbers. Hosea Goodwin agreed to do the mason work, build the store, dig the cellar, lay the wall for the cellar and line it with brick. The store was to be 32' by 42' , have 2 stories, walls one

¹²Remich, History of Kennebunk, p. 217.

foot thick and 3 chimneys. Lord even bought a brickmaking machine from David Flagg of Saco in order to make his own bricks.¹³

The bottom floor of the "brick store" was built with a safe built into the wall; the attic had only a trap door with a large wheel and windlass above it to haul goods up for storage. Lord used the store until about 1840, when it was leased; after that time Lord devoted himself to his interests in shipping and shipowning.¹⁴

Meanwhile, Lord and Kingsbury pursued their business in the old location, entering periodic ads in the local paper for such items as herds grass and clover seed. An April (1825) ad offered the largest variety of goods to date, new items including various sugar products, brandy, gin, rum, wines, oranges and lemons.¹⁵ European, Mediterranean, and West Indies products were included in this list--all common foreign imports of Boston.

In preparation for moving to the new store, the partners insured the store and stock for \$5000 with Merchants Insurance Company of Boston (September 30, 1825

¹³IC, Brick Store File, contracts with Jere Roberts, January 17, 1825; Hosea Goodwin, April 13, 1825; Adam Clark; David Flagg, April 25, 1825.

¹⁴The building remained in the hands of his descendants until 1947 when it was given to the newly incorporated Brick Store Museum which now possesses a wealth of material relating to the history of Kennebunk, including the Lord Collection.

¹⁵Kennebunk Gazette, March 12--July 29, 1825.

to September 30, 1826). Later policies illustrate comparative levels of activity at the store:

1827-----	for \$3500
1831-----	for 2700
1833-----	for 4500
1834-----	for 4500 ¹⁶

The partners were winding down their business in 1827 in preparation for ending the partnership; in 1828 and 1829, the store was not in operation; and in 1830 and 1831 Lord was re-opening the store, and building up its operation again in the early 1830's.

Lord and Kingsbury gave notice in the Kennebunk Gazette on October 1, 1825 that they were in the new brick store built by the senior partner and that their fall and winter goods were ready for sale. They continued to advertise, two notices out of the ordinary being a request for 100 bushels of black cherries in September of 1826 and an offer of Vermont cheese for sale in March of 1827. True to their earlier agreement they gave notice of the end of their partnership by mutual consent in January of 1828; their concerns to be handled by Lord, who would continue in business for a short, unspecified time. In March of 1828, William advertised that his store was available for rent, and that remaining stock would be auctioned in April. Henry Kingsbury, his former partner, was to be one of the

¹⁶LC, Insurance Papers, September 30, 1825; December 9, 1826; December 7, 1830; December 7, 1832; December 7, 1833.

two auctioneers.¹⁷ Kingsbury soon turned to shipbuilding.

The first record of Lord's source of supply of goods appeared in an account current for these last few months of the store's early operation, then by Lord alone. The account was carried with his half-brother, Tobias, a major Boston merchant, who had shipped \$750 worth of general merchandise from Boston.¹⁸

The Kennebunk Gazette noted other affairs until he began to reopen the store; a few advertisements for the sale of general merchandise began to appear with a December, 1829 notice offering 120 hogsheads of St. Ubes (Setubal, Portugal) salt for sale; the next month an ad offered flour and domestic goods.¹⁹

This first phase of William's career came to a close. He had established himself as a merchant, selling foreign and domestic goods bought in Boston, and buying limited amounts of local goods for probable resale in the community rather than outside the state at that time.

After 1828 and the closing of the brick store Lord began to take up new and different interests--shipping activities concentrating on hay and his first early ventures

¹⁷Kennebunk Gazette, October 1, 1825; September 9, 1826; March 10, 1827; January 19, 1828; March 29, 1828.

¹⁸LC, Invoices Before 1830, account current between Tobias and Wm. Lord, June 21, 1828. This account was signed by George Callender, Tobias' clerk, later the principal Boston agent of William Lord.

¹⁹Kennebunk Gazette, December 26, 1829; January 23, 1830.

in ownership of shares of vessels for investments and for his own shipping.

The purchase and shipment of hay within Maine and the other states was one of Lord's first connections to shipping, shipownership and management of vessels. Compared to the early period of his store's operation (1820-1828), more involvement with the development of the Kennebunk coastal trade could be seen with the local purchase of hay for sale elsewhere. Lord's involvement with the hay trade overlapped the second phase of his country store (1830-1840) and the launching of his first vessel in 1832. His hay shipping was concentrated between 1828 and 1832 and was an introduction or prelude to his later, more widespread shipowning endeavors. William did continue to ship some hay for a few years after 1832 but he gradually confined himself to his investments in vessels and his country store. His interest in the store and vessels after 1830 have been differentiated for discussion in the later parts of Chapter 2. Generally Lord did not own parts of the vessels used in this hay trade (1828-32), although there were a few exceptions.

Lord's interest in the coastal hay trade led him in later years to an expansion into other trade routes. He shipped his hay to many ports along the East coast where demand existed and prices were good, as indicated by price currents and letters received.

As hay purchases were being initiated in 1828 an

insurance policy was written insuring hay in a barn owned by a Mr. Kelly of Kennebunk. Further two policies covering August, 1829 through August, 1831 insured a barn, hay, and apparatus for screwing (pressing) hay.²⁰ Remich reported in his History of Kennebunk that the Kennebunk Gazette, in March of 1830, noted the purchase by Lord of a patent hay pressing machine, whereby he would press local hay to ship to the South; Remich indicated that he did not know whether this was a profitable venture for Lord, but that it did help local growers.²¹

William entered an ad in the Kennebunk Gazette in November of 1829 indicating that: "The subscriber continues to purchase hay."²² That illustrated his main means of acquiring hay. In disposing of his hay, Lord sent it far afield: (see Table 2.1 on page 82.)

The table shows 1830 as the obvious peak, with 1508 bales shipped south. All of the vessels were brigs, with 3 exceptions: the schooners Louisa and Ploughboy, whose voyages were part of their usual coastal runs to Boston; and the bark Augusta. All names appeared in the Bryant list

²⁰LC, Insurance Papers, policies of Protection Ins. Co. on hay, Manufacturers Ins. Co. on barn, hay and screwing machine.

²¹Remich, History of Kennebunk, p. 421. The Lord papers included a deed (1826) from Nathan Whitney of Augusta for the rights to make and use Whitney's Press, a patent pressing machine; apparently Lord did not do so. See LC, Deeds--Papers, Deed for Whitney's Press, February 15, 1826.

²²Kennebunk Gazette, November 7, 1829.

Table 2.1 Hay Shipments by William Lord²³

<u>Date</u>	<u>Vessel</u>	<u>Master</u>	<u>Destination</u>	<u>Amount</u>
1828	<u>Maine</u>	Elisha Mitchell	Charleston	356 bales 64 tons
1828	<u>Plato</u>	Perkins	New Orleans	65 tons
1829	<u>Agenoria</u>	Thomas Nowell	Norfold	150 bales
1829	<u>Agenoria</u>	Thomas Nowell	Richmond	177 bales
1830	<u>Lima</u>	Lord	Mobile	565 bales
1830	<u>Union</u>	Nason	Mobile	423 bales
1830	...	...	New Orleans	453 bales
1830	...	Israel Crediford	Charleston	67 bales
1831	<u>Louisa</u>	Ward	Boston	74 bundles
1832	<u>Ploughboy</u>	Oliver Walker	Boston	134 bundles
1832	<u>Lima</u>	Lord	New Orleans	434 bales
1833	<u>Rival</u>	...	New Orleans	207 bales
1834	<u>Augusta</u>	...	New Orleans	307 bales
1834	<u>Horace</u>	...	New Orleans	67 bundles
1836	...	...	Boston	9 bundles

²³LC, Account Sales of Hay, passim.

of Kennebunk-built vessels, except the Louisa, and were probably the same vessels;²⁴ at time of launching they were Kennebunk-owned. About half of the vessels definitely departed from Kennebunk; others departed from Boston. The Agenoria's ports of call in 1829 were part of the same voyage. Generally the southbound vessels arrived out in November or December; those only going to Boston delivered their hay in February, March or April.

Upon arrival out, various methods of selling the cargo appeared. Captain Nowell, brig Agenoria, sold the hay on his own account; he and Lord were owners of that vessel. Some accounts merely noted as sold for the account of the vessel. Most of the shipments to New Orleans were consigned by Lord in his own name to local agents (Cockayne and Watts, Harrow and Quarles) who later sold the hay and credited the proceeds to Lord.

The prices quoted for the hay generally ranged from 3/9 of 1¢ to 1¢ per pound. Each bale of hay averaged about 365 pounds, but bundles showed more variation (318 to 376 pounds each). Before arriving at net proceeds, freight

²⁴The Ploughboy appeared to be an exception; a schooner Ploughboy, hail Kennebunkport, ship's husband and master, Oliver Walker, was issued a coasting license (#2) on March 30, 1830. This was more likely the Ploughboy in question. A schooner Louisa, hail Kennebunk, ship's husband and master, Stephen Ward, held coasting license #22 as of November 17, 1829. See Records of the Collector of the District of Kennebunk, Kennebunk, Maine (1817-1862), 1 Vol. of licenses (MSS 251 of Marine Industries in Baker Library, Graduate School of Business, Harvard University).

charges were deducted: generally 60-65¢ each on bales, and 50¢ on bundles to New Orleans, and somewhat less to Boston. The net proceeds fell between \$1.39 and \$2.09 per bale, after freight charges and commission for sales.

Although the hay was probably combined with other cargo, only the records for the 1833 and 1834 voyages to New Orleans show shipments combined with potatoes, casks, and boards.²⁵

The Agenoria, listed above in Table 2.1, represented an attempt to combine the shipping of hay with ownership of the vessel, and trading with freighting. Lord and Thomas Nowell purchased the Kennebunk-built vessel in October of 1829 from Tobias Lord, Horace Porter and George Wheelright; registry was to be under Nowell's name and the vessel placed under joint management.²⁶ For her first voyage the brig was loaded with some hay plus some meat and fish; loading took place at Boston under direction of Francis Watts (William's brother-in-law).²⁷ Captain Nowell sailed on October 27, 1829 for Norfolk and Richmond, and wrote to Lord after selling the hay in those ports; however, the captain found expenses left little from the

²⁵LC, Account Sales of Hay, passim.

²⁶LC, Letters Before 1830, bill of sale for brig Agenoria, October 6, 1829. The brig made voyages for her former owners to the West Indies, Charleston, Antwerp, Amsterdam, New Orleans and Havre. See Kennebunk Gazette, December 31, 1825--June 13, 1829.

²⁷LC, Invoices Before 1830, Account current, Francis Watts with brig Agenoria, October 10, 1829--December 1, 1829.

proceeds. From Richmond, Captain Nowell made a tramp voyage to Cadiz, Spain; after laying for 2 months looking for freight at Cadiz, the captain took salt for ballast and left for New York, touching at St. Thomas on the way. Captain Nowell also carried some specie in the form of Spanish dollars, that part of the cargo being insured for \$1500.²⁸

In June of 1830, after arriving back in New York with \$1000 in freight, Nowell acknowledged Lord's consideration of selling the brig rather than investing the sum needed to fit her out again. Finding neither a buyer nor freight, the captain wrote that he had chartered the brig to go to Nova Scotia under Captain John Hill of Bath for half of his profits (about \$700). The vessel was soon sold.²⁹ Thus a vessel in which Lord had an interest was sent out on a hay shipping voyage, made a tramp voyage and was sold. Apparently the profit was too small to continue trading on the owners' account, partly due to the condition of the brig.

William continued to purchase hay; between October

²⁸Kennebunk Gazette, November 7--November 28, December 19, 1829-May 15, 1830; see also LC, Letters, from Thomas Nowell to Wm. Lord, December 12, 1829; February 10, 1830; see also LC, Insurance Papers, Franklin Insurance Co. on specie on Agenoria, May 6, 1830.

²⁹LC, Letters, Thomas Nowell to Wm. Lord, June 30, 1830, and June 19, 1830. The record of the sale of the brig was not available but it was in the hands of Rhode Island owners by 1831. See Agenoria, Alphabetical Ship File (Brick Store Museum, Kennebunk).

1, 1829 and September 10, 1830 he paid for the weighing of 269 loads of hay @ 17¢ each. He purchased his own hay scales in January of 1830 but also used those of others.³⁰ Frequent ads in the local newspaper requested hay but appeared to have had an unfortunate result in one case. A notice appeared as follows:

The person who unloaded a quantity of rocks in my barn . . . instead of hay, is requested to call and have the business settled, otherwise he will be prosecuted forthwith.³¹

After the peak year of 1830, evidences of hay shipments and purchases for 1831 were minimal; William's store had re-opened and showed a greater volume of trade. He also became more involved in general shipownership. Some references were made to hay shipments in letters from George Callender, Lord's Boston agent. Callender's account current for October, 1831 to April, 1832 listed as one expense insurance on hay on the Caroline to New Orleans (a brig partly owned by Lord).³²

In March of 1832 Lord was advised by Callender that no vessel was available to take hay to New Orleans, except at the high rate of 75¢ to \$1 a bundle. Lord did ship hay to Boston.³³ Lord must have been purchasing a large amount

³⁰LC, Invoices Before 1830, bill for weighing hay. Timothy Frost to Wm. Lord; see also bill for hay scales, Edward Greenough to Wm. Lord, January 4, 1830.

³¹Kennebunk Gazette, May 8, 1830.

³²LC, Invoices 1832, account current between George Callender and Wm. Lord, April 7, 1832.

³³LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, March 3, 1832.

of hay; a letter from Horace Porter of Augusta referred to the state giving encouragement to agricultural societies and the writer referred to Lord as a ". . . great purchaser of hay" and asked Lord to stimulate the local people to start a petition to incorporate a county agricultural society.³⁴

Lord had difficulties with his hay scales in 1832 (perhaps from overwork!); the company of manufacture in St. Johnsbury, Vermont, rather incredulous that something could be wrong with their scales, agreed to have their agent call to examine the scales. The problem must have existed for some time as Lord paid a bill to another proprietor of hay scales covering a full year--October, 1831 to October, 1832.³⁵

In 1832 hay shipments were made to Bangor and to Boston. The coastal schooner Grape and brig Hershel took 299 bales to Boston in April, in addition to shipments noted in Table 2.1. In June, hay went to Thomas Drew in Bangor via Captain James Piper on his way north from Boston.³⁶ Some hay was sent to Boston in the fall to be shipped out by George Callender, Lord's agent.

³⁴LC, Letter, Horace Porter to Wm. Lord, February 1, 1832.

³⁵LC, Letter, E. Fairbanks to Wm. Lord, August 3, 1832; see also Invoices 1832, receipt for hay scales, October 1, 1832.

³⁶LC, Invoices 1832, freight bills from Grape and Hershel, to Wm. Lord; see also Letter, Thomas Drew to Wm. Lord, June 5, 1832; see also Letter, Capt. James Piper to Wm. Lord, June 1, 1832.

The year 1833 brought large purchases of hay, but few records of its shipment remain. One shipment to New Orleans on the brig Hebron, Captain Lecraw, was meant to open a connection with Harrow and Quarles in that city. The captain carried a letter to the firm asking them to take the consignment of hay and handle other future business of Lord's vessels.³⁷

The year 1834 was poor for business in general: hay, store, and shipping. William even imported hay from New York; his nephew Samuel Lord Jr. arranged for a shipment to Boston for reshipment to Kennebunk.³⁸

Business at the store improved but hay was scarce in 1835. Lord added some lumber shipping in that year. Hay was offered from nearby Wells, to be delivered for pressing at \$18 a ton. Israel Stone (a dabbler in land and lumber) in Bangor reported the scarcity of hay in his area and requested 20 or 30 tons, being willing to pay the current Bangor price of \$20 in cash. By March the Boston market held at \$14 for hay of the best quality.³⁹

During the remainder of the 1830's Lord purchased some hay and lumber. A local workman dug and stoned a

³⁷LC, Letters 1833, Letter and invoice of hay (copy) on brig Hebron [no month], see also letter, Wm. Lord to Harrow and Quarles (copy), January 7, 1832.

³⁸LC, Letter, Samuel Lord Jr. to Wm. Lord, March 20, 1834. See Appendix C.

³⁹LC, Letter, Theodore Clark to Wm. Lord, January 6, 1835; see also Letter, Israel Stone to Wm. Lord, February 25, 1835; see also Letter, Samuel Cutter to Wm. Lord, March 27, 1835.

cellar for hay scales in 1836, but William's barn and scales burned shortly thereafter (the exact date was not clear).⁴⁰ That event seemed to have influenced the turning of his attention more to his investments in vessels, rather than in trading hay.

Lord had commenced his shipping by buying local hay, pressing it, and shipping it to Boston, New Orleans, Bangor and other ports. Although available records indicated 1830 as a peak year for hay shipments, indications existed that trading was extensive into 1832 and then began to decline. Although Kennebunk was involved in this coastal trade, Boston was as often the focal point for shipments--as Boston agents could frequently find more freight to fill vessels lacking sufficient Kennebunk produce. After re-opening the store in 1830, hay purchases helped to unify Lord's spreading activities. He bought and shipped local hay and bought goods for his store for local sale. This combined with his new interest in construction and ownership of vessels. The case study of hay drew together purchases, sales, shipping and ships.

EARLY EXPANSION OF THE

KENNEBUNK OPERATION:

1830-1840

In 1830 William Lord resumed a position as a country

⁴⁰LC, Invoices 1836, receipt from J. Gilpatric to Wm. Lord [no month or day] .

trader and continued to pursue that trade in the brick store until 1840. In addition, in combination with his store, Lord served some of the local banking needs after 1830 and into the 1840's. He began a few ventures in owning shares of vessels in 1828 and by 1831 became more involved in shipowning, which gradually became his major concern. His own vessels continued the hay trade as a supplementary aspect of his shipowning, rather than as the major concern of the period 1828 through 1832.

For purposes of discussion, the merchant, banking, and shipowning aspects of Lord's affairs between 1830 and 1840 have been differentiated; nevertheless, they are closely intertwined. Bills of lading often included goods for his store as well as materials ordered for a vessel under construction. Advertisements in the Kennebunk Gazette were as likely to be connected to shipping activities as with goods for sale at the store; requests for " . . . 500 bushels of potatoes; suitable for shipping,"⁴¹ hogshead hoops, or hay might appear; or offers to sell flour, dry goods, and even palm leaf hats were placed.⁴² Contrasted with Lord's earlier period as a local merchant, the extensive coastal trade serving a larger volume of trade at the store and carrying more local produce bought

⁴¹Kennebunk Gazette, November 22, 1834.

⁴²Kennebunk Gazette, January 23, 1830; December 24, 1831; January 7, 1832; April 21, 1832.

for shipment south or to foreign ports constituted the primary differences.

For export Lord purchased goods from Kennebunk and nearby communities; he bought grain, and after 1831 amounts of hay, hoops and shooks, and lumber for shipment. For sale in Kennebunk, extensive amounts of goods were bought in Boston and some in New York.

Essentially the story of Lord as a merchant after 1830 was a story of the coastal traffic. The schooners plying between Boston and Kennebunk formed a vital link between Lord's purchases and sales. Boston jobbers bought goods and shipped them north on Kennebunk or Wells coasters, many of them regular packets. Boston commission merchants handled running accounts for purchases and sales made in that way. Some packet captains even made purchases on their own accounts and sold the goods to Lord. In some cases, Boston was by-passed in favor of direct shipments to Kennebunk from New York, particularly from brother Tobias. He often shipped New York flour to Boston for reshipment as well.

One other aspect of Lord's financial dealings involved investments in local interests such as a grist mill and the Mousam Manufacturing Company. A fleeting interest in a short wave of local speculation in granite also appeared.

Lord's business activities as a merchant were traced on a year to year basis, showing periodic prosperity

and decline. National business trends and problems were related to Lord's fluctuations in volume of trade and specific problems in some cases.

In the last few months of 1829, Lord prepared to resume business; by January 1, 1830, he already owed \$700 to Boston merchants, Waterston and Pray.⁴³ Invoices for purchases in 1830 also show some trading with other local merchants: molasses from John Emery, tobacco from Enoch Hardy, 14 molasses barrels from William Jefferds. Numerous Boston firms were represented in receipts for all manner of goods:

Hitchcock and Nash: sugar, coffee, tea, indigo,
cloves

Isaac Parker: crockery, tinware

Means and Clark: flour, grass seed

Grant and Seaves: cloth, gloves, shawls

Whitwell and Bond and Co.: shawls, handkerchiefs,
taffeta

Isaac Wise: spoons, looking glasses, spectacles

Waterston and Pray: general merchandise of all sorts⁴⁴

Goods were shipped from Boston via small coastal schooners; for example, two freight bills from the schooner Packet (Captain John G. Perkins) in October and November showed shipments of hollow ware, brooms, flour and paper.⁴⁵

Letters written to Lord in 1830 showed that Boston merchants sometimes included goods on the assumption that

⁴³LC, Letters 1830, note to Waterston and Pray, January 1, 1830.

⁴⁴LC, Invoices 1830, passim.

⁴⁵LC, Letters 1830, freight bills from schooner Packet, October 27, December, 1830.

they were desired and could be sold; letters also served to notify Lord on the availability of goods. Joshua Sears apologized for having sent bad sugar and noted that an order for goods, including a high-priced bag of coffee, was being shipped on Captain Ward's schooner. Hitchcock and Nash wrote that they also were sending goods by Captain Ward; tea was being added, with the provision that it could be returned if the price was too high. They noted that they had white sugar at a low price.⁴⁶

Invoices in 1831 showed larger lots of merchandise from over twice as many Boston merchants, including previous shippers. Goods came to Kennebunk on the schooners Louisa, Ploughboy, Mary, Grape (a new one), and on the brig Watchman (Capt. Daniel Nason, Kennebunk). All but the Louisa were built in Kennebunk; the schooners Grape, Louisa, and Mary were all handled by local agent Stephen Ward, master of the Grape.⁴⁷ Waterston and Pray continued to handle finances for Lord in Boston; with Lord's remittances, they paid bills to merchants Hitchcock and Nash and also John Fosdick.⁴⁸

Other letters in 1831 illustrated a direct shipment

⁴⁶LC, Letter, Joshua Sears to Wm. Lord, November 25, 1830; see also Letter, Hitchcock and Nash to Wm. Lord, December 18, 1830.

⁴⁷LC, Invoices 1831, passim. See Appendix J for Major Schooners in Boston-Kennebunk Traffic.

⁴⁸LC, Letter, Waterston and Pray to Wm. Lord, [no month], 1831.

from New York to Kennebunk and purchases by Lord from nearby towns for export or local sale. Letters from Tobias Lord (in the New York commission business then) reported the price of corn @ 73¢ or 74¢ and the impending shipment of 100 bushels plus 50 barrels of flour with Captain Littlefield on the Eliza Ann (Kennebunk-built, Wells-owned schooner).⁴⁹ William was also offered 100 bushels of corn by Alfred, Maine grower, David Hall.⁵⁰

A series of letters from William Hackett of Limerick (Maine) notified Lord that rye had been sent, and inquired whether he wished more hay hoops and shooks--the shooks being of two qualities, for the Portland or Havana markets.⁵¹

In 1832 Lord continued to buy hoops and shooks from Hackett. Corn was also offered if Lord would pay a price equal to the Portland market. Lumber (2 loads) was available if desired.⁵²

⁴⁹LC, Letters, Tobias Lord to Wm. Lord, June 9, 1831.

⁵⁰LC, Letter, David Hall to Wm. Lord, January 26, 1831.

⁵¹LC, Letters, William Hackett to Wm. Lord, May 28; June; December 29, 1831. William Hackett was a partner of merchant Nathaniel Frost until 1809 in the building next to the brick store in Kennebunk. In Limerick, he opened a store and also bought lumber, grain, and dairy goods, which he sent to Kennebunk and Kennebunkport. See Remich, History of Kennebunk, p. 339.

⁵²LC, Letters (3), William Hackett to Wm. Lord, January [no days], 1832.

During 1832, Lord continued to order large amounts of merchandise from Boston firms. He also purchased some goods directly from a few schooner masters, particularly Captain Stephen Ward of Kennebunk. Some hay sales in Boston were evident.⁵³ In 1832, Tobias Lord moved to Johnstown, New York, but Samuel Lord Jr. (nephew) sent reports on business; for example he wrote concerning the availability of flour, the demand for West India goods, and the scarcity of coffee and sugar. He even requested that William ship molasses to him, if available at Kennebunk.⁵⁴

Two evidences of Lord's investment in other local enterprises appeared in 1832. He received an account for the local grist mill, showing half-ownership as far back as 1830. Lord had paid bills for the mill and was charged for half of its repairs, and was credited with \$7.18 net proceeds.⁵⁵ Presumably he had invested in the mill to take local grains and corn and shipments via Boston to grind for local sale.

The same account sheet showed a small balance due Lord from J. Fiske and Company,⁵⁶ a company formed in 1832 and later incorporated (1834) as the Mousam Manufacturing

⁵³LC, Invoices 1832, passim.

⁵⁴LC, Letter, Samuel Lord Jr. to Wm. Lord, September 20, 1832.

⁵⁵LC, Invoices 1832, account with Isaiah Hacker, July 23, 1832.

⁵⁶Ibid.

Company.⁵⁷ It manufactured iron, steel, cotton, and wool. The History of Kennebunk indicates that little stock was sold in Kennebunk but:

William Lord, by far the most enterprising citizen of the town . . . , always ready to aid in any work that gave promise of advancing its prosperity, subscribed liberally⁵⁸

The year 1833 was poor at the store in comparison to the previous three years--perhaps reflecting general uneasiness with the administration of Andrew Jackson and his attacks on the United States Bank. Lord had also become more involved in his shipowning interests.

Local purchases of hoops, hay, and fish were made to ship on his vessels. A bill was paid in 1834 for casks and hogsheads (\$585.75) received in October, 1833 from Nahum Haley; they were probably shipped to Boston and ports south.⁵⁹

There were few long invoices or receipts for purchases in Boston. Freight bills were scarce; Lord paid only \$8.36 to Captain Stephen Ward for shipments on

⁵⁷In March of 1850 an agreement was made with Capt. William Lord Jr. to increase the stock but the whole plant was destroyed by fire the next month. Lord bought the mill property and land in 1854 and held it until 1863 when he sold it to Capt. Nathaniel L. Thompson, Joseph Dane, and Joseph Titcomb. No source attempted to evaluate the success of the mill. See George A. Gilpatric, The Village of Kennebunk, Maine (Kennebunk, Me.: The Star Print, Inc., 1935), pp. 18, 48. See also LC, Letter, Jabez Smith [clerk, Mousam Manufacturing Co.] to Wm. Lord, June 12, 1850.

⁵⁸Remich, History of Kennebunk, p. 373.

⁵⁹LC, Invoices 1834, receipt from Nahum Haley to Wm. Lord, [no month] , 1834.

the Louisa and the Grape.⁶⁰

By 1834 the Northeast faced a severe money famine due to Jackson's pet banks; business improved little. Lord had few invoices for dry goods from Boston; the only extensive invoices were for flour, corn, and meats shipped by merchant Henry Clark between March and October (amounting to \$705.68). Schooners Mary and Packet, handled by Eben Webber of Kennebunk, shipped Lord's goods in those months; Webber's freight was only \$8.80 total. A bill of lading from Capt. Oliver Walker, schooner Ploughboy, for staple foods in October showed some fall expansion. The Grape also shipped staple foods, for \$59.94 in freight and wharfage, between October and December.⁶¹

Business improved in 1835 with bills from Lord's past suppliers in Boston for dry goods and general merchandise comparable to, if not higher than, the level for 1832. Receipts for freight included bills from the following schooners:

Ploughboy--Joshua Perkins, for foods--March 27, 1835:
\$40.53.

Moro-----Daniel Walker--November 8, 1834--November 7, 1835: \$26.91.

Grape-----Daniel Ward, for dry goods, food, boards--
February 10, 1835--February 6, 1836: \$135.16.

Grape-----Daniel Ward, for 48236 feet of boards--
June 9, 1835: \$64.31.⁶²

⁶⁰LC, Invoices 1833, receipt for freight from Stephen Ward, [no month], 1833.

⁶¹LC, Invoices 1834, passim.

⁶²LC, Invoices 1835, freight bills, passim.

It was not clear whether Ward shipped the boards to or from Kennebunk. No vessel was being built by Lord in 1835. Lord purchased a large lot of timber from William L. Thompson of Kennebunk: 18780 feet for \$177.72. Most likely both lots were shipped from Kennebunk.⁶³

Purchases of goods, particularly flour, were made directly from Daniel Ward or Stephen Ward, co-owners of the Grape:

Daniel Ward: 60 bushels of corn---\$54.60--June, 1835
 4 barrels of flour--\$26.50--July, 1835
 20 barrels of flour--\$141.87--July, 1835

Stephen Ward: 10 barrels of flour--\$72.50--July, 1835
 16 barrels of flour--\$100.32--August, 1835
 16 barrels of flour--\$102.40--October, 1835
 10 barrels of flour--\$78.75--December, 1835⁶⁴

An 1835 letter from Robert Waterston (Boston) indicated that Lord was to receive a shipment of clocks @ \$6 each. According to Waterston, they were to be the only ones sold in Lord's area.⁶⁵

William again did business with Tobias Lord, back in New York City in the grocery business. Tobias shipped flour, 60 barrels, via the brig Brutus (Capt. Eliphalet Perkins, Kennebunk). Finding no Kennebunk vessels available at another time, he sent two shipments to Saco for William

⁶³LC, Invoices 1835, receipt from William L. Thompson to Wm. Lord, May 26, 1835.

⁶⁴LC, Invoices 1835, passim.

⁶⁵LC, Letter, Robert Waterston to Wm. Lord, October, 1835.

on the Imogene and Henry Merrill.⁶⁶

Other letters in the fall of 1835 referred to a brief interest in the sale of granite. A William Saunders of Bangor, Maine mentioned local speculation in timber, granite, and slate. (A great wave of national land speculation had begun in 1834.) Saunders wrote that he had taken samples of Lord's granite to a meetinghouse committee which needed 15,000 cubic feet, about 2475 tons. Shortly thereafter Israel Stone, also of Bangor, notified Lord that the committee liked his granite and was waiting for proposals on finishing their church. No record of whether Lord actually bid was available.⁶⁷

At least one local acquaintance in Kennebunk felt that Lord was so much involved in other endeavors that he might like to sell his store. Mr. I. K. Miller indicated by letter that he knew a young man who would like to buy the store. There were no indications that Lord considered the offer.⁶⁸

Purchases for the store continued on a high plane in 1836, even though there was a great deal of concern in conservative circles over Jackson's policies. Reflecting

⁶⁶LC, Letter, Tobias Lord to Wm. Lord, October, 1835; see also Invoices 1835, Invoice of flour on Imogene, [no month] . 1835; see also Letter, I. M. Hayes [Saco merchant] to Wm. Lord, December 14, 1835.

⁶⁷LC, Letters, William Saunders to Wm. Lord, July 27, September 21, 1835; see also Letter, Israel Stone to Wm. Lord, September 21, 1835.

⁶⁸LC, Letter, I. K. Miller to Wm. Lord, June 18, 1835.

the fear brought about by Jackson's Specie Circular, money became scarce. One indication of Lord's progress and status as a merchant and shipowner appeared in a request from Fosdick and Frothingham of Boston to "buy" money from Lord. A second letter noted receipt of Lord's draft and requested more; they were willing to pay extra interest on a small amount, adding that they didn't ordinarily beg of customers who paid their bills on time.⁶⁹

Involvement in the two-way coastal trade continued and in April of 1836 Lord received foods from Boston on the Moro and Ploughboy, and returned on the Moro the following: 10,448 feet of boards, 6 cords of white pine, 40 casks, and a few barrels of potatoes.⁷⁰ The schooner Grape was not in evidence, but owner Stephen Ward had a new schooner, the Nile, which carried some goods. Ward offered Lord half-ownership of the Nile, 4 years old, and just purchased from Hallowell for \$4900.⁷¹ No evidence existed that Lord bought.

A total of 4100 hoops were landed at Curtis Wharf in Lower Kennebunk for Lord in August for shipment.⁷²

⁶⁹LC, Letters, Fosdick and Frothingham to Wm. Lord, November 23, November 30, 1836.

⁷⁰LC, Invoices 1836, freight bill from Moro (E. Mitchell) to Wm. Lord, April 17, 1836; see also freight bill from Moro (Joshua Emery) to Wm. Lord, [no month], 1836; see also freight bill from Ploughboy (Ezekial Wornwood), April 16, 1836.

⁷¹LC, Letter, Stephen Ward to Wm. Lord, July 14, 1836.

⁷²LC, Invoices 1836, list of hoops at Curtis' Wharf, August, 1836.

The direct coastal trade with New York was active in 1836. William received several lots of merchandise from Tobias Lord, including:

Schooner Osprey, Capt. Bragdon:
300 bushels of corn, 41 barrels of flour

Schooner Osprey, Capt. Bragdon:
46 barrels of flour⁷³

Those shipments came in June and July. At the end of the year Tobias shipped 150 barrels of flour on the Caspian to Boston, to Henry Clark who reshipped it to Lord on the brig Packet (Capt. Perkins).⁷⁴ Tobias had authority to buy and ship when prices were good, without prior approval in each case. Merchandise came consigned to William for sale.

In March of 1837, William Lord and Joseph Curtis formed a partnership (William Lord and Company) for the continued sale of general merchandise. Perhaps Lord needed a partner to handle a large part of the store business in order to leave him free for the management of what had become an extensive shipowning business. The store maintained running accounts with the packet schooners Nile, Grape, and Moro between March and December, and paid over \$135 in freight charges. A different schooner, the Alpha (Captain Joshua Perkins), handled by D. C. Rankin of

⁷³LC, Invoices 1836, invoices for shipments by Tobias Lord to William Lord, June 1, July 21, 1836.

⁷⁴LC, Letter, Tobias Lord to Wm. Lord, December 27, 1836; see also Letter, Henry Clark to Wm. Lord, December 13, 1836.

Kennebunk brought small amounts of freight in January and April and sold some goods direct to Lord.⁷⁵

Tobias Lord wrote that he had sent some wheat and that he had heard William was " . . . making great purchases in ships . . . " and that it was not surprising he cared little about wheat.⁷⁶ From New York, Tobias also shipped quantities of corn, flour, rye, and cheese to Lord (the cheese alone cost \$350 of a \$838.13 bill). The brig Packet (Capt. Hiram Murch) and schooner Moro (Capt. Mitchell) took goods direct to Kennebunk; the schooner Glide (Capt. Case) took goods to Boston for reshipment.⁷⁷

In 1838 and 1839 invoices were few and freight charges low; running accounts with the schooner Nile for both years totaled only \$27.38.⁷⁸ Bradford Oakes, then agent for schooners Mary Harriet and Moro, and sloop Pacific, presented only a small freight bill.⁷⁹

Joseph Curtis, Lord's partner, was more clearly in evidence by 1838; he and Lord were both noted on a bill of sale for a quantity of furniture. Curtis made a trip to Boston in

⁷⁵LC, Invoices 1837, freight bills from Nile, Grape, Moro, Alpha, January--December, 1837.

⁷⁶LC, Letter, Tobias Lord to Wm. Lord, May 3, 1837.

⁷⁷LC, Invoices 1837, invoices for shipments by Tobias Lord to Wm. Lord, June 29, July 14, November 17, 1837.

⁷⁸LC, Invoices 1838, freight bill from Nile, May--September, 1838; see also Invoices 1839, freight bill from Nile, August--December, 1839.

⁷⁹LC, Invoices 1839, freight bill for Mary Harriet, Moro, Pacific, July, 1837--November, 1838.

1838 to place orders for merchandise later shipped to Kennebunk on the Grape.⁸⁰

In 1839, Tobias Lord shipped 2 cargos consigned to George Callender in Boston for William's account; he sent linseed oil and another type of oil. William was notified of the large bill (over \$1200) by letter.⁸¹

William Lord and Co. made more extensive purchases in Boston in 1840, even though the business was to continue for little more than a year. Records of shipment included only 2 schooner packets. Transactions with Tobias Lord were few; his letters took on a more personal note. Tobias wrote, "The most that troubles me is to know what you will do with all your money--I have not so much as it bothers me what to do."⁸²

William Lord had, during his career as a country merchant, built up an extensive and well-known firm. However he brought it to an end in April of 1841, with the end of his partnership with Joseph Curtis. He no longer used the brick store for the sale of general merchandise; it was leased to various tenants, while he turned his attention to the further development of his shipowning

⁸⁰LC, Letters 1838, bill of sale from William Adams to Lord and Curtis, April 14, 1838; see also Letter, Joseph Curtis to Wm. Lord, April 20, 1838.

⁸¹LC, Letters, Tobias Lord to Wm. Lord, September 17, September 26, 1839.

⁸²LC, Letter, Tobias Lord to Wm. Lord, July 20, 1840.

interests which had already become very extensive.⁸³

Over the ten-year period certain patterns developed regarding goods bought and sold, and methods of acquisition. As a focal point for local distribution of goods and shipment of Maine produce, Lord tied his activities together with the coastal schooners to Boston and New York.

Lord served as a middleman for farmers and some other merchants from surrounding towns; he bought typically Maine goods such as hay, hoops, shooks, casks, and lumber and shipped them to Boston or further south. He purchased imports of dry goods from Boston, and flour from New York for sale in Kennebunk; some purchases were direct from merchants in those two cities and some were from packet captains.

The Boston merchants with whom he dealt served his business by shipping goods from Boston, or reshipping goods from New York. They served as clearinghouses for financial matters by paying bills for purchases and receiving produce for sale on his account. Goods were sent to Kennebunk or received from Kennebunk for sale elsewhere. Merchants in both Boston and New York sent Lord periodic letters reporting prices and were allowed to use their judgement in determining to ship goods which seemed appropriate.

The coastal traffic was the vital link in the two-way trade. The schooners were primarily built or owned, or both,

⁸³Remich, History of Kennebunk, p. 424.

in Kennebunk (or nearby Wells or Saco) and specifically meant for the Boston trade. Most were packets in service for several years at a time. These schooners, rather than Boston or New York schooners, handled the needs of Kennebunk, whether for Boston or New York goods. Even goods from New York came via these Maine schooners, if at all possible. Local pride dictated use of local service, rather than service from Boston, New York or even Portland.⁸⁴ Although Lord used these schooners extensively, he did not become involved in their ownership.

As mentioned above, Lord's banking activities have been distinguished for separate discussion. In his capacity as a leading merchant of Kennebunk he was often called upon to serve some of the banking needs of the town, as no bank was organized in Kennebunk until 1854. Letters to Lord as early as 1830 made reference to his services; in October of 1830, Lord was requested by Edward Watts and a Mr. Chickering to transfer some enclosed drafts to various individuals. In December, Jonathan Downing of Waterborough, Maine sent Lord a small sum on deposit and requested that he remit \$150 to Boston merchants Means and Clark; Downing offered to pay Lord soon, for the sum and for the service.⁸⁵ Another example of a common service came

⁸⁴See Appendix J for summary of schooners in Boston-Kennebunk traffic, 1830-1840.

⁸⁵LC, Letter, Edward Watts to Wm. Lord, October, 1830; see also Letter, Jonathan Downing to Wm. Lord, December 14, 1830.

in 1834 when local shipbuilders Bourne and Kingsbury asked Lord on 12 occasions to pay bills to other individuals. They also requested \$100 or \$200 in five-dollar bills or larger, in addition to some small bills already received for use as change.⁸⁶

More notable however was Lord's service as a middleman between the citizens of Kennebunk and the nearby York Bank of Saco. Banking in Saco began in 1803; according to an old record book found in Saco, five men organized the Saco Bank in that year. One of those men was Daniel Cleaves, who became Lord's father-in-law in 1820. The Saco Bank was continued to 1831 when the quarters and customers were transferred to the newly-chartered York Bank. Daniel Cleaves served on the board of directors and Henry S. Thacher was chosen cashier (cashier for the Saco Bank since 1825).⁸⁷ In May of 1831, William Lord purchased 12 shares of stock @ \$100 each; the certificate for those shares was contained in his papers.⁸⁸ He also served as a director of the bank.

While the Saco Bank was in operation, the president of the bank had the authority:

⁸⁶LC, Letter, Bourne and Kingsbury to Wm. Lord, February 26, 1834.

⁸⁷Frank C. Deering, The Proprietors of Saco and A Brief Sketch of the Years Following the First Settlement of the Town; also A Little About an Old Bank in Saco, Maine (Saco, Maine: By the York National Bank, 1931), pp. 43-53.

⁸⁸LC, Invoices 1831, stock certificate from the Saco Bank, May 28, 1831.

. . . to make arrangements with one or more persons with extensive business in Boston to clear all the banks in Boston of Saco bills, and to keep them clear for one year, and that he [the President] may give a sum therefor not exceeding Two Hundred Dollars.⁸⁹

The method of bill clearance described was similar to one of Lord's functions in connection to the York Bank. Lord received and sent out bills for collection on banks in Boston and New York as well. He made deposits in Boston, especially at the Globe Bank. But his most important function in relationship to Kennebunk was to distribute the bills of the York Bank in the town, through transactions at his store.

In 1832 a series of frequent communications by letter began between Lord and Thacher, the cashier; and they continued far into the 1840's. During this period Lord used the services of the bank and soon began to use his business to begin putting their bills into circulation. Large lots of bills were sent by stage courier or other convenient messenger--as much as \$2000 at a time--with requests to distribute the bills to the advantage of the bank. Thacher acknowledged monies received from Lord and made current notes as to the total value of the bills in Lord's possession as well as Lord's credit account. Lord also served the bank by distributing dividends to Kennebunk stockholders. From time to time counterfeit bills were included in Lord's remittances and Thacher deducted them

⁸⁹Deering, Proprietors of Saco, p. 46.

from the amount placed to Lord's credit, asking him to try to determine their source; Lord was allowed to return the bills if unable to discover whence they originated. Frequent references occurred about bills received on Boston, Portsmouth, and New York banks; after being sent for collection they were credited to Lord. Often Lord sent cash deposits to the Globe Bank, to be credited to the York Bank. The number of letters from Thacher reflected the business activity of the times, ranging from one or more a month to only a single letter in 1833.⁹⁰

In September of 1834, Lord at least considered the sale of his 12 shares of stock as it appeared by a letter asking whether he had disposed of them as yet.⁹¹ Apparently Lord not only kept them, but acquired more later.

A unique letter in 1834 notified Lord that Thacher was returning a "light" silver dollar (which weighed about 80¢ worth) found in one of Lord's remittances to the bank. Thacher also reported in 1834 that no stock was available for sale and that most of the bank's bills were in circulation. The bank must have been prospering.⁹²

In 1837 there was an attempt to make a run on the the bank by a Mr. B. Palmer (probably Barnabus Palmer,

⁹⁰LC, Letters, Henry Thacher to Wm. Lord, 1832-1840, passim.

⁹¹LC, Letter, J. King to Wm Lord, September [no day], 1834.

⁹²LC, Letters, Henry Thacher to Wm. Lord, March 24--December 24, 1834.

postmaster of Kennebunk) whose ill feelings were directed not only against the bank but against Lord as well. General overexpansion and Jacksonian policies had helped to contribute nationally to the creation of a demand for specie which outweighed the supply. The problem became more serious after the passage of the Specie Circular. Speculators tried to draw hard money from the banks, bringing about a commencement of bank failures early in 1837. When the panic worsened, and more banks failed, the banks stopped specie payments by May. By summer, business had nearly ended. From the York Bank, Thacher notified Lord on May 26 that he had been unable to redeem Palmer's bills (\$525) in specie and had directed Palmer to come to Lord's store for it. On May 30, Thacher assured Lord that the bank was secure; he also enclosed a copy of a letter he had received from Palmer on that day indicating that Palmer had received the desired specie from Lord. Palmer added in his letter to Thacher that he wished to be:

. . . somewhat independent of him [Lord] . . . I do not know as it is his wish to screw [extort from] others, but he is here a sort of money king, + there seems to be a willing obedience to him on the part of many. I am not of the number.⁹³

On June 3 Thacher asked Lord to notify him if there was

⁹³LC, Letter, Henry Thacher to Wm. Lord, May 26, and May 30, 1837. Although the letter of May 26 was dated 1836, the author concludes it to have been marked incorrectly by Thacher. The general condition of the country in 1837 and the logical sequence derived by placing this letter, as well as two others noted in footnotes #94 and #96 below, with the letters of 1837 led to that conclusion.

any excitement created by Palmer over the bills of the bank.⁹⁴ Palmer was not through; he took his complaints to the State bank commissioners. In July Thacher reported the arrival of the commissioners and asked: "Is Mr. P. making any movements?"⁹⁵ The bank commissioners later sent Thacher two copies of letters from Palmer in which the bank was severely criticized; they were to be included with the report of the commission to the legislature.⁹⁶ Seven months later, in April of 1838, Jonathan King of the York Bank, notified Lord that it again appeared as though Palmer might be collecting small bills to demand specie, and requested Lord to try to keep them out of his hands. King indicated that he had hoped specie payments would have resumed by then but prospects looked bleak.⁹⁷ The series of events in that economic crisis illustrated several points. By providing specie to cover bills Lord served: 1) the bank and 2) the citizens of Kennebunk. Lord usually covered bills with specie when asked and he supported the bank and its continued existence as a necessary institution, notwithstanding the fact that he owned shares of stock.

Another development of 1838, not generally common in

⁹⁴LC, Letter, Henry Thacher to Wm. Lord, June 3, 1836.

⁹⁵LC, Letter, Henry Thacher to Wm. Lord, July 1, 1837.

⁹⁶LC, Letter, Henry Thacher to Wm. Lord, September 10, 1836.

⁹⁷LC, Letter, Jonathan King to Wm. Lord, April 16, 1838.

rural areas at that time, was the remittance of checks to the York Bank by Lord for deposit for which he in turn received York Bank bills.⁹⁸ A particular statement in an 1841 letter also referred to the use of checks; Thacher wrote that he was sending Lord \$800 for his check, and further suggested that Lord "draw" a check on his letter instead of paying postage twice.⁹⁹

Although Lord did a great deal of his personal business with Boston banks, remitting sums of money to them to cover drafts relating to his shipowning activities, he also found a more local bank useful. It served him and vice versa. As a coordinator between Kennebunkers and the York Bank, Lord provided cash and bank bills, thus serving both at once. As one who did have useful connections in Boston, he was able to be a middleman between the York Bank and the larger Boston banks. As an important merchant, it was understandable that Lord would have been concerned with the York Bank, would buy shares, and would be concerned with its continuance.

MANAGEMENT AND SHIPS

1830-1840

William Lord's activities after 1830 went far beyond

⁹⁸LC, Letters, Henry Thacher to Wm. Lord, March 23--June 11, 1838.

⁹⁹LC, Letter, Henry Thacher to Wm Lord, January 8, 1841.

his store and his connections to banking; he became an important Kennebunk shipowner and eventually made ships his major business. Perhaps his career occurred during a convenient period. He was too young to have been affected by the War of 1812, and by the time the European and West Indies trades were stable again, he was in his 20's and commencing his career. Possibly he had the best of both worlds in constructing his vessels at low Kennebunk costs and running them primarily from Boston which was one of the most dominant ports of entry by the 1830's.

Lord's vessels were both traders and freighters; they combined their activities as seemed best according to business conditions. They were owned in cooperation with relatives, captains, and George Callender in particular, Lord's main business contact in Boston. The vessels were generally built and registered in Kennebunk; they were ships or brigs of 250 to 300 tons, one later 436-ton ship being an exception. Other than their construction at Kennebunk they had little connection to that small port. Some cargos came from Kennebunk, but were generally loaded at Boston; unique combinations of Maine produce such as hay, shooks, hogsheads, fish, potatoes and other goods such as ice went south. Numerous goods were loaded at southern or West Indies ports for the European market; cotton, sugar, or tobacco were most common.¹⁰⁰ Returns varied and included iron, salt, and

¹⁰⁰See Appendix I for rising amount of cotton exports, doubling between 1830 and 1835.

passengers as common items. All vessels mixed foreign and coastal passages as the circumstances required although some vessels were primarily coasters. Certain standard times of departure and arrival were the case--voyages out after the hurricane season for arrival in December or January. European passages from southern ports were made in the spring, for arrival back in the late summer or fall.

Several key topics were important to illustrate how Lord developed and managed his shipowning interests: the acquisition of his major vessels by construction or purchase, the system of fractional ownership, the management of the vessels, relationships with the masters, and the actual movements and cargos of the vessels. Many of the generalities also applied to his later period of business after 1840.

The ship Neva was the first vessel to be launched principally for Lord's own account. The vessel was launched in Kennebunk in January of 1832 and was registered in that port. The contract for building the ship was made by Lord with George W. Bourne, partner of Henry Kingsbury. The vessel was to be 80 feet long at the keel, 18 feet deep, and about 25 feet wide. Bourne was to supply the materials and paint the ship twice. The contract referred to making her like the "teakettle-bottomed" vessels with a 3 foot projection on each side.¹⁰¹ Although a price of \$28.50 a

¹⁰¹LC, Letters 1831, contract between George Bourne and Wm. Lord, March 10, 1831.

ton was agreed upon, the final account with the shipyard noted a price of \$30.50 a ton for 275 tons; the final cost, including some outside labor and added materials, was \$8785.50 for the hull.¹⁰² Lord ordered materials to outfit the vessel through George Callender and Tobias Lord; Tobias was asked to look for anchors and cables. Lord indicated that he might order cordage from Russia if George and Ivory Lord (his brothers) sent the brig Lima there. Callender sent Lord an unanticipated lot of paper to put under the copper for longer wear, suggesting that it was then a common practice and probably worthwhile.¹⁰³ Including supplies sent to Kennebunk by coastal schooners such as the Grape and Louisa, the ship cost about \$16,000 all outfitted; Callender had shipped over \$3000 worth of materials to Kennebunk.¹⁰⁴ The rigging was done by a local man, Thomas Maling, who rigged most of Lord's vessels in this period.¹⁰⁵ Lord owned 2/3 of the ship.

Nearly three years passed before the construction of another vessel, a bark to be ". . . smaller than vessels for

¹⁰²LC, Construction Invoices: Ship Neva, account current between Bourne and Kingsbury and Wm. Lord, March 12, 1832. Bryant in Kennebunk Vessels, p. 6, lists her tonnage as 257.52 tons.

¹⁰³LC, Letter (copy), Wm. Lord to Tobias Lord, June 8, 1831; see also Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, July 5, December 21, 1831.

¹⁰⁴LC, Construction Invoices: Ship Neva, account current between G. Callender and Wm. Lord, April 7, 1832.

¹⁰⁵LC, Construction Invoices: Ship Neva, bill from Thomas Maling, February 25, 1832.

the cotton trade, but large enough for the sugar trade. . . ." for which she was intended.¹⁰⁶ The bark Diantha was built at the Kennebunk yard of Robert Smith Jr. but no contract with Smith was available; only a contract for the iron work appeared, noting the vessel being built for Lord and others.¹⁰⁷ Although built primarily under Lord's direction, the others were Callender and her first master, Charles Williams; the three each owned 1/3 throughout the vessel's career. Builder Smith's account noted the bark as \$22.50 a ton for the 287.86 tons; his charges came to \$6817.51.¹⁰⁸ Callender again arranged for over \$5000 worth of materials for the bark to be sent north, and Thomas Maling again did the rigging.¹⁰⁹ She was launched in November of 1834, clearing Kennebunk on the 29th under Capt. Williams for New Orleans.¹¹⁰

The brig Swiss Boy (named after a current popular song) was launched at Kennebunk in December of 1837, built by George Bourne, with Lord listed as owner at time of launching. The 258.47 ton vessel was probably built by

¹⁰⁶LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, February 25, 1834.

¹⁰⁷LC, Letters 1834, contract between John Fairfield and Wm. Lord, March 21, 1834.

¹⁰⁸LC, Invoices 1834, account with Robert Smith Jr. for Diantha, January 15, 1835. Bryant, in Kennebunk Vessels, p. 6 lists her tonnage as 284.78 tons.

¹⁰⁹LC, Construction Invoices: Bark Diantha, account between owners of Diantha and G. Callender, December 29, 1834.

¹¹⁰Kennebunk Gazette, November 29, 1834.

Bourne as a speculative venture, as no references occurred in Callender's letters to Lord. Bourne sold half of the vessel to William Lord.¹¹¹ Apparently all of her accounts and supplies were handled locally.

The next Kennebunk vessel planned was the 436-ton ship Marcia Cleaves launched in January of 1839. Callender wrote Lord indicating a desire for a third or a quarter of a ship for the cotton trade and was notified that Lord was planning a new ship to replace the lost Ruthelia to be held by the same owners at 1/4 each: Daniel Cleaves, William Lord, Captain Thomas Lord, George Callender.¹¹² Lord contracted with George Bourne again for the hull and supervised its construction for the future owners. The cost for the hull @ \$40 a ton, with a few extra expenses, came to nearly \$18,000 and with outfits cost over \$27,000.¹¹³ Thomas Maling of Kennebunkport again did the rigging.¹¹⁴

At least one instance occurred when Lord invested in a vessel under construction with no intention of major interest or management, or even his own use. He advanced

¹¹¹LC, Letter (copy), Wm. Lord to George Bourne, March 3, 1840; see also Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, p. 6.

¹¹²LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, April 2, April 14, 1838.

¹¹³LC, Construction Invoices: Ship Marcia Cleaves, account between owners of Marcia Cleaves and Wm. Lord, March 15, 1839.

¹¹⁴LC, Construction Invoices: Ship Marcia Cleaves, receipt from Thomas Maling, February 4, 1839.

money in 1838 and 1839 for the construction of the bark General Scott primarily to give financial help to her builders, Bourne and Kingsbury. The disposition of the vessel became a source of irritation. Lord and Captain William Gooch of Wells officially owned a quarter of the bark and Gooch was concerned over the failure of the builders to give him and Lord a bill of sale or to pay the money made on a charter soon after launching. The General Scott had been built primarily for quick sale, but had been chartered in hopes of a quick profit first for her builders who were in debt. Gooch was disturbed over neither getting a bill of sale, nor being able to direct the vessel's movements.¹¹⁵

An exchange of letters between Bourne and Lord illustrated Bourne's suspicion of local exclusiveness in shipownership as well as a bit of local pride. Lord wrote that he had:

. . . no objection to Mr. Kingsbury having the agency or management,--but still I should have been pleased to have had the business closed up I have no disposition in preventing your owning or being concerned in vessels neither do I think my neighbors have!¹¹⁶

Bourne soon answered that the half owned by him and Kingsbury had been sold and that they could then repay Lord for money advanced; he added that he would have preferred to sell in such a way as to keep the management for local friends.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵LC, Letters, William Gooch to Wm. Lord, January 21-February 24, 1840.

¹¹⁶LC, Letter (copy), Wm. Lord to George Bourne, March 3, 1840.

¹¹⁷LC, Letter, George Bourne to Wm. Lord, March 4, 1840.

The last vessel planned in the 1830 through 1840 period was the 302 ton bark Finland which went down the ways in December of 1840 from the yard of Robert Smith Jr. in Kennebunk. A memo of an agreement between Lord and Smith indicated that it was to be built for the rather low rate of \$22 a ton, with Smith finding the timber. Lord agreed to get the bark down river after the launching at Kennebunk Landing; that was usually the case, but not always included in written agreements.¹¹⁸ Lord supervised construction and handled accounts, but in a rather round-about fashion. He purchased sundry items for the bark from William Lord and Company and then personally paid the company. Then he accounted to the owners of the Finland in his own name for all of its construction costs. The total cost with outfits charged to the owners (1/2 to William) was \$16,660.93.¹¹⁹ Lord ordered supplies through George Callender and William Jefferds (Kennebunk) as well as William Lord and Company.¹²⁰ One unusual feature was the purchase of the hull and riggings from the old bark Horace for \$3000 from the Franklin and Atlantic Insurance Companies of Boston in order to get the

¹¹⁸LC, Letters 1840, memo of agreement between Robert Smith and Wm. Lord, March 12, 1840.

¹¹⁹LC, Construction Invoices: Finland, account between bark Finland and Wm. Lord and Co., December 31, 1840; see also account between bark Finland and Wm. Lord, February, 1840.

¹²⁰LC, Construction Invoices: bark Finland, account between bark Finland and G. Callender, November 11, 1840; see also, Letters 1840, account between William Jefferds and bark Finland, December 4, 1840.

riggings; the leftover hull was sold.¹²¹ Thomas Maling was again employed, in that case to fix the old riggings.¹²²

Another unusual development occurred in the disposition of shares of ownership: 1/3 for George and Ivory Lord, 1/6 for George Callender, and 1/2 for William Lord. This was the first vessel constructed by William for his management in which his brothers had a share. In a letter to William they referred to it as his vessel, even though at the time of launching it was officially listed under George Lord's name.¹²³ He sometimes owned small shares in their vessels, but the reverse had not been true.

There were a few vessels in the 1830-1840 period in which Lord had some interest, but were of unknown origin as far as their construction was concerned: the brig Caroline, the ship Ruthelia, the ship Propontis, and the ship Regulus. The Caroline was purchased secondhand in October of 1833 by Lord, George Callender, and Erasmus Thompson on equal shares for about \$5500; their purpose had been to repair the brig for sale at a profit. Lord made the bargain at Kennebunk. After fewer repairs than expected, offers came to put her to work. Apparently the brig was registered in

¹²¹IC, Letter, Francis Watts for Atlantic Insurance Co. to Wm. Lord, April 3, 1840.

¹²²IC, Construction Invoices: Bark Finland, receipt from Thomas Maling, January 22, 1841.

¹²³IC, Letter, George Lord to Wm. Lord, March 24, 1840; see also Construction Invoices: Bark Finland, account between bark Finland and Wm. Lord, February 1, 1840; see also Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, p. 7.

Boston as Callender requested that Lord send him the bill of sale to get new registry. Thompson preferred no concern, so Lord and Callender bought his share, each then owning half of the brig. Lord sent a Kennebunk captain to take her and she was chartered to go to New Orleans for William Fairfield for \$800.¹²⁴

The ship Ruthelia was bought at auction in Boston in April of 1837. Callender had mentioned not wanting less than $3/4$, meaning between him and Lord; when purchased, shares fell among William Lord ($1/2$) Captain Thomas Lord ($1/4$) and George Callender ($1/4$) dividing the cost of about \$20,500 among them.¹²⁵ William soon sold $1/6$ of his share to brother-in-law Daniel Cleaves, but Cleaves' share was accounted for in Lord's share when Callender computed accounts for the ship; Captain Nathaniel Thompson of Kennebunk left the bark Diantha and took the Ruthelia to New Orleans. Thus another secondhand vessel of unknown origin was acquired.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, October 2, October 30, 1833. There was a brig Caroline built at Kennebunk in 1827, 267 tons, registered then at Kennebunk, but may not have been the same brig; see Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, p. 5. Fairburn's Merchant Sail was of very little use on Kennebunk vessels; see William Armstrong Fairburn and others, Merchant Sail, V (Center Lovell, Maine: Fairburn Educational Marine Foundation, Inc., 1945-1955).

¹²⁵ LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, May 12, 1837; see also Accounts: Ship Ruthelia, Ship Hartley, Bark Francis Watts, accounts current between Ruthelia and G. Callender, May 4, 1837. Folder title hereinafter noted as Accounts: Ruthelia.

¹²⁶ LC, Letter (copy), Wm. Lord to Daniel Cleaves, April 24, 1837; see also Accounts: Ship Ruthelia, accounts current between Ruthelia and G. Callender, May 4, 1832, May 31, 1838.

William took a minor interest in the ship Regulus in 1839; he bought 1/6 from brothers George and Ivory in December, with indications that it might soon be transferred to Capt. Nathaniel Lord Thompson. Where George and Ivory acquired the vessel was not clear; William had no part in the management, thus accounts of the vessel's movements, earnings or cargos were very sketchy. Callender may have managed her as he charged William for the cost of the 1/6, or he may merely have transferred the amount between accounts for the brothers.¹²⁷

Also in 1839, plans were being made for the disposal of the ship Propontis which had been partly owned by Francis A. Lord, just deceased. The 3/8 owned by Francis A. were for sale. At an auction in January of 1840, Callender, Lord, and Capt. Daniel Nason Jr. each took 1/8 of the ship. She soon departed under Capt. George Wise. She was purchased in Kennebunk. Indications were that Lord sold his share later in the year to Capt. Nason Sr.¹²⁸ Lord did not manage that vessel; except for her first voyage, accounts were few.

Of the four vessels, Lord's interest in two was minor and was soon transferred to other owners. The Caroline was his most important investment of the four.

The system of fractional ownership was the most

¹²⁷LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, December 4, December 25, 1839.

¹²⁸LC, Letters, *ibid.*, August 20, 1839--September 17, 1840, *passim*.

common system of financing construction and owning vessels in the 1800's; as a general rule owners preferred to spread their risks. Lord was no exception. In no case was he full-owner of any vessel, and rarely held shares over one-half. Two of his early interests illustrated both fractional ownership in vessels not under his control but partly owned by other family members who initiated him into ownership. The brig Ivory Lord (built in Kennebunk in 1827, principal owner listed as George Lord) and the brig Plato (built in Kennebunk in 1828 also with George Lord as main owner) were 2 early interests.¹²⁹ William was not managing owner of either brig; information for total ownership was not available. Nevertheless William owned 1/3 of the Ivory Lord until 1/4 was sold to Capt. William B. Lewis in 1828 and William's share was reduced to 1/4 as portions for Lewis also came from the 2/3 owned by George and Ivory Lord.¹³⁰ She was owned in Kennebunk. Lewis and William Lord sent a cargo consigned to Cockayne and Watts of New Orleans in 1828 and returned her to Boston with cotton.¹³¹

In 1830, the Ivory Lord, under Capt. Lewis, went to Charleston, Antwerp, Richmond, and New Orleans.¹³²

¹²⁹Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, p. 5.

¹³⁰IC, Invoices Before 1830, accounts current between Francis Watts and Wm. Lord, January 1, 1829; see also Letter, G. Callender to George, Ivory, and William Lord, February 19, 1831.

¹³¹IC, Invoices Before 1830, accounts current between Cockayne and Watts and Wm. Lord and Capt. Lewis, December 12, 1828.

¹³²Kennebunk Gazette, July 10--November 27, 1830.

George Callender was carrying accounts in Boston for the vessel; he reported his bark in Boston in February with some damage. Instead of repairing her, the brothers chose to sell, and Callender handled the sale at Boston. Although Callender owned 1/4 of the brig at that time, he asked for 6% commission on the sale.¹³³ Callender's share was an early example of his growing concern with Lord vessels. He wrote that he would be happy to own part of another in the "good company" of the Lords, either William, or George and Ivory or all three.¹³⁴

The brig Plato was primarily owned by George and Ivory Lord. William owned 1/4 of the brig.¹³⁵ Between March, 1829 and September, 1830, she made voyages to New Orleans, Cowes (English seaport on the Isle of Wight, off Portsmouth, England), Turks Island in the Bahamas, Havana, Hamburg, Kennebunk, and back to New Orleans in that order.¹³⁶ The brig was in at New York in 1831, and rather leaky; a decision was made to sell. Ship broker Samuel Lord Jr. sold her for \$10,500 and sent the proceeds to George Callender in Boston; more of William's business was centering in his

¹³³LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, February 15, 1831; see also Letter, G. Callender to George, Ivory and William Lord, February 19, 1831.

¹³⁴LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, February 23, 1831.

¹³⁵LC, Invoices 1830, memo of account current between Francis Watts' estate and Wm. Lord, September 24, 1830.

¹³⁶Kennebunk Gazette, July 18, 1829--October 16, 1830.

hands.¹³⁷

Thus two early ventures of combined family ownership between 1828 and 1831 ended. The Plato and Ivory Lord were sent on tramp voyages looking for freights wherever prospects looked good, but carried little cargo personally for the owners. As this period ended, William was planning for the construction of the Neva, his first vessel on his own account.

The disposition of one vessel seemed to have brought William and his brothers into conflict. One-third of the brig Watchman was advertised for sale in August of 1829 by Daniel Nason (main owner).¹³⁸ One-third of the brig and her freight were insured by Lord from New Orleans to Liverpool in May of 1830. However, a letter from George and Ivory in November of 1831 notified William rather curtly that 1/3 of the brig had been sold to them via Francis Watts and Isaac Pray who had purchased the 1/3 in July of 1829 from Tobias Lord. His brothers demanded that William who was claiming purchase through a deputy give up his claim as they considered the sale void.¹³⁹ The incident may have soured their relationship as only one instance was found in the 1830's of their joint ownership.

¹³⁷LC, Letters, Samuel Lord Jr. to Wm. Lord, May 11, May 18, June 11, 1831.

¹³⁸Kennebunk Gazette, August 15, 1829.

¹³⁹LC, Invoices 1830, account current between Edward Watts and Wm. Lord, June 25, 1830; see also Letter, George and Ivory Lord to Wm. Lord, November 7, 1831.

Generally, up to 1840, fractional ownership was split among a limited number of individuals in William Lord's circle; he, George Callender, Thomas Lord, and Daniel Cleaves were the most common owners of shares in almost all vessels which have been mentioned. Daniel Cleaves was William's brother-in-law. In any case where George Callender and William Lord were jointly concerned they did not own less than half of a vessel; in one case the two owned a whole vessel. That was true whether the vessel was constructed for Lord's account or purchased secondhand. The purpose of the system was to keep control in their hands. Thomas Lord was first master of the Neva, and Charles Williams was first master of the Diantha; Thomas Lord owned a sixth of his vessel, and Williams a third of his.¹⁴⁰

Occasionally a few others were concerned; for example, George and Ivory Lord took a third of the Finland in 1840, and two other fellow Kennebunkers Jotham Blaisdell and Adam McCulloch owned parts of the Swiss Boy; Blaisdell served as master.

Table 2.2 summarized shares in the major vessels in operation. The Neva, Diantha, Marcia Cleaves, and Finland were constructed for Lord's account; the Swiss Boy was built partly on money advanced by Lord; the Caroline and Ruthelia were the only two included which were secondhand.

¹⁴⁰See Appendix F. Charles Williams was William's nephew.

Table 2.2 Main Vessels in which William Lord Acquired an Interest Before 1840

Name of Vessel	Owners of Shares			Career of Vessel
	William Lord	George Callender	Thomas Lord	
<u>Neva</u> ^a	4/6	1/6	1/6	Built 1832, lost 1837
<u>Diantha</u> ^b	1/3	1/3		Built 1834, sold 1849
<u>Swiss Boy</u> ^c	1/2			Built 1837, sold 1850
<u>Marcia Cleaves</u> ^d	2/4	1/4	1/4	Built 1838, sold 1849
<u>Finland</u> ^e	3/6	1/6		Built 1840, wrecked 1841
<u>Caroline</u>	1/2	1/2		Bought 1833, sold 1838
<u>Ruthelia</u> ^f	2/6	1/4	1/4	Bought 1837, lost 1838
<u>Ivory Lord</u>	1/4			Built 1827, sold 1831
<u>Plato</u>	1/4			Built 1828, sold 1831

^aWilliam Lord sold 1/8 of his share to Thomas Lord in 1835.

^bCharles Williams owned 1/3.

^cGeorge Bourne owned 1/2 in 1837; later owners included Jotham Blaisdell, Adam McCulloch (both of Kennebunk) and William Lord; however, shares owned were unclear.

^dAs of 1846, 3/8 William Lord, 3/8 George Callender, 1/4 Daniel Cleaves. Before 1846, Cleaves' share was included in W. Lord's accounts.

^eGeorge and Ivory Lord owned 2/6.

^fDaniel Cleaves owned 1/6.

Combined with the system of cooperative ownership of vessels was the position of the ship's husband or managing agent. Generally his duties were to choose the captains, handle repairs, take care of customs house details, find cargos, send financial statements to the other owners--all for a commission. George Callender functioned in a similar capacity in relationship to Lord's vessels and interests although the mixing of duties between the two made it very difficult to classify one or the other officially as ship's husband. Listed as a commission merchant in the 1852 Boston Directory, George Callender was perhaps more.¹⁴¹ He served a variety of functions for Lord but not necessarily those always or usually assigned to a managing agent; Lord himself handled many details.

In locating cargos Callender sometimes called on brokers in Boston, such as Daniel Deshon who helped to find freight for the Neva. Callender did as the owners preferred and consulted Lord on cargo; in one instance the Neva was offered a voyage to Sumatra for pepper but they agreed that type of cargo was harmful to the vessels.¹⁴² Callender also sold cargos; such as one of the Caroline's consisting of hemp, duck, sheetings, feathers and other goods from Russia.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹Boston Directory, 1852 (Boston: George Adams, 1852), p. 45.

¹⁴²LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, December 24, 1832, September 16, 1834.

¹⁴³LC, Invoices 1834, sales account of freight on brig Caroline by G. Callender, January 28, 1835.

Sometimes Callender made agreements directly with shippers; he made one arrangement for the Caroline with a Mr. S. R. Allen, a Boston shipper, who agreed to load \$1400 in freight to New Orleans. Callender helped complete the cargo by adding 100 barrels of mackerel and paying 50¢ freight on each.¹⁴⁴ Sometimes he and Lord made their own shipments.

Callender assisted in having repairs done for vessels in at Boston and in making preparations for voyages. After one of the Caroline's voyages for coal she was repaired at Boston with money sent by Lord, loaded with paving stones from broker Deshon and sent to New Orleans.¹⁴⁵ In another case, he prepared the Diantha for a charter to Indonesia by spending over \$2000 on coppering, caulking, extra crew advances, water casks, armaments, and provisions.¹⁴⁶

In the choice of captains, Lord had primary responsibility, but accepted suggestions. Lord chose Capt. Joshua Perkins for the Neva as a temporary replacement, but Callender did not feel he was good enough except for coastal voyages.¹⁴⁷ Capt. Perkins kept the vessel only a short while and was replaced by Capt. Thomas Lord (part-owner); Callender had no say in the matter but was pleased as he

¹⁴⁴LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, August 6--September 8, 1835.

¹⁴⁵LC, Letters, *ibid.*, October 31--December 5, 1836.

¹⁴⁶LC, Accounts: Diantha, account from G. Callender for outfits for Diantha, July 31, 1835.

¹⁴⁷LC, letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, November 23, 1835.

noted: ". . . Capt. P. seems to have spent money pretty freely at Antwerp."¹⁴⁸

Callender frequently helped to finance vessels under construction by ordering materials in Boston--to receive payment later.¹⁴⁹ He combined the bills with his yearly accounts for specific periods or services.

Another feature usually related to the function of ship management was registry of the vessel in the home port of the managing agent; all of Lord's vessels built in Kennebunk through 1840 were also Kennebunk registered, at least at the time of launching. They may have been changed later; those few interests purchased elsewhere may have been registered in Boston but there was little clear evidence of that having been true. In this period they seemed to be registered in Lord's port.

In conclusion the relationship between Callender and Lord consisted of a mixture of duties; William was principal owner of the vessels but left many details to Callender. Other minor owners were only occasionally consulted, usually personally by William in Kennebunk. Callender sometimes requested that William come directly to Boston to make decisions rather than use the postal service.

Callender and Lord both gave instructions to the captains of the vessels; those with shares in the vessels had a particular interest in success and had a little more

¹⁴⁸LC, Letter, *ibid.*, December 26, 1836.

¹⁴⁹See above, p. 114.

leeway as to choice of movements and cargos.¹⁵⁰ The owners generally preferred to mix freighting with carrying goods on their own account to minimize risks, but captains were permitted to buy for the owners if they judged it best. For example, Captain Bragdon on the brig Caroline in 1835 bought 150 hogsheads of molasses for the owners rather than return from Havana in ballast as he found no freight; the molasses brought \$4000 so was no loss.¹⁵¹ Generally each vessel had orders as to a range of appropriate ports of call; some were meant more for the sugar trade; some were more for the New Orleans cotton trade. The master's judgement was not always approved, particularly if his port expenses were high. In one case Capt. Perkins of the Neva asked for more specific orders as to his proceedings at New Orleans, suggesting he might be better served by another shipping house; he had recently been criticized for high expenses.¹⁵²

While on foreign voyages the captains had orders to call upon specified houses for expenses, sales of cargo or advice; those houses accepted remittances and would forward them elsewhere. Of particular importance was Baring Brothers of London, the usual clearing house for Lord's vessels in

¹⁵⁰Captains Lord, Williams and Blaisdell owned shares of their respective vessels. See Table 2.2 above and page preceding.

¹⁵¹LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, January 7--February 3, 1835.

¹⁵²LC, Letter, Joshua Perkins to Wm. Lord, January 16, 1837. See above, p. 129.

Europe. That house was one of the most noted of the day. It was many faceted, serving to buy and sell goods, lend credit for a commission, take deposits, insure goods, and find passengers and freight. Its stability made bills on Baring easy to exchange. For credit extended, captains could pay with freight money or have Baring sell their cargo.¹⁵³ All of these services were used by Lord's captains. Captain Lord of the Neva drew for expenses on money forwarded to Brothers Cramer and Company by Baring Brothers while he was in Russia.¹⁵⁴ If in France, captains often called upon Welles and Company at Paris; they could remit to Welles easily from Havre, a common port of call.¹⁵⁵

For all their responsibilities the captains had certain stimuli for good service to the vessel and owners. The system of primage spurred them on. One particularly good illustration was an account between Capt. Thomas Lord and the Neva. It listed several different means of increasing his earnings; Capt. Lord received:

5% primage on freights on several different passages

1/2 of the net cabin passage money between Charleston and New Orleans (about \$50)

2½% commission on the sale of a hay cargo

¹⁵³Ralph W. Hidy, The House of Baring in American Trade and Finance: English Merchant Bankers at Work, 1763--1861, Harvard Studies in Business History, No. 14 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949), pp. 125, 144.

¹⁵⁴LC, Letter, Baring Brothers to Wm. Lord, August 1, 1832.

¹⁵⁵LC, Letter, Thomas Lord to Wm. Lord, April 12, 1833.

5% primage on the profits of the hay cargo

10% commission on passage money between Havre and
Baltimore¹⁵⁶

As well showing his primage, the account showed that he had acquired freight, sold a cargo himself, and acquired passengers too.

In choosing masters, Lord generally picked Kennebunkers well-known to him; a few were relatives such as Nathaniel Lord Thompson and Charles Williams.¹⁵⁷

The actual movement of Lord's vessels between 1830 and 1840, with their cargos, was traced on a chronological basis, adding new vessels as they were built or purchased. After Lord's brief ventures with his hay brig, the Agenoria, and the brigs Ivory Lord and Plato, he embarked on more active investments, having the ship Neva launched in January, 1832. From 1832 to the end of this first period he was mainly concerned with the following 7 vessels, all included in the chronological survey:

1832	<u>Neva</u>
1833	<u>Neva, Caroline</u>
1834	<u>Neva, Caroline, Diantha</u>
1835	<u>Neva, Caroline, Diantha</u>
1836	<u>Neva, Caroline, Diantha</u>
1837	<u>Neva, Caroline, Diantha, Swiss Boy, Ruthelia</u>
1838	<u>Caroline, Diantha, Swiss Boy, Ruthelia</u>
1839	<u>Diantha, Swiss Boy, Marcia Cleaves</u>
1840	<u>Diantha, Swiss Boy, Marcia Cleaves, Finland</u>

¹⁵⁶IC, Accounts: Ship Neva, Bark Finland, Ship Ocean Star, Brig Caroline, account current between Neva and Thomas Lord, December, 1832--July 1834. Folder title herein after noted as Accounts: Neva.

¹⁵⁷See Appendix B and Appendix F.

After a national economic boom in 1836, Lord expanded to his high point in 1837, but his business declined with the depressed economy in the next few years. Two years elapsed between his purchases in the Swiss Boy and Ruthelia until the Marcia Cleaves was launched in 1839.

The Baltic-West Indies trade and the New Orleans to London, Liverpool or Havre routes were to be the most important, with coastal voyages between Boston and southern ports intertwining.

The new ship Neva, Captain Thomas Lord, sailed for Boston after launching in 1832 and loaded freight for Havana; she loaded a cargo at Matanzas, Cuba for Cronstadt, Russia and sailed the end of March 1832.¹⁵⁸ She arrived back in Boston by October with some glue, other manufactured goods and on the owners' account 20 tons of "old sable iron," sailcloth, and sheetings from St. Petersburg. Net proceeds from the iron came to \$4500. A little hay and small amounts of freight for other shippers were then loaded for New Orleans.¹⁵⁹ By the end of the year, the Neva made about \$6500 for her 3 owners, before deductions, and proceeds were transferred to the yearly accounts.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸LC, Construction Invoices: Ship Neva, receipt from Daniel Deshon, January 14, 1832; see also Kennebunk Gazette, April 4-21, 1832.

¹⁵⁹LC, Construction Invoices: ship Neva, account for the Neva's cargo with G. Callender, January 10, 1833; see also Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, October 22, December 24, 1832.

¹⁶⁰LC, Accounts: Ship Neva, account current between Neva and G. Callender, January 10, 1833.

Her next passage, in 1833, took her to New Orleans and then Havre (rather than accept a lower coastwise freight offered north) with cotton. At Havre Capt. Lord obtained \$1500 in passenger fares and a charter to New Orleans, half of the proceeds each for the ship and the charter party. Freight included some spices which Callender insured. From New Orleans the Neva went to Baltimore to pick up freight for Puerto Rico and from there tobacco for Bremen. Part of the tobacco freight was on the owner's account.¹⁶¹

At Bremen in October, the Neva discharged her cargo which consisted of tobacco and lignumvitae (tropical American tree which is very hard and heavy) from Aguadilla, Puerto Rico; some of the lignumvitae was placed with the Delius Brothers (although sales were not complete until 1837) who shipped 1600 Spanish dollars to Cadiz with Captain Lord. At Cadiz, the Neva loaded salt and some freight on the Captain's account: sugar, silk and a bag of 300 Spanish dollars; the ship left in November for New Orleans.¹⁶²

For 1833, the ship's account current showed main proceeds from Welles and Co. of Paris from the Havre voyage; the amount (\$2553.04) was less than half as compared to 1832. Two-thirds was transferred to Lord's account current, but his

¹⁶¹LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, May 31, June 4, July 16, 1833; see also letter, Thomas Lord to Wm. Lord, April 12, 1833.

¹⁶²LC, Letter, F. and E. Delius to Wm. Lord, November 16, 1833; see also Letters 1833, bill of lading for Neva from Bremen, October 19, 1833.

own account was much reduced by expenses for purchase and repair of the brig Caroline in October.¹⁶³

As was true of business in general, records and letters for 1834 indicated fewer transactions and ventures; letters from George Callender totaled only five for the entire year. As the year opened the Neva was on her way to New Orleans and the Caroline was on her return passage after making a voyage to that port after her repairs. Plans were being made for the launching of the Diantha in November. The Neva was reported by Baring Brothers in June to be on her way to London from Cuba; in the span of time since November, she may have gone to Cuba from New Orleans to load for London. From London, she obtained a charter to New York, to sail in July.¹⁶⁴ At New York, Captain Thomas Nowell, another Kennebunker, replaced Captain Lord. After refusing a pepper voyage to Sumatra the owners sent the vessel coasting to New Orleans in October; she took some passengers. After arrival out, Nowell had problems finding freight and was still idle by the end of December; the new master wrote Lord that he was very happy with the new ship.¹⁶⁵ Financially the vessel had a much better year; profits from New Orleans

¹⁶³LC, Letters 1833, account current between G. Callender and Wm. Lord, January 1, 1834.

¹⁶⁴LC, Letters, Baring Brothers to Wm. Lord, June 19, June 28, 1834.

¹⁶⁵LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, September 16, 1834; see also letters, T. Nowell to Wm. Lord, November 10, December 27, 1834.

and London sent by Baring Brothers gave her owners \$8222.20 total.¹⁶⁶

Up to April of 1834, the brig Caroline had not showed a profit due to past repair expenses. From her passage to New Orleans she returned coastwise with molasses, tobacco, barrels, cotton, pork, lard, flour, and skins. In April Captain Daniel Nason replaced Captain Burnham and took her to Havana with freight for the owners consisting of fish (reported by the captain as "heated and soft" but salable), apples, potatoes and hoops.¹⁶⁷ The captain also wrote that other captains stared at him in Havana as the Caroline was so unattractive.

About May 30 the brig sailed from Havana bound for Cowes, England; her movements until she was reported sailing from Cronstadt, Russia were not clear. She entered at Boston on the 23rd of October.¹⁶⁸ She finally showed a profit (\$840.97) for her two owners, Lord and Callender, for the year.¹⁶⁹

Business was not at all easy for shipowners in 1835--freights were a matter of great competition especially in

¹⁶⁶LC, Accounts: Neva, account current between Neva and G. Callender, January 1, 1835.

¹⁶⁷LC, Letter, T. Nowell to Wm. Lord, April 26, 1834; see also Letters 1834, account between Caroline and G. Callender, January 1, 1835.

¹⁶⁸Kennebunk Gazette, June 21 --November 1, 1834. For contents of her Russian cargo see p. 127.

¹⁶⁹LC, Accounts: Neva, account current between Caroline and G. Callender, January 30, 1835.

ports to the south. Vessels were plentiful and there were periods of idleness in port for all of Lord's vessels. This concern was reflected in the fact that George Callender wrote many letters to William in this year. By now the ship Neva, brig Caroline, and bark Diantha were all in service. All three lay idle in Havana in May.

The Neva had gone coastwise to New Orleans in the fall of 1834 but could not find a coastwise freight home until March of 1835. At Boston she loaded fish, hoops, and shooks (some on the owners' account) and departed for Havana on April 13th.¹⁷⁰ The captain wrote that Havana sugar was too high-priced and that several vessels were bound for Russia. After laying 23 days at Havana, he went to Matanzas and loaded there. The Neva went to St. Petersburg via Elsinore and Cronstadt, arriving out early in August; she returned to New York with some freight and bar iron, sheet iron, hemp, and feathers for the owners' account.¹⁷¹

On return to New York, Capt. Joshua Perkins of Kennebunk replaced Capt. Nowell who chose to leave the vessel. Capt. Lord went to New York to meet the ship and chartered her to New Orleans for \$1300. Proceeds for the year showed about \$6000 for the Russia voyage and \$700 for the New Orleans voyage earlier in the year.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, April 13, 1835.

¹⁷¹LC, Letters, T. Nowell to Wm. Lord, May 16-20, August 12, 1835.

¹⁷²LC, Accounts: Neva, account current between Neva

After his 1834 passage to New Orleans and Russia, Capt. Nason left the Caroline to Capt. Samuel L. Bragdon. After one passage to Havana with lumber, fish and potatoes and a return with molasses on the owners' account, Bragdon became ill and was replaced at Boston in March by Captain Pratt. The brig was loaded with fish, hogsheads, and hoops for Havana and arrived out in May to poor business conditions. After disposing of the freight, Pratt left in ballast for Boston, arriving in July. Callender got a coastwise freight for New Orleans; the brig arrived out in October of 1835 and from there went to Havana.¹⁷³

The new bark Diantha, on her maiden voyage, arrived out at New Orleans in January of 1835 with a cargo consisting partly of hay and potatoes for the owners. Captain Charles Williams reported the hay rather poor for the New Orleans market. He got a full freight of cotton for Havre @ 1½¢ a pound. He followed orders, though unhappily, and returned to Havana in May to low freights and scores of idle vessels. The Caroline and Neva were idle.¹⁷⁴ Callender was disheartened; he wrote Lord in June that:

At present as I cannot lean much upon the George +

and G. Callender, April 30, 1835; see also letters, Callender to Wm. Lord, November 23--December 1, 1835.

¹⁷³LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, January 7--February 3, August 6--September 8, 1835; see also Letters 1835, account current between Caroline and G. Callender, April 30, 1835.

¹⁷⁴LC, Letters, C. Williams to Wm. Lord, January 5, January 12--May 18, 1835.

Caroline for support I have nothing to do with speculation either in merchandise, lands or stock--I must trust to the Neva + Diantha to provide for my family.¹⁷⁵

All three of Lord's vessels went to shipping merchants Mariettger Knight and Company for homeward freight; the Diantha reported that she was leaving for Kennebunk in ballast but instead entered at Boston late in June. Profits through July were slim; proceeds remitted to Welles and Company from the Havre voyages apparently had not arrived and profits gave her owners only about \$300 each. She was then chartered for Batavia (Indonesia) not to return until 1836.¹⁷⁶

In 1835 the vessels had been concerned mainly with the trades from Havana or New Orleans to Havre and Russia, all mixed with coastal passages linking Boston or New York with those ports. For all Callender's complaints, Lord profited from all vessels, the Neva alone accounting for \$3300 of Lord's \$4100 balance with Callender.¹⁷⁷

Ice, coal and paving stones were novel freights for Lord's vessels in 1836 in addition to the usual tobacco, cotton, sugar, lumber or hay freights which continued to be carried to or from the southern ports, Europe and the Cuban markets. The Neva and Caroline made coastwise voyages

¹⁷⁵IC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, June 8, 1835.

¹⁷⁶IC, Accounts: Diantha, account from G. Callender for outfits for Diantha, July 31, 1835. See above, p. 128.

¹⁷⁷IC, Letters 1835, account current between G. Callender and Wm. Lord, January 1, 1836.

between Boston and New Orleans. Both began the year at Havana after leaving New Orleans. The Neva arrived in Boston with about \$2140 in freight and obtained a \$1900 charter for New Orleans. Callender suggested coppering her at Liverpool if they chose to send her there. She arrived at New Orleans on May 2 to low freights but plenty of produce for shipping. Thence she went to Antwerp and returned to New York arriving in December. She had been coppered and brought a small freight.¹⁷⁸ Capt. Thomas Lord went to New York to manage the vessel while in port.

The Caroline also returned to Boston with cotton; Callender referred to that as a miserable business as he preferred European freights. Callender found an ice freight @ \$5 a ton, and the shippers would load and unload; the brig took 229 tons of ice to New Orleans. She arrived out a few days before the Neva and then returned to Boston. Broker Deshon provided freight to go to Fall River, Massachusetts from Pictou, Nova Scotia. After putting in at Boston to repair leaks, the brig got to Pictou and completed her voyage. She arrived back in Boston in October and was repaired with money sent by Lord. After getting her off the railway early in December, she was loaded with ice @ \$4 a ton and paving stones @ \$3 a ton and sent to New Orleans.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, March 18, March 22, May 20, December 26, 1836.

¹⁷⁹LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, March 4, March 25, April 4, May 20, July 9, July 16, August 23, November 15, November 21, December 8, 1836.

Thus she made 3 trips to New Orleans.

The Diantha did not return from Batavia until June; she came into Boston and Lord went to look after her. In less than a month she departed for Havana and thence to New Orleans with 401 hogsheads of tobacco. Captain Nathaniel L. Thompson (temporary master for one voyage) reported poor hopes for cotton and finally got a cargo of tobacco for Bremen.

William Lord was especially active in developing his shipowning interests in 1837; the year saw the launching of the brig Swiss Boy in December and purchase of part of the ship Ruthelia. The Swiss Boy was one of only four vessels built at Kennebunk in 1837. His gains were somewhat offset by the wreck of the Neva.

After discharging her cargo from Antwerp at New York Lord decided to send the Neva to Havana but his orders arrived too late and she took a freight to New Orleans.¹⁸⁰ In March Callender wrote to Lord about reports in the New York papers of her total loss on Berry Island--with freight uninsured and insurance on the ship for only partial value.¹⁸¹ The account of her loss indicated that she was:

. . . bound from N. Y. to New Orleans, on a calm night, without a ripple in the water, she drifted between Abaco and Stirrup Key, on to Money Key, a low island of the Bahamas, in some places 20 feet above the sea,

¹⁸⁰LC, Letter, Joshua Perkins to Wm. Lord, January 16, 1837.

¹⁸¹LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, March 3, 1837.

and covered with a few bushes only. Wreckers came from Stirrup Key and saved the valuable cargo of merchandise and dry goods.¹⁸²

Her account, finally settled in May of 1837 with her owners (William Lord, Capt. Thomas Lord, George Callender) ended her career with a balance to their credit of \$13,979.06 for her cargo sales from Europe and her proceeds from insurance.¹⁸³

The Caroline unloaded ice and stone at New Orleans, got a good freight of 709 bales of cotton for Boston, and returned again to New Orleans with:

114 bundles of hay on owners' account
19 barrels of potatoes on owners' account
200 boxes of fish
\$800 in freight for other shippers¹⁸⁴

An interruption in letters occurred while Lord made a trip to Boston in April when she was in again. The brig next appeared at Tampa Bay, West Florida late in August. A change in command had occurred in the interval; Captain Cyrus Perkins replaced Captain Pratt when the vessel was in at Boston in April.¹⁸⁵

The bark Diantha returned from Bremen by way of Cowes, England, Baltimore, and Philadelphia; she arrived at New York on the 21st of March. Captain Charles Williams

¹⁸²W[illiam] E. Barry, Sketch of an old River (Boston: Alfred Mudge and Son, Printers, 1888) p. 6.

¹⁸³LC, Accounts: Neva, account current between Neva and G. Callender, May 6, 1837.

¹⁸⁴LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, February 28, March 10, March 24, April 1, 1837.

¹⁸⁵LC, Letter, Cyrus Perkins to Wm. Lord, October 19, 1837.

(1/3) owner) went on board at Baltimore and came with her to New York.¹⁸⁶ Captain Williams took the bark to Havana, and then to Hamburg with a freight of sugar loaded by Charles Drake and Company by order of Solomon Heine of Hamburg. Captain Williams wrote that there was little freight there, so he went to Shields, England where he loaded Newcastle coal at a low price.¹⁸⁷ The bark was in Boston by the end of October, and Callender sold all of the coal (387 tons) loaded on the owners' account for \$2391.66 net proceeds. The vessel made \$3000 net for her 3 owners for the year.¹⁸⁸

Captain Thompson, after leaving the Diantha to Captain Williams, took the ship Ruthelia at Boston; immediately after purchase (by William Lord, Thomas Lord, George Callender) she was sent to New Orleans. After laying idle three months, the ship went to Liverpool in July. Failing to find freights for any eastern port in the U. S.,

¹⁸⁶LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, February 7, 1837; see also Margaret J. Thompson, Captain Nathaniel Lord Thompson of Kennebunk, Maine and the Ships He Built, 1811-1889 (Boston: Charles E. Lauriat Co., 1937) p. 8.

¹⁸⁷LC, Letters 1837; notice from the United States Consulate, Cowes to Wm. Lord, July 18, 1837; see also Letters, C. Williams to Wm. Lord, July 27--August 25, 1837.

¹⁸⁸LC, Accounts: Diantha, accounts current between Diantha and G. Callender, April 18, November 30, December 12, 1837. Cutler lists the Diantha in 1837, 285 tons, Capt. C. Williams, as part of the Despatch Line between Boston and New Orleans; the Boston agent was Daniel Deshon. Often vessels listed in lines sailed for them only once or twice. See Carl C. Cutler, Queens of the Western Ocean: The Story of America's Mail and Passenger Sailing Lines (Annapolis, Md.: U. S. Naval Institute, 1961) p. 451.

the captain took salt at \$5 a ton and sailed for New Orleans in September.¹⁸⁹

Shipowners had much difficulty in finding profitable freight rates in 1837; Lord's balance with Callender ran slightly in the red (\$9.85) due to low profits, purchase of half of the Ruthelia and the loss of the Neva.¹⁹⁰ Lack of reference in Callender's letters to the new Swiss Boy and its construction was due to local handling of her accounts at Kennebunk. The 1837 bank crisis also hurt merchants, but freight rates were expected to improve when specie payments were resumed. The vessels continued tramp voyages with sugar, fish, ice, stone, hay and coal but had to take much on the owners' accounts--thus trading was vital too.

In 1838 Lord's business at the brick store was at a low ebb; his vessels also had their problems. Only 3 letters from George Callender were available, all written in April. Callender acknowledged William's offer of part of a new ship to be built that year. A letter from Capt. Williams from New Orleans in February reported the Swiss Boy, Caroline and his own bark, the Diantha all there. They were engaged as follows:

brig Swiss Boy-----loading for Liverpool
brig Caroline-----loading cotton for Boston
bark Diantha-----loading cotton for Liverpool¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹Thompson, Capt. Nathaniel Lord Thompson, p. 7; see also IC, letter, Nathaniel Thompson to Wm. Lord, September 15, 1837.

¹⁹⁰LC, Invoices 1837, account current between G. Callender and Wm. Lord, December 30, 1837.

¹⁹¹IC, Letter, C. Williams to Wm. Lord, February 9, 1838.

Twelve years old, the brig Caroline was having difficulties in engaging cargo due to doubts as to her seaworthiness. Captain Cyrus Perkins reported to George Callender in February that he had lost one freight when an insurance inspector judged the brig leaky and gave him difficulties in renewing insurance. He finally obtained a certificate of soundness and got a freight of pork and cotton. Captain Perkins did admit the keel had been eaten by worms at Tampa Bay the previous fall.¹⁹² After repairs in Boston, she was placed under the command of Captain Nathaniel L. Thompson in June. The new master took her to New Orleans and returned to New York in November. After arrival the brig was sold for \$3750 to Richard Bartlett, president of an insurance company. Tobias and Ivory Lord, William's brothers, sold her; Tobias wrote that in regard to prospective buyers, Ivory ". . . would not allow him [a buyer] to bore her--nor would allow him to have pounded so faithful a servant."¹⁹³ Even in her condition she made about \$4000 for owners William Lord and George Callender in her last year of service.¹⁹⁴

The brig Swiss Boy (Capt. Jotham Blaisdell) and the bark Diantha (Capt. Charles Williams) were plying about

¹⁹²LC, Letter (copy), Cyrus Perkins to G. Callender, February 10, 1838.

¹⁹³LC, Letter, Tobias Lord to Wm. Lord with attached letter from Ivory Lord, November 15, 1838.

¹⁹⁴LC, Accounts: Neva, accounts current between Caroline and G. Callender, April 21, July 6, 1838, January 1, 1839.

the same routes in the latter half of 1838. They both made voyages to Antwerp from Havana, and from there to New York (Swiss Boy) and Boston (Diantha). The Diantha had been out during the summer, the Swiss Boy in the late fall. Adam McCulloch was handling the accounts for the Swiss Boy at this time rather than Callender; McCulloch was a Kennebunk man, perhaps accounting partly for the lack of written records concerning the vessel.

Before taking the Caroline, Capt. Nathaniel L. Thompson held brief command of the Ruthelia. Capt. Thompson reported on how she began (and ended) her year:

On the last day of January 1838 was struck by lightning and took fire [and] could not put it out
Latt 38, Long 59, on the 3d of Feb was taken off by
Capt. Robinson of brig Chavaleer Jewett of St. Andrews,
...and carried to Barbados,¹⁹⁵

She had been in the Liverpool--New Orleans trade. Having insurance on the vessel and her freight, her owners (William Lord, Capt. Thomas Lord and George Callender) collected over \$30,000 for the loss of vessel and freight; it was credited to their accounts with only about \$1200 deducted for expenses.¹⁹⁶

As 1839 began, the Diantha was loading for New Orleans in Boston; from New Orleans she returned north to New York as European freights were low. In April Capt. Williams wrote from New York requesting advice from Callender and Lord;

¹⁹⁵Thompson, Captain Nathaniel Lord Thompson, p. 7.

¹⁹⁶IC, Accounts: Ruthelia, account current between Ruthelia and G. Callender, May 31, 1838.

Lord decided to send her to Havana. She went to Europe and returned to the states with Newcastle coal by the end of the year. Her net proceeds for the year were only \$2804.12, with main credits listed as proceeds from Baring Brothers.¹⁹⁷

The Swiss Boy entered at New York from Antwerp early in 1839. Capt. Blaisdell secured a freight of molasses hogsheads, potatoes, fish and coal for Havana through Tobias Lord. Callender reported in April that the brig had a good freight to England and Tobias Lord reported her arrival back in New York on the 16th of September.¹⁹⁸ Tobias wrote to William in Kennebunk that her new cargo for Havana included 200 tons of stone and some hay. Callender, although not handling her accounts insured her through Boston offices for her Kennebunk owners.

The new cotton ship, the Marcia Cleaves was launched in January of 1839. On her first passage out she went south; passing the Bahamas in February she was found leaky and Captain John Murphy had to ship extra hands to pump.¹⁹⁹ After arrival at New Orleans she loaded cotton and tobacco (in May) for Liverpool with plans for coppering

¹⁹⁷LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, April 2--December 4, 1839; see also Letters 1839, account current between Tobias Lord and owners of Diantha, April 19, 1839; see also Accounts: Diantha, account current between Diantha and G. Callender, November 30, 1839.

¹⁹⁸LC, Letters, Tobias Lord to Wm. Lord, March 8, September 17, 1839; see also letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, April 23, 1839.

¹⁹⁹LC, Letter, U. S. Consulate in Nassau, Bahamas to G. Callender, February 20, 1839.

at Liverpool to remedy her continual leaking. For her return to Boston, the Captain obtained some freight and bought salt and coal on the owners' account. On arrival at Boston in September, Capt. Murphy left the ship. Capt. Nathaniel L. Thompson replaced Murphy and took hay and passengers to Mobile, arriving in November.²⁰⁰

The bark Diantha arrived back from Newcastle with coal in November of 1839, and was placed temporarily in 1840 under the command of Captain Samuel L. Bragdon of Kennebunk. She was sent to New Orleans with hay, potatoes, empty hogsheads, and mackerel, all on the owner's account. Finding no coastal freight, she then sailed for Antwerp by way of Cowes, England. After unloading cotton in Antwerp, Captain Bragdon chartered the bark to go to New Orleans to load tobacco and come directly back to Antwerp. The owners would have preferred that the vessel come to Boston and take a coastal freight to Havana and indicated such to Captain Bragdon. The vessel did put in unexpectedly at Boston in August; Captain Bragdon was very sick with bilious fever and ague. William Lord sent Captain Shorey to take charge and the bark was sent out immediately to complete her voyage to Antwerp--then to pick up salt for New Orleans at Cadiz or St. Ubes.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, May 13--October 8, 1839; see also Accounts: Marcia Cleaves, passim.

²⁰¹LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, January 13, May 18, June 19, August 17-22, 1840.

As the owners learned early in 1840, the brig Swiss Boy, bound for Havana, had collided with the ship William Engs in December on the Bahama Banks, losing her figure head and spars and sustaining some other damage. Lord was notified that the ship Junior had found her totally abandoned and had put on sailors to take her to Nassau.²⁰² The American Consul took possession but lost her to the British government as abandoned property. A controversy and a race for time resulted. The Boston insurance office refused to accept the abandonment and sent an agent to Nassau hoping to prevent the brig from being sold as an abandoned wreck; the insurers preferred to pay for salvage and repairs but her owners clearly did not want her back. Nevertheless Callender felt it unfortunate that the crew had not tried to bring her in. The insurers planned a lawsuit against the captain if unable to get possession but that course wasn't necessary as they were able to claim the vessel. After some repairs, she was sent home to Kennebunk under Capt. Cotting (sent down for that purpose).²⁰³ After repairs she was placed under Capt. Blaisdell's command again and sent to Havana with Kennebunk lumber. She then carried a freight to Hamburg and returned with salt from Cadiz. Adam McCulloch and Company in Kennebunk, handling her accounts, were notified

²⁰²LC, Letter, E. Wainwright to Wm. Lord, January [no day], 1840.

²⁰³LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, February 6, April 16, 1840.

of her remittances to Baring Brothers from Hamburg.²⁰⁴

From Mobile, the Marcia Cleaves took a charter to load cotton at Apalachicola, Florida for Havre. Callender wrote advising Captain Thompson to try to return from Europe to a northeastern port in preference to a southern port. Captain Thompson did go south, however, sailing for New Orleans on May 9th, indicating by letter that he had over 150 steerage passengers and 4 cabin passengers on board as well as a little freight. The Marcia Cleaves arrived in New Orleans on June 26th, discharged her passengers--with the exception of two who had died--and engaged 1800 bales of cotton for Liverpool. Captain Thompson wrote in September from Liverpool that he had a return freight to New Orleans of slate, tin and salt.²⁰⁵ After arriving in New Orleans, he was still waiting for an acceptable freight north in December of 1840. The vessel had had a good year however: by October, her owners had been credited with over \$13,000.²⁰⁶

Thus in 1840, Lord's main concerns had been the Diantha, Swiss Boy, Marcia Cleaves, and the construction of the new Finland launched in November. The vessels continued to carry northern produce south, to make voyages to Europe, and to make returns to Boston and New Orleans.

²⁰⁴LC, Letter, Baring Brothers to Adam McCulloch and Company, October 19, 1840.

²⁰⁵LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, February 22, 1840; see also letters, Nathaniel L. Thompson to Wm. Lord, May 7, July 1, September 16, 1840.

²⁰⁶LC, Accounts: Marcia Cleaves, account current between Marcia Cleaves and J. Callender, October 8, 1840.

The decade of the 1830's as a whole brought more specialization in trade patterns as time passed. Lord chose to concentrate mainly on the Baltic--West India trade and on the cotton trade between New Orleans and Liverpool or Havre. Trades popular among some Boston shippers, such as the East Indies or South American trades were not among Lord's interests.

With no suitable Maine or New England products for the European trades, Kennebunk vessels had to combine coasting with the foreign trades. They generally took sugar, cotton or tobacco to European markets. Some of those goods were freights and small amounts were purchased by the owners with proceeds from northern produce shipped south: hay, fish, hoops, shooks, lumber, hogsheads, potatoes, apples, ice or stone. Varying combinations were necessary for southern markets. Generally Lord preferred to take as much freight as possible, rather than risk his own funds. In addition he would often distribute his own shipments among several vessels. For returns other than to New Orleans, Boston was the usual port of entry from European voyages; Boston rather than Kennebunk could distribute salt or iron cargos more easily. Russian returns were usually iron, hemp, and sheetings. Coal might be added to fill a vessel. Vessels returning might load salt or take passengers instead of coal.

Lord and Callender established connections with houses such as Baring Brothers in London and Welles and

Company at Paris for remittances on freight and money for expenses. Usually Lord and Callender preferred that captains remit their full freight proceeds and then draw for expenses rather than keep cash on hand. The preference usually was for them to draw on Lord or Callender personally rather than on freight.

Some of the vessels were mainly coasters and some were mainly for the foreign trades. An early interest, the Caroline, was primarily a coaster, running between Boston and Havana or New Orleans. She usually took combined northern cargos south and freighted cotton or molasses back. The ship Neva was engaged in the Baltic--West Indies trade and also in the New Orleans--Havre trade, carrying mostly cotton and tobacco. She made some coastwise voyages. The Diantha also mixed her trades but specialized somewhat more in cotton. The brig Swiss Boy followed similar patterns but carried a little more sugar. The Marcia Cleaves, the latest vessel, showed the most specialization; she was a cotton ship and confined herself almost entirely to the New Orleans--Liverpool or Havre routes. The increased specialization was to be even more true after 1840, as was the carriage of passengers.

Chapter 3

LORD AND THE WORLD MARKET: 1840-1860

1840-1850

There was a long lapse in ship construction in the early 1840's; trade was dull and there was little incentive to build. The national economy was languishing and cotton exports fell between 1835 and 1845. After 1845 the cotton carrying trade improved and vessel construction picked up. In the District of Kennebunk, there were only nine vessels built in 1841, 1842 and 1843; four were merely schooners. In 1844 the situation improved and twenty-six were built in the next three years; sixty-six were built in the period 1844 through 1850.¹ Lord took part in the spurt of local building; after building no vessels since the Finland was launched in 1840 (his longest idle span), he contracted for a new ship to be built in 1845. He continued to build: one in 1846, one in 1847, one in 1848, two in 1849. Consequently the period of the late 1840's was especially active; Lord continued construction at Kennebunk, although there was a tendency for Lord himself to hold smaller shares in those vessels as well as to involve more owners in the individual

¹S. E. Bryant (comp.), District of Kennebunk: A List of Vessels Built, From 1800 to 1873, with a Supplement from 1874 to 1884, Published by the Brick Store Museum from the original documents, 1874 (Kennebunk, Maine: Press of Arundel, 1950), pp. 7-8.

ships. Lord did tend to concentrate his own efforts on building, and left much of the management to George Callender who dealt more with the running of the ships and relationships with their captains. Each of these topics has been dealt with in this chapter: ship construction, fractional ownership of those vessels, their management and the relationships with the captains, and finally their movements 1841-1845 and 1846-1850.

Ship construction commenced again in 1845 when Lord, in agreement with George Callender, contracted for the new ship Hartley to be built as a cotton ship to replace the Finland wrecked in 1844. The probability of Polk's election bothered Callender, but he decided they might as well build anyway. Callender procured a large amount of materials from Boston and nearby towns and shipped them north; railroads, then available, were frequent means of conveyance in addition to coastal schooners. A quantity of southern planking was ordered from Delaware and American cordage (rather than Russian) was purchased from the Plymouth Cordage Company in Massachusetts; American duck was also used.²

Although he had no share in her for the first year,

²William Lord Collection (MSS in Brick Store Museum, Kennebunk, Maine), letters, George Callender to William Lord, November 9, 1844; January 29; April 24; May 14; June 3, 1845. Hereinafter material in this collection is cited as LC, followed by folder title, if not obvious by the nature of the item cited. See Bibliography for description of the Lord Collection.

the ship was built expressly for the command of Hartley Lord, William's son. Hartley helped to supervise her construction at the yard of Jacob Perkins. The vessel itself was to have a 460-ton hull @ \$22.50 a ton. The estimated cost with cordage and other extras was \$24,250, double the cost just for the hull.³ In a letter to his father, on a trip to Boston, Hartley showed a bit of Maine conservatism when he wrote: "I am afraid, come to raise her + get her timbers up, she will be too sharp."⁴

She was launched sometime in August or September, a 468 ton ship. The Hartley was the first Kennebunk-built, Lord vessel to be registered in Boston at launching.⁵ Callender arranged for a cook and crew to be sent from Boston, and a mate (Mr. Rider) as well.⁶ Hay, lumber, casks, and wheelbarrows were loaded at Kennebunk, some as freight and some on the owners' account (Lord and Callender); she sailed for New Orleans and there engaged her first cotton cargo for Liverpool in December.⁷

³LC, Construction Invoices: Ship Hartley, memo of agreement with Jacob Perkins (by Wm. Lord), December 28, 1844.

⁴LC, Letter, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, April 7, 1845.

⁵LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, August 13, September 1, 4, 1845. The Bryant list notes launch in October; that was her time of first departure. William Lord was listed as main owner. See Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, p.7.

⁶LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, September 10, 19, October 11, 1845.

⁷LC, Letter, H. Lord to Wm. Lord, December 20, 31, 1845; see also Invoices 1845, receipt from Adam McCulloch

In 1846, a new bark, the Francis Watts, was being built at the yard of Robert Smith Jr. It was the last small vessel, and the last vessel other than ships to be built for Lord. No contract for construction was available; apparently Smith was building the bark on a day-to-day basis with money and materials advanced by Lord; on completion the bark was registered in Lord's name. In the spring, Callender ordered chain cable, American hemp, and cordage. The cordage was sent to Boston on the Old Colony Railroad for reshipment to Kennebunk.⁸

Although Jotham Blaisdell (part owner of Swiss Boy) had at first agreed to go as master and purchase a share, he later declined the command but still agreed to buy an eighth from Lord. Blaisdell and Callender went together to buy materials in Boston. She was launched about July 1⁴ and registered in Lord's name.⁹ She was sent to Havana with lumber by Lord.

The hull cost close to \$7000; in Lord's yearly account current for 1846, Callender credited Lord with cash for purchase of half of the bark and outfits and added \$450 profit allowed Lord for supervision of construction.¹⁰

(for September, 1845), February 4, 1852; see also Letter, H. Lord to G. Callender, December 31, 1845.

⁸LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, April 28, May 21, 27, June 5, 1846.

⁹LC, Letters, *ibid.*, June 24, July 6, 10, 22, 25, 1846.

¹⁰LC, Construction Invoices: Bark Francis Watts, bill from G. Callender to owners of Francis Watts, August

Callender did not expect quick returns on the Francis Watts and proposed selling her for \$13,000 through Tobias Lord at New York, or running her between New York and Havana until spring when she could go into the Mediterranean trades.¹¹

Captain Joshua Perkins took the bark to Havana and found a poor market for lumber; he reported 5 lumber vessels in from Bath and Bangor and said: ". . . the sound of Kennebunk spoils the sale for good lumber" ¹² He eventually sold it for \$3000 but expenses ate up half the proceeds. He departed for New York in October with sugar, coffee, and tobacco, but 2 days out of Havana, the masts were lost in a hurricane and the bark drifted off Key West. The captain dislocated an arm as well. As did other vessels in trouble there, the bark had to order materials from home for repairs. A schooner was chartered to take money and supplies.¹³

The bark arrived at New York in January; considered unprofitable, she was sold by Tobias Lord to Woodhull, Minturn and Wendall, merchants, for \$14,000

21, 1846; see also Construction Invoices: Bark Francis Watts, receipt from Robert Smith Jr., October 29, 1846; see also Invoices 1837, account current between G. Callender and Wm. Lord, January 1, 1847.

¹¹LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, October 27, 28, 1846.

¹²LC, Letter, Joshua Perkins to Wm. Lord, September 10, 1846.

¹³LC, Letter (copy), J. Perkins to G. Callender, September 9, 1846; see also letters, J. Perkins to Wm. Lord, October 17, 18, 1846; see also letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, November 12, December 22, 1846.

(divided by her 3 owners: Lord $1/2$, Blaisdell $1/8$, Callender $3/8$).¹⁴ Woodhull and Minturn were the agents for the Old Line of packets from New York to Glasgow, and established the New Line to Liverpool; they may have used the bark in their lines.¹⁵

Callender requested that Lord send him a bill of sale based on her registry at the Kennebunk Customs House, and then completed the accounts which resulted in only a small loss.¹⁶

The next vessel planned, the ship Mt. Washington, was built for Lord at Kennebunk in 1847; Lord advanced the cash and handled all the accounts locally. With the exception of the Swiss Boy in 1837, the new ship was the first built for Lord in which Callender had no part, either in ownership or purchase of materials. Callender did come for the launching, and had her first yearly insurance policy written at Boston.¹⁷ Lord's account current for the ship showed a hull cost of \$22,111.75 for the 547-ton ship.

¹⁵Carl C. Cutler, Queens of the Western Ocean: The Story of America's Mail and Passenger Sailing Lines (Annapolis, Maryland: United States Naval Institute, 1961), p. 393; see also Robert G. Albion, Square-Riggers on Schedule (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1938), p. 45.

¹⁶LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, February 6, April 16, 1847; see also Accounts: Ship Ruthelia, Ship Hartley, Bark Francis Watts, account current between Francis Watts and G. Callender, April 16, 1847. Folder hereinafter cited as Accounts: Ruthelia for any of the 3 vessels.

¹⁷LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, November 18, 27, December 1, 1847.

and a final total of \$31,128.52 for her. She was built at the yard of Robert Smith Jr. for Lord (3/8), Smith (1/4), Charles Barry (1/4), and Jotham Blaisdell (1/8).¹⁸ Barry was Lord's son-in-law. Blaisdell procured many materials and was listed as main owner. Thomas Maling, local rigger, and the Plymouth Cordage Company again appeared as sources of labor and materials.¹⁹

The Mt. Washington cleared coastwise in December under Captain Blaisdell. She carried a partial cargo of hay and was bound for New Orleans.²⁰

In 1848 Lord received an inquiry from John Wendall of South Street, New York City, regarding what his charge would be for building a bark of 275-300 tons of materials equal to the Francis Watts (he had been one of her purchasers) and a bit sharper, to sail fast but still carry well.²¹ Lord did not undertake the task, nor did he actually build himself that year. Instead he helped Charles Williams to build the Ocean Star; complete details of construction were not available, nor were they for any vessel launched after the Mt. Washington.

¹⁸LC, Construction Invoices: Ship Mt. Washington, account current between Mt. Washington and Wm. Lord, June 15, 1848.

¹⁹LC, Construction Invoices: Ship Mt. Washington, passim.

²⁰LC, Construction Invoices: Ship Mt. Washington, note of hay freight by George W. Stone, December 18, 1847; see also receipt from customs house, December 20, 1847.

²¹LC, Letter, John Wendall to Wm. Lord, March 23, 1848.

Callender took a share from Williams although he felt the ship would be too large (714 tons) for Kennebunk, and would be better for New Orleans. He sent some materials for her, noted her October launching, and sent a crew in December for her departure.²²

The Ocean Star was built by Clement Littlefield and registered in Boston--first master Claudius B. Williams, main owner Charles Williams. Her accounts, handled by Callender, at Boston showed her owned by: Lord (1/4) Charles Williams (3/8), Robert Smith Jr. (1/8), George Wise (1/8), and George Callender and Company (1/8).²³

William Lord was concerned with planning two vessels in 1845--to be the William Lord and the Olympus. Hartley Lord and George Callender, through their new partnership that year, eventually took shares on both, but were involved with the planning of only the William Lord from the time of original contract. The Olympus may have been constructed on speculation by her builders, to be sold in small pieces.

Hartley wrote his father that he and Callender would take a quarter of the William Lord but preferred small shares in more vessels to increase their commissions;

²²LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, March 18; September 14, 27; October 20; December 11, 22, 1848.

²³LC, Accounts: Ship Neva, Ship Hartley, Ship Ocean Star, Brig Caroline, account current between Ocean Star and G. Callender and Company, October 17, 1850. Folder hereinafter cited as Accounts: Neva for any of the 4 vessels.

they did take a quarter. Hartley arranged for a Medford, Massachusetts man (a Mr. Stetson) to make the model and molds.²⁴ Lord had had numerous past dealings with Bourne and Kingsbury of Kennebunk and could have had the models made locally but dissension had obviously arisen as shown by a letter from Hartley; he wrote:

. . . your chance would be better for getting the moulds + model in season by having them made at home--but B + K always make some mistake--or do different from what you tell them--too much fancy work about them I think--and they know so much more than anybody else--like to have their own way +c +c.²⁵

The William Lord was built at the yard of Robert Smith Jr. at a cost of about \$26,500 for the hull (743 tons). Callender and Company sent cordage, duck, and chain.²⁶ Launching occurred in October, and Capt. Charles E. Barry (Lord's son-in-law) was placed in command. The ship was placed under Boston registry, with William Lord listed as main owner.²⁷ Lord's actual share at the time was unclear. The vessel was sent first to Mobile.

The 745-ton ship Olympus was constructed at Titcomb's yard at \$38 a ton for the hull. Callender corresponded with the Titcombs when the ship was near

²⁴LC, Letters, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, January 1, 23, 1849.

²⁵LC, Letter, *ibid.*, January 30, 1849.

²⁶LC, Letters 1849, account current between Wm. Lord and G. Callender, March 19, 1850; see also letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, February 20, 1849.

²⁷Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, p. 8.

completion and inquired about buying a small share; they were considering selling the whole ship but Callender eventually bought a sixth out of the third held by Lord. Her first master, Horace Wilson, held a twelfth but it was in Lord's name.²⁸ The ship was listed with William Lord as main owner under Kennebunk registry for her first sailing early in January of 1850.²⁹

Throughout this active period of building at Kennebunk the ships were meant as cotton carriers; their first passages were to New Orleans with Kennebunk cargos; they rarely returned. Perhaps due to the rising costs of building larger vessels, the numbers of fractional shares expanded in the late 1840's. Persons with shares in the 1830's generally continued to invest with Lord in the new vessels, but many more owners were involved. Lord kept smaller shares in the late 1840's as did the other owners.

The Swiss Boy, Marcia Cleaves, and Diantha continued in service through 1849 when they were all sold. Ownership of those three remained the same with one exception. After giving up command of the Marcia Cleaves, Captain Thomas Lord sold his quarter to Lord and Callender, at one-eighth each. Lord then sold two-eighths to

²⁸LC, Letters 1849, accounts current between Wm. Lord and G. Callender, March 19, 1850; see also letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, October 6, 9, 12; November 25, 1850.

²⁹Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, p. 8.

Daniel Cleaves, although that share remained in Lord's name temporarily.³⁰ The Finland continued under the same owners to 1844 when she was wrecked.

The five new ships built between 1845 and 1850 began to illustrate changing practices in disposition of ownership. Instead of the two or three owners common to 1845, as many as six owners per ship appeared after 1845. Most of the same past owners were represented, but a number of new ones were added. Totally fourteen different individuals owned the five new ships. In all but the William Lord, the captains held shares. The resulting smaller shares in the expanded operation was no less true of Lord than the other owners; whereas he had held generally a third to three-eighths or a half most commonly in the 1830's, he more often held one-quarter or three-eighths in the ships built in the late 1840's.

The Hartley, at launching, was owned one-half each by Lord and Callender, but soon they each sold an eighth to Captain Hartley Lord. When Hartley left the ship the next captain was sold a share. Thus she was owned:

<u>1845-1848</u>	<u>1849-1857</u>
3/8 William Lord	1/4 William Lord
3/8 George Callender	1/2 George Callender and Company
1/4 Capt. Hartley Lord	1/8 Capt. Charles Morrill
	1/8 Thomas Lord

³⁰See Table 2.2; see also LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, February 25, 28; March 2, 1847; see also Invoices 1847, account current between G. Callender and Wm. Lord, January 1, 1847.

There was no indication of any changes made after 1851.³¹

Only one record was preserved indicating owners of the Mt. Washington, and changes may have been made. At her time of launching in 1847 she was owned as follows:

3/8 William Lord	1/4 Charles Barry
1/4 Robert Smith Jr.	1/8 Capt. Jotham Blaisdell ³²

The Ocean Star, launched in 1849 was recorded only through 1852, with her first owners being:

1/4 William Lord	1/8 George Wise
3/8 Charles Williams	1/8 George Callender and Company ³³
1/8 Robert Smith Jr.	

When Tobias Lord became master in 1851, he purchased an eighth from Williams.³⁴ Claudius Williams, her first master, held a small share in his brother Charles' name.

The William Lord, lost in 1851 after a two-year career, was owned by:

1/4 William Lord	1/8 Robert Smith Jr.
1/16 John W. Fairfield	3/16 Daniel Cleaves
1/8 Charles Williams	1/4 G. Callender and Co. ³⁵

Little information was available on the ownership

³¹LC, Accounts: Ruthelia, accounts current between Hartley and G. Callender, October 26, 1846; October 10, 1847; October 5, 1848; December 10, 1850; see also Letters 1851, account current between Hartley and G. Callender, December 3, 1851.

³²LC, Construction Invoices: Ship Mt. Washington, account current between Mt. Washington and Wm. Lord, June 15, 1848.

³³LC, Accounts: Neva, account current between Ocean Star and G. Callender and Co., October 17, 1850.

³⁴LC, Letters 1851, account current between Ocean Star and G. Callender and Co., December 13, 1851.

³⁵LC, Letters 1851, account current between William Lord and G. Callender and Co., December 16, 1851.

of the Olympus. William Lord owned one-sixth of her, but half of that actually belonged to her master, Horace Wilson. It remained for a while in Lord's name.³⁶

Among the various owners, the captains were generally expected to buy a share and the vessels were expressly built for the command of these first masters. Several were relatives of Lord as well: Hartley Lord, Charles Barry, and Claudius Williams. Daniel Cleaves, an even more common investor in the 1850's, was Lord's brother-in-law. Robert Smith Jr., represented in three vessels, owned the yard where they were constructed.

Certain of the owners of each of the vessels had more responsibility of management; there were no major changes in methods of management as compared to the 1830's. As time passed, Lord seemed to be leaving more of the details of management to George Callender, to spend his own time on planning and contracting for new vessels. Callender did consult Lord frequently, and particularly in the cases of certain vessels; in addition, Callender often requested that Lord consult another owner and give him their joint decision. Those owners with the largest combination of shares in ships directed their movements. Masters wrote to particular owners more often than others; in one instance, a master referred to his "corresponding partner." Masters of the Diantha and Marcia Cleaves wrote

³⁶LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, November 25, 1850; September 18, 1852.

primarily to Callender, who in turn requested Lord's advice in consultation with Charles Williams in the case of the Diantha, or Thomas Lord in the case of the Marcia Cleaves. Masters of the Finland wrote more frequently to Lord, who would consult brothers George and Ivory and instruct Callender.

Callender requested the advice of William and Thomas Lord on numerous matters regarding the Marcia Cleaves. In 1841, he requested that they decide on returns from Liverpool; he suggested coal or salt if they wished, but with a minimum on the owners' account.³⁷ Later the same year, Capt. Thompson of the Marcia Cleaves was ordered by Callender, on instructions from William and Thomas Lord, to return from Marseilles to New Orleans if at all possible, even to New Orleans in ballast, rather than accept less than \$4000 for New York which would make the ship late for a second freight from New Orleans. In 1842, Capt. Thomas Lord went personally to Boston to decide on repairs for the ship. Callender also requested in one instance that the Lords choose a new captain.³⁸

In the case of the Diantha, Lord consulted with Charles Williams for Callender. After having suggested a coal or salt return for the Marcia Cleaves in 1841, different preferences were evident in 1846. Callender

³⁷LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, April 10, 1841.

³⁸LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, November 30, 1841; June 13, 1842; October 25, 1845.

requested advice for a European return, suggesting choices including coal or salt as freight (not on the owners' account) or passengers.³⁹ Although carrying passengers was a common practice for European returns, problems became evident. The Diantha was ordered in 1847 to take a small freight in preference to Liverpool passengers as the British examined vessels too extensively before clearance.⁴⁰

The examples of cooperative orders for the Diantha and Marcia Cleaves were similar to those given to other masters. The amount of advice given by Lord varied somewhat depending on his shares of ownership. Management of the Swiss Boy was in Kennebunk hands, as was the responsibility for the later Mt. Washington. Callender owned no shares in those vessels, and dealt with them only in special instances, such as entry at Boston.

In the freighting business in which Lord's vessels engaged in the 1840's, orders for the vessels were generally quite similar. For European returns instructions presented alternatives such as chartering for passengers, taking general freight, or buying coal or salt on the owners' account if necessary, or carrying those items as freight. Primarily the ships carried cotton from New Orleans but visited northeast ports occasionally and mixed

³⁹LC, *ibid.*, June 25, 1846.

⁴⁰LC, *ibid.*, April 1, 1847.

in some coastal trade. There was a minimum of trading and shipping for the owners.

Financial methods were somewhat more explicit in instructions and movements in the 1840's. As in the 1830's, remittances in foreign countries were made to well-known houses such as Baring Brothers. In one instance Captain Brown of the Diantha was instructed to remit to Baring in preference to shipping specie as exchange rates had improved.⁴¹ His method of crediting owners was common. Captain Hartley Lord of the Hartley had orders to ship specie or remit to J. B. Greene and Company at Havre in 1847, depending upon rates at his time of arrival; the captain did remit 51,000 francs.⁴² These funds remitted to foreign houses were used in several ways; they might cover expenses for vessels or they might be quickly transferred. Callender often sold the exchange from foreign ports when rates were advantageous, as he did with the Hartley's in the case of that Havre voyage and others.⁴³ When exchange was low the opposite method was used. Captain Blaisdell, Swiss Boy, brought a small amount of doubloons to Boston, about \$15.70 worth going for \$16.50 in the

⁴¹LC, *ibid.*, April 24, 1847.

⁴²LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, January 5, 1847.

⁴³LC, Accounts: Ruthelia, account current between Hartley and G. Callender, October 28, 1847; see also letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, March 1st, 1848.

states.⁴⁴ That was a small amount but shipments of fifteen to sixteen hundred Spanish dollars were found.

Expenses of vessels in port were as crucial as handling proceeds for the owners. Captains were instructed in different ways; they might draw on Callender or on Baring Brothers. William Lord ordered Captain Williams, Finland, to draw on Callender when he was bound for Boston from New Orleans in 1841. Callender wrote orders in 1846 to Captain Wilson, Marcia Cleaves, to draw on him for expenses at London rather than on freight when exchange rates were undesirable.⁴⁵ Captains at English ports often drew on Baring Brothers; Callender speculated in one case that Capt. Means, Finland, must have engaged a freight as money drawn on Baring Brothers, as reported by that firm, was not enough to have covered any coal purchases at Newcastle. Masters bound for European ports often drew on Baring Brothers before leaving New Orleans or Havana, as did Capt. Williams, Diantha, in 1845 when he was bound to Hamburg or London depending on orders received from shippers of his cargo. Baring Brothers also advanced funds for repairs on occasion; Captain Wilson, Marcia Cleaves notified Callender in 1848 that he had been advanced funds for repairs and had had to sign a bottomry bond for value

⁴⁴LC, Letter, Jotham Blaisdell to Adam McCulloch and Company, August 12, 1844.

⁴⁵LC, Letter, Charles Williams to Wm. Lord, February 15, 1841; see also letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, July 10, 1846.

of ship and cargo in return.⁴⁶

When drawing on Baring Brothers with freight as security, Baring generally insured the freight in England. The Swiss Boy put in at Portland, Maine in 1845 on her way to London from Cuba; the captain had drawn on Baring Brothers and they handled the adjustment of her insurance papers.⁴⁷ In another instance, Callender insured a freight on the Swiss Boy before learning that the captain had drawn on Baring Brothers who had also insured the freight; a return on the Boston premium was made to Callender.⁴⁸

Captains often covered their expenses with freight proceeds and other money; Captain Blaisdell, Mt. Washington, covered costs at Liverpool in an 1849 voyage with freight proceeds received at New Orleans, with primage, and with passage money received from charterers at Liverpool for his outward voyage.⁴⁹

All captains received instructions from Callender and the other owners regarding financial matters and directions for ports of call; some orders were general, some more specific depending upon the amount of faith the

⁴⁶LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, November 20, 1841; see also Charles Williams to G. Callender (copy), July 19, 1845; see also Horace Wilson to G. Callender (copy), December 28, 1847.

⁴⁷LC, Papers: Swiss Boy 1845, disbursements account for Swiss Boy, September 13, 1845; see also letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, December 16, 1845.

⁴⁸LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, June 26, 1847.

⁴⁹LC, Papers: Mt. Washington 1849, disbursements and Mt. Washington account with Blaisdell, May 16, 1849.

owners had in the master's judgement. Masters who were also part-owners had more leeway than others in choosing the courses of action. Captain Hartley Lord of the Hartley was part-owner of his vessel. Before departure for Havre he was instructed by Callender in a general manner; he was to go to Cadiz for salt for Boston if no freights or charters were available for Boston or New York; he was to choose among the best appearing offers. Later in the same year (1848), on arrival at Havre, Capt. Lord engaged a new captain to replace him and left the ship to come home. The new captain, Stephen Cammett, was soon given more specific orders for his first Liverpool passage; he was advised to return to Boston for £800 or New Orleans for £250 and to touch at Mobile.⁵⁰ The following year, Callender and Hartley Lord had much criticism for the new captain; they felt he was too slow, used up too much of the profits for expenses, and wrote too few letters. Captain Charles Morrill of Bangor, Maine was chosen as a replacement to meet the ship at New Orleans; he was also sold an eighth of the ship. Captain Morrill described further bad management of the ship when he found that the ship would have to pay a passenger tax of \$1.50 a head as Cammett had only a verbal agreement and no charter party with the agent to determine responsibility.⁵¹

⁵⁰LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, April 4, November 16, 1848; see also letter (copy) Hartley Lord to G. Callender, June 21, 1848.

Some criticism of captains was for reasons other than failure to follow orders or to make insufficient profits. Captain Claudius Williams in the new Ocean Star built under his brother's and William Lord's direction in 1848 was the subject of much criticism after his first foreign voyage in 1849. His poor business management and haphazard methods were considered especially bad for such a large, new ship. Hartley Lord felt that perhaps Charles might wish another brother, such as Albert, to take the ship, but Claudius continued in the vessel.⁵² Apparently Claudius' problems had begun long before; as a seaman on the Finland in 1841, he was scolded and left the bark even after other Kennebunkers tried to convince him to stay.⁵³ In 1850 Claudius was nearly replaced again for drinking. Callender felt that Lord should inform Charles Williams, brother and largest owner, and ask him to take the ship for a voyage. Lord wrote to Captain Nathaniel L. Thompson at New Orleans regarding Claudius: "There has been a good many reports about Capt. Claudius Williams intemperate habits, both in New Orleans + Liverpool, and I presume

⁵¹LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm Lord, February 26, March 10, 1849; see also letters, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, March 9, 26, 1849; see also letter (copy), Charles Morrill to G. Callender, April 30, 1849.

⁵²LC, Letter, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, July 4, 1849.

⁵³LC, Letter, Daniel Nason to George, Ivory and Wm. Lord, May 19, 1841.

there is some foundation and to much I am afraid."⁵⁴ Lord asked for the truth so that he might decide whether Williams was entitled to his position.⁵⁵ The captain was again allowed to continue, with the assumption that he would improve.

The lives of the masters were certainly not all lived in fear of the owners; in fact, some improved their fortunes through combined commands and shares in the vessels. Captain Jotham Blaisdell was a long-time associate of William Lord's, both in his employ as master and fellow owner in several vessels. He took the new ship Mt. Washington on her maiden voyage, owned an eighth, helped in supervising construction, and was listed as main owner. Captain Blaisdell took his wife on the first passage; he wrote Lord from New Orleans thanking him for giving permission to have his wife along; he also noted that his health had improved but did not indicate that there was any connection between the two.⁵⁶

Horace Wilson rose from mate of the Marcia Cleaves to captain in 1846; he stayed with the ship until she was sold in 1849 and was then given first command of the new Olympus; he purchased a small share as well.

⁵⁴LC, Letter (copy), Wm. Lord to Nathaniel Thompson, November 25, 1850.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶LC, Letter, Jotham Blaisdell to Wm. Lord, January 22, 1848.

A few records were available indicating wages of several masters. Captain Daniel Means served for just short of eight months on the Finland for \$35 a month.⁵⁷ For a little over eleven months on the Marcia Cleaves Franklin N. Thompson received \$75 a month. Captain Theodore Brown, Diantha, was receiving \$28 a month in 1848; Captain Blaisdell earned \$20 a month in 1849 on the Mt. Washington. Perhaps a disagreement over wages arose with Captain Charles Barry, as Barry wrote to George Callender in 1850 stating that when he took the William Lord his terms were \$20 a month, 5% primage, and 1/8 of the cabin passage fees.⁵⁸

Two portage bills (accounts of wages due) were submitted by Captain John H. Perkins of the Swiss Boy; for twenty months of service covering a period from July, 1845 through March, 1847, the captain received \$12 a month, the first mate \$26, and the seamen \$11-15. For the following five-month span the captain received \$20 a month. Perkins received 5% primage for the series of voyages from

⁵⁷William Lord, 1829-1869 (MSS in Baker Library, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University), bill from Daniel Means, December 20, 1842 in William Lord, 1837-1842, Shipping Papers (Bills) in Volume 9, 1829-1842.

⁵⁸LC, Accounts: Ship Marcia Cleaves, bill from Franklin N. Thompson, July 9, 1843; see also Invoices 1845 (misplaced item), memo From Theodore Brown, April 28, 1848; see also Papers: Mt. Washington 1849, account with Jotham Blaisdell, August 2, 1849; see also letter (copy), Charles Barry to G. Callender, September 21, 1850.

1845 through 1847.⁵⁹ Generally rates of primage and wages varied in inverse proportion to each other but that was not the case with Perkins

Captain Thompson, even with his high wages, attempted to charge the owners a commission on the ship's disbursements in France. Callender, somewhat perturbed indicated that Thompson had done ". . . no more than his duty + his wages were intended to be in full for all such services as he could render."⁶⁰ Thompson was probably receiving no primage.

Management of vessels thus covered a wide field: orders for the captains, financial arrangements at home and abroad, wages, and cargos. None could be neglected in the highly competitive field of navigation.

The five-year span, 1841 through 1845, was primarily the story of four vessels since Lord launched no new ones until the end of the period. They all had problems making profits in the depressed economy, and for some years accounts of their movements were sketchy since they were accomplishing relatively little; correspondence regarding their movements dwindled. Lord had large interests in those four vessels:

⁵⁹Papers: Swiss Boy 1847, portage bills of Swiss Boy, March 15, August 11, 1847; see also account of Swiss Boy with John H. Perkins, March 15, 1847.

⁶⁰LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, August 17, 1844.

bark <u>Diantha</u> (284 tons):	1/3 of three equal shares
brig <u>Swiss Boy</u> (258 tons):	1/2
ship <u>Marcia Cleaves</u> (436 tons):	1/2 -- the largest share
bark <u>Finland</u> (302 tons):	1/2 -- the largest share

Rather than follow the trade patterns and individual voyages of all four, two have been selected as exemplary. The two smaller vessels, the Diantha and the Swiss Boy followed similar patterns. Both mixed their trades somewhat, carrying some cotton and some sugar--with more sugar. They both intertwined foreign and coastal voyages, entering at Boston or Kennebunk more often than the other two; after those northern entries, Maine products such as sugar boxes and shooks were loaded for southern ports. European returns were generally salt or coal. The Swiss Boy, managed at Kennebunk, was chosen to illustrate their trades.⁶¹

Of the two larger vessels--the Marcia Cleaves and the Finland--both built as cotton carriers, the Marcia Cleaves served to show their movements. The Finland did move somewhat into the sugar traffic like the Swiss Boy and the Diantha. In fact, the movements of the Finland were nearly identical with those of the Diantha; they both brought cotton to Boston in 1841, went to Hamburg in 1842, and carried Cuban sugar to Europe in 1843. The Finland did have a shorter career than any of the four; she was wrecked in 1844 on the Dog Keys in the Bahamas on a passage from Trieste to Havana. The other

⁶¹See above, p. 48. Although the Swiss Boy was owned at Kennebunk, her foreign entries went mostly to Boston.

three continued in service through 1849 when they were all sold. Thus none of the vessels of the early 1840's were still working in the 1850's; an entirely new set appeared.

As 1841 opened business appeared poor; the winter season at New Orleans presented poor prospects. The movements of the Swiss Boy under Captain Jotham Blaisdell were not clear for the first half of the year; she may have entered at Kennebunk. Captain Blaisdell took her from Boston to Havana with a cargo of hoops and casks loaded at Boston which he sold in June to Mariettger Knight and Company for \$1501.50. Thence he went to St. Petersburg, Russia, touching at Boston to load cargo; Lord insured the freight for \$3500 and Callender handled her expenses when she loaded in Boston in July.⁶²

The Diantha, Finland, and Marcia Cleaves were all at New Orleans waiting freight in January of 1841. Capt. Nathaniel Lord Thompson kept the Marcia Cleaves there waiting an acceptable freight until April; he found stiff competition from the many idle vessels. He procured a cotton freight from Levi H. Gale for Liverpool and arrived out at that port by the end of May. The owners had considered coal or salt, small amounts on their account for return to Boston or New York. The captain

⁶²LC, Papers: Swiss Boy Before 1845, account of cargo sales by Capt. Blaisdell, June 3, 1841; see also, letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, June 13, 1841; see also Insurance Papers, insurance on Swiss Boy freight, June 28, 1841; see also letter, John Crackley (for G. Callender) to Wm. Lord, July 21, 1841.

did load 340 tons of cannel coal and 1500 bags of salt for the owners, and let the steerage section for passengers for 250 British pounds. The passengers disembarked at New York; the coal and salt (insured as freight) was discharged at Boston in August and September. From Boston the ship took freight and passengers to New Orleans.⁶³ Under a new master--Franklin N. Thompson--at New Orleans a good freight of cotton was obtained from J. F. Whitney and Company for Marseilles at 1 1/8¢ a pound. Cotton (1232 bales) and lard (5656 kegs) were loaded in October; the freight totaled \$7457.17. After discussing returns with Thomas and William Lord, Callender directed the captain to return to New Orleans, even in ballast, rather than take less than \$4000 for New York so as not to miss a second freight the next year.⁶⁴ For the ship's work through October, the owners divided \$2432.27, mainly proceeds from the sales of coal and salt.⁶⁵

The year 1842 did not show great improvement in business. The Swiss Boy was back at Boston from her Russian voyage; in September she discharged coal and

⁶³LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, February 2, August 23--September 26, 1841; see also letters, Nathaniel Thompson to Wm. Lord, April 12, June 18; see also letters (copies), Nathaniel Thompson to G. Callender, April 14, May 25, 1841; see also Insurance Papers, insurance on Marcia Cleaves Freight, June 28, 1841.

⁶⁴LC, Letters, Franklin Thompson to Wm. Lord, October 23-26, 1841; see also letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, November 13, 27, 30, 1841.

⁶⁵LC, Accounts: Marcia Cleaves, account current between Marcia Cleaves and G. Callender, October 6, 1841.

loaded ballast to go to Kennebunk for repairs. She cleared coastwise from Kennebunk on November 30th.⁶⁶

The general scarcity of letters to Lord in 1842 was reflected in the lack of references to the Marcia Cleaves until May when she was back at New Orleans and ready to leave on another European voyage with freight and twenty-five steerage passengers, which totaled about \$4500 in freight and primage. The ship returned to New Orleans as shown by disbursements there between August and October, partly paid by inward freight and drafts by the captain. She may have entered first at Boston; Callender ran a brief account current for the ship in June and July and earnings on that account were about \$2000, probably proceeds from a European freight.⁶⁷

The following year, 1843, still brought poor freighting. Long waits for freight occurred and proceeds were slim, if there were any profits at all. The brig Swiss Boy made a European passage; an account between Baring Brothers and part-owners Adam McCulloch and Company of Kennebunk showed transactions with Captain Blaisdell between August and December of 1843, with a small debit for the brig. She entered at Kennebunk in December.

⁶⁶LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, September 17, 1842; see also Papers: Swiss Boy Before 1845, passim.; see also Invoices 1842, receipt customs house, November 30, 1842.

⁶⁷LC, Letter (copy), Franklin Thompson to G. Callender, May 20, 1842; see also Accounts: Marcia Cleaves, account of disbursements, October 19, 1842; see also account current between Marcia Cleaves and G. Callender, July 18, 1842.

Lord's personal account with Callender for the year credited Lord with \$2230.83 for five-eighths of the brig, some to be transferred to other owners.⁶⁸

The Marcia Cleaves continued to exploit the cotton trade. She had taken a fall freight to Marseilles in 1842 and waited there between January and March, finally arriving back at New Orleans in May of 1843. Under a new captain put on at New Orleans, Francis W. Chadbourne, the ship cleared for Bremen in July with a small freight of fustic (tropical tree used for dye), cotton, and tobacco. The ship lost money for the year; after remittances from Bremen and credits from two Boston insurance offices for partial loss and general average on the vessel and freight, the owners received a debit of \$1169.20, half for Lord's account.⁶⁹

In 1844 the Swiss Boy made a sugar voyage to Europe; the Diantha followed a nearly identical pattern. The Swiss Boy sailed from Kennebunk to Boston, then on January 15 for Havana and Matanzas, bound for Marseilles. Lord insured her freight in his name. From Marseilles in August Captain Blaisdell wrote that he was laid on for

⁶⁸LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, December 29, 1843; see also Letters 1844, account current between Baring Brothers and Adam McCulloch and Co., January 3, 1844; see also Invoices 1843, account current between G. Callender and Wm. Lord, January 1, 1844.

⁶⁹LC, Accounts: Marcia Cleaves, account of disbursements at Marseilles and New Orleans, March 28, June 3, 1843; see also account current between Marcia Cleaves and G. Callender, December 12, 1843; see also letter (copy), Francis Chadbourne to G. Callender, July 18, 1843.

Boston and was loading freight; the captain felt that procedure was better than salt as there were only five other American vessels in port. Blaisdell noted that he was receiving 10% primage--a high rate. After an October arrival at Boston, the owners directed the brig to Kennebunk, although Callender felt that gave her a poor chance as compared to a Boston freight.⁷⁰ Provisions were sent to Kennebunk for the brig and she cleared Kennebunkport for Matanzas on the 10th of December. Her cargo consisted of 103,122 board feet of lumber and bunches of hoops.⁷¹ Lord's personal account current for 1844 showed five-eighths of the Swiss Boy account credited to him (\$863.45) as well as \$500 "transferred from owners of Swiss Boy," perhaps to pay Lord for services to the vessel in procuring cargo and arranging insurance.⁷²

The Marcia Cleaves was the largest of Lord's vessels, accounting for part of her problem in obtaining cargo in 1844. After a long passage from Bremen to New Orleans the captain found freight rates very low in February although plenty of tobacco and cotton were on hand for shipment; British ships also provided competition.

⁷⁰LC, Letters G. Callender to Wm. Lord, January 15; October 18, 24; November 21, 1844; letter, John Nazro (Fremont Insurance Co.) to Wm. Lord, May 14, 1844.

⁷¹LC, Invoices 1844, receipt from customs house, December 10, 1844; see also Letters 1844, receipts from James Lord and Ross and Lord, December, 1844.

⁷²LC, Invoices 1844, account current between G. Callender and Wm. Lord, January 1, 1845.

Finally, in June, Captain Chadbourne engaged a cargo of 1482 bales (632,394 lbs.); he was to touch at Cork for orders to Glasgow (for 15/32¢ per pound) or Liverpool (for 7/16 ¢ a pound). The ship did go to Liverpool, arriving out in October; there the captain had to pay a fine because some of the seamen had smuggled tobacco under planks in the forecastle deck. The ship returned some steerage and cabin passengers to New Orleans.⁷³ The ship's account for the year, running over to March of 1845 left a debit (\$1716.24) for the three owners.⁷⁴ Lord's personal account for the year with Callender showed a final credit of over \$5600, about half from proceeds of the Finland.⁷⁵

In January of 1845, the Swiss Boy discharged her Kennebunk lumber at Matanzas and sailed to Europe (unknown port); in Europe Captain Blaisdell remitted 600 British pounds for Adam McCulloch's account with Baring Brothers. The brig returned to Boston and Callender suggested a freight of granite for Pensacola or a Cuban freight. Captain Blaisdell left the vessel due to poor health; McCulloch went to Boston and chose John H. Perkins to

⁷³LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, February 19, May 29, 1844; se also letters (copies), Francis Chadbourne to G. Callender, February 24, March 15, June 10, October 18, 1844.

⁷⁴LC, Accounts: Marcia Cleaves, account current between Marcia Cleaves and G. Callender, March 15, 1845.

⁷⁵LC, Invoices 1844, account current between G. Callender and Wm. Lord, January 1, 1845.

take the brig for one voyage. Callender secured a charter for Havana through broker I. R. Dow and Company; thirteen different shippers and five consignees appeared on the freight list of items including: butter, oak, lard, sperm candles, sperm oil, chairs, cod, haddock, palm oil, sashes, empty hogsheads and grindstones--a varied cargo of northern items. She sailed July 8th, after paying for disbursements with proceeds from previous Havana freight and a bill drawn on London.⁷⁶ Captain Perkins found little offered in Havana and completed a cargo at Matanzas for London. The brig put in at Portland, Maine leaking in the upperworks in October, but made it to London by December.⁷⁷

After waiting for freight through January, the Marcia Cleaves loaded at New Orleans for Antwerp; she took a mixed freight of tobacco, lard, cotton, hides, hemp, moss, beeswax, and specie. The ship arrived out on March 21st and quickly sailed for Havana with only a few passengers: 152 steerage, 2 cabin passengers. She

⁷⁶LC, Letter (copy), Claudius Williams to G. Callender, January 1, 1845; see also letter, Baring Brothers to Adam McCulloch and Co., April 18; see also letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, April 18, June 14, 21, 1845; see also letter, Jotham Blaisdell to Adam McCulloch, June 15; see also letter, Adam McCulloch to Wm. Lord, June 24, 1845; see also Papers: Swiss Boy 1845, freight list for Swiss Boy, July 5, 1845; account of disbursements, September, 1845.

⁷⁷LC, Letter, John H. Perkins to Adam McCulloch and Co., August 21, 1845; see also Papers: Swiss Boy 1845, account of disbursements at Matanzas, September 13, 1845; account of disbursements at Portland, November, 1845; see also letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, December 20, 1845.

arrived at Havana in June and then went to New Orleans. Due to the lateness of the season only a small cargo for Liverpool was obtained. At New Orleans Captain Chadbourne put the mate, Horace Wilson, in charge but remained with the ship for the passage to Liverpool.⁷⁸

The period 1841 through 1845 forced Lord's vessels to work hard for their earnings, especially to 1844. The sugar and cotton trades were most important, but a few passengers and northern products were also carried. Business improved somewhat in 1844 and Lord planned his first new vessel in that year, to initiate rapid building for the next five years.

Those years, 1846 through 1850, were Lord's most active years to date in expanding his interests in navigation. The Hartley was new in 1846 and five more vessels were built by January of 1850. Four were sold: one in 1847, two in 1849, one early in 1850. Totally Lord held interests in nine different vessels. The chart below illustrated those growing concerns. The Francis Watts was omitted as she was in service for less than a year.

<u>Vessel</u>	<u>1846</u>	<u>1847</u>	<u>1848</u>	<u>1849</u>	<u>1850</u>
<u>Swiss Boy</u>	x	x	x	x	
<u>Diantha</u>	x	x	x	x	
<u>Marcia Cleaves</u>	x	x	x	x	
<u>Hartley</u>	x	x	x	x	x
<u>Mt. Washington</u>			x	x	x
<u>Ocean Star</u>				x	x
<u>William Lord</u>					x
<u>Olympus</u>					x

Among the above eight vessels representative voyages have been chosen for each year to illustrate common activities. Basically all of the new ships were built for the cotton trade, but all carried other items as well. The voyages chosen showed the mixing of the coastal and foreign trades, with a few European returns to Boston or New York and then passage south. Many direct returns to New Orleans occurred for all vessels. The mixture of cargos was common, combining cotton, sugar, pork, lard, and a growing amount of staves for Europe. Returns more and more often concentrated on passengers provided by agents of packet lines who chartered for single voyages. Pilkington and Wilson of Liverpool provided business in several cases; they established the White Star Line in 1849 running packets to Boston, later expanding to New Orleans. They made a practice of using American freighters for single voyages to carry emigrants from Europe to the states; thus they were not really packets in the sense that these were continuing vessels. Enoch Train's White Diamond Line also ran between Liverpool and Boston; Baring Brothers were their Liverpool agents. In Queens of the Western Ocean, Cutler listed one of Lord's interests, the Mt. Washington, as part of the White Star Line for 1849.⁷⁹ After 1850

⁷⁸LC, Letters (copies), Francis Chadbourne to G. Callender, January 9; February 9; April 1, 29; June 27, 1845; see also letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, July 22, August 13, 1845.

⁷⁹Carl C. Cutler, Queens of the Western Ocean: The

several more of Lord's ships were listed.

In January of 1846, the Diantha arrived at New Orleans with what Captain Claudius B. Williams referred to as a "full complement of passengers."⁸⁰ He did not note the number, but the passenger business of the early 1840's had been small business in comparison to what it became. From New Orleans the captain chose to take a coastal cargo to Boston as European rates were low; his freight consisted of 1800 barrels of pork, kegs and hogsheads of pork, and some cotton, hides, and lard. The captain had a chance to take a full cargo of cotton to Boston or New York but he felt too many other vessels were doing that.⁸¹ From Boston, the Diantha took general freight to Havana and then sugar to Trieste under a new captain--Theodore Brown.⁸²

The Marcia Cleaves was also at New Orleans in January, and also came north to Boston; but she left Boston in March with 350 tons of ice loaded by Frederic Tudor as freight for New Orleans. At New Orleans, her new captain,

Story of America's Mail and Passenger Sailing Lines
(Annapolis, Maryland: United States Naval Institute, 1961),
pp. 307-310, 375.

⁸⁰LC, Letter (copy), Claudius Williams to G. Callender, February 6, 1846.

⁸¹LC, Letters (copies), Claudius Williams to G. Callender, February 6, 25; March 6, 1846.

⁸²LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, April 14, 1846; see also letters (copies), Theodore Brown to G. Callender, June 22, August 2, 1846.

Horace Wilson, engaged a cargo at good rates through Levi Gale, to load cotton and pork for Boston.⁸³ Levi Gale was the New Orleans agent for the Packet Line between Boston and New Orleans, established in 1834.⁸⁴ Later the ship took another coastal freight to New Orleans, consisting of paving stones. Next a freight of 547 hogsheads of tobacco and 13470 pieces of staves were acquired, consigned to London buyers.⁸⁵ The Hartley was also offered a tobacco freight from New Orleans at about the same time, but Captain Lord felt that tobacco was bad for the new ship and settled for wheat and flour for Liverpool.⁸⁶ The Hartley carried two cargos to Liverpool with one return to Boston in preference to a July return to New Orleans. The Marcia Cleaves, formerly employed almost exclusively in the Liverpool cotton trade, stuck to the Boston--New Orleans route in 1846 until she took a fall cargo to London. The Swiss Boy, like the Diantha took a cargo to Trieste, but hers was a charter of staves.

In 1847 the Marcia Cleaves, Captain Wilson, was back in the European trade. After her trip to London in 1846 she proceeded to Havre and got 175 passengers at

⁸³LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, February 25, March 11, May 8, 1846.

⁸⁴Cutler, Queens of the Western Ocean, p. 447.

⁸⁵LC, Letter (copy), Horace Wilson to G. Callender, July 24, 1846.

⁸⁶LC, Letters (copies), Hartley Lord to G. Callender, April 27, May 1, 1846.

forty-five francs each (exchange rate: five francs, twenty-five centimes to the dollar) and sailed for New Orleans arriving at the start of 1847. Captain Charles Morrill of the York (another Kennebunk vessel--George and Ivory Lord) provided \$1000 to Captain Wilson in return for a draft on Callender at New Orleans; that was a rather unusual method of acquiring cash; Morrill had planned to remit to his owners.⁸⁷ The Marcia Cleaves returned to Liverpool but went on to Havre when the captain could not meet English requirements for carrying passengers and decided that repairs would take too long; he took a general cargo back to New Orleans.⁸⁸

The Hartley also took passengers in 1847. In January Captain Lord loaded 1248 bales of cotton, 1200 bushels of wheat, 400 barrels of lard and tallow, and 3600 staves--a large cargo worth \$11,500 in freight charges to Havre; he returned general freight and twenty-four steerage passengers.⁸⁹ His next European voyage was to Antwerp, where a broker provided an August charter for a "full complement" of passengers to New Orleans at eighty francs each (about \$15). The full complement was supposed

⁸⁷LC, Letter, Horace Wilson to Wm. Lord, January 4, 1847; see also letter (copy), Horace Wilson to G. Callender, January 11, 1847.

⁸⁸LC, Letters (copies), Horace Wilson to G. Callender, April 19, 24, 1847.

⁸⁹LC, Letter (copy), Hartley Lord to G. Callender, January 2, May 3, 1847.

to be 187 but Captain Lord cleared with 160, with full payment on the charter for 187 persons.⁹⁰ The ship did well that year; from October, 1846 through October, 1847 the owners cleared \$11,000--3/8 each to William Lord and Callender and 1/4 to Captain Hartley Lord.⁹¹

In March of 1847, the Diantha arrived at Baltimore with fruit from Italy. William Lord went to Baltimore himself and helped to procure a charter for Liverpool with corn and flour.⁹² The bark then went to Havana late in May--there to load sugar for New York. At New York, Tobias Lord attended to the vessel, but expressed his concern that New York was a poor port of call. He was right but for another reason; the Diantha was damaged when a French steamer ran into her while she was at the wharf on the 4th of September.⁹³ Charles Williams (part-owner) went to New York; he decided that a third of the cost of repairs could be saved if repaired at Kennebunk so sent her home. By December the bark was ready for sea. She took a freight of shooks to Havana.

⁹⁰LC, *ibid.*, September 23, 1847; see also letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, September 3, 20, 1847.

⁹¹LC, Accounts: Ruthelia, account current between Hartley and G. Callender, October 28, 1847.

⁹²LC, Letter, Tobias Lord to Wm. Lord, March 4, 1847; see also letter, Theodore Brown to Wm. Lord, March 27, 1847.

⁹³LC, Letters (copies), Theodore Brown to G. Callender, May 3, 30; July 23; September 5, 1847; see also letter, Tobias Lord to Wm. Lord, September 2, 1847; see also letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, August 26, 1847.

William Lord secured the freight from Portland, an illustration of concentration of trade at Portland and the decline of Kennebunk exports.⁹⁴

The Swiss Boy also carried a Portland cargo in the following year. After a voyage from New York to the east coast of Africa, she returned to the states and went to Kennebunk. The same Portland broker who had provided the cargo for the Diantha, a Mr. J. Williams, got a freight of sugar boxes for Matanzas to leave in December.⁹⁵

The new ship Mt. Washington sailed from Kennebunk in January of 1848 with some local hay for the New Orleans market, to be sold by Captain Jotham Blaisdell.

J. P. Whitney and Company provided a cargo for Russia--consisting of cotton.⁹⁶ After anticipating good chances at Cronstadt, Captain Blaisdell found prospects poor. He was offered a load of bones to England, but refused it as "a dirty, stinking cargo."⁹⁷ The ship finally got a charter to take deals to Bordeaux and eventually got back to New Orleans by the end of the year.⁹⁸ Although meant

⁹⁴LC, Letter, Charles Williams to Wm. Lord, September 22, 1847; see also letter, J. Williams to Wm. Lord, November 23, 1847; see also above, p. 48.

⁹⁵LC, Letters, J. Williams to Wm. Lord, October 27, November 2, 1848; see also letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, December 13, 1848.

⁹⁶LC, Papers: Mt. Washington 1848, account of Mt. Washington with J. P. Whitney and Co., March 28, 1848; see also account of Mt. Washington with J. Blaisdell, April 27, 1848.

⁹⁷LC, Letter, J. Blaisdell to Lord, June 21, 1848.

⁹⁸LC, *ibid.*, July 3, 1848.

as a cotton ship, she didn't carry much cotton in 1848.

In 1848 a trend began for some of the vessels to go to cotton ports other than New Orleans. The Marcia Cleaves went to Mobile from Boston in April and loaded cotton for Europe. She returned pig iron and rail iron to Boston and again went to Mobile to load cotton for Liverpool. On her second Mobile voyage she took some hay purchased by Callender in Boston to sell at Mobile.⁹⁹ The Diantha went from Boston to Charleston in the fall, after a European voyage. Failing to find a good rate for Liverpool, Captain Brown loaded rice, cotton, and lard for a return to Boston.¹⁰⁰

The year 1849 was very eventful in the affairs of William Lord and his associates. The new ship Ocean Star was in service; the Swiss Boy, the Diantha, and the Marcia Cleaves were sold at the end of the year, all for the California trade. Two new ships were under construction during the year. Hartley Lord left the sea and went into partnership with George Callender as commission merchants at Boston. Passengers were very important to the vessels during 1849.

The ten-year-old Marcia Cleaves went to Liverpool

⁹⁹LC, Letter (copy), Horace Wilson to G. Callender, May 31, 1848; see also letter, Horace Wilson to Wm. Lord, August 30, 1848; see also letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, November 2, 6, 1848.

¹⁰⁰LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, September 4, November 6, 1848; see also letter (copy), Theodore Brown to G. Callender, November 23, 1848.

with cotton early in the year. Captain Wilson found that carrying passengers was the only good return possibility; however, his ship could not pass inspection so he ballasted with 150 tons of slate and sailed for Mobile. From Mobile he loaded 1500 bales of cotton for Havre, to discharge en route to fulfill a charter to carry railroad iron to Portsmouth, New Hampshire.¹⁰¹ On arrival at Havre the captain wrote to Lord, describing the poor condition of the ship, including leakage and worm holes which made her unfit for any more heavy cargo. The captain expressed a desire to leave the ship after seven years on her, but felt he had no way to get a better ship (he got the new Olympus, launched the following January). He also noted the discharge of a black crew shipped at Liverpool for the Mobile voyage and back as arranged at Liverpool.¹⁰²

The Hartley did carry passengers--more than usual. She took 200 emigrants from Liverpool in a charter in the 'tween decks section early in the year. After a return to Liverpool with New Orleans cotton, the ship, under a new captain, Charles Morrill, got another charter to take freight and passengers back to New Orleans.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹LC, Letters (copies), Horace Wilson to G. Callender, February 24, March 8, 1849, May 26, September 1, 1849; see also letter, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, May 26, 1849.

¹⁰²LC, Letter, Horace Wilson to Wm. Lord, July 21, 1849.

¹⁰³LC, Letter (copy), Stephen Commett to G. Callender, February 9, 1849; see also letters (copies), Charles Morrill to G. Callender, August 10, November 6, 1849.

In April and May Pilkington and Wilson (operators of the White Star Line) chartered both the Ocean Star and the Mt. Washington to take passengers to Boston. The Mt. Washington got 1300 British pounds and was completely filled with passengers--to sail about the 10th of May.¹⁰⁴ The new Ocean Star went to Liverpool on her first cotton passage, arriving out in April. Her charter included 266 passengers; she also took 300 tons of iron and some coal to put under the iron to raise it up in the hold.¹⁰⁵

The Diantha began the year at Boston being repaired; the owners considered her fate--as a fifteen-year-old, and rather small vessel for their future business. She was chartered to go to Portland for a full cargo of sugar boxes for Matanzas. The bark took a sugar freight to Russia and returned coal from Newcastle on the owners' account. She was then sold for only \$6500.¹⁰⁶

Lord built no new vessel in 1850, the first inaction year since 1845. He had interests in five ships, all less than five years old, ranging from 468 to 745 tons in size. They were all involved in the cotton, staves, and passenger traffic. Pilkington and Wilson chartered the Hartley to

¹⁰⁴LC, Letter, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, May 8, 1849.

¹⁰⁵LC, Letters (copies), Claudius Williams to G. Callender, April 6, 14, 1849; see also, letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, June 11, 1849.

¹⁰⁶LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, January 16, October 2, 1849; see also letter (copy), Theodore Brown to G. Callender, July 31, 1849.

take passengers to New Orleans. She arrived in May to find the Ocean Star, Olympus, William Lord, and Mt. Washington also there. The owners were disgruntled, but apparently Lord took it in stride. Callender wrote to him:

I am glad to find you so full of jokes about the freighting business--we may as well laugh as cry + a good deal better. It don't take away my appetite or sleep, + I know it don't yours.¹⁰⁷

The Hartley, Mt. Washington, and Olympus all got charters to carry staves; the Hartley and Olympus went to Spain; the Mt. Washington went to Bordeaux. The staves consisted of varieties such as claret, hogshead, and oil pipe staves.¹⁰⁸

There was consideration in 1850 of entering the Ocean Star in Pilkington and Wilson's line as a regular packet between Liverpool and New Orleans. Callender noted that Captain William Lord Jr. had put two in; he felt that regardless of some disadvantages it might be well to try one as she would get the best freight and might even bring their other ships some preference. Lord preferred to stay clear of the idea and continue the transient business.¹⁰⁹ The Ocean Star remained in the

¹⁰⁷LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, May 4, 1850.

¹⁰⁸LC, Letter (copy), Charles Morrill to G. Callender, June 1, 1850; see also letter, William Stone to Wm. Lord, May 21, 1850; see also letter (copy), Horace Wilson to G. Callender, May 11, 1850.

¹⁰⁹LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, November 27, December 4, 1850.

cotton business between Liverpool and New Orleans, adding some passengers.

Captain Charles E. Barry took the new William Lord to Mobile on her first voyage and engaged a cotton cargo for Havre. William's son Daniel, later to be a captain himself, was on board. After unloading at Havre, iron rails were loaded at Cardiff for Baltimore. Captain Barry took the ship to Savannah in preference to New Orleans and loaded in December. The captain did not send word of his departure, it was assumed that she sailed about the middle of the month.¹¹⁰ The ship was never heard from again; the captain's last letters were studied for clues. Letters still passed between Callender and Lord through April of 1851 speculating on the possibility of hearing from the ship but to no avail. Captain Barry was Lord's son-in-law.

The decade of the 1840's, in summary, revolved around two main factors: first, the decline of cotton exports to 1845 and their growth in the late 1840's; second, the decline of the West Indies sugar trade as a significant factor in maritime activities. Lord built no new ships until 1845; with the growing volume of immigration and of cotton exports after that date, he contracted for six in the years including 1845 through 1849. The stimulus of

¹¹⁰LC, Letter, Charles Barry to Wm. Lord, January 13, 1850; see also letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, May 17, December 21, 1850; see also letters (copies), Charles Barry to G. Callender, May 8, June 24, September 20, October 3, 1850.

the passenger traffic from Liverpool and Havre, especially after 1847, encouraged Lord as well as other builders.

That trade crowded out the sugar traffic; no more vessels were built by Lord for sugar. In fact all of his vessels which had concentrated on sugar ports were sold by 1850.

The sugar vessels (Swiss Boy, Diantha, Finland) continued to call at Cuban ports for sugar to carry to European markets; they also freighted a few cargos of New Orleans cotton and other goods to Boston on coastwise passages. The dying West India trade did not include any returns to Kennebunk or to any other Maine ports. Whatever Maine products the three sugar vessels carried south went from Boston as a general rule, although two cargos of sugar boxes were taken from Portland, one on the Swiss Boy in 1848, and one on the Diantha in 1849. Portland had become both the major import and export center of southern Maine.

The cotton ships carried their cargos almost exclusively to Europe: Liverpool, Havre, Marseilles, and Antwerp. They rarely entered at Boston or New York unless return freights were poor. Instead their passengers and general freight went to New Orleans, especially in the late 1840's. When passengers were not available or desirable, the ships took coal, iron, or salt. The Marcia Cleaves, Mt. Washington, Ocean Star and Hartley were especially involved in the passenger business.

If freights of cotton were going to Liverpool at

low rates, the ships made some coastwise passages to Boston or returned to Boston rather than south to New Orleans. The Marcia Cleaves made two round trips between Boston and New Orleans in 1846, carrying ice and paving stones south. In 1846 all vessels entered at Boston at least once, except the Swiss Boy.

The cargos of the cotton ships also included a few freights of staves to Spain or France as well as the usual additions of pork, tallow, and lard. Returns of coal, salt and iron came from and went to a variety of ports; they were often loaded at Cardiff and Newcastle, sometimes with Liverpool passengers, and brought west to Boston, New York or even Baltimore. The closest any direct shipments came to Maine was one iron cargo on the Marcia Cleaves in 1847 to Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Once the cotton ships went down the ways at Kennebunk, they almost never came home.

1850-1860

After 1850, it was clear that William Lord's main function in the trio consisting of himself, Hartley Lord, and George Callender was to plan for and supervise the construction of new vessels; other owners also were prominent, especially Daniel Cleaves who continued to take shares. Lord made contracts and sold most of his original shares, to hold smaller shares himself. Management centered more and more in the hands of his son especially after

Hartley broke off his partnership with Callender and followed an independent line. William left much of the management to him. As the 1850's progressed, fewer and fewer letters and accounts were available regarding the construction of vessels--no construction invoices and fewer references by letter. The same was true of details regarding the management of the ships in service.

Ships were built in 1851, 1852, two in 1854, in 1857, and in 1860. Lord purchased a small share in a clipper built in Boston in 1854 as well. The year 1854 saw the beginning of a decline in shipping in general to last to the Civil War.

No ship was built by Lord in 1850 but by the end of the year he was considering contracting for one at Titcomb's yard. Callender and Company were willing to take a share if only four owners were involved at equal shares: Lord, Daniel Cleaves, the Titcombs, and Callender and Company.¹¹¹ Lord contracted with Massachusetts firms for cordage and other supplies. The ship was a huge vessel, over 1100 tons; she was listed as Boston registered under main owner William Lord.¹¹² The new Windermere had some luxury as well, with carpeting and a red plush sofa for the cabin. She was launched in October and taken to the lock to go down for rigging--a large undertaking to get a ship

¹¹¹LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, December 17, 1850.

¹¹²Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, p. 8.

that size down the river at all. A crew was sent from Boston for her departure in January of 1852 under Captain John W. Fairfield, a new master in the partners' employ. The vessel cost about \$40,000 total.¹¹³

The ship Neva was built for the command of Moses C. Maling in 1852. Both Callender and Cleaves agreed to take shares if Lord contracted with the Wards. The Windermere had had some troubles with her rigging and Hartley recommended hiring different riggers and sailmakers to replace what he felt were too old-fashioned workmen; whether others were hired was not clear. The owners considered port of registry and chose Kennebunk, although Callender preferred Boston. The ship, 849.88 tons, main owner William Lord, left Kennebunk in November for New Orleans with a hay cargo; Lord's sons Daniel and Henry were aboard--Daniel soon to go to the Windermere.¹¹⁴ A letter from Callender, dated January 3, 1852 must have been misdated, common at the start of a new year, as he referred to figuring Lord's account current as soon as the cost of the Neva was determined; Callender took a quarter

¹¹³LC, Letters, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, October 13, 15, 1851; see also letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, October 24, December 31, 1851; see also Letters 1852, account with J. P. and W. Titcomb, April 1, 1852.

¹¹⁴LC, Letters, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, October 1, November 22, 1852. See also letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, May 4, 1852; see also letter, Daniel Cleaves to Wm. Lord, May 10, 1852; see also Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, p. 8; see also letter, Moses Maling to Wm. Lord, December 30, 1852.

but whatever share Lord retained was not noted.

Little was preserved regarding the construction of the Simoda or Gulf Stream in 1854; the Gulf Stream was built for the command of William's son Daniel. Early in the year Callender and Company and Daniel Cleaves reluctantly agreed to take shares if Lord contracted. Cleaves agreed to take a third in one with Lord and Callender and Company, or a half and pay Lord for contracting and supervising. Later Callender and Company agreed to take a third of the ship being built by the Wards (Simoda) and a quarter of the ship being built by the Titcombs (Gulf Stream) as Lord had contracted for two. Hartley assumed his father would keep at least a sixth of the Gulf Stream thus giving them a half, and control. Cleaves and several other owners were also involved with the Gulf Stream. An 1858 letter to William from Hartley reported an eighth to William's credit at that time.¹¹⁵ A letter to Lord on September 12th from George Callender noted the Gulf Stream at the port (Kennebunkport) and the Simoda as having been launched. Both ships went to New Orleans on their first passages, the Simoda under Captain William B. Nason and the Gulf Stream under Captain Daniel C. Lord. The Simoda was a 944.92 ton ship, built by Stephen Ward, registered at Boston. The Gulf Stream

¹¹⁵LC, Letters, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, January 18, 1854; September 20, 1858; see also letter, Daniel Cleaves to Wm. Lord, February 27, 1854; see also letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, August 9, 1854.

was an 899.69 ton ship, built by George Titcomb, and put under Kennebunk registry. William Lord was listed as main owner of both, but probably held small shares.¹¹⁶

Also in 1854, Lord acquired some interest in the 1090 ton clipper Bostonian built at East Boston by David Kelly on order of Callender and Company. Cleaves also took a share in the new vessel.¹¹⁷ Cleaves was not too happy with Callender's ship; he felt she was a poor cargo carrier and added as well: "This owning ships at high prices + carry nothing for sake of having a clipper ship, don't pay exactly."¹¹⁸

After the especially active year in 1854 no ship was built until 1857. The economy had not encouraged building. Lord nearly contracted with the Ward's in 1856 but did not. In fact several Kennebunk yards failed, including the Ward's.¹¹⁹ At the very end of 1856 a contract was made resulting in the ship Arno. Hartley wrote his father noting shares as an eighth each for himself and William and three-quarters for Cleaves and Captain John Fairfield; however he added that William

¹¹⁶Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, p. 9.

¹¹⁷LC, Letter, Daniel Cleaves to Wm. Lord, January 13, 1854; see also William Armstrong Fairburn and others, Merchant Sail, V (Center Lovell, Maine: Fairburn Marine Educational Foundation, Inc., 1945-1955), p. 2915.

¹¹⁸LC, Letter, Daniel Cleaves to Wm. Lord, May 11, 1854.

¹¹⁹LC, Letter, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, October 23, 1856.

would share in the profits by contracting, supervising and selling out all but his eighth.¹²⁰ The Arno was one of the few ships in which Callender had no shares; Hartley Lord had the management of her and she was registered at Boston. The 916.20 ton ship was placed under the command of John W. Deering and sent to New Orleans for cotton in October.¹²¹

Hartley and William considered building again at Titcomb's yard in 1858, but poor business conditions discouraged the project.¹²² In 1859 prospects did not improve much; Hartley suggested that since his father desired less responsibility younger brother George might superintend. In addition Hartley wrote discouraging words:

The reputation of K-bunk ships was bad enough before + this will make it worse. If we do not build as good ships as they do here [Boston] + Newburyport + Portsmouth, it is no use to keep on-- + it will be impossible to get them insured.¹²³

Hartley was referring to a Kennebunk ship run ashore off Boston, and obviously poorly built in his opinion.

After three or more poor years for freighting a new ship was built in 1860--the Alameda. Lord did not supervise its construction but made the agreement for shares to be

¹²⁰LC, Letter, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, December 11, 1856.

¹²¹LC, *ibid.*, October 20, 27, 30; see also Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, p. 9.

¹²²LC, Letters, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, March 13, 16, 18, 1858.

¹²³LC, *ibid.*, March 18, 1859.

held for himself, his son, and Daniel Cleaves. Hartley referred to "Thompson" and Charles Williams supervising. There was no conclusive evidence regarding the shares held by each, but William Lord was listed as main owner in Bryant's Kennebunk Vessels, which noted the ship as 935.24 tons, under Boston registry.¹²⁴ It was the last vessel with Lord listed as main owner. Hartley ordered her cordage in Massachusetts and got a rebate from the producers, with a promise not to tell other Kennebunk builders, especially the builders of the ship who were charged for it.¹²⁵

As explained, Lord's accounts were incomplete for the 1850's but a few letters from Hartley in 1859 reported earnings of four of the vessels he managed and thus indicated remaining shares for William in those ships: 1/4 of the Hartley, 1/6 of the Ocean Star, 1/8 of the Gulf Stream, and 1/6 of the Arno.¹²⁶

Between 1851 and 1855, Lord's ships--new and old--were still involved in the passenger business and the freighting of cotton; they also carried some sugar, staves, deals and continued to return some iron and salt from Europe. The most common ports of call were Liverpool.

¹²⁴Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, p. 9; see also LC, Letters, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, January 11, 14, March 20, 1860.

¹²⁵LC, Letter, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, February 1, 1860.

¹²⁶LC, *ibid.*, January 2, February 26, September 24, November 4, 1859.

New Orleans and Havre. Several of the ships were heavily involved with Pilkington and Wilson and also with Enoch Train's White Diamond Line. Cutler, in Queens of the Western Ocean, listed the following as parts of Pilkington and Wilson's White Star Line although they were merely freighters: Hartley and Windermere for 1852; Olympus and Neva for 1853. In Train's line the Windermere was on for 1853 and the Bostonian for 1856. The Regular Line (Boston-New Orleans) had the Neva in 1854. The Regular Line (Liverpool-New Orleans) listed the Windermere in 1854.¹²⁷ Actually those vessels chartered through those lines fairly frequently, as did some of the other ships. By 1854 the passenger traffic had begun to decline as had business in general and continued in that vein through the rest of the 1850's.¹²⁸ In the early 1850's, there were no entries at Boston until 1854, with the exception of one in 1853 by the Ocean Star. All were finding European business.

In the years 1851-1855, vessels in which Lord had an interest encompassed the following:

<u>Vessel</u>	<u>1851</u>	<u>1852</u>	<u>1853</u>	<u>1854</u>	<u>1855</u>
<u>Hartley</u>	x	x	x	x	x
<u>Mt. Washington</u>	x	x	x		
<u>Ocean Star</u>	x	x	x	x	x
<u>Olympus</u>	x	x	x	x	
<u>Windermere</u>		x	x	x	x
<u>Neva</u>			x	x	x
<u>Bostonian</u>				x	x
<u>Simoda</u>				x	x
<u>Gulf Stream</u>				x	x

Accounts were not extensive for 1851, and the year was singularly uneventful. The Hartley carried cotton from Mobile to Liverpool, and a combined cargo of cotton, flour, and tallow from New Orleans to Liverpool. The Mt. Washington also carried a cotton cargo from New Orleans, but to Havre and then got an iron charter from Cardiff to New Orleans. A stave charter to Bordeaux followed. The Ocean Star began her year the same way: cotton from New Orleans to Liverpool. One event of note regarding Captain Claudius Williams of the Ocean Star did occur in 1851; his behavior was still an issue--in 1851 because he had raced with the Joseph Badger and bet on it; Callender emphasized not wanting the family to replace him with his brother Albert. Eventually Captain Tobias Lord was given power of attorney to take the ship at Liverpool. Capt. Lord chartered to Pilkington and Wilson and returned to New Orleans. The Olympus stayed entirely in the Liverpool-New Orleans route with two charters, one from Pilkington and Wilson to take passengers and freight to New Orleans.¹²⁹ Thus the four vessels were all following the same routes; none came to a northeastern port.

As mentioned above, the Hartley and the Windermere were listed in Pilkington and Wilson's line for 1852. The

¹²⁷Cutler, Queens of the Western Ocean, pp. 372, 373, 411, 444-447.

¹²⁸See above, pp. 23-24.

¹²⁹LC, Letters 1851, passim.

Hartley was put on their line three times. In January they put the ship on and acquired salt (514 tons) and general freight for New Orleans. Again in June they put her on for general freight. In December the line engaged the ship to carry 350 tons of salt and 700 tons of railroad iron.¹³⁰ In all cases cotton was carried from New Orleans; no passengers were involved.

The Windermere, a new ship under Captain John Fairfield, followed the same route: Liverpool-New Orleans. In May, Pilkington and Wilson got general freight, but no passengers, for New Orleans. Tobacco was returned as no cotton was available due to time of arrival--July. Back at Liverpool in September the Windermere did get a full number of passengers from Pilkington and Wilson.¹³¹ Daniel Lord was aboard the ship to learn the master's trade, but was not particularly happy with Captain Fairfield's lack of attention to him. He stayed with the ship through the first Liverpool voyage and then went home for the summer, and later went on the Neva with Captain Maling for one voyage, eventually returning on the Windermere as third mate.¹³²

¹³⁰LC, Letters, Charles Morrill to G. Callender, January 5, 23; July 7; December 3, 1852; see also letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, July 3, 1852.

¹³¹LC, Letters, John Fairfield to G. Callender, May 7, 22, 25; July 10; September 14, 24, 1852.

¹³²LC, Letters, Daniel Lord to Wm. Lord, February 1, December 29, 1852; see also letters, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, November 11, 22, 1852.

Two masters caused the owners distress in 1852. A new captain on the Mt. Washington, the ship under Lord's management at Kennebunk, was given extensive orders; Captain Ivory Goodwin did not manage the Mt. Washington to Lord's satisfaction; he stayed with the ship for only a year.¹³³ Captain Tobias Lord was criticized for not writing enough letters to the owners about the progress of the Ocean Star.¹³⁴ The Ocean Star was one of the few vessels not totally occupied with the New Orleans-Liverpool route in 1852; she took timber from Savannah to Cadiz in the fall.¹³⁵

The Olympus, Neva and Windermere were involved with lines in 1853. The Neva was a new ship, the second of Lord's ships to carry the same name. The Neva took her first cotton cargo to Liverpool, over 2800 bales. Captain Moses Maling then chartered railroad iron for New York and returned direct to Liverpool. A passenger charter was taken because good freight could not be found; however before sailing for New Orleans, a gale threw the ship against the dock walls killing a number of the passengers.

¹³³LC, Letter (copy), Wm. Lord to Ivory Goodwin, August 30, 1852.

¹³⁴LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, March 9, 1852.

¹³⁵LC, Letters, Tobias Lord to G. Callender, July 22, August 4, 1852.

The captain felt that the ship itself would have broken up if not strong and new.¹³⁶

The Olympus touched at only Liverpool and New Orleans in 1853, carried one cotton cargo and one combined cargo of cotton, tobacco and staves to Liverpool. Neither Liverpool return included passengers, just general freight from Pilkington and Wilson.¹³⁷

The Windermere's charter from Liverpool in March was with Enoch Train and Company for New Orleans for general freight and included a charter to return deals from St. Johns, Canada. On arrival back at Liverpool, a large number of passengers (465) were secured for New Orleans. Daniel Lord, on board as third mate, left on Captain Fairfield's recommendation when he had a chance to take a small bark to England.¹³⁸

Although both the Windermere and the Neva carried passengers in 1853, all the ships began to move away from that business even before the peak of immigration into the United States in 1854. Callender made reference to some of the problems of the business early in the year in reference to the Windermere. He felt that if the ship came

¹³⁶LC, Letters, Moses Maling to G. Callender, January 27; March 22; August 27; September 24, 30, 1853.

¹³⁷LC, Letters, Horace Wilson to G. Callender, October 4, 1853; see also letters, Horace Wilson to Wm. Lord, March 21, June 9, 1853.

¹³⁸LC, Letters, John Fairfield to G. Callender, March 4, November 7, 1853; see also letter, John Fairfield to Wm. Lord, December 2, 1853.

to Boston, it should be under charter to a "responsible house" which would take care of the passengers on arrival.¹³⁹

The other three vessels in operation in 1853, the Ocean Star, Hartley and Mt. Washington, concentrated on the Liverpool--New Orleans route with the exception of one entry at Bordeaux with staves for the Mt. Washington. Lord was unhappy with that freight as he had advised no stave cargos because they took too long to load and discharge. The ship also chartered with Pilkington and Wilson that year for one voyage to New Orleans carrying a small number of passengers; again Lord was displeased as he had concluded that passengers were too much trouble. The captain, Ivory Goodwin, was replaced by Captain William Davis rather quickly.¹⁴⁰ The ship was sold at the end of the year.

In 1854, eight ships were freighting--an all time high for Lord and his partners. Three were new that year, the Simoda and Gulf Stream were launched in October. A part of the new Bostonian was purchased as well. One ship was lost: the Olympus.

The Simoda and Gulf Stream both left Kennebunk for New Orleans after their fall launchings. Both engaged cotton--the Simoda for Liverpool, the Gulf Stream for

¹³⁹LC, Letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, January 22, 1853.

¹⁴⁰LC, Letters, Ivory Goodwin to Wm. Lord, March 11, 18, 29, 1853; letters (copies), Wm. Lord to Ivory Goodwin, January 17; May 11, 19, 31, 1853.

Havre. Both took over 3000 bales. All vessels came to Boston or New York in 1854, except the Olympus (lost on her way to Boston) and the Windermere. Entries at northeast ports had been very rare in the preceding few years as the foreign business had been better; entries at Boston or New York were last choices. Several vessels were involved with lines: the Neva with the Regular Line (Boston--New Orleans), the Windermere with the Regular Line (Liverpool--New Orleans), the Bostonian with Enoch Train's White Diamond Line.

The Neva arrived at New Orleans in January and loaded a freight of flour and cotton engaged by J. P. Whitney and Co. before her arrival. Captain Maling took the ship to Havre and then to Cadiz to load salt for Boston. Theodore Brown took the ship at Boston as Captain Maling decided to leave the ship and go home. The connection with the Regular Line was transient; the ship merely went coastwise to New Orleans and picked up cotton for Liverpool for a return thence to New Orleans.¹⁴¹

The Windermere followed a simple pattern; she began the year discharging cotton at Liverpool and then went New Orleans--Liverpool--New Orleans--and engaged cotton in October and November for another Liverpool return.

¹⁴¹LC, Letter, J. P. Whitney and Co. to Wm. Lord, January 21, 1854; see also letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, May 16, July 20, September 27, 1854; see also letter, Moses Maling to G. Callender, January 17, 1854; see also letters, Theodore Brown to G. Callender, September 30, December 8, 1854.

Although listed in the Regular Line, one of her Liverpool cargos came from laying on with Pilkington and Wilson, agents of the White Star Line.¹⁴²

The new clipper Bostonian laid on in one case with Enoch Train's line. Her maiden voyage was to New Orleans when cotton was engaged; her owners were displeased with her poor carrying capacity. For an 1109 ton ship, she held only 3000 bales. The owners were willing to sell her for \$80,000 and gave Captain James King power of attorney to do so--as many other owners had done in regard to their ships in that poor year. At Liverpool the ship was put on the line as the July 2d packet for Boston. After an ice charter to New Orleans under Moses Maling, the ship went to Liverpool and there acquired a charter for China.¹⁴³

The Hartley and the Ocean Star both started the year by taking salt from Liverpool to New Orleans. Then they both got charters to carry freight from Wales. The Hartley took slate from Bangor, Wales to Boston; the Ocean Star took railroad iron from Cardiff to New York.

¹⁴²LC, Letters, John Fairfield to G. Callender, January 25, April 26, July 4, 1854; see also letter, Horace Wilson to G. Callender, October 9, 1854; see also letter, Horace Wilson to Wm. Lord, October 28, 1854.

¹⁴³LC, Letters, James King to G. Callender, April 14, 25; June 23, 1854; see also letter, James King to Wm. Lord, June 14, 1854; see also letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, May 5, August 3, September 27, 1854; see also letter, Moses Maling to G. Callender, December 22, 1854.

Both then went coastwise to New Orleans.¹⁴⁴

Problems arose in 1854 over command of most of the vessels; changes occurred on six of the eight ships--all but the two new ships launched in October. Most involved changes from one vessel to another. First and second masters were as follows:

Hartley: Charles Morrill, Alfred Howes
Ocean Star: Tobias Lord, Charles Morrill
Olympus: Horace Wilson, Mr. Wallace (former mate)
Windermere: John Fairfield, Horace Wilson
Neva: Moses Maling, Theodore Brown
Bostonian: James King, Moses Maling

In one situation the owners had little control over results. Horace Wilson was offered an eighth and command of the Bostonian; however when the Windermere, Olympus and Bostonian all came into Liverpool between May and July, Captain Wilson took the Windermere and went to New Orleans, instead of going to Boston with his Olympus to meet the Bostonian and take command as planned. He was afraid of being sent to the Pacific on the Bostonian so sent his own ship home with the mate (who lost it). Captains Fairfield and Wilson felt that since the same owners were involved with both the Windermere and Bostonian that their own arrangement was acceptable. Wilson felt that he had saved the owners the cost of sending a captain to meet the

¹⁴⁴LC, Letters, Charles Morrill to G. Callender, January 11, June 23, July 12, October 18, 1855; see also letter, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, October 4, 1854; see also letters, Tobias Lord to G. Callender, January 21, June 13, 1854; see also letter, Alfred Howes to G. Callender, October 23, 1854; see also letter, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, September 8, 1854.

Windermere, whose captain left that ship and went home with his family as passengers on the Bostonian. Captain Maling took the Bostonian at Boston. Although the owners were disturbed over the masters arranging matters for their own benefit--the situation was allowed to stand.¹⁴⁵

In 1855 the ships touched at fewer ports than usual; there were longer waits for cargo. The Bostonian was in the Far East. The Hartley went coastwise to New Orleans and then carried a sugar cargo from Havana to Trieste, thence to the Black Sea. The Windermere was the only ship which touched at only New Orleans and Liverpool; at New Orleans she was loaded by J. P. Whitney and Company and was put on Train's line once at Liverpool. The Neva went Liverpool--New Orleans--Havre and then got a charter to Calcutta. The Simoda also went Liverpool--New Orleans--Havre, but took a coal charter to New Orleans. The Ocean Star brought salt and almonds to New York from Spain and procured a charter to carry deals from Canada to Liverpool, after which she returned to New Orleans via Charleston.¹⁴⁶

After 1855 William Lord continued his interests in nearly the same vessels as those operated between 1850 and 1855. The Mt. Washington had been sold, the Olympus

¹⁴⁵LC, Letters, Horace Wilson to G. Callender, January 30, July 4, 1854; see also letters, John Fairfield to G. Callender, July 4, 7, 1854; see also letter, Daniel Cleaves to Wm. Lord, June 9, 1854.

¹⁴⁶LC, Letters, 1855, passim. Letters were less numerous for the year than even for past years.

lost. The only changes after 1855 were the loss of the Neva in 1856 and the construction of the Arno in 1857. Therefore interests were in the ships Hartley, Ocean Star, Windermere, Bostonian, Simoda, Gulf Stream, and Arno (after 1856).

A major change occurred in the management of those ships with the dissolution of the partnership of Hartley Lord and George Callender; in 1857 Hartley Lord established himself independently as a Boston commission merchant. The split had been building up due to personal conflicts in part; even Callender's letters to William had been less frequent and less personal for the previous two years. Hartley referred to the firm as having agency for twelve or thirteen ships and the management was divided in proportion to the partners' interest in the company: two-thirds for Callender, one third for Hartley. They bought each others shares out. Hartley kept management of the Hartley, Ocean Star, Simoda, and Gulf Stream; the Neva would have been his but she was lost. The Arno was put under his management after construction in 1857; Hartley had written his father that he did not believe Callender would be interested in a share in the Arno and Hartley wanted none if Callender did take a share. As Hartley was preparing for the separation, he speculated on his expectations for good business; he felt that vessels were the best investments even though his father wished to withdraw somewhat from shipping. Hartley did not seem

to like the disadvantages of city living; however he felt business arrangements in Kennebunk were not advantageous either. He hoped other Kennebunkers would give the agency for some of their ships to him since he was starting new. Both his father and Daniel Cleaves transferred parts of their balances from Callender to Hartley so that he would have some money to work with.¹⁴⁷ Hartley had nearly complete management of his father's interests as only the Windermere and the Bostonian. Callender's ship, remained in Callender's hands. All of the ships managed by Hartley were registered in Boston, except the Gulf Stream and her registry was changed as soon as Hartley took management.¹⁴⁸

Hartley was not encouraged by business in 1857, his first year and a bad year nationally. He had four ships valued at \$157,000 in his care; he referred to making 1% on them, which was worse than managing any other capital in the city; he also noted the convenience for owners to have their ships managed at Boston--being the major New England port.¹⁴⁹ At the end of the year Hartley reflected on his \$600 salary:

I don't think the owners will fail on a/c of my commission or enormous salary they pay their

¹⁴⁷LC, Letters, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, May 13; July 3, 9; September 1, 11, 12, 15; December 23, 1856.

¹⁴⁸LC, *ibid.*, January 15, 1857.

¹⁴⁹LC, *ibid.*, October 27, 1857.

agents to manage their property--It would hardly keep a cat from starving.¹⁵⁰

He certainly was not alone; a national decline had begun and continued to the Civil War and after. Hartley seemed to place some of the blame on the shoulders of the captains at first; he felt their orders should be more direct with less left to their judgement but by the end of the year, he felt perhaps it was as hard for him to judge from Boston as for the captains in port.¹⁵¹

After 1855 the ships maintained similar routes as before but carried more heavier cargos such as salt and iron. Few passengers were taken on any ship.

The Windermere and Bostonian, under Callender's management, both had difficulties finding good cargos. Callender wrote infrequent letters on their movements, partly because they weren't getting good business. In the five-year span through 1860, the Windermere went back and forth between Liverpool and New Orleans. In 1856 she made two round voyages with cotton and pork for Liverpool and returned mostly salt. In both cases she sailed with cargo acquired through Pilkington and Wilson. In 1857 she laid at New Orleans for nearly six months before engaging cotton.¹⁵² While waiting all those months

¹⁵⁰LC, *ibid.*, January 1, 1858.

¹⁵¹LC, *ibid.*, January 9, February 6, October 20, 1857.

¹⁵²LC, Letters 1856-1857, *passim*. In the whole period 1856-1860 there were only about thirty-five references by letter to the ship.

for freight, the Windermere's captain, William Smith, requested permission for his wife to join him. The practice had become more common on the ships, but Daniel Cleaves' attitude implied that it was not wholly encouraged. He wrote Lord:

. . . it seems to be the general custom for masters to either have their wives or 'Lady or Stewardess' a la Brown [Theodore Brown of the Neva] one might as well consent at once.¹⁵³ . . . as it gives a more respectable appearance.

As several other masters in the employ of Lord and his partners had taken their wives on voyages, there was no reason to assume that Mrs. Smith stayed home.

In 1858 the ship's activities were precisely the same as before--Liverpool to New Orleans--salt and cotton. For 1859 no reports were available except entries at New Orleans in February and Gibraltar in December. In 1860 she returned to New Orleans from Gibraltar and then came to Boston.¹⁵⁴

The clipper Bostonian was chartered for Enoch Train's line to Boston once in 1856. From Boston she got a charter to San Francisco and did not return until the following year. In 1857 she loaded logwood in Mexico for the return to New York. After a fall charter took her to San Francisco again, she was next reported at

¹⁵³LC, Letter, Daniel Cleaves to Wm. Lord, March 3, 1857.

¹⁵⁴LC, Letters 1858-1860, passim.

Puget Sound in the spring of 1858 loading spars for England. After a December arrival in England, the ship went to Sydney, Australia. The year 1859 was spent going from port to port looking for cargo, sometimes in ballast. She was reported on her way back to Europe early in 1860.¹⁵⁵

Both the Windermere and the Bostonian were temporarily managed in 1860 by Hartley Lord in place of George Callender who became ill in December of 1859 and died in February of 1860.

The other four ships (five with the Arno after 1857) of concern after 1855 were mainly in the cotton trade. As explained, they were managed by Hartley Lord. In 1856 the Ocean Star and Simoda touched only at Liverpool, Boston and New Orleans. The Ocean Star took salt to New Orleans and went coastwise to Boston. She returned an ice cargo to New Orleans (at a low rate compared to past years--\$1.50 a ton). The Simoda went from New Orleans to Liverpool and entered Boston from a foreign voyage. She also carried ice for New Orleans.¹⁵⁶

The Gulf Stream touched at different ports. After a cotton voyage to Liverpool, she loaded coal at Cardiff

¹⁵⁵LC, Letters 1856-1860, passim. There were about twenty-five references to the Bostonian in that time span. In no case did the captains write to Lord.

¹⁵⁶LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, January 12, March 19, June 17, November 22, 1856; see also letter, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, July 16, 1856.

for Acapulco, Mexico and did not arrive out until the end of the year.¹⁵⁷ The Neva was lost in 1856 bound to London from Calcutta; the Hartley did not return from the Black Sea from her 1855 voyage until December of 1856 when she arrived at New Orleans.¹⁵⁸

Although 1856 was not a particularly good year, the next got worse. Business failures were common. Enoch Train's line failed and by then passenger lines were basically defunct.¹⁵⁹ No two ships of the four in service for the Lords followed the same routes. The Ocean Star went to Russia with New Orleans cotton; finding no freight there iron was loaded at Cardiff for Charleston, South Carolina.¹⁶⁰

The Hartley went in ballast from New Orleans to Havana and finally got a sugar charter to London; she had waited six months for business from arrival at New Orleans to the time when the sugar charter was engaged.¹⁶¹ The Simoda had an easier time getting freight at New Orleans; she carried two cargos to Liverpool

¹⁵⁷LC, Letters, Daniel Lord to G. Callender, April 3, December 28, 1856; see also letters, Daniel Lord to Wm. Lord, February 19, June 7, July 11, 1856.

¹⁵⁸LC, Letters, G. Callender to Wm. Lord, July 3, December 10, 1856.

¹⁵⁹See above, p. 24.

¹⁶⁰LC, Letters, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, February 4, June 12, October 19, November 10, 1857.

¹⁶¹LC, *ibid.*, January 9, March 21, June 15, 1857.

that year.¹⁶²

The Gulf Stream was en route to the Chincha Islands for guano early in 1857 after leaving Acapulco; while at the Chincha Islands, Captain Daniel Lord died. His brother Frederick was with him and helped to bring the ship to Guadeloupe with the guano cargo. Captain Lord's body was sent to New York from the Chincha Islands on the Edwin Fly. His coffin was placed in a pine box and was surrounded with guano, the purpose being some preservation of the body from the ammonia in the guano.¹⁶³

In 1858 the New Orleans cotton traffic improved a little; the Arno, Gulf Stream, and Simoda all made two round trips, all with cotton to Liverpool except one at Havre by the Simoda. In one case, the Gulf Stream returned via Havre to pick up passengers.¹⁶⁴ In fact, Hartley felt business was good enough in the fall to build a new vessel, but none was contracted.

The Ocean Star took her cotton from Charleston and Appalachicola instead. One cargo went to Liverpool and instead of a return to New Orleans, the ship took iron back to Appalachicola. Her second voyage took cotton to

¹⁶²LC, *ibid.*, March 19, June 30, September 25, 1857.

¹⁶³LC, Letters, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, May 30, July 14, October 28, November 30, 1857; see also letter (copy), William Fly to Hartley Lord, November 2, 1857.

¹⁶⁴LC, Letters 1858, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, *passim*.

London.¹⁶⁵

The Hartley was strictly a coastal vessel between Boston and New Orleans in 1858 and continued in the same trade the following year. She made four round trips in 1858, carrying cotton and general freight to Boston. Her returns to New Orleans were the old standbys: ice, stones and miscellaneous freight.¹⁶⁶ In 1859 she made three round trips with the same cargos; at the end of the year, she took a cargo to Liverpool and returned to Appalachicola.¹⁶⁷

Although U. S. cotton exports rose in 1859 Hartley still was disillusioned with the freighting business; he felt that news of impending war might improve business though. The Ocean Star and Gulf Stream followed the most similar routes that year. The Gulf Stream made two round trips between Liverpool and New Orleans; the Ocean Star touched at Appalachicola for cotton for the Liverpool market. The Simoda left Liverpool early in the year in ballast for Havre, then went in ballast to Mobile. After nearly leaving Mobile in ballast, she got a charter for deals from St. Johns, Canada to England. She returned iron

¹⁶⁵Ibid.

¹⁶⁶LC, Letters, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, March 6; April 13, 20; June 7; October 9; November 15, 1858; see also letter, Alfred Howes to Hartley Lord, January 13, 1858.

¹⁶⁷LC, Letters, Hartley Lord to Wm. Lord, January 5, 15; February 17; March 9; April 19; September 16; December 19, 1859.

to New Orleans. The Arno only got one cotton freight in 1859; she began at New Orleans and loaded cotton for Liverpool through J. P. Whitney and Company. A charter to take iron to Malta, south of Sicily, made her too late in arriving at Mobile to take another freight.¹⁶⁸

The decline of the late 1850's affected all aspects of the shipping industry. Tonnage built all over the United States fell. Cotton exports went up and down in volume, but freights were harder to get for Lord's vessels. The competition of steam ships made passengers harder to get even if the ships wished to carry them. Agents of the lines, such as Pilkington and Wilson were not able to provide as many good freights or passengers either.

CIVIL WAR AND DECLINE

With letters through June, 1860 being the last preserved, the Lord Collection came to an abrupt end. The onset of the Civil War was not stimulating to shipowners, in fact many American vessels were sold to buyers in foreign countries.¹⁶⁹ As Hartley Lord was helping to clear up financial matters for the estate of George Callender in 1860, he sent an account current to William indicating that there was a debit of over \$5000

¹⁶⁸ IC, Letters 1859, passim.

¹⁶⁹ See above, p. 26.

on George Callender's books for the previous year.¹⁷⁰

That was not surprising due to the poor business of the previous three years or more. Lord had already begun to decrease his interests in shipping and had left much of his responsibility to his son in regard to his shares in ships. The trades of the 1850's in which William had been most heavily involved--the carrying of cotton and before 1854, of passengers--suffered a tremendous decline. Cotton exports dropped from \$192 million in 1860 to \$34 million in 1861.¹⁷¹ Immigration fell and did not peak again until the 1890's; those immigrants who did arrive came on steamships more commonly. Boston had declined as a port and Maine shipbuilding fell tremendously after 1855. Kennebunk building died; some remained at Kennebunkport but William Lord was never too trusting of the "Port people," as he and Hartley occasionally called them.

Lord did have some interest in other fields besides navigation; he tried to encourage local manufacturing. An 1857 letter illustrated his attitude about ships and his community. He wrote to the treasurer of the Mousam Manufacturing Company:

. . . Our people here have not got their ideas up very much in the manufacturing business--They are pretty largely int. [interested in] ships and I am afraid they will not find them any more profitable than factories--there are six ships that will average

¹⁷⁰LC, Letter, Hartley Lord (for G. Callender) to Wm. Lord, January 20, 1860.

¹⁷¹See Appendix I.

1000 tons each building this year, which if invested in manufacturing would add very much to this place--when their ships leave the port they never return here again--therefore don't add much if any to the business of the place.¹⁷²

The factory at issue was of interest to Lord but it never achieved much success.¹⁷³

Regardless of the small incentives for investing in ships during the Civil War, Lord did have interests in two launched in the Kennebunk district, both managed by his son Hartley. The Cheltenham (979.63 tons) was launched in 1861 and listed under Hartley Lord's name as main owner. The Sorento (1225.78 tons) was launched in 1863, also listed under Hartley's name.¹⁷⁴ The Sorento was built by a Kennebunkport builder, David Clark, who was one of the few area builders left after the Civil War.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷²LC, Letter (copy), Wm. Lord to David Brown, January 28, 1857.

¹⁷³See above, pp. 95-96.

¹⁷⁴Charles Edward Lord, The Ancestors and Descendants of Lieutenant Tobias Lord ([n.p.]: Privately Printed, 1913) pp. 229-230; see also Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, p. 10.

¹⁷⁵See above, p. 54; see also Bryant, Kennebunk Vessels, p. 10.

Chapter 4

THE SUCCESS OF WILLIAM LORD

Research on the William Lord Collection provided a picture of the business operations of a merchant--shipowner between 1820 and 1860. Business correspondence, bills, invoices and accounts relating to those activities illuminated details on the nature of his two occupations. The career of William Lord as a merchant and as a shipowner was divided into a few basic time spans; he was a local merchant in Kennebunk from 1820 through 1828 and from 1830 through 1840 but on a larger scale during the second period.

As a merchant Lord was heavily involved with the coastwise trade which connected Boston to his small Maine port. He purchased Boston imports and sent Kennebunk produce back to Boston on Maine coasters for sale or reshipment. He purchased some New York goods through Boston merchants or through his half-brother Tobias Lord who was in business at New York.

Lord connected his activities as a local trader with his growing involvement in ships in the 1830's; he purchased local goods such as hay and lumber and shipped them to Boston or directly to southern ports in the United States. Boston shipments went on locally-owned schooners from Kennebunk. Lord initiated his hay shipments in 1828,

increased their volume for a few years, and then continued them as a supplement to his local construction of vessels for the foreign trades between 1830 and 1860. Cargos also went on his own ships in some cases, often as they left Kennebunk on their first foreign voyages to New Orleans after launching. Lord did not own coastal schooners of his own but used the Kennebunk-owned schooners which regularly plied the route between Boston and Kennebunk. Few goods came directly to Kennebunk either from foreign or southern ports. Kennebunk was not large enough to be a major distribution whereas Boston was; therefore the schooners provided an important connection to larger ports.

Lord's active business career covered a forty-year span of time; the thirty years of his shipowning interests were most important to this study. During that period the ships in which he owned shares were essentially tramp freighters with world-wide involvement. Some shipowners combined ownership of ships and cargos but Lord engaged in shipping wares on his own account when no freights for other shippers could be obtained or when he sent his ships out from Kennebunk on their maiden voyages rather than send them in ballast to load at another port. One exception was his practice of loading local produce if the vessels were in at Kennebunk for repairs. There was little reason to bring ships to Kennebunk where cargos could not be sold. Larger ports such as Boston could provide freights more easily if ships entered at that port. Direct trade

between the West Indies and the Baltic region, and between New Orleans and Western Europe was preferred.

The ships in which he owned shares were almost exclusively Kennebunk-built as a result of his own contract and supervision. He took responsibility for construction at Kennebunk and shared ownership with relatives, captains, and often with the one individual who shared most in their management--George Callender of Boston. In the 1830's fewer owners were involved in the ships than was true in the 1840's and the 1850's. Vessels became more expensive and shares increased in number and decreased in size--to sixths and eighths rather than quarters and halves.

Other than for construction, Kennebunk figured little in his scheme. It was a building locale which could provide lower costs of construction but few opportunities for direct shipping. Boston provided the vital link to the foreign and coastal trades in which Lord's ships engaged. Management centered there more and more as years passed, even though Boston was not a preferred port of entry especially after 1840. Boston handled much of the foreign commerce of New England, whereas New York benefitted from that of the rest of the nation. Lord was not an exception; he had a large part in directing the movements of the ships but much of the management was done at Boston by George Callender, and in later years by Lord's son Hartley.

In the 1830's trade concentration was on two main routes. Sugar from the West Indies was carried to Baltic

ports, especially to Russia. Cotton was freighted to Havre, Antwerp, Bremen and particularly to Liverpool. Although some returns were made to Boston from the West Indies and from Europe, Lord's vessels were meant mainly for the foreign trades to Europe. They did not take much part in the cotton traffic to New York but did take some part in the coastwise trades between Boston and New Orleans or Cuba to some degree.

In the 1840's, when Lord was no longer involved with his store, there were changes in other factors as well. The West Indies sugar trade was dying, but to take its place the cotton trade improved after 1845. Combined with that was the extensive involvement beginning in the late 1840's with emigration from Europe. Coastal cotton cargos became more infrequent in the late 1840's; instead cotton freights went to Europe and general freight or passengers or both were returned to New Orleans. Only a few came to Boston on Lord's ships. Some coal and salt were carried when better European return freights were not available.

Involvement as transient ships with passenger lines from Liverpool was common in the early 1850's. As business was good, coastal passages or entries at Boston continued to be rare until after immigration peaked and then began to decline around 1853 and 1854. The apex of Lord's ownership interests also came in 1854 when there were eight ships in service in which he held shares. With the decline of the combined cotton and passenger traffic, returns from

cotton voyages changed somewhat. More salt and iron was returned, often on the owners' account. Cotton exports to Liverpool and Havre remained high but some sugar, staves, and deals were also carried to Europe. Lord constructed few ships in the late 1850's and those which were built were managed by his son Hartley. By then Boston instead of Kennebunk registry was the practice for Lord vessels.

Thus Lord did take part in the major trade routes of the era encompassing 1830 through 1860. He operated in the foreign trades with some connection to Boston. He combined the beneficial aspects of low-cost Kennebunk building with the advantages of involvement with Boston connections to become a noted local shipowner who participated in the foreign trades, and mixed that participation with coastal voyages as well.

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SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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STORE MUSEUM, KENNEBUNK, MAINE.

The William Lord Collection has been arranged as closely as possible according to primary form and topic of each item. Titles are given as used by the Museum.

1. Letters: There are 32 file folders of letters, beginning with title Letters Before 1830, and ranging through 1860.
2. Deeds: Two folders have been arranged, one entitled Old Deeds--Papers and one entitled Deeds--Papers. They related primarily to land holdings.
3. Invoices: There are 31 file folders, arranged in the same manner as the letters. They included bills, receipts, accounts, etc.
4. Insurance Papers: One folder of insurance policies and receipts.
5. Brick Store File: One folder of material removed from the main files of letters and invoices--relating to the construction of the store.
6. Folders concerning construction of vessels:
 - a. Construction Invoices: Ship Marcia Cleaves
 - b. " " : Bark Diantha
 - c. " " : Bark Finland
 - d. " " : Ship Hartley
 - e. " " : Ship Neva
 - f. " " : Bark Francis Watts
 - g. " " : Ship Mt. Washington
7. Folders concerning accounts of vessels:
 - a. Accounts: Ship Ruthelia, Ship Hartley, Bark Francis Watts.
 - b. Accounts: Ship Neva, Bark Finland, Ship Ocean Star, Brig Caroline
 - c. Accounts: Ship Marcia Cleaves
 - d. Accounts: Bark Diantha

8. Papers: Brig Swiss Bay Before 1845, and separate folders for 1845, 1846, 1847.
9. Papers: Ship Mt. Washington, folders for years 1848-1852.

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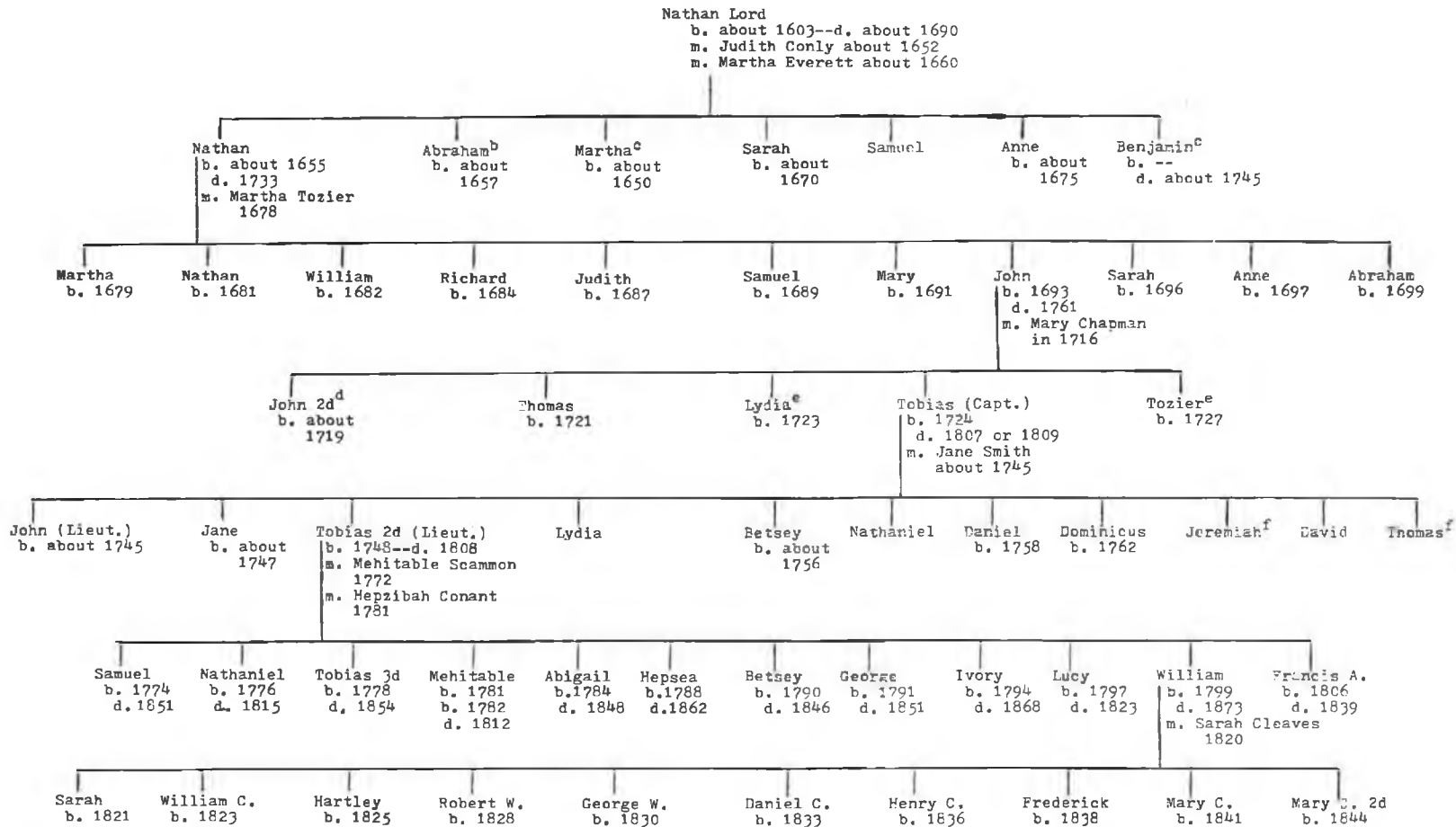
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The Descendants of Nathan Lord^a



^a Explanatory footnotes on following page.

Source:

Charles Edward Lord, The Ancestors and Descendants of Lieutenant Tobias Lord [n.p.] : Privately Printed, 1913), pp. 11-24, 101-114.

^aEXPLANATORY FOOTNOTES FOR APPENDIX A

^bGeorge E. Lord lists Abraham as born about 1660. See George E. Lord, A History of the Descendants of Nathan Lord of Ancient Kittery, Maine. Arranged for publication from material compiled by C. C. Lord (Concord, N.H.: The Rumford Press, 1912), pp. 1-9.

^cIbid. Martha is listed as born about 1665. No Benjamin is listed as a son of Nathan Lord.

^dIbid. George E. Lord lists birthdate of John 2d as noted on genealogical chart, Appendix A. Charles E. Lord in Ancestors of Tobias Lord gives no birthdate.

^eGeorge E. Lord in Descendants of Nathan Lord lists no Tozier as a son of John Lord, nor is Lydia listed as a daughter. The five children of John Lord as noted on the chart, and a Mary born about 1719, are listed in "One Branch of the Kennebunk and Kennebunkport Lords, descendants of Nathan of Kittery: compiled from a Tabular-pedigree of Henry D. Lord of Boston(1883) and much extended from other sources" (MSS GL884 in Maine Historical Society).

^fThe baptisms of Jeremiah and Thomas Lord, children of Captain Tobias Lord are listed as August 19, 1764 and August 16, 1767 respectively in Joseph Thompson (copier), "Records of the First Parish Church of Kennebunk: including records of baptisms, marriages and deaths: 1750-1890" (MSS in Maine Historical Society), pp. 19-28.

APPENDIX B

The Descent of Nathaniel Lord Thompson

Capt. Tobias Lord = Jane Smith

Benjamin Thompson = Eunice Lord

Elizabeth Lord = Benjamin Thompson Jr.

Nathaniel Thompson = Elizabeth S. Huff

Nathaniel Lord Thompson

(1811-1889)

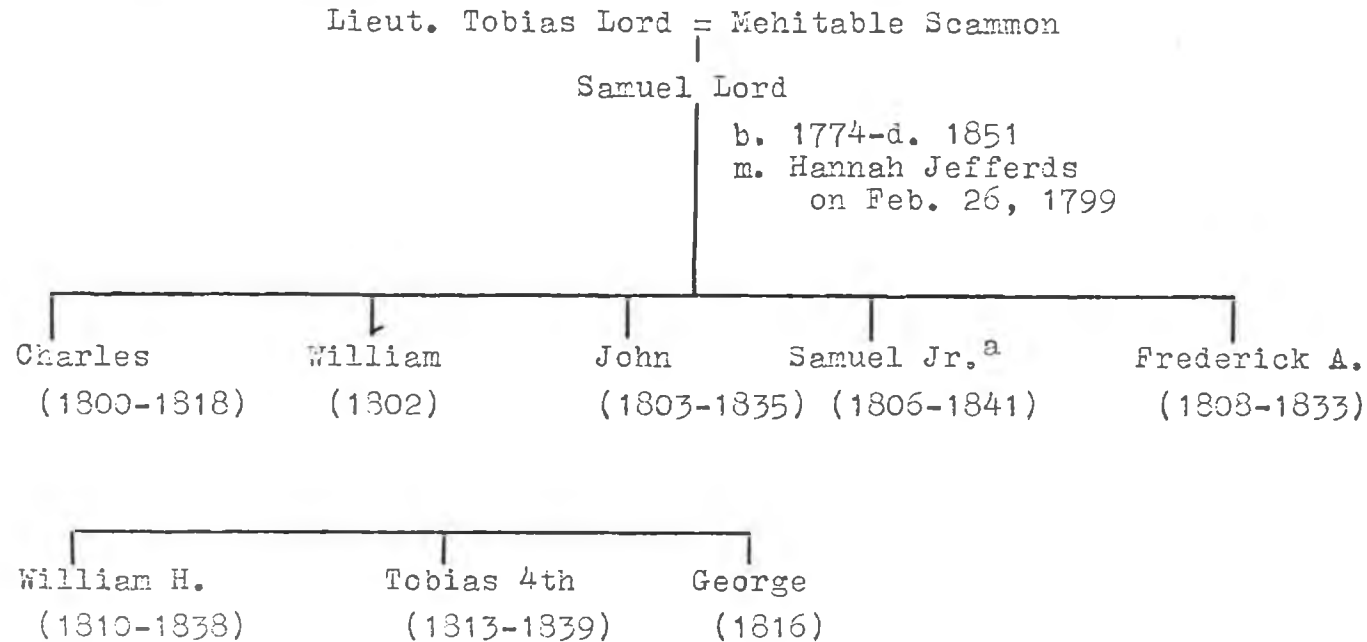
Sources:

Charles E. Lord, Ancestors of Tobias Lori, p. 127.

Margaret J. Thompson, Captain Nathaniel Lord Thompson of Kennebunk, Maine, and the Ships He Built, 1811-1839 (Boston: Charles E. Lauriat Co., 1937), p. 1.

APPENDIX C

The Children of Samuel Lord



^a Samuel Jr. did business with William Lord from Boston and New York.

Source:

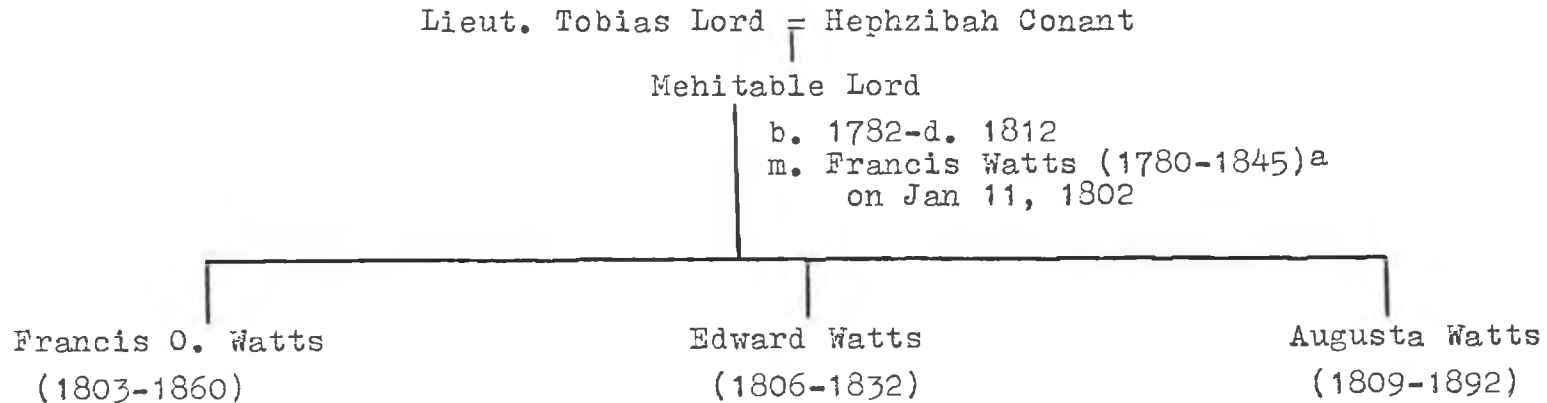
Charles E. Lord, Ancestors of Tobias Lord, pp. 25-26.

The Children of Nathaniel Lord

Charles E. Lord, Ancestors of Tobias Lord, pp. 26-28.

APPENDIX E

The Children of Mehitable Lord



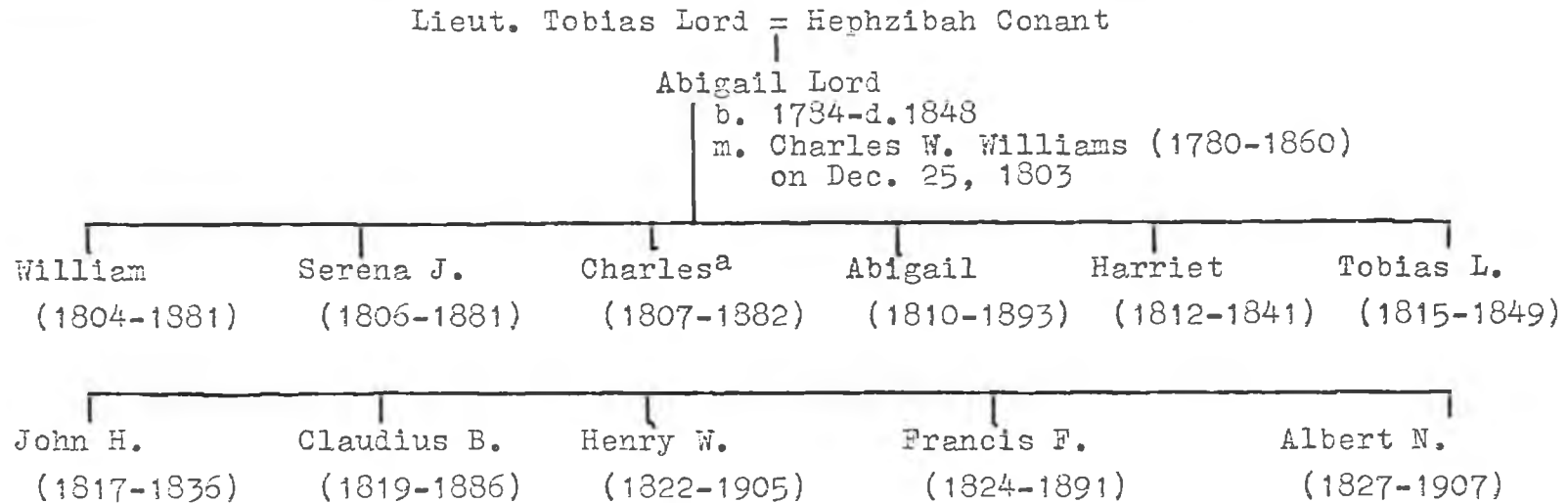
^aFrancis Watts married as his second wife, Elizabeth Lord, sister of Mehitable Lord, on October 24, 1813. He did some business with William from Boston.

Source:

Charles E. Lord, Ancestors of Tobias Lord, pp. 104-105.

APPENDIX F

The Children of Abigail Lord



^aOwned shares with William Lord in several vessels. Charles and his brother Claudius served as masters on several vessels.

Source:

Charles E. Lord, Ancestors of Tobias Lord, pp. 105-107.

APPENDIX G

Total Tonnage Owned, by Customs Districts

(Registered, Enrolled, and Licensed)

Year	United States	New York City	Boston	Portland	Bath	Saco	York	Kennebunk	Maine
1815 ^a	1,368,127	278,868	137,008	33,014	22,351	5,634	1,470	11,741	148,110
1825 ^a	1,423,111	304,484	152,868	45,963	27,372	4,798	1,093	8,681	174,790
1830 ^a	1,191,776	256,557	135,009	42,717	26,668	3,340	957	4,789	161,311
1840 ^b	2,180,764	414,817	220,243	56,135	64,035	3,358	1,200	7,132	318,062
1850 ^c	3,535,454	835,867	320,687	86,502	103,625	2,723	1,361	11,349	491,521
1855 ^c	5,212,001	1,288,234	546,268	137,317	175,258	7,167	1,891	17,420	806,605
1861 ^c	5,539,812	1,539,355	469,120	133,161	159,585	5,923	1,704	11,585	816,902
^a Year ending 12/31		^b Year ending 9/30		^c Year ending 6/30					

Sources:

U. S., Congress, American State Papers: Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, 1789-1823. Class IV, Vol. II, Commerce and Navigation (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1834), pp. 38-40.

U. S., House, State Papers. 19th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. V, 1826-1827, Commerce and Navigation, Doc. No. 122, No. 2 (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1827).

U. S., House, Executive Documents. 22d Congress, 1st Session, Vol. V, 1831-1832, Commerce and Navigation, Doc. No. 230, No. 13 (Washington: Duff Green, 1832), pp. 290-292.

U. S., House, Executive Documents. 26th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. V, 1840-1841, Commerce and Navigation, Doc. No. 122, No. 15 (Washington: Blair and Rives, [n.d.]), pp. 294-295.

U. S., House, Executive Documents. 31st Congress, 2d Session, Vol. VIII, 1850-1851, Commerce and Navigation, No. 15 ([Washington]: Gideon and Co., printers, [n.d.]).

U. S., House, Executive Documents. 34th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XVI, 1855-1856, Commerce and Navigation, No. 17 (Washington: Cornelius Wendell, printer, 1856), pp. 356-357.

U. S., House, Executive Documents. 37th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. XII, 1861-1862, Commerce and Navigation, Part II, No. 13 ([Washington]: Government Printing Office, 1862), pp. 504-505.

APPENDIX H

Exports and Imports: 1821-1861

Exports: 1821-1861

	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861
Total U.S.	\$64,974,382	\$81,310,583	\$121,851,803	\$218,388,011	\$249,344,913
New York	13,160,918	25,535,144	33,139,833	86,007,019	158,606,518
Massachusetts	12,484,771	7,733,763	11,487,343	12,352,682	16,572,736
Maine	1,041,148	805,573 ^a	1,091,565	1,551,438	4,527,459

Imports: 1821-1861

	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861
Total U.S.	\$62,585,724	\$103,191,124	\$127,946,177	\$216,224,932	\$335,650,153
New York	23,629,246	57,077,417	73,713,426	141,546,538	237,402,726
Massachusetts	14,826,732	14,269,056	20,318,003	32,715,327	45,399,844
Maine	980,294	941,407	700,961	1,176,590	1,932,005

^aNot representative; usually much higher through the 1830's.

Sources:

Statistics for 1821-1851 from J. Smith Homans, Jr., An Historical and Statistical Account of the Foreign Commerce of the United States (New York: G. P. Putnam and Co., 1857), pp. 9, 15, 21, 64.

Statistics for 1861 from U. S., Commerce and Navigation (1861-1862), Part II, No. 13, p. 440.

APPENDIX I

Value of U. S. Cotton Exports: 1821-1861

(in millions of dollars)

1821	\$ 20	1853	\$109
1825	37	1854	94
1830	30	1855	88
1835	65	1856	128
1840	64	1857	132
1845	52	1858	131
1850	72 ^a	1859	161
1851	112	1860	192
1852	88	1861	34 ^b

^aBeginning in 1850 more significant increases occurred through 1860, as compared to the previous 30 years.

^b1861 illustrates the disastrous effects of the Civil War.

Sources:

Statistics for 1821-1853 from J. D. B. Debow, Statistical View of the United States, Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census (Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, Public Printer, 1854), p. 188.

Statistics for 1854-1861 from U. S., Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington: [n.n.], 1960), p. 547.

APPENDIX J

List of Major Schooners in Boston-Kennebunk Traffic: 1830-1840

<u>Name</u>	<u>Launched</u>	<u>Built</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>	<u>Hail</u>	<u>Master at Launching</u>	<u>Owner at Launching</u>	<u>Other Masters or Owners^a</u>
<u>Packet</u>	1830	Kennebunk	100.42	Kennebunk	James Perkins	John G. Perkins	Eben Webber (1834)
<u>Grape</u>	1831	Kennebunk	76.82	Kennebunk	Stephen Ward	Ezekial Wormwood	Stephen and Daniel Ward (1833-37)
<u>Alpha</u>	1835	Kennebunk	76.32	Kennebunk	Joshua Perkins	George Perkins	. . .
<u>Ploughboy^b</u>	. . .	. . .	66.69	Kennebunkport	Oliver Walker	William Jefferds	Joshua Perkins (1835) Ezekial Wormwood (1836)
<u>Moro</u>	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	Daniel Walker (1835) E. Mitchell (1836-1840)
<u>Nile^c</u>	[1832]	[Hallowell]	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	Stephen Ward (1836-1839)

^aCompiled from Lord Collection. ^bSee Chapt. 2, footnote #24. See Chapt. 2, footnote #71 and appropriate text.

Sources:

S. E. Bryant (comp.), District of Kennebunk: A List of Vessels Built, From 1800 to 1873, with a supplement from 1874-1884. Published by the Brick Store Museum from the Original Documents (1874) Kennebunk, Maine: Press of Arundel, 1950, pp. 5-6.

William Lord Collection (MSS in Brick Store Museum, Kennebunk, Maine), Invoices and Letters, 1830-1840, passim.

Records of the Collector of the District of Kennebunkport, Kennebunkport, Maine (1817-1862), 1 Vol. of licenses (MSS 251 of Marine Industries in Baker Library, Graduate School of Business, Harvard University). There are numerous time lapses in the Records; only the Ploughboy was recorded.

APPENDIX K

Summary of Captains and Vessels:
with Dates Vessels were Acquired

Ship Neva (1832):

Thomas Lord
Thomas Nowell
Joshua Perkins

Brig Caroline (1833):

Captain Burnham
Daniel Nason
Samuel L. Bragdon
Captain Pratt
Cyrus Perkins
Nathaniel Lord Thompson

Bark Diantha (1834):

Charles Williams
Nathaniel Lord Thompson
Samuel L. Bragdon
E. Shorey
Claudius B. Williams
Theodore Brown

Ship Ruthelia (1837):

Nathaniel Lord Thompson

Brig Swiss Boy (1837):

Jotham Blaisdell
John H. Perkins
Moses C. Maling

Ship Marcia Cleaves (1839):

John Murphy
Nathaniel Lord Thompson
Franklin N. Thompson
Francis W. Chadbourne
Horace A. Wilson

Bark Finland (1840):

Charles Williams
Daniel Nason
Daniel Means
Noah Nason

Ship Hartley (1845):

Hartley Lord
Stephen Cammett
Charles M. Morrill
Alfred Howes

Bark Francis Watts (1846):

Joshua Perkins

Ship Mt. Washington (1847):

Jotham Blaisdell
William P. Stone
Ivory Goodwin
William Davis

Ship Ocean Star (1848):

Claudius B. Williams
Tobias Lord
Charles M. Morrill
William Symonds
Albert Williams
George E. Browne

Ship William Lord (1849):

Charles E. Barry

Ship Olympus (1850):

Horace A. Wilson

Ship Windermere (1851):

John W. Fairfield
Horace A. Wilson
William Smith
David G. Harding

Ship Neva (1852):

Moses C. Maling
Theodore Brown

Ship Bostonian (1854):

James B. King
Moses C. Maling
Frederick Burnham

Ship Gulf Stream (1854):

Daniel C. Lord
John W. Fairfield
R. G. Higgins
Captain Sprague

Ship Simoda (1854):

William B. Nason

Ship Arno (1857):

John W. Deering

Source:

William Lord Collection (MSS in Brick Store Museum,
Kennebunk, Maine).

BIOGRAPHY

Bonita A. Coro was born in Winsted, Connecticut on January 18, 1943. She attended elementary school in Hebron, Maine and graduated from Brunswick (Maine) High School in 1959.

Two years of undergraduate study were completed at Farmington State Teachers College. She entered the University of Maine in September of 1961 and graduated from the University in June of 1963, receiving a Bachelor of Arts degree in History and Government. In her senior year she was elected to membership in Phi Kappa Phi.

In July, 1964 she was admitted for graduate study at the University of Maine. She is a candidate for the Master of Arts degree in History from the University of Maine in August, 1972.