

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

Notes for Comprehensive Planning in the Bay Region



Sunday afternoon boatribe on the river, c. 1920

Bowdoinham Historical Society

A Project of the Maine Humanities Council

Merrymounting Bay Notes

Notes for Merrymounting Bay - Merrymounting Bay

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Merrymeeting Bay Notes

Notes for Comprehensive Planning in the Bay Region

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Notes for the Department of Music in the Bar Region

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Merrymeeting Bay is a huge 9,000 acre mixing bowl, an abundant freshwater tidal estuary where six rivers flow together into one great bay. Two of Maine's largest rivers, the Kennebec and the Androscoggin, drain 9,700 square miles of land before pouring into Merrymeeting Bay. Four smaller rivers join them --- the Eastern, the Muddy, the Cathance and the Abagadasset. Tides and river currents push these waters back and forth past the Chops and, eventually, towards the open sea. The Bay is a complex and rich meeting of land and water, of nature and culture. Over 50,000 people live by these waters and share a common interest and a common responsibility to plan their future.

Merrymeeting Bay Notes examine the Bay's environmental history --- a weaving of its people and its ecology over time. The essays also discuss some of the challenges and opportunities presented by the comprehensive planning process now taking place in many Bay communities. The *Notes* are part of a project funded by the Maine Humanities Council and a coalition of regional organizations interested in the Bay and its well-being. Several of the *Notes* were first presented at a conference on Merrymeeting Bay and Regional Planning, held at Bowdoin College on April 28, 1990. The Environmental Studies Program at Bowdoin is organizing a *Merrymeeting Bay Resource Center* and beginning a long-term study of the Bay. Please contact the Program Office --- or any of the organizations listed in the Acknowledgments --- with comments, questions, ideas or for more information.

The first part of the report is devoted to a description of the experimental conditions and the results obtained. The second part is devoted to a discussion of the results and a comparison with the theoretical predictions. The third part is devoted to a conclusion and some suggestions for further work.

The results of the experiment show that the theoretical predictions are in good agreement with the experimental results. The agreement is particularly good for the low energy region. The results also show that the theoretical predictions are in good agreement with the experimental results for the high energy region. The agreement is particularly good for the low energy region. The results also show that the theoretical predictions are in good agreement with the experimental results for the high energy region.

Merrymeeting Bay_____ 1

Franklin Burroughs

**Development on Merrymeeting Bay, 1760-1990:
Forestry, Agriculture and Industry**_____ 3

Edward L. Hawes

**Resource Use and *The Commons*:
Historical Perspectives on Community Values**_____ 9

Edward L. Hawes

**Community and Regional Character:
Choices for the Future**_____ 15

Edward L. Hawes

**Prehistoric and Historic Archaeological Resources
in the Merrymeeting Bay Region**_____ 23

Nathan D. Hamilton

**Merrymeeting Bay and
the Clean Water Movement**_____ 28

Richard W. Judd

**Merrymeeting Bay and
the Question of Moral Community**_____ 31

Lawrence H. Simon

**A Guide to Resources for
the Merrymeeting Bay Region**_____ 39

Edward L. Hawes

Contributors and Acknowledgments_____ 56

1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country.

2. The second part deals with the economic situation and the progress of the country.

3. The third part deals with the social situation and the progress of the country.

4. The fourth part deals with the political situation and the progress of the country.

5. The fifth part deals with the cultural situation and the progress of the country.

6. The sixth part deals with the military situation and the progress of the country.

7. The seventh part deals with the foreign relations and the progress of the country.

8. The eighth part deals with the internal administration and the progress of the country.

9. The ninth part deals with the judicial system and the progress of the country.

10. The tenth part deals with the public health and the progress of the country.

Merrymeeting Bay

Franklin Burroughs

The estuaries of the east coast of the United States were places of great natural congregation that have become places of great human congregation. Boston and Manhattan, Baltimore and Washington, Charleston and Savannah have been on the map a long time, so long that we have lost the memory of the marshes, swamps, fens and mudflats that lie beneath them, and of their vast traffic of waterfowl, fish, mammals, and lesser life that swarmed there. When you stand on the sidewalk of one of these old cities, you are surrounded by a rich and complex human history that has buried or displaced an even richer and more complex natural history.

Merrymeeting Bay is a different kind of estuary --- a landlocked estuary. That appears to have saved it. It is anything but remote --- it is midway between Portland and Augusta, is convenient to Lewiston and Waterville, and is the forgotten backyard to Bath and Brunswick. Two great river systems --- the Androscoggin and the Kennebec --- meet in it, which would seem to have made it a logical place for early settlement, a point of entry to the Maine hinterlands. But no city grew up here --- the sea was too distant. Docks and wharves were built along the waterfronts of Bowdoinham on the Cathance and Richmond upstream on the Kennebec, but not in the Bay itself. In its general configuration, it remains the broad, shallow, marshy body of water that the first Europeans saw.

You can sit in a boat in the middle of the Bay and feel a surprising aloneness. The shores are a patchwork of fields and woodlots. They imply history, but it is a muted, overgrown history. From where you sit, you see no waterfront development, and not much boating. No visible evidence suggests how busy things were here a century ago. Only an effort of the imagination allows you to see logs being shepherded down to sawmills, or schooners under construction in Bowdoinham and Richmond, or headed down through the Bay to the open ocean and the beginnings of their careers. Icecutting, drift-netting, weir fishing, and taking of eels kept the Bay busy at every season, but these activities left no signs of themselves.

What you are mostly aware of instead is a remarkable proximity of the worlds of fresh and salt water. From a single vantage point, you may see a seal or a muskrat, hook a bluefish or a carp. Cormorants dive for alewives in the deep channels; bitterns stalk frogs in the marshes. Eagles, the endangered symbol of our nationhood, seem almost commonplace. When you see one, hunkering stolidly in a dead tree, utterly matter of fact and at home, it is tempting to think that here is an old balance that has always been kept, enabling the human and the natural to prosper in mutual accommodation.

But that is not the case. The eagles and other creatures that you see are not the indications of an unspoiled place, of a human history that has treated natural history with forbearance and restraint. They are, at this moment and for as long as they exist here, the indications of a human history that has begun to earn forgiveness from natural history. We do not know how complete that forgiveness will be.

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

Old-timers around the Bay still know the lore of a place that was far richer in game and fish. More recent memories recall a place that was much poorer, particularly in aquatic life, than what we now have. Industrial and municipal waste made Merrymeeting Bay into as viscid and lifeless a body of water as anything you would find in the center of a city. When the cleanup began, only thirty years ago, it was not clear that there was anything left to save. No one predicted how quickly the Bay would begin to cleanse and heal itself.

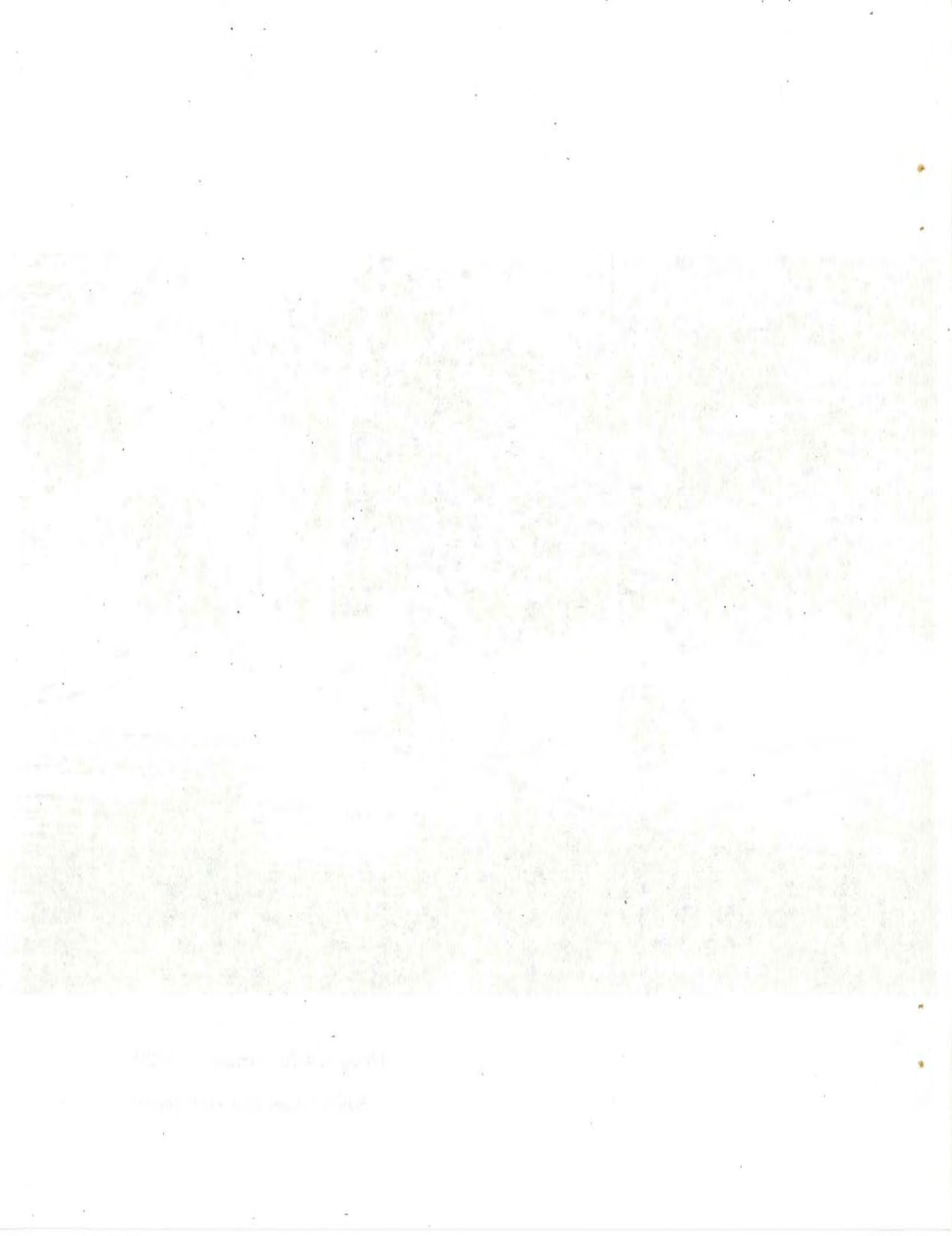
The lovely solitudes and distances that surround you on Merrymeeting Bay may be very temporary. Pollution had one legacy that is paradoxically benign --- it protected the Bay from development. But now the Bay is again becoming a place of great natural congregation. This time, human congregation, recreational and residential, seems likely to follow.

It is a sad and potent fact that our history as a nation has not been kind to the bird we've chosen as our symbol. It has grown so rare along the east coast and elsewhere, that few Americans have ever seen it. How we treat this local outback --- a place that is once again the nursery of eagles --- will indicate the kind of future we have coming to us.



Hoop net fishermen, c. 1920.

Bowdoinham Historical Society



Development on Merrymeeting Bay, 1760-1990: Forestry, Agriculture and Industry

Edward L. Hawes

Introduction

Development occurs where economics and ecology meet --- at least it did up to the 1860s. Several periods can be distinguished. Native Americans established a balance that provided for a subsistence that was based upon hunting, fishing and shifting agriculture. Early British and Huguenot settlers in the Bay region set up another balance in the areas they farmed and lumbered. With the conclusion of the French and Indian Wars in the early 1760s, more aggressive development occurred, documented by an Episcopalian minister, Jacob Bailey. Saw mills and grist mills were erected by entrepreneurs in the best places on the rivers and tidal creeks. Good soils and flowing waters provided the basis for a growing economy.

Before the age of coal and chemistry dissolved the limits of growth imposed by nature, the impacts of development were not unforgivable. In the 1820s a Southerner, Henry Putnam, looking for business possibilities and recreation in the Brunswick-Topsham area, described the mills for processing the woodland harvest and for textiles. Nothing he saw in mill or on farm indicated any environmental problems.

By the 1880s things were different. Coal was brought in by ship, now making it possible to transcend the limits of water power on mill size and operation. A range of chemicals were used in paper and textile production that had adverse impacts. The waterways were used for waste disposal. In 1910, an observant local historian in Bowdoinham looked about, concerned with the impacts of the divorce between economics and ecology. He realized that a great transformation of the ecology of the Bay region was underway and he was worried.

This *Merrymeeting Bay Note* explores what happened in this great transformation after 1760. It is intended to serve at several points in the comprehensive planning process --- in defining community character, in survey and inventory of a variety of resources, including cultural ones, and in thinking about appropriate policies and their implementation. The method of using cross-sections of time to define development and give form to community history is explored more fully in the *Merrymeeting Bay Note on Community Character*, as are the applications of the data.

The 1760s: The Transformation Begins

The transformation of the landscape and the ecology of the Bay region through development had begun just about the time Jacob Bailey, its acute observer, lived at Fort Richmond in the 1760s. The conclusion of the wars between the British and the French, and the subduing of the Native Americans, brought peace for the British settlers and developers in the region. Economics and ecology would now be moved into a new balance, one far different than the one that existed when the region was occupied by Native Americans who practiced hunting, gathering and some horticulture and British settlers who did some farming, fishing, lumbering and trading.

Sitting at his writing desk, Reverend Bailey was filled with awe. "On this side of the river, raging fires had caused a terrible destruction among the trees. In one place you might see the trunks and sooty heads of enormous pines lying in wild confusion upon the ground. In another, naked hemlocks towering to the skies

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

in awful majesty." This was pioneering country, and as elsewhere, early settlers found an effective way to ready the land for agriculture was to set fires that they hoped to control, then to plant among the charred trunks.

On the other side toward Frankfort, now Dresden, where he was to move in a few years, willows on the banks "excited a kind of pleasure." Yet when he contemplated the wilderness beyond, he could only write: "I confess I was ready to shudder with horror" [Charles E. Allen, *History of Dresden, Maine* (n. p., 1931), pp. 279-80]. This wilderness, he clearly believed, need to be tamed. Many of the settlers along Merrymeeting Bay must have shared Reverend Bailey's thoughts. In effect they believed that "development" was necessary and it led to "progress."

There was no romanticism in the way he described the trees cut for masts for the Royal Navy, no desire to preserve virgin growth, even a small grove to leave examples for the following generations. White pines twelve to fifteen feet in circumference and one hundred and fifty feet in height were commonly cut for the King's ships. The stumps he was told would remain in the ground for one hundred years.

Maple sugar making was a new process then, and his description of this form of woodland use was matter of fact. "When the sun, by its approach towards the line . . . the sap begins to ascend, and may be extracted either by cutting a notch or boring a hole in the trunk of the tree, and placing a vessel under a hollow tube prepared for the purpose, through which the sap drops into the vessel." He described boiling down the sap, and went on to say that "I have known a single tree about four or five feet in circumference yield eight pounds of sugar in a season" [*Dresden*, p. 277]. The trees were giants then, but he took little notice.

He was excited by the cultural landscape that was emerging on Merrymeeting Bay. He marveled at the "perpetual succession of fields, pastures, spacious woods, humble cottages and elegant buildings" that "exhibit all the charms of variety." Bailey, a careful horticulturalist, observed over the years the crops grown in the area. "Maize, or Indian corn, may be grown in perfection, and is raised quite extensively, oats and barley are more common. Wheat is raised with success, although insect pests are a discouragement." Drawing from Bailey's papers, Dresden's historian Allen states further "Of leguminous plants, peas and beans are the more common, the latter being raised in abundance" [p. 14].

Reverend Bailey did not have an eye for industry. But others certainly did, and all round the Bay in the tributaries where the water fall was sufficient, saw and grist mills were set up to take advantage of the power. Sylvester Gardiner furnished the capital to set up mills in the 1750s on the Eastern River at what became Dresden settlement [*Dresden*, pp. 200-201]. According to local historians, down on the Nequasset, over at the Brunswick Falls on the Androscoggin, on the Cathance in what became the Richmond settlement, entrepreneurs set up places to convert the product of woodland and field to lumber, flour and meal. Others set up shipyards on a modest scale, and began that industry that was so important to the Bay in years to come.

The 1820s

By the time of statehood, economics and ecology were reaching a new balance, one set in part by the availability of water power, the typical pattern of the early industrial era. Henry Putnam, a Southerner visiting the Merrymeeting Bay area in 1820, marveled at the dams and mills erected at the falls on the Androscoggin [*A Description of Brunswick, Maine* (Brunswick, 1820), pp.16-17]. Mills for sawing lumber, lathes, clapboards and shingles were in operation; so was an up-to-date flour mill and a cotton textile establishment. Putnam was intrigued by the circular saw used to produce the clapboards and the ingenious system of sieves in the flour mill. The logs came from way upstream, and the Southerner was fascinated by the spectacle of the wide place in the river above the falls filled with logs retained by booms held by six

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

stone-filled cribs. When he asked "what quantity of logs have been secured," the answer made him laugh. Instead of number of logs, he was told "about 90 acres."

Putnam observed ship building going on the Androscoggin. He never went over to Bath or up to Bowdoinham and Richmond and witnessed the building of ships for coastal and the West India trade, as well as boats for use in the Bay. The authors of the local histories indicate that elsewhere on the tributaries of the Bay industrial development in such as forms as these had taken place by 1820, but none seem to have been on this scale.

"The gentleman from South Carolina" as he was anonymously referred to on the title page did travel about Topsham and Brunswick and up to Durham investigating the farming that was being carried out. He was much impressed. As with Rev. Bailey it was the cultural landscape that attracted him, not the wilderness. He was particularly impressed with the Quaker farmers. "Their farms are in excellent order and furnish the village with cider, apples, vegetables, provisions and grain." He went on to echo Bailey. "Wheat, rye, barley and oats are a sure crop here. Indian corn of excellent quality is raised on every species of land. . . Potatoes are a sure crop, of a quality altogether superior to those of the south. They are raised in great abundance, even on the lightest plains" [p. 22].

Unfortunately the local historians of the towns on the Bay have not been much interested in agriculture or forestry. It was the Revolution, the Civil War, the development of churches and schools that fascinated them over the years. In their books there are the dutiful chapters on "industry" but these either focus on the 18th century or the period just before that in which they were writing. No Federal agricultural or industrial census was taken until 1850, so it is not possible to create a comparative picture of what was going on in 1820 around the Bay, although the first decade of issues of the Maine Register --- a record of Maine businesses first published in the 1820s --- could help a bit. However, in comparison with later years, there is little indication of development in that publication.

The 1880s

The 1880s are another matter. By then the yearly issues of the Maine Register permit a comparative picture of what natural resource and farm produce processing industries were active in the towns of the Bay. In Brunswick by the falls there were two firms producing lumber, one of which also made doors and window sashes, C. H. Colby. Across the river in Topsham there were three firms producing lumber, and one doors and sashes only. Bowdoinham had three lumber mills, and Bowdoin one. Richmond had a saw mill, Dresden one also, and Woolwich three, probably located in the old mill areas on the Nequasset.

The town preeminent on the Bay in shipbuilding was, of course, Bath. Fourteen firms were listed in the 1880 Register as "Ship Builders." Two individuals and two firms were under "Riggers," and two individuals under "Ship Carvers." There were two "Ship Smiths" and four "Caulkers." Richmond was next in the number of builders with four, plus two listed as "Ship Carpenter" who a decade earlier had been together in a shipbuilding firm. D. W. Toothaker was listed as a "Ship Joiner" and Charles H. Hodges as a maker of sails. The only other town where shipbuilding was going on was Brunswick. Here three firms were listed, including the Schofield Brothers.

Probably about the same time that the collectors of information for the Register came around, John Furbish, a local hardware dealer, noted in his diary that the brothers "are at work in their yard upon a large vessel" [Facts About Brunswick, p. 61]. How much of the lead and copper in the sediments in the Bay and the lower Kennebec came from the scraping and bottom painting that went on in the boat and shipyards will probably never be known, but certainly some came from these sources by the 1880s and continues to do so.

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

Some other industrial operations had an effect on the ecology of the Bay and its watershed directly, and may still have some residual effects. In Richmond was a brass foundry, that had ten years earlier been operated by F. Hyde. In the meantime, the latter had gone to Bath where he had started the brass and iron foundry that became a major industry in the city. The production of brass requires the use of metals we now know are toxic, and residues both from casting and machining were disposed of on site and nearby waterways and probably moved through groundwater to pollute. So there may well be sediments with heavy metals derived from these sources.

Glimpses of what farm families were raising can be seen occasionally in the local histories and other records. John Furbish whose diary is in the Pejepscot Historical Society observed in May, 1879, that "quite a number of farmers about here have planted Sugar Beet Seed feeling encouraged from the experiment made last year that a new and profitable source of income has been opened to them" [Manuscript published in photocopied form as Facts About Brunswick, Maine in 1976]. Apparently a sugar beet factory had been opened, although no indication has been found in the Register. On July 4 he observed that the "hay crop must be very large and prices lower. . . . The 'Colorado beetle' is ravaging the potato fields, but early crops will very generally escape" [Facts, pp. 61-62]. A systematic and quantitatively-based picture of agriculture awaits a thorough analysis of the Federal agricultural census figures for the period.

It would be well to know how much of the wheat and other grains ground in the flour and grist mills of the Bay was from the region, and how much came from "the West." In Brunswick according to the Register, the Scribner brothers had a flour mill and A. G. Poland, a grist mill, while across the way in Topsham, one firm had a mill producing both. In the next town of Bowdoinham, one of the firms that produced lumber also had a grist mill. This was also true in Dresden. In the urban area of Bath there was a combined salt and grist mill, and out at the second dam up Whiskeag Creek was a flour mill.

One mill that had a major social and economic impact on Brunswick and Topsham processed the products of fields elsewhere in the country. This was the Cabot establishment with its several "works," its mill dam, and its mill worker housing. The conditions of housing were deplorable, as Edward Kirkland points out in his ironically titled Brunswick's Golden Age. The problems of what we now call environmental health were serious, and finally woke the leaders of the town to action in developing public services. The full story belongs in another *Merrymeeting Bay Note*. Here suffice it to say that economics and ecology had become completely separated. The owners of the firm lived in Boston and the profits, as people complained, flowed to Boston [William N. Locke, "The French Colony at Brunswick, Maine," Archives de Folklore (Montreal), (1946), pp. 98,101]. Here was an early case of Maine's people and Maine's resources being under the control of interests elsewhere.

The 1910s: The Transformation Completed

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century it was apparent to at least one local historian that there had been a great ecological transformation. The early industrial balance of economics and ecology was long gone. Two things struck Silas Adams of Bowdoinham, writer of the most environmentally aware local history: farm fields had become exhausted, and streams were no longer the power sources that they had been.

One reason soil was in such poor condition was because too many "men who owned farms turned their attention more particularly to the shipyard as a means of getting money, a much quicker process than that of coining wealth from the somewhat tardy acres which had become long neglected and abused. . . . They could buy more bushels of corn from the income of one day's work, than they could extort from the farm by three days' labor." It was immediate profit that they wanted, and "Yankee ingenuity studied that only and led

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

them to the conclusion that the surest road to wealth was by the quickest route" [Adams, History of the Town of Bowdoinham (Fairfield, Maine, 1912), pp. 172-73].

The second source of the problem was also economic, the "exceedingly high price of hay." With the good markets, farmers "made a specialty of cropping the land for hay crops only, as a means of profit from the farm, and the one having the largest returns for labor." Adams pointed out that things were changing. "Farming is rapidly assuming a new position on entirely new and scientific principles." But for too long, "the matter of preserving . . . fertility was not a subject of consideration; but [rather] 'how can I extort the most from mother earth?'" [pp. 272-74].

What struck him most of all was that farming had lost its healthy diversity. "The horses are bought from the West, the cattle have largely disappeared from the pastures and the flocks of sheep are rarely seen upon the farm, so the Bowdoinham farmer who should raise his own meats, flour and grains of all kinds depends largely upon the western farmer for the necessities of life." This early call for a return to regional food and fodder self-sufficiency was heartfelt. Adams lamented that "Maine farmers are obliged to rake the old farm hard for the dollars to send to the western farmer to enrich him. In this respect Bowdoinham is loosing" [Adams, p. 280].

The decline in fertility was not irreversible, and he knew of farmers who were applying principles of "scientific farming." However, the decline of water power was not reversible. Here is where the ecological transformation made itself felt on some tributaries of the Bay very explicitly. People might say it was easier to use steam engines to power saw and grist mills and think little more about it. But Adams knew that there was more to the story. "The axe did the work and did it effectually," he declared poignantly. "The decimation of the forests have prevented the usual rainfalls, the springs have disappeared, and the streams once with an abundant flow are but mere brooks, and remain so the greater part of the year." It may have been overwrought, but his lament truthful. "We can find the remnants of mills on our streams, but the element necessary to turn their wheels, is absorbed by the air and the parched earth, with none to spare to fill the channels."

With mixed emotions, he realized that coal had made it possible to locate factories virtually anywhere. "What is to be done for Bowdoinham must be done by steam power, which by cheap coal and improved machinery, renders the extra cost but nominal, and not one to stand in the way of locating factories of any description in our beautiful town" [pp. 174-75]. Economics and ecology could be fully detached, and the limits that natural and local sources of power imposed upon development could easily be transcended.

There was another problem that he noticed. There were far fewer fish than in former times. He was cautious in stating the reason why and declared that "experts" said it was because of pollution from the paper mills. Perhaps people in Brunswick and Topsham were very aware of this, for several of the sources of pollution were right on the Androscoggin at the old falls, the Pejepscot paper mill and pulp mills.

The 1960s

By the 1960s economics and ecology had become detached almost completely. Distant markets and distant sources of cheap energy had made it possible to do almost anything anywhere, provided that labor or resources were cheap enough. The other important factor for some industries still was that the wastes could be disposed of cheaply, often in the tributaries of the Bay. Some of the new industries in the Bay area were quite benign environmentally. But one of the old was not, the paper pulp industry. The pollution of the waters of the Androscoggin, the Kennebec and the Bay continued.

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

But the day was coming when enough people began to realize that ecology had to take precedence over economics, at least long enough to bring them into a new and healthy balance. This story belongs to another *Merrymeeting Bay Note*, the one by Richard W. Judd on the movement to clean up the Bay and its watershed and the environmental legislation that began the cleanup.

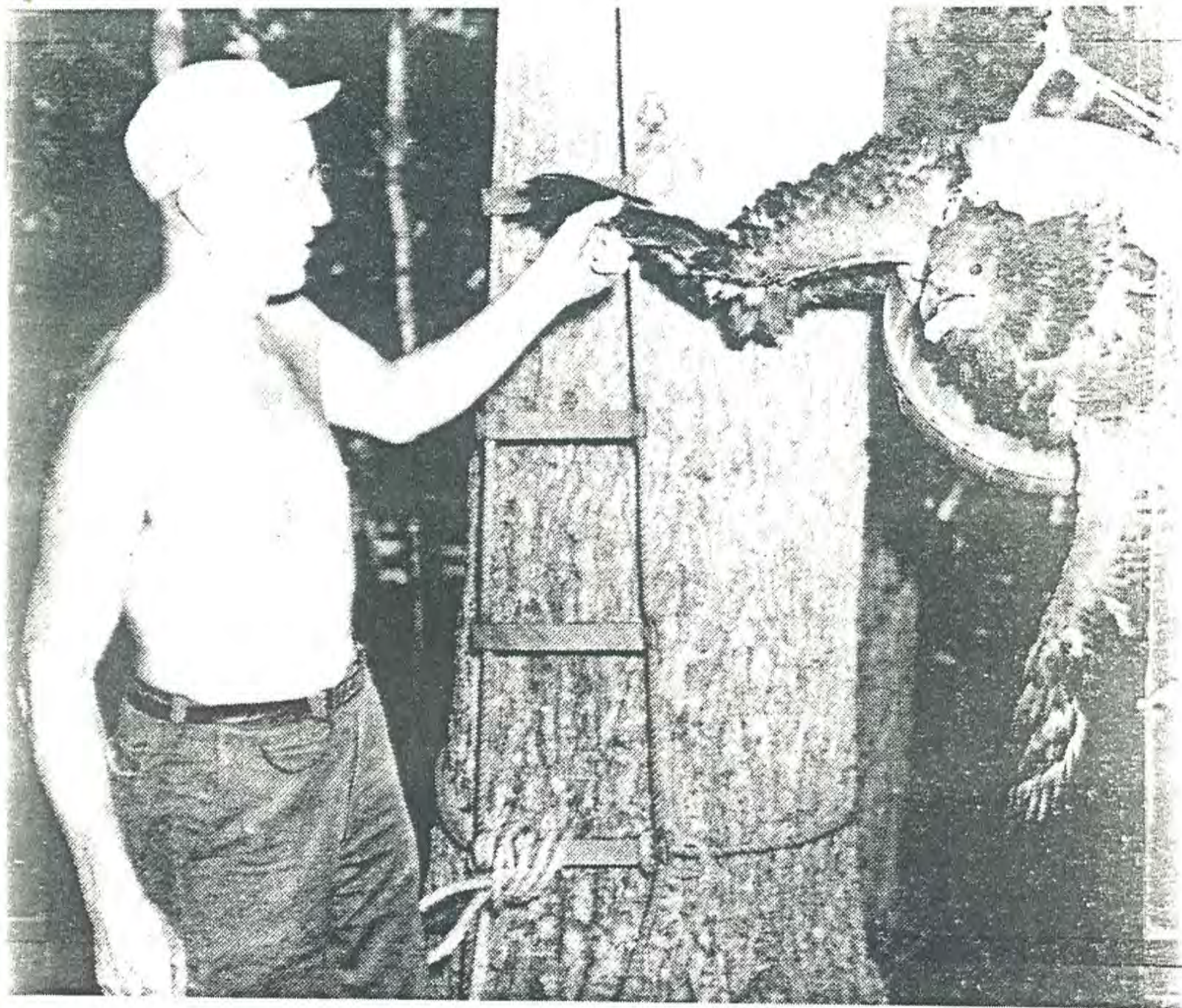
If the Bay and the waters flowing into it were still under pressure, so was the land around them. The crop of town plans of the sixties and early seventies reveal that fewer farms operated than earlier. The specialization that Adams had lamented continued. Economic factors within the control of humans forced farmers to expand in one line or go out of business. The requirement of bulk milk tanks for dairy forms forced many dairy farmers out of business in the Richmond area, and probably elsewhere. No researchers worked on means to make the farming technologically nor economically efficient and at the same time environmentally benign, nor on ways to make rural communities economically viable.

Implications for Comprehensive Planning

This *Note* is intended to help with several specific parts of comprehensive planning. It provides an interpretation and a method for examining community and regional character, and assistance in thinking about where communities should go in the future. It establishes that economics and ecology were closely related for a long time, and in various balances. For about 100 years, they have been divorced. Now we have the task of bringing them together, providing jobs and development, and preserving the environment in a new, dynamic balance. Democratic planning through the growth management process, creative entrepreneurship and further development of regulated commons will do what is necessary to achieve this.

The method has two aspects. Use primary sources such as the Maine Register and reminiscences of people who lived in the town along with the local histories to establish the essentials about development. Look at a series of decades spaced apart to provide graspable perspectives on town history.

The interpretation that development is most positive where economics and ecology meet and are in balance and the methodology described above are useful for several parts of the comprehensive planning process, including establishing community and regional character. This approach also presents helpful perspectives when inventorying land use, agriculture, forestry and industry. It will be of particular importance in establishing the "historic contexts" that are used in inventorying cultural resources. Knowing about the historical patterns of farming, milling, and other raw material processing industries helps in determining the likely location of mill sites, significantly old farm landscapes and what old factory buildings were used for. Beyond predicting a variety of cultural resources, it helps in analyzing their significance and determining what ones could or should be protected. The *Note on Community and Regional Character* develops this methodology and its applications further.



Clark Townsend discovered eagles were not reproducing on the Bay in the 1950s. Shown here with a young eagle being lowered in a basket for banding.

Maine Field Naturalist, vol. 13 (1957), p. 8.

Resource Use and *The Commons*: Historical Perspectives on Community Values

Edward L. Hawes

Introduction

We are bringing an old and important conception back to life, "the commons." Environmental and conservation regulations are creating a situation where the uses and the users of the resources of the Bay are regulated to provide for fair access and protection today and sustenance in the long run. To a degree this is so on the land bordering the Bay and its tributaries as well.

However, whereas the Bay itself is no one's private property, most of the land on it is just that, with the owners viewed as rightfully the main determiners of appropriate uses. The origins of the conception of unrestricted private property lie deep in our history, but even deeper are the conception and practice of the regulated commons.

The Indians, when the first settlers arrived, in essence had a conception of commons based on their existence as hunters, gatherers and farmers practicing "shifting agriculture." The first European settlers came from England, a country in the midst of a dramatic transformation of land use and law. The English were shifting their understanding of property from one that included a strong tradition of shared commons with regulated users and uses, to a conception of individual, unregulated private land ownership. Early deeds between the settlers and the Indians around the Bay reflect both conceptions. For a time the settlers continued using some land and other resources under the conception of the commons.

What is important is that not only the Indians, but also those of European background, have in their historical traditions the realities of shared and regulated commons to look back towards. While we cannot go back to the specific conditions and technological levels where particular conceptions of commons functioned, we can recognize its importance and utility today.

Our values today are historically based. In addition to the notion of individual wellbeing derived from private property ownership, we have had a sense of the importance of the wellbeing of the whole derived from our common resources and obligations to use them wisely. These are important recognitions in thinking about the character of our communities and the region.

Creating a Commons in the Bay Region Today

Merrymeeting Bay and its tributaries are no one person's private property. No one can point to a line on the water or underneath and say everything on this side is mine and I can do what I wish with it. People can hunt, fish, boat and swim. In doing so they are subject to town, state and federal laws and regulations to provide for a sustained yield of wildlife and fish, and for the safety of the public. In essence the Bay and its rivers constitute what used to be termed a "commons," open to all legitimate users, but with the users subject to controls so that the common resources are not ruined.

Since the passage of various state and federal clean water acts, toxic and hazardous waste legislation and other environmental laws, this commons can no longer with impunity be used for dumping industrial and

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

municipal wastes. Nor can individual households dump their gray water and sewage directly. No one individual or corporation has the right to abuse these resources for their own benefit. Nor do residents of the towns on the Bay collectively have the right to abuse the Bay and its tributaries either through faulty sewage disposal systems or leaking landfills.

In effect we are setting up what people used to call "commons." The Bay and its rivers have benefited tremendously from this. We still have a good ways to go. The Brunswick Times-Record of 3/14/90 had an article about the high level of dioxin in the Androscoggin, higher by five times than what it was five years ago. First will be the problem of finding the mill or mills that is or are dumping into the commons. Then will come the problem of applying the regulations and countering the argument that economics is more important than ecology. The regulated commons must be defended.

Land as a Private Resource

In contrast to the situation with the waters of the Bay and its tributaries, most of the land is private property owned by what the courts term a "legal person," an individual, several individuals or a corporation. Little land is in public hands. Most noteworthy is the state-owned Swan Island reserve, formerly a separate town of Perkins known for the quality of its farm land. The City of Bath owns Butler Cove at the south end of the Bay including an ecologically significant wetland as well as an important scenic headland. These are part of our landed commons, and state and town regulations set strict controls on their use.

A visit to any town office for property or plat maps shows the Merrymeeting Bay lands divided up into lots, whether in the urban or the rural areas. The actual cultural landscape, the patterns of farm fields, woodland parcels, subdivisions and business blocks, industrial and waterfront sites, landfills and quarries, reflects these lot divisions. Most owners of these lots, whatever size or use, think of their holdings as their absolute private property, to do with as they see fit. Their assumption is that their individual rights are paramount. Zoning, public health, and other forms of town regulation, environmental regulations of the state and federal governments are accepted, but at times grudgingly. Sometimes they are ignored or actively resisted.

People say: "My home, my castle, my land, my territory! I can do with them as I see fit! The economics of my household, our business are what count." They do not think about their responsibility for the health of the whole. The land is treated as a commodity, to be bought and sold, to be speculated in for profit. The trees on the land, the minerals underneath the surface some owners think are to be used as they like. They believe that rightfully they should be able to cut up their parcel into smaller lots for houses or condominiums. He or she should be able to develop a shopping mall and cover the earth with vast stretches of parking lots.

Town, state and federal regulations put controls and limits on these activities. Mandated comprehensive planning is designed to encourage towns to survey and inventory the resources within their boundaries in a systematic fashion, then to devise strategies to protect or develop them where judged appropriate. All of these efforts are seen by some as "limits" on the fundamental right of the private property owner, whether individual or corporation, to do as they see fit. There is a certain negative quality associated with the regulations. A positive vision of the commonweal is lacking. However, in our historical experience is a powerful image to be explored for our common benefit.

Historical Realities of the Commons: Old and New England

The origins of the notion of unrestricted private property, of the primacy of individual rights over land and other resources lie deep in our historical experience. But even deeper lies the conception of the "commons," a shared resource the use of which is regulated by custom and formal law. Under a system of commons, members of a community have limited rights to use the resources, historically resources such as farmland, pasture or woodland. They have complementary obligations to insure that all users and the community as a whole will have these resources undiminished to use in the future. The community regulates the use of the resources, supported by customary and/or formal law. It sets standards of punishment for violation of the law, and carries out the punishment. This is a generalized description of a system that was found all over Europe at least to 1800, and in parts all through the 19th century.

Historically in England and New England, under the commons systems the rights to use resources were based upon varying combinations of at least three criteria: 1) the needs of a family for sustenance, shelter and warmth, 2) the ability of an individual or family to effectively use the resource, 3) the political and economic power of the family. A fourth criterion was that the resources be so used that they would continue to sustain subsequent generations. An elemental form of social justice was present under the first criterion in that families in the community were assumed to have a right to home, hearth and food. Without stretching things too much in all cases it can be said that there was an assumption of environmental justice linked with stewardship, that the current users had to care for the resources so they would sustain in the future.

The first settlers in the Merrymeeting Bay region came in the 1630 from England, a country in the midst of a dramatic transformation of land use and law. The English were shifting their understanding of property from one of shared commons with regulated users and uses to a belief in individual, unregulated private land and resource ownership.

There were parts of England where the concept and practice of the commons was still strong, and settlers in New England from these parts set up a similar situation in their towns. William Cronon in his fascinating book Changes in the Land, Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England [1983] said that these included Rowley and Sudbury. However, settlers from parts of England where the old open field system of common lands was being replaced by enclosed fields owned as private property "proved right from the start to be much interested in transferring lands from common to private property as rapidly as possible" [p. 74]. These included Ipswich and Scituate. He may have overstated the second case. Merrymeeting Bay settlers seem to have used a dual system, with elements of the commons system and a private property system functioning along side each other.

The picturesque village "greens" are often the vestigial remnants of one kind of commons. Two hundred years ago they were used for nighttime pasture for the sheep and cattle of all the families dwelling there. Around these commons were the houses, barns and outbuildings of people, most of whom were farm family members. Some early New England settlements were clustered around this core. In back of the farm buildings, the field stretched out in strips. In addition each family had access to common pasture, meadow and woodland. Other settlements, as was often the case in Maine, stretched out along a road or a river, with the meeting house as the central point. Holdings were laid out in strips up to two miles long and developed as fields, pastures and meadows. Coastal salt marshes were held in common or more often as private property. The upland commons were little regulated and served mainly as a source of timber.

The concept of individual private property came early even to clustered villages. The plowable fields became inheritable, could be bought and sold, and the increase in value could flow to the family holding them. Eventually this happened to the pastures, meadows and woodlands as population increased. Despite these shifts in values and legal practices, the sense of the commonweal remained in some cases; the members of

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

the community were seen as having obligations to each other and to future generations. The rights to use the waterways as power sources never became absolute private property, but remained rights to be used for a period of time under stipulated conditions.

Realities in the Merrymeeting Region

Merrymeeting Bay communities in the 17th century and 18th century as those to the south in the "Province of Mayne" were founded and developed with the set of dual conceptions, both commons and private property. The initial European owners were the "proprietors" who held title in a combination of three ways: 1) from the King of England as a grant, 2) as "property" or at least rights to use the land in some fashion purchased from the Indians, 3) or as grants from the General Court of Massachusetts. All these patterns can be seen in the collection of York Deeds, for Merrymeeting Bay region was long part of the country of York. The proprietors undertook division of land into long lots, often going back from the Bay or its tributaries. These lots were either sixty or one hundred acres. The pattern can be seen in maps in the local histories of Dresden and Bath [Henry Owen, History of Bath, Maine (Bath, 1936), p. 108; Charles E. Allen, History of Dresden, Maine (n. p., 1931), p. 196].

Yet despite the early division of most of the land into private property, the conception and practice of commons continued. Sometimes access to common meadow and woodlands ran with the title to the lots. Salt marshes were a very important resource for farming right into this century. In Brunswick, they were not divided up into private property, but "were allowed to be used in common by the settlers upon whose lands they bordered" [George A. Wheeler, Henry W. Wheeler, History of Brunswick (Boston, 1878), p. 52-1]. The patterns of salt marsh tenure elsewhere in the towns on the Bay have not been uncovered, and need to be investigated. Other resources were shared, as well. The rights to take alewives during their spring runs up streams remained subject to yearly granting by the community. Sometimes, as in Woolwich, no one could have more than a bushel until all community members had that much. (Burnett B. Wallace, The World of the Old Nequasset Meeting House [Woolwich, 1989, typescript, n. p.]

Old maps indicate the presence of areas designated as "commons" still in the late 18th century and right on to the end of the next. Research has not been carried out into the comparative patterns around the Bay. If the patterns elsewhere in Maine to the south are any guide, then these commons were seen as a source of additional private lots to be carved out as the population expanded. This was the situation in Wells where a division in the 1760s created additional farms in back of the first set that had been laid out going back from the marshes and the shore.

The town of Brunswick still has a commons. What happened to it shows the problems when there is little or no regulation, just the situation that Garret Hardin, the biologist, discussed in his famous article "The Tragedy of the Commons" [Science, 162: 1243-1248, 1968]. The Wheelers in their 1878 history of the town state that the origins were to be found in a vote of proprietors of May 1719 "That one Thousand Acres of Land . . . be Laid out; To Ly in General & Perpetual comonage to ye sd Town of Brunswick forever" [p. 521]. Several surveys were done after 1741, but the boundaries remained disputed even after 200 acres were given to Bowdoin College in 1811 [pp. 524-25].

The town meeting of 1857 voted "to petition the State legislature to give . . . a more full and absolute control of the use and disposal of the Commons" but no action was taken in Augusta. The committee set up at that town meeting to investigate the condition of the commons reported the next year. "Though designed for the benefit of the whole, a few had taken the lion's part, stripped it of its wood and timber, and used it otherwise as would best subserve their purposes. . . . Deprecations had continued from year to year, and continual complaints would be made until some disposition was made which would more effectually secure to the town the enjoyment of it." The Wheelers stated that they did not know what had actually

come of all this, but concluded that "the time is certain to come when the whole tract will be of great value and utility as a public park" [pp. 526-27].

A final note: initial settlers in the Bay region were granted land on basis of building houses of certain size within a certain time, and clearing and farming a specific quantity of land. Here was a continuance of the medieval conception of common land divided up according to need and ability to use it, but blended with this was the modern conception of private property. Once the conditions of the proprietors were met, the settling family "owned" the property and could sell it or pass it on to descendants without restriction.

Indian and English Conceptions of Resource Use and Rights

The Indians, when the first settlers arrived, had a conception of commons based on their existence as hunters, gatherers and farmers practicing "shifting agriculture." They did not understand land or other resources as commodities with exclusive ownership rights. They did not have a market economy and had no conception of legal deeds or permanent fixed boundaries. Uses were shared and regulated by tradition and current agreement.

Cronon believes that basically the Indians had one conception of resource use, the English another. When the English "bought" from the Indians, they thought they were buying certain things, and the Indians thought they were selling another set of things. "It was possible for an Indian village to convey what it regarded as identical and nonexclusive usufruct rights to several different English purchasers. Alternatively, several different Indian groups might sell to English purchasers rights to the same tract of land" [p. 71]. According to him, in those early deeds Indians were selling "shared possession" of certain resources for hunting, fishing and agriculture. English thought they were buying "property" in the sense of exclusive use.

Cronon may have overstated the extent to which the English in the New World or the Old had moved toward modern property conceptions. In the 17th century they still had conceptions of common rights built into land transactions. Their property system was still in flux and would be for another century. In this time of transition, it seems likely there may have been far more overlap between the Indian and English conceptions at first than his interpretation allows.

Two early deeds, one from Woolwich, the other from Brunswick, demonstrate this overlap. In the former, in 1639 Bateman and Browne for one hogshead of corn and 30 pumpkins bought "title and interest of one place or set of ground commonly called . . . by the name of Nequasset." The boundaries were given as rivers and a lake. What they received was "free liberty to Build, plant, enclose, Empale, Fish, Fowl, Hawk and Hunt within the premisses aforesaid." They were to be disturbed in these rights neither by Indian nor English [(*Old Nequasset*, n.p.)]. These were activities related to hunting, gathering and farming that they were free to undertake. The English themselves were still in a point in the evolution of the common law in which rights to use for specific purposes were often conveyed along with absolute private property rights, in fee simple as we often put it today.

The deed from Worumbo and five other Indian leaders to Richard Wharton in 1684 for land and resources that today fall into the Brunswick-Topsham-Bowdoinham area indicates an overlapping conception of the commons. Included was "the Sole and absolute use and benefit of Salmon and Sturgeon Fishing in all the Rivers, Rivulets or Bays." This terminology seems absolute, but the agreement ends with the following: "Provided that nothing in this Deed be construed to deprive us the Sagamores, our Successors or People from improving our antient [sic] planting grounds, nor from hunting in any of the said Land being not enclosed nor from fishing for our own provision so long as no Damage shall be to the English Fishery" [Wheeler and Wheeler, *History of Brunswick*, pp. 12-15]. Shared use was clearly intended on the Indian

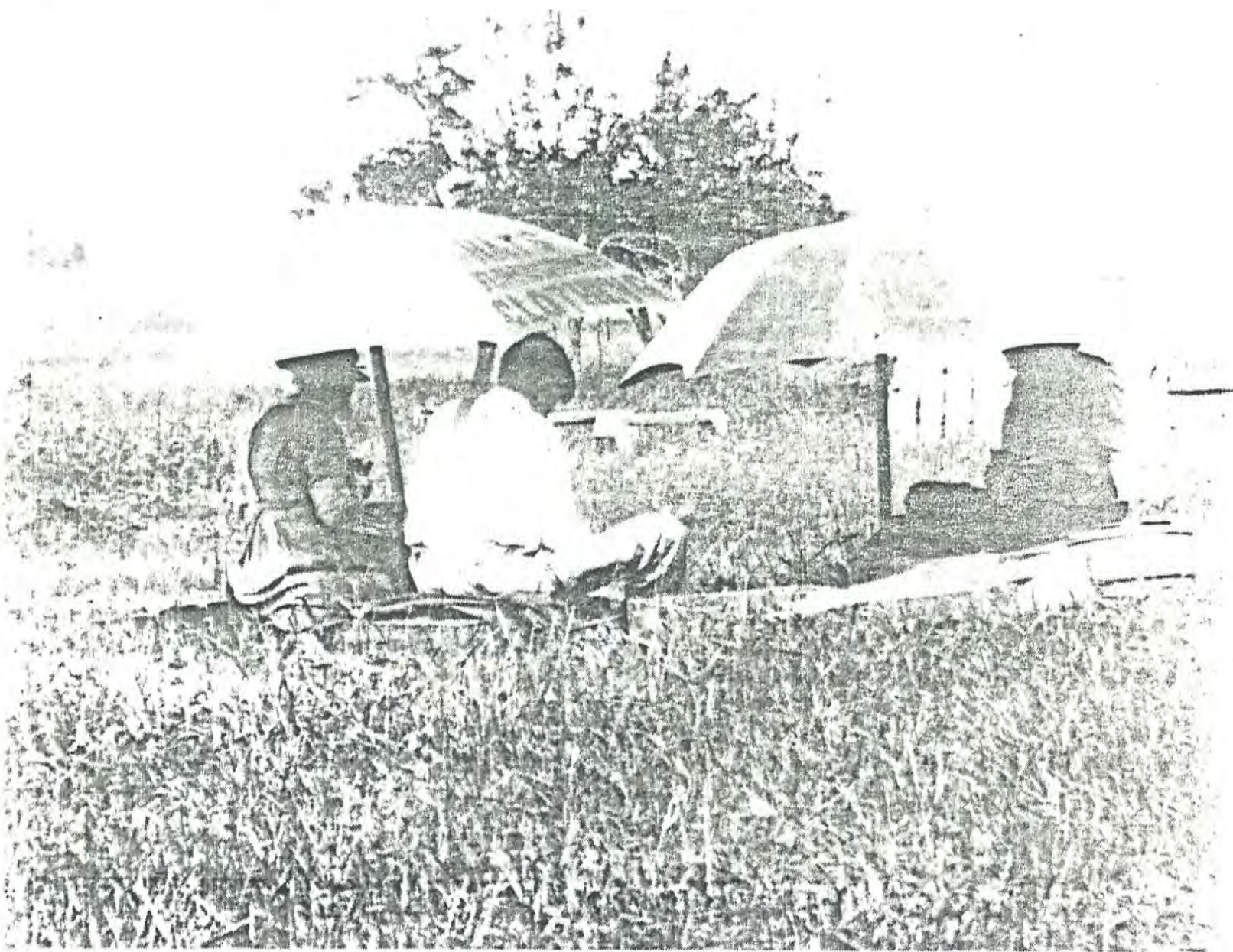
Merrymeeting Bay Notes

side. There was a clearer conception of property rights on the English side than 30 years before, but this was still not a fee simple transaction.

In effect, in some situations around the Bay, both Indians and English still recognized shared and non-exclusive rights in a commons. More investigation of early deeds from places around the Bay is necessary to determine how widespread this dual system was, and how long it lasted. It is certain that the English increasingly interpreted the rights they had acquired as absolute and exclusive. The *York Deeds* collection makes this clear. Conflict with the Indians was inevitable. Five periods of "Indian wars" occurred between 1650 and 1760. Essentially the Indians acted as guerilla fighters in an effort to prevent further encroachment on the lands and resources they had at first indicated a willingness to share with the English. But they found the English did not want to share in return with them. The wars ended when the French were defeated in North America and Europe. French military and church people had used the natural animosities of the Indians to their own advantage to pressure the English settlers to leave the Bay and other parts of Maine. The Treaty of Paris in 1763 meant for the Merrymeeting Bay settlers, land speculators and entrepreneurs that they could now develop the region without opposition. The Indians were subdued, and now the subduing of the wilderness could begin in earnest.

Implications for Comprehensive Planning

The concept of the commons provides a positive vision of regulating land and resource use for the long term benefit of all through democratic planning and decision making. The concept of private property has served us well in many instances. The notion of "limiting" it through zoning, environmental regulation and other tools, however, is somewhat negative. Understanding the historical realities of the commons help us see analogies and applications today, and develop a positive image for the commonweal. The historical realities of the commons and the construction of new kinds of commons over the past twenty years are important in thinking about community and regional character. The fact that regulated commons are an important part of our past, and that conservation, environmental and planning regulations give this old conception new form is vital to recognize in developing policies and implementing them for the health of the whole.



Cutting seed potatoes in Bowdoinham, c. 1930.

Bowdoinham Historical Society

Community and Regional Character: Choices for the Future

Edward L. Hawes

Introduction

History has a vital role to play in comprehensive planning. The first major task in the planning process is to describe "community character." Ideally the community character statement provides criteria to judge what is important in the town's inventory process, to analyze the data, to decide on appropriate policies for development and preservation, and to implement the recommendations. This *Merrymeeting Bay Note* is designed to help shape community character statements that examine development in the past, and encourage thinking about its benefits and its disadvantages.

This *Note* has another purpose as well. No town on the Bay stands alone. The political boundary lines do not form barriers to issues of development and environmental degradation, nor to the actual effects. The Bay serves as a great unifier. A subdivision in one community will have impacts on its neighbors. An industrial park in one town located in lower watershed of the Bay will inevitably create problems for the other towns. A regional consciousness is necessary, however, the State's Planning Guidelines offer little assistance in institutionalizing it, or revealing it.

Means to think about and uncover regional character, and include it in the community character statement are needed. First of all, this means presenting a perspective that makes sense and provides a provocative interpretation of development. What is suggested here is an exploration of the interrelations of economics and ecology over time. This enables a focus of the character statement on ways that people have used and shaped the environment. Secondly, methods and sources to use in developing this perspective are needed. The last section is devoted to this.

This *Note* also explores history as part of the planning process, presenting options and choices made in the past, and shedding light on those we face today. It suggests that we "sit on the edge of history," an uncomfortable situation, but one that calls for intelligent choices to be made for the future. Considered, too, are the potential dangers of using the "argument from history." Neither the romanticism of the preservationists nor the short-range vision of developers should be allowed to shape the community and regional character statement. It should be designed to examine the good and the bad, the beneficial and the detrimental. The statement should not confirm a pro-forma self-congratulatory history, but be a provocative piece designed to help in the planning process, involving members of the community in shaping the future.

Preceding the final section --- "how to research community and regional history" --- is an important section on using the community and regional character statement to understand cultural resources in a community. The character statement can help predict cultural resources that still may exist in the town, but have been ignored, and to evaluate the significance of ones that people know well already. The character statement can serve well if properly researched and constructed. There are opportunities to combine development and preservation of historic resources, and possibly gain tax advantages in the process. No town should finish its comprehensive planning without being aware of these possibilities.

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

The Need for Regional Thinking

The first major task in the comprehensive planning process is describing community character. The goal is to "provide perspective through which the community's current trends and conditions should be viewed," as the Guidelines from the State Planning Office state. All the way through the planning process, including the steps involving survey and inventory, analysis, policy development and implementation, the focus is largely upon the individual town. However, there are many cases where it is imperative to look beyond the borders to neighboring communities. This is especially so when major rivers flow through several towns, and development in one can have major effects in the others. Towns located on tidal estuaries and their tributaries such as those on Merrymeeting Bay will find regional cooperation absolutely necessary.

A single-family housing development in Richmond or a condominium project in Dresden can have impacts on the Bay and the other towns upon it. So would development of an industrial park in Brunswick or Topsham. Improvements in road networks in one town can impact its neighbors. Delay in meeting of Federal clean water standards for effluent can have Bay-wide effects.

Developments such as these eventually may force towns to look beyond their borders. The State Guidelines occasionally recommend consideration of regional issues and policies to resolve them. The drafters hoped that through the planning process towns would anticipate not only problems that could arise within their boundaries, but also those that originate beyond town lines. However, there are not a lot of suggestions on how to proceed.

What the State Guidelines Say

The State Planning Office recommends that in the beginning of the planning process those responsible in a town for preparing the comprehensive plan should consider "joint planning" among municipalities where there are shared issues or concerns "arising from common geographical features."

"Community character" is the first matter to consider in the planning process, right at the beginning of the survey and inventory phase. A number of topics are to be considered that are part of local history as it is usually conceived, including the political and cultural development of the town. The physical layout of the town and its distinguishing and treasured features can be part of the presentation. But no working conception of how to look at economic development in the past and its impacts on settlement patterns and natural resources is given. Nor are there guidelines on how to take this overall analysis of community character, develop criteria for desirable qualities and features, and then use them as a set of standards to consider while conducting the rest of the inventories, the analysis of the data, and policy development. However, it is apparent that the intent of the process of defining character is to yield information and criteria to do just that. Otherwise the process is simply a self-congratulatory exercise for a town.

Nothing is stated about developing a statement on "regional character." Yet an awareness of the history, the patterns of development, of changing resource use and of environmental and social impacts would foster the desired intertown cooperation. It is common knowledge that different parts of Maine display different character. Further consideration reveals regional identities based on at least two factors: 1) a significant natural feature that serves as a focus for concern, such as Merrymeeting Bay, and 2) common historic contexts or patterns of development and preservation.

There is nothing further said about regional coordination until the end of the section on policies and implementation strategies. There the Guidelines state that the plan "shall contain a regional coordination program for the management of shared resources and facilities." Certainly the regional planning councils

and their staffs will play an important role in assisting towns to plan for regional issues, and to devise common strategies to implement policies to address these issues. The Office of Comprehensive Planning (within DECD) will review all the plans produced by towns and will encourage planning that considers regional issues and problems, with various incentives to provide encouragement.

A Bay-Wide Perspective

Clearly a Bay-wide perspective is necessary to establish regional character, and to enhance understanding the development of individual communities around the Bay. However, the local history books do not have such a perspective, even the most thorough ones. The historians of Bath and Bowdoinham, Richmond and Dresden present facts about their own town's past. There are the expected chapters on settlement in the 17th and 18th centuries, on the Revolution and the Civil War. Schools and churches are also discussed through time. There might be a chapter or so on early mills, and perhaps on industry in the 19th century. Early roads, development of railroads and trolley lines, and the history of shipbuilding are common topics that do require some attention to what happened beyond the borders of an individual town. However, in most topics, the local historian stops at the town line.

A Bay-wide perspective is necessary to bring into focus evidence that can be gathered from a wide variety of sources. This perspective can be developed using questions and methods from social and environmental history, two recent approaches to the past that historians have found useful. *Environmental historians* ask how humans have used natural resources in the past, how technologies, institutions and values have shaped resource use, and what the impacts were on the world around us. *Social historians* ask who has benefited from development and how, the ways in which concepts such as private property, the public interest or the commons have shaped what we do, and the impacts of these actions on the way we now live. Historians using these approaches have found that it is helpful to have one or another unifying interpretation, a perspective to give meaning to the incredible number of facts that form the past.

The perspective suggested in several of these *Notes* calls for exploring the relationship of economics and ecology, not from a social science approach, but from a humanistic one combining social and environmental history. This perspective or interpretation, is follows. The balances of economics and ecology were set by the limits of wind and water power until the 1860s, and even for a time after. Native Americans at the time of European settlement had one balance established. Early settlers and traders upset this and created a somewhat different balance for themselves. A new balance came into being with the development of river and tidal power in the region, especially after 1820. This balance came to an end after 1860 when coal, then electricity, came into the area as energy sources, and polluting chemical processes began to be used. Economics and ecology could be divorced. The market pushed the application of technologies beyond ecological limits.

The perspective further suggests that today we need to reestablish the connection of economics and ecology and find a dynamic and sustaining balance between the two. We cannot go back to the earlier balances, but we can study them as sources of inspiration, exploring the idea that such a connection could be viable and supporting. Here is history used as an analogy, not a model to be copied. This perspective, then, is intended to do three things within the comprehensive planning process:

- To focus community character study on the ways people have used and shaped the environment, drawn upon our natural resources and organized institutions to do these things. Thus the approach has significance for all ten areas of survey required by the Guidelines and for policy-making.
- To create a framework within which a regional history can be researched and understood. Thus the options and choices made in the past can serve to point out opportunities possible today.

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

- To broaden our thinking about which cultural resources are significant and should be preserved, and how to use them. Mill sites and factory buildings become evidence of the different balances of economics and ecology through time. The homes and workplaces of ordinary people then become as significant as the "high style" houses of the wealthy. Thus, the tenth area of survey in comprehensive planning --- cultural resources --- can be developed in ways that are more meaningful to more residents of a town.

History and Planning

A Bay-wide perspective allows the material from various town histories and articles by people interested in local history to be used effectively. Along with these secondary sources, those charged with putting together a community character statement can draw upon various primary sources, those written by people of the time being considered to create a lively and accurate picture of development. The relation of the history of the town from this perspective to that of the Bay as a whole can easily be explored. With this interpretation the essentials of the story of development in an individual town *and* in the Merrymeeting Bay region can be uncovered and analyzed. The point is to find out what happened in the past and why, then to consider what these patterns mean for choices in the future.

It is important to remember that comprehensive planning is really a process of historical investigation. All the data that is gathered in the inventory phase on housing, transportation, natural resources, and land use is part of history. In effect, what is urged here is that the community and regional character investigation be used as a means to deepen the depth of the data, and that the tenth area of inventorying --- cultural resources --- be used to give physical reality to that depth.

Furthermore, it is important to recognize some important points. First of all, history as it becomes part of comprehensive planning, is the study of options, what we have been confronted with in the past. In examining community character we should look at the options people had. We should, second of all, look at the choices they made, what they did and why. Sometimes the options were few and the choices made within great constraints. Sometimes the options were many and the choices broad. Sometimes only the limited consciousness of people held them back from seeing the range of options and choices, and from making good long range choices. Looking at the history of the Bay region from the perspective of the relations of economics and ecology over time allows the options and choices to be seen more clearly than from any other perspective.

Thirdly, history as part of planning presents us with options and choices *today*. As you are reading this, come up to the edge of the seat you are sitting upon. As you do this, think about the concept "*We sit on the edge of history!*" The past continues right to this very moment. The future begins in the next instant. It is an uncomfortable position to be in. We are between past and future, and must make decisions about what we want to preserve and what we want to develop. Every town on Merrymeeting Bay is in the same position. Many of the options are regional, and many of the choices are, as well. This was also true in the past. The region does have common elements of history, common options and common choices made in the past that can be studied to illuminate what might be done in the future, and what might best not be done. Several of the *Merrymeeting Bay Notes* are designed to explore this common history, to look at options and choices in the past.

Dangers of "Arguments from History"

It is very tempting to fashion the community and regional character statement to describe a mythic view of the past, in order to support what you want. Patterns in the past can be used effectively to justify

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

what a group or individual wants in the future. Using history to argue what is desired in the future can be dangerous, for then the community and regional character statement will become propaganda, not a tool for reflection and decision-making.

It is not difficult to create an introspective, perhaps romantic, view of the past containing exclusively elements such as the following:

- A discussion of the treasury of older houses and other structures that define the community physically and should be preserved.
- A presentation of the compact historical village settlement pattern, a pattern that supposedly dates to the 18th century and also should be preserved to avoid the sprawl that has made many urbanized areas unpleasant.
- Establishing the preeminence of the institution and practice of town government as one that is responsive to local needs, with an implicit assumption that the State is not.
- The community values that exist in small towns and villages are based upon face to face relationships and common experiences and common concerns.

A character statement that includes such views is appealing, and elicits strong support for preservation of homes embodying "high style" architecture, a town center with few development possibilities, local autonomy paying little attention to regional needs, and a parochialism that does not regard the faces in other communities. This set of arguments from history is not adequate. It presents a false view of the past, one that can be easily attacked.

Development is part of the history of the Bay region and much good has come of it, as well as some questionable benefits. Local history is a history of development and preservation, often with development options being the only ones consciously embraced. A truthful statement of town character also could include more negative elements such as:

- A discussion of unthinking destruction of old houses and businesses buildings, often in the name of progress in the past, and the need to avoid repeating this situation.
- Destruction of village centers by allowing visually and historically incompatible businesses and homes in their hearts, or by permitting "shopping centers" on the edges of settlements and the spread of subdivisions over wood and farmland.
- Welcoming outside corporations with no real interest in the community, ones that perhaps create jobs in the short run, but may create more problems in the long run than they solve. The ice cutting industry arouses romantic memories, but it was not only electric and gas refrigerators that killed the business. Outside corporations, based in New York, decided that cutting ice on the Kennebec was no longer worthwhile compared to the costs of cutting and transporting ice from the Hudson. Bowdoinham's own local environmental historian, Silas Adams, more than hints at this in the early 1900s [See pp. 250, 291].
- The values of putting short-term profit above the longer term interests of all the residents.

Viewed from a perspective on community character that examines these elements, preservation may have occurred in the past only because of a lack of capital or an economic climate encouraging development. There is the well-known statement among historic preservationists that the best friend of preserva-

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

tion is poverty and that the next best friend is wealth. Merrymeeting Bay residents are not rich; but we cannot afford poverty in the future, a statement intentionally made to be provocative. We cannot afford short-term profit considerations to exclusively shape the options we choose. We must look to the long term, a sustaining economy in a sustaining environment.

The Good and the Bad, the Beneficial and the Detrimental

What is needed here is an approach to community and regional character using two of the humanities disciplines --- history and philosophy --- to study options present and choices made in the past, why the options were present, and why the choices were made. This may deepen the awareness of the options open today, and the range of choices that we could make, their strengths and weaknesses, their positive and negative impacts.

This approach calls for looking at regional history to fashion a statement of community and regional character that can serve two broad purposes:

- As a basis for appreciating the special resources, qualities and assets of the Merrymeeting Bay region, one that provocatively considers both the positive and negatives of development.
- As a basis for on-going reappraisal of what our options have been and are now, the choices we have made, and the ones we could wisely make today.

The character statement should be one that is based neither on the romanticism of many preservationists, the self-styled economic "realism" of many developers, nor the parochialism that puts short-term personal profit and a narrow conception of property rights above the interests of coming generations.

Community Character and Cultural Resources

There is another very specific use for a community and regional character statement that employs the perspective suggested. The character statement can serve as a guide in choosing which cultural resources in a community to preserve. We need to consider preserving places that reveal the relationships of economics and ecology at different points in time. Preservation in some cases can also include development, for example the 19th century factory building that could be restored on the exterior and the interior used adaptively for affordable housing and office space. There are significant tax credits for this sort of project, and in policy development and implementation, towns should be aware of these.

Ask what sorts of archaeological sites, buildings and structures will show how creatively settlers and entrepreneurs used the resources of the locality without major impacts to ecological relationships. From 1760 to 1860 water power was the major source of industrial energy. What evidence is left of this era? Where are the grist and flour mill sites, the lumber mill sites? Humans provided much of the energy for ship building. Where are these sites?

Coal created the possibility of breaking out of the limits imposed by water power. Where were the steam powered clapboard, shingle, and lumber mills, the textile mills? What can they tell future generations about options and choices? Can they be re-developed today, perhaps used adaptively as housing, combined with offices and light manufacturing? Where were the places that those who worked in these mills lived --- the workers, the managers, and owners? Can some of the region's vernacular Greek Revival boarding houses be restored and used again as affordable housing?

What of the old stores? How could they be restored on the exteriors and the interior rehabbed to serve as convenience stores, videotape shops or auto supply outlets? How can they be used to keep old downtowns alive? Bath and Brunswick have some interesting projects along these lines, as does Richmond. However, some architectural caution is advised. How often are the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Preservation are followed? An "old time" facade is not the same as a restored store front. Community character easily can be lost in the guise of a pseudo-past of shingles, "Colonial" lamps and quaint signs.

There is still much to be done to identify historic archaeological sites such as 18th and 19th century mill and shipyard locations and to determine how they should be preserved and interpreted. Some of these can serve as parks with recreational facilities, places to understand key aspects of the community and region's past. One-time boarding houses of some architectural merit and factory buildings have potential as affordable housing. Comprehensive planning committees should use their community and regional character statements predictively to find and evaluate such sites and structures, then to recommend which ones are appropriate for preservation and development.

How To Research Community and Regional History

Finally, it will be helpful to discuss briefly sources and methods. But first it should be pointed out that the two *Notes on Development* and *The Commons* are examples of the application of these sources and methods. These *Notes* offer clear ideas of ways to explore the relationship of economics and ecology using concepts from social and environmental history. Also, the *Guide to Resources for Comprehensive Planning in the Merrymeeting Bay Region* contains many secondary and primary sources that will be useful.

Here, a few of the key sources that can help fashion a Bay-wide history from the perspective discussed are noted. Two local histories are particularly useful for environmental and social history, each for a different reason. Charles Allen's *History of Dresden* [Augusta: Kennebec Publishers, 1931] has extensive quotes and some summaries from the papers of Reverend Jacob Bailey. This Church of England minister was a close observer of the natural environment and changes that settlement brought. In the *Note on Development on Merrymeeting Bay, 1760-1990* his observations are quoted to present a picture of the cultural landscape of the Bay region in 1760. Silas Adams was the author of the other book, *The History of the Town of Bowdoinham, 1762-1912* [Fairfield: Fairfield Publishing, 1912]. Adams was the Bay's first environmental historian. His concerns for the effects of deforestation, pollution, and poor agricultural practices pushed him to make observations that are significant in understanding what happened in the later 19th century. Both histories are helpful for other towns on the Bay and should be consulted.

Primary sources are always helpful in conducting historical research related to comprehensive planning, but they must be used judiciously. Otherwise the researcher will become lost in the detailed pleasures of reading them and lose sight of the purposes. Those purposes are twofold: one is to find information about social and environmental history that will not be found in the local histories. The second is to enliven and humanize the community and regional character statement with material from people who lived or visited the locality in the past.

One very useful source for the Bay region is Henry Putnam, a Southerner who visited in 1819 and the next year published his letters as *A Description of Brunswick* [Brunswick: Griffen, 1820]. Putnam was a close observer of mill technologies, farming practices, and the landscape of town and country. He hunted on the Bay, visited farms in Brunswick and Durham, and enthused about the mills at Androscoggin Falls. His hunting was not as successful as he wished. "You know my fondness for the gun and the hook: but I was cruelly disappointed last autumn, when expecting a shot in one of their flat bottomed boats, called a float,

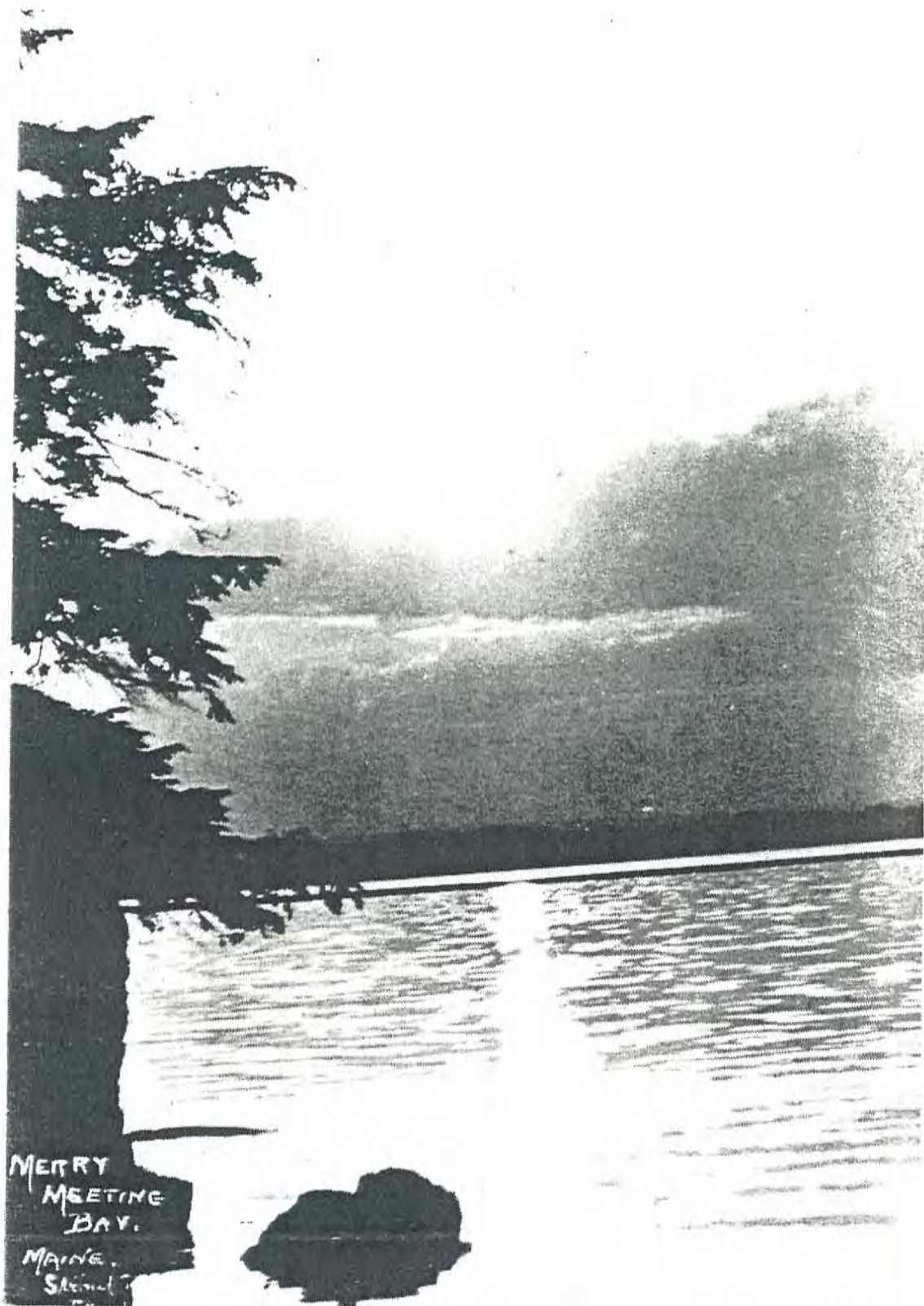
Merrymeeting Bay Notes

that drew only two inches of water, to find it grounded two hundred yards from them, but was in a degree compensated in taking two of them with a single ball, the first I ever killed in this place" [p. 6]. This was a world in which natural resources and wildlife seemed endless. His book is helpful to reveal those attitudes and the obsession with subduing nature through technology that he shared with many others.

Two problems emerge quickly in understanding the social and environmental history of the Bay region. One is how to compare what was going on at the same time in the different towns. The other is how to reveal change through time. The Maine Register is an invaluable primary source that can be used to create a comparative development picture. Published practically every year since statehood, it provides information on natural resource harvesting and processing, industry and commerce county by county, and town by town. For big towns such as Brunswick and Bath for instance, the 1880 edition has alphabetical listings of trades and businesses, such as "Coal, Cargo," "Lumber" and "Ship Smiths." For the less populated towns like Bowdoinham and Dresden, the trades and businesses are grouped under "Merchants" and "Manufacturers." Comparing the activities from town to town in a given year gives a good picture of the extent and nature of development in different places on the Bay. The same process can be carried out using the editions of every ten years, to determine what was happening through time.

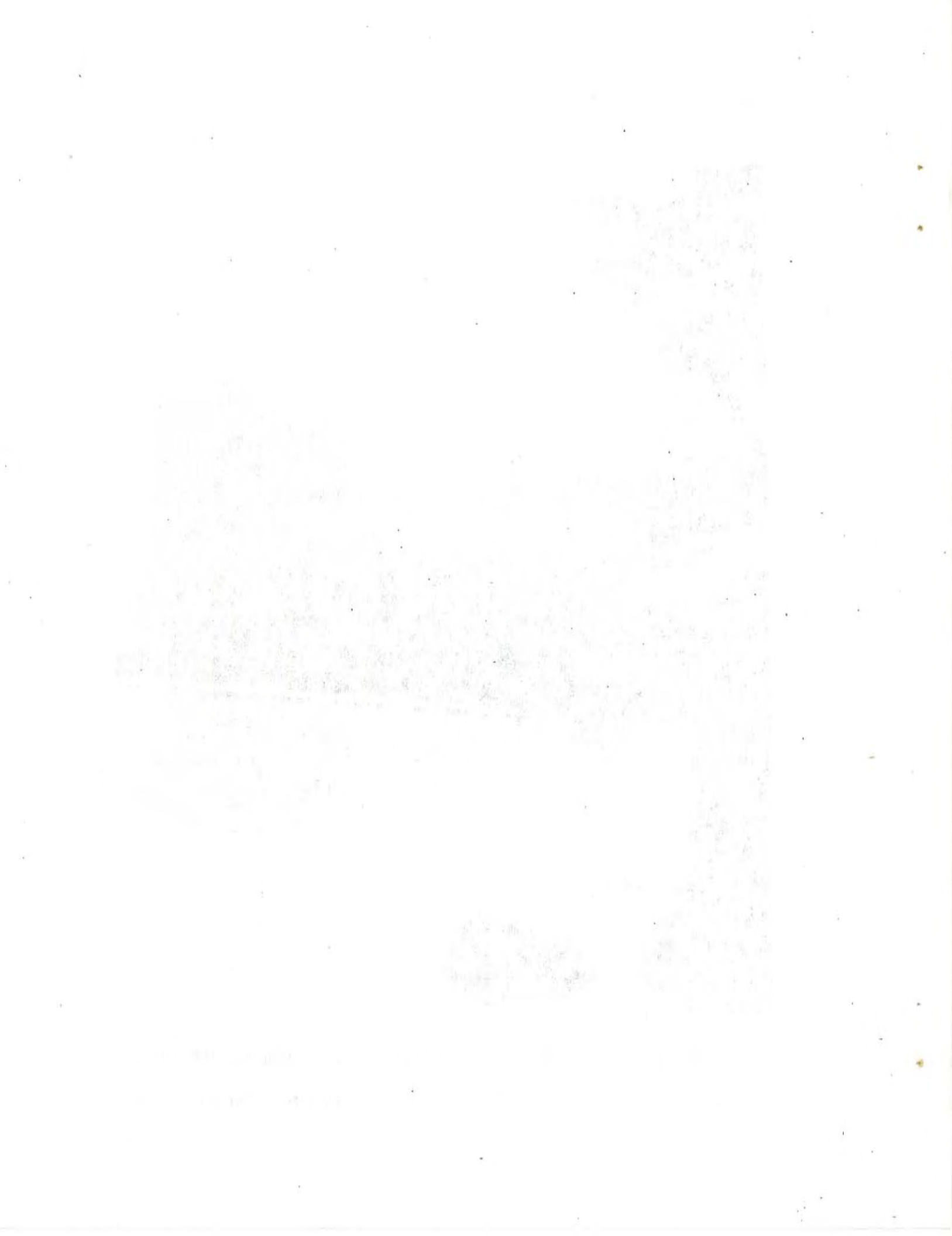
The *Note on Development on Merrymeeting Bay* presents a comparative view of the towns on the Bay in 1880 based upon the information in the Maine Register of that year. Any of the towns on the Bay will find the information useful as they prepare their community character statement. It will be easy to compare the situation at other times that are important in this history of the area. The regional dimension can be brought in at appropriate points. The Register is the main comparative primary source for looking at the relationship of economics and ecology through time. This perspective is not the only one that towns can use in fashioning the character statement, but it is one that is rich in implications for the other areas of inventorying and for fashioning policies that reflect the choices that towns make for the future.

There is one final recommendation about a method for developing a useful community and regional character statements. The comments on sources and their utility have indicated the direction of this recommendation. The two other *Merrymeeting Bay Notes* by this author embody it. Use time-slices! There is too much data otherwise. Choosing some key dates four or five decades apart makes it possible for readers to grasp the essentials of change and think about the options faced by people in the past. The common patterns of resource use and attitudes toward resources, the institutions that shape resource use, and the social and environmental impacts can be more clearly seen. The interactions of economics and ecology, or development and the environment to phrase it another way, can be seen in both literal and metaphorical senses. The choices for the future will become clear. History has the opportunity to serve comprehensive planning well.



Sun setting over the Bay, c. 1920, by a Brunswick photographer.

Pejepscot Historical Society



Prehistoric and Historic Archaeological Resources in the Merrymeeting Bay Region: *A Background for Conservation and Comprehensive Planning*

Nathan D. Hamilton

During the past 10,000 years, prehistoric human populations lived and traveled the coastal and lowland areas of the Merrymeeting Bay region of southern Maine. These people made use of rich coastal, terrestrial, riverine, lake and pond, and marine resources. At the time of European arrival, the aboriginal populations of south and central Maine spoke an Algonkian related language and their lifeway represented the culmination of thousands of years of successful adaptation to changing local and regional environments. This native way of life was rapidly transformed forever by the interaction and occupation of the arrival of European derived populations in the 16th and 17th century through more recent times. Our understanding of the aboriginal or native way of life during the prehistoric past of Merrymeeting Bay is derived from early documentation [Starbird 1898; Willoughby 1980] and mostly from modern archaeological research [i.e., Sanger 1979; Wilson, Cox and Bourque 1989]. The archaeological investigations of the past ten years has been interdisciplinary and involved research derived from anthropology, geography, geology, biology and chemistry, to name a few. These disciplines, especially anthropology, often combine both a humanities and science approach and methodology. Because anthropology tends to focus on human behavior, cultural diversity and cross cultural research, anthropology is particularly well suited to examining human adaptation. This review on Merrymeeting Bay provides a historical background to the regional prehistoric and historic archaeology of the Bay, the nature of the archaeological record, the research issues and a plea for regional research, preservation, and conservation.

The archaeology of the southern Maine region is rich in terms of the prehistoric remains and also contains a well represented record of colonial period and more recent Euro-american occupations [c.f. Baker 1985; Leamon 1978]. The numerous colonial occupations of coastal islands, and trading posts such as the Clarke and Lake site in Arrowsic, as well as fishing stations and fortifications testify to the early European arrival and they are well known. These historic period sites are the research focus of specially trained historic archaeologists who supplement their research with historic period written and illustrative documentation. That the native americans lacked writing systems, only adds to the complexity of ever understanding prehistoric native lifeways. However, the prehistoric archaeology affords us the best opportunity to understand how humans adjust and adapt to changing marine and terrestrial environments. Attempting to reconstruct the aboriginal way of life from prehistoric artifactual remains and patterns in the landscape is a difficult task and involves a great deal of investigation and inference. The archaeological research examines but a few pieces in a much larger puzzle.

Because of the nature of the northern New England environment, archaeological fieldwork is generally limited to the warmer seasons. In the region surrounding Merrymeeting Bay, natural factors which limit the quality and integrity of prehistoric and to some degree historic period sites include poor preservation resulting from acidic soils, coastal and riverine erosion, deep frost-thaw cycles and bioturbation, a natural mixing of soils and water. A more imposing threat is the modern development and landscape alteration of the riverine, lake and marine shore margins. The comprehensive planning process hopefully will help address much of this modern development. In addition, the excavation of archaeological sites for artifact "collecting" has also impacted some of the most important and previously well preserved of the prehistoric sites in the Merrymeeting Bay region. However, amateur archaeologists represent a very important link with professional archaeologists and have identified a large number of prehistoric and historic period sites in the landscape and along the tributaries surrounding Merrymeeting Bay. These individuals should be

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

identified and integrated in the process of review for the comprehensive plans. Such integration has proven especially rewarding.

Casco Bay, located south of the Merrymeeting Bay region, is an area where one of the earliest "scientific" excavations took place. The excavation was of a prehistoric shell-midden site. In 1867, Jeffries Wyman, director of the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, Massachusetts, examined and excavated a large and extensive shell heap at the south end of Lower Goose Island [Wyman 1868]. Wyman concluded from faunal (bone) studies of snails, that a general change in the forest from deciduous, leaf trees to spruce fir occurred during the long sequence of occupations. We now recognize the change took place generally 2,000 to 1,000 years ago.

From 1978 through 1989, the University of Southern Maine undertook long term archaeological study of the island and mainland prehistoric and historic sites of the Casco Bay region. The goals of the research included addressing anthropological issues and theory, development of a comprehensive methodology of excavation recovery and analysis, creation of a regional data base for comparative study, evaluation and preservation of the prehistoric record, and the nomination of prehistoric sites to the National Register of Historic Places. Toward these goals more than 350 prehistoric shell midden sites have been identified and mapped. Numerous sites have undergone impact from natural (erosion) and cultural (development and "looting") factors, especially during the past five to eight years.

The prehistoric record of the Gulf of Maine coast and lower river valleys are well represented by various types of indian sites. Clearly, the most locations near salt water are shell midden refuse heaps and/or habitation sites. The coastal and lowland region also exhibits a number of burial sites, stone quarry and manufacture sites, and trade locations. Among the most well known burial sites are the cemeteries of the Maritime Archaic or "Red Paint Indians" a culture dating to ca. 5,000 to 4,000 years before present (B.P.), (or 3,000 to 2,000 B.C.) with a maritime technology, subsistence and settlement pattern. Generally the Merrymeeting Bay region is the western boundary of this culture. The numerous shell midden sites are commonly composed of soft-shell clams (*Mya arenaria*) mixed with faunal remains, floral (plant) remains and cultural artifacts. These locations represent kitchen or food refuse from the coastal or near coast habitation sites. These types of sites offer exceptional preservation of faunal remains that can often be identified to bird, fish, mammal, reptile, amphibian and shell levels and often to genus and species. These prehistoric sites have been the focus of local and regional research in the reconstruction of subsistence and settlement patterns. In contrast, many of the prehistoric sites surrounding Merrymeeting Bay lack shell refuse and thus do not preserve the bone refuse. The research potential in terms of subsistence reconstruction is then biased at these riverine sites.

There are several important issues surrounding subsistence and settlement patterns for archaeologists researching the riverine and coastal areas of Maine. One issue involves the seasonal (winter versus summer) usage of the coastal versus interior environments and particular annual or seasonal movement and nature of site locations. Archaeological data from the broad region clearly indicates usage of the lowland and coastal areas in a multiple season strategy with significant variation from one site to another. Migrating bird populations are good indicators of seasonal specific activity and identification of their bone remains in a site can document seasons of occupation. Through examination of annual growth increments in the excavated teeth of both marine and terrestrial mammals (ie. seal, bear, deer, moose, etc.) one can also determine the season of animal procurement and thus, occupations. In Casco Bay to the south, the archaeological record of the several island sites reveal stronger usage of the coastal islands during the late winter to early summer period.

The study of settlement patterns has focused on housing, the criteria for prehistoric site selection, the nature of settlements --- large aggregated villages versus small dispersed activity or house areas as well as the questions surrounding the determination of social/cultural boundaries. Two forms of aboriginal houses are present in Casco Bay and presumably Merrymeeting Bay as well, which include: circular or oval

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

structures with semi-subterranean or below ground living floors and other conical or dome-shaped above ground structures often with gravel or sand floors. In addition, elongate or longhouses such as those known from the Iroquois culture may be present in Merrymeeting Bay. There may be evidence of houses with seasonally specific designs. The dwellings of the recent Algonkian peoples averaged from 10 to 12 feet in diameter. Several of these houses have been completely excavated on Great Moshier Island in Casco Bay. The general criteria for site selection by native peoples often involves a number of variables including the near proximity to water and stable food sources, good canoe or boat launch areas, and well drained soils of low ground slope. These criteria and others are very useful for the comprehensive planning process and should allow planners the opportunity to rank both the prehistoric and historic archaeological potential of the modern landscape. Clearly, many of the favored locations for aboriginal occupation are also the favored areas of modern Euro-american peoples. Thus a significant impact on the archaeological record has taken place throughout the past 300 years of Euro-american occupation.

Changes in sea-level in the Gulf of Maine are among the most important factors we must examine in reconstructing the paleoenvironments and lifeways of prehistoric peoples. The sea-level of Casco Bay has undergone dramatic changes from a sea rise relative to land of a maximum height of ca. 230+ feet above present sea-level at ca. 12,500 years B.P. (10,500 B.C.) to a dramatically lower position, ca. 210+ feet below sea-level by ca. 9,000 years B.P. (7,000 B.C.). During the past 9,000 years of the Holocene or post Pleistocene epoch, the sea-level has continued to rise relative to land. The rate of sea rise was faster during the first half of the 9,000 year period and began to slow down and achieve a near modern position about 4,000 to 3,000 years ago. Much of this record has been established by paleoenvironmental reconstruction and associated radiocarbon dates. Geological research has documented the prehistoric evolution of Merrymeeting Bay from the confluence of six rivers to a marine environment. Sometime around 5,500 years ago (3,500 B.C.) the sea-level rise and flux in tidal amplitude overrode the "Chops" and created a small marine ecosystem above the "Chops."

The earliest well represented record of prehistoric indian occupation in Merrymeeting Bay region begins around 5,000 years B.P. (3,000 B.C.) during the Archaic period when sea-level was still some 25 to 30 feet below its present position. These Archaic peoples were effective hunters of deer, bear, beaver, sea-mink and grey and harbor seals. The dominant shellfish in use was oyster (Crassostrea virginica) and quahog (Mercenaria mercenaria) obtainable at the mouth of the old (now drowned) estuary. Although relatively few sites of this time have been excavated in the region, the habitations occur on elevated portions of land extending into Merrymeeting Bay. Most points of land exhibit one or more prehistoric sites.

The more recent period of Merrymeeting Bay prehistory is generally called the Woodland or Ceramic Period. The Woodland or Ceramic Period begins around 3,000 years B.P. (1,000 B.C.) by the development of techniques to manufacture clay vessels (pottery or ceramics). The various decorative techniques employed on ceramics follow temporal periods but probably do not represent new or different cultures but may represent regional cultural variation (i.e. tribes). During this Ceramic Period corn, bean and squash agriculture made its appearance in Merrymeeting Bay and has been confirmed and dated in the nearby Saco River at ca. 500 years B.P. (A.D. 1450). The agriculture appears to have supplemented the already well established pattern of hunting, fishing and gathering. In the last 1,000 years, before European contact, some forms of horticulture or agriculture may have notably influenced the aboriginal diet. In the contact period Eastern Abenaki peoples occupied at least seven villages along tributaries of the Kennebec and Androscoggin Rivers. Population estimates by Purchas in the 1620s indicate that nearly 1200 persons lived in one village along the lower Androscoggin River.

The past ten years of archaeological research have opened up our view and understanding of the native peoples of Merrymeeting Bay. These native peoples are well represented by prehistoric shell middens, or refuse heaps of shell, bone and artifacts which are scattered along the coves, estuaries, and oceanward points of land. Prehistoric peoples in the bay made use of marine resources including shellfish, sea-mink, seals and numerous fish including: swordfish, sturgeon, cod, flounder and sculpin. This abundance of marine

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

resources added diversity to the land based animal diet and may have resulted in a unique riverine/coastal lifeway which flourished in the past.

The approach to archaeological research has developed from a cultural historical and humanistic view to a more holistic approach which integrates a multidisciplinary view and scientific methods. This holistic approach hopes to understand the nature of prehistoric and historic period human-environmental interaction, the factors involved in the formation of the archaeological record and the nature of culture change through time.

The most important goal of archaeological studies in Merrymeeting Bay is the preservation of a meaningful portion of the archaeological record [Petersen 1987; Spiess, Baker and Fiori 1989]. These resources represent the long term cultural heritage of native peoples in the Americas and a relatively long European record. This record will provide a useful measure for assessing the long term human-environmental relationship.

The prehistoric way of life underwent dramatic transformation with the arrival of European populations in the 16th and 17th centuries [c.f. Cronon 1983]. The native peoples established trade and exchange networks, shifted their resource exploitation patterns and were subjected to the biological consequences of disease. Several epidemic diseases tied with expanding European population led to the demise of the native way of life in the Bay region.

In order to understand the rich cultural heritage of the local native american and Euro-american populations, prehistoric and historic archaeology are two important avenues for research and exploration. The identification and preservation of prehistoric and early historic and industrial archaeological sites is essential for understanding the development and interplay of the native and early European way of life and subsequent European developments. Because of historic changes in the landscape such as agriculture and forestry, many archaeological sites have been disturbed and/or destroyed. Careful planning and anthropological research on a local and regional scale will help overcome the lack of numerous well preserved archaeological sites and will help us understand human adaptation to changing environments during the prehistoric past.

Archaeological sites are non-renewable resources and as such careless excavation and vandalism must be protected against. Current research should provide a rich understanding of the past and a means for preservation of this heritage.

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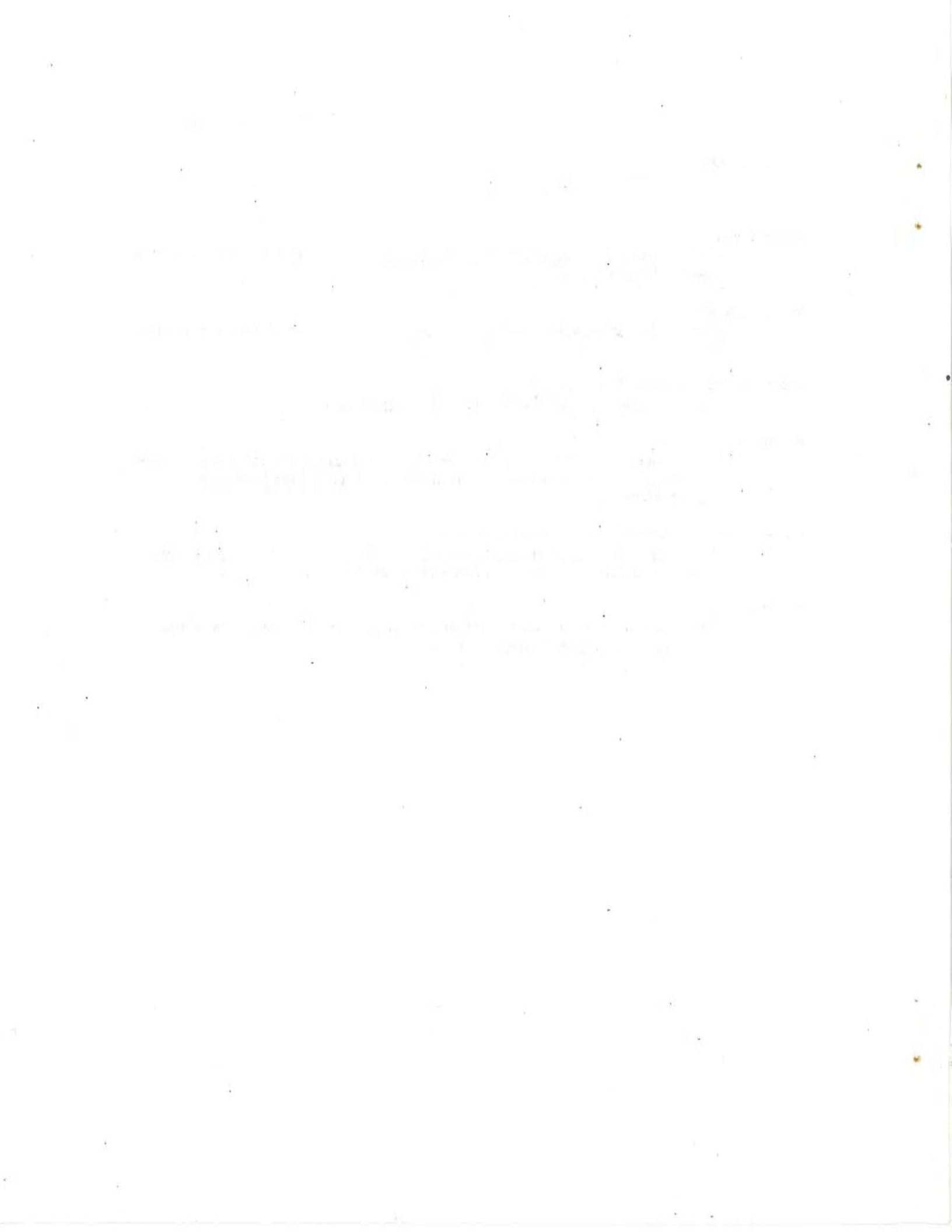
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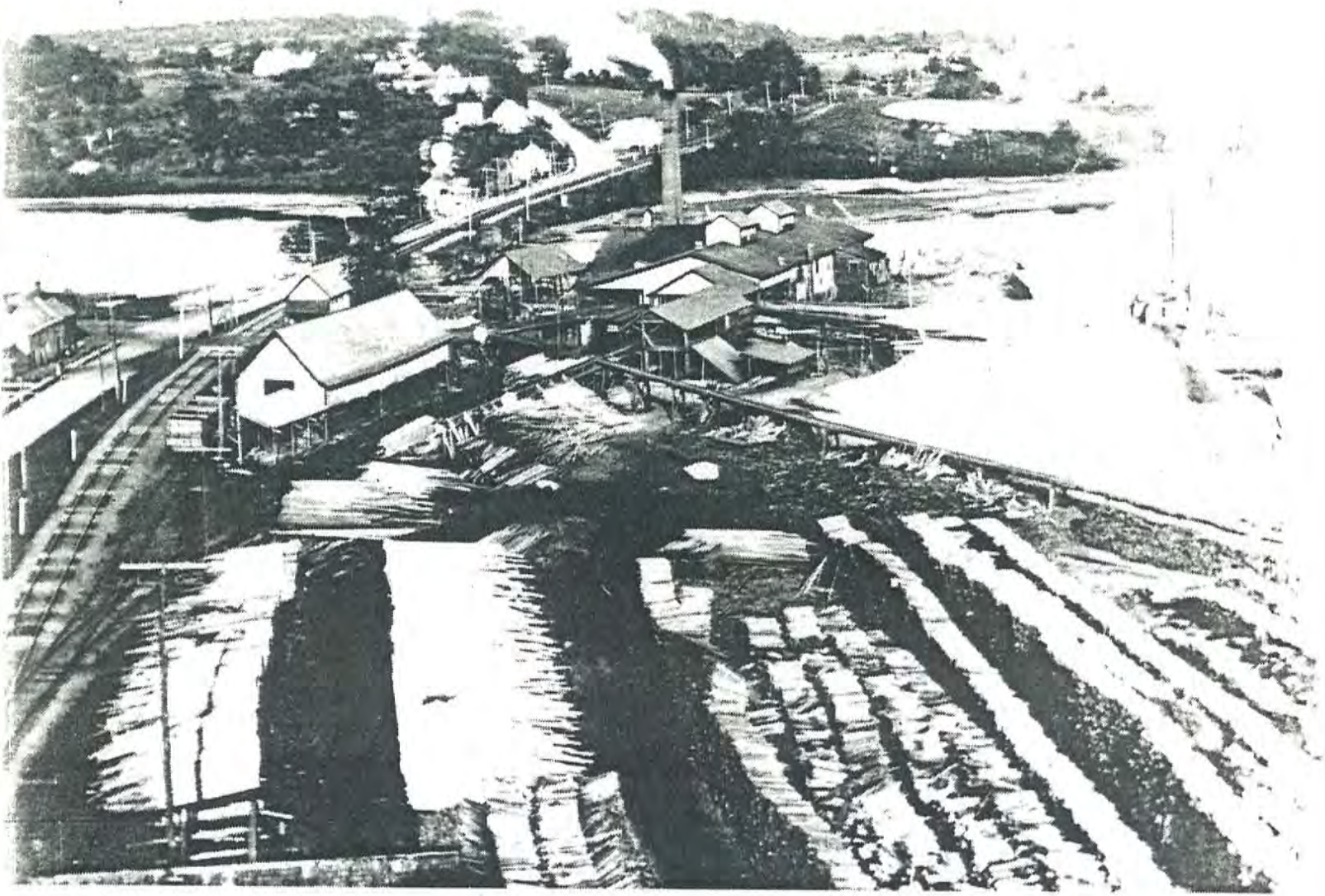
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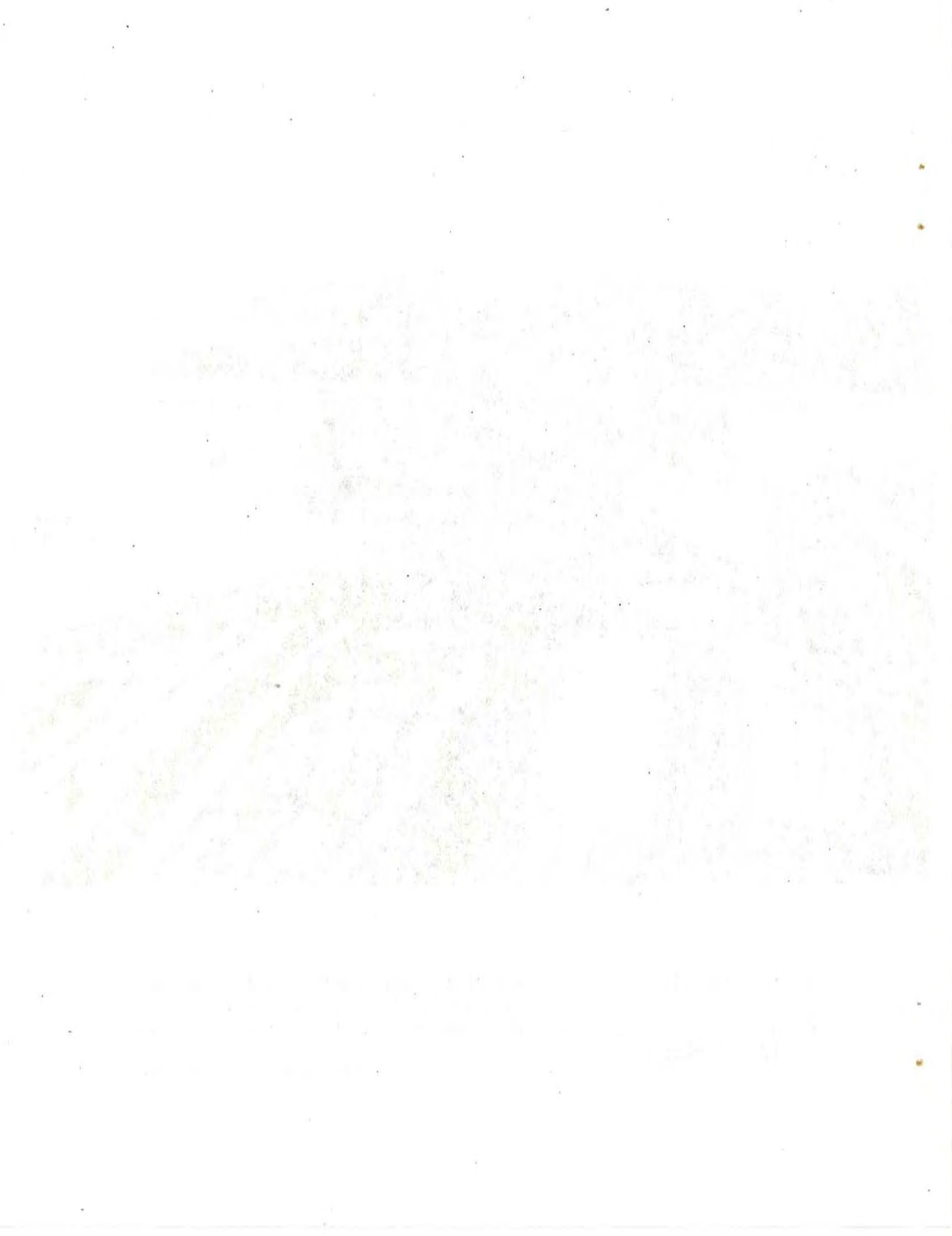
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Steam-powered saw mill with kindling wood factory in the foreground, c.1900, in Bowdoinham at the confluence of the Cathance and the West Branch. Per day the mill produced 40,000 feet of lumber, 25,000 feet of laths and 15,000 shingles.

Bowdoinham Historical Society



Merrymeeting Bay and the Clean Water Movement

Richard W. Judd

Talk presented at the Merrymeeting Bay and Regional Planning Conference, Bowdoin College, April 1990.

Between World War II and the 1970s Maine people fought to clean up the rivers that drain into Merrymeeting Bay. This fascinating chapter in Maine's conservation history illustrates some important points concerning the role of grass-roots politics in shaping the environment of Merrymeeting Bay.

For years people writing about environmental measures such as cleaning up the rivers viewed them as scientific and technical achievements, rather than as expressions of popular politics. A leading scholar of the conservation movement, in fact, wrote in 1959: "it becomes clear that one must discard completely the [notion of a popular] struggle against corporations as the setting in which to understand conservation history..." He goes on to say that conservation was a scientific movement, whose leaders sprang from fields such as hydrology, forestry, geology, and engineering. Loyalty to these professional ideals, and not to a grass-roots public, set the tone for conservation legislation.

I think a lot of us share this perception that conservation is the domain of the professionals. Too often we view environmental regulation as a bureaucratic process well out of the realm of popular democratic politics. We --- as citizens --- must accept the consequences of bureaucratic decisions, our only recourse being to elect different politicians, who will in turn select different agency officials, who will then hire different experts, who will --- hopefully --- make better decisions. I think the history of Maine's anti-pollution movement demonstrates something different.

In the early 19th century the waters of Merrymeeting Bay teemed with life. Shad, sturgeon, alewives, salmon, and striped bass were important elements in the Bay's economy. Striped bass fishing brought \$5,000 to \$25,000 a season to local farmers, who sometimes paid store bills with salmon --- a pound of fish, apparently, traded evenly for a pint and a half of that all-important frontier commodity, New England rum.

Dams, built in the 1810s, put an end to much of this industry, and pollution destroyed the remaining fish stocks later in the century. The year 1884 saw the last attempt to restock the Androscoggin with fish, and by the end of the century the tidal reaches of the Kennebec had been closed to harvesting shellfish.

By the late 1920s Merrymeeting Bay was little more than a common sewer a contemporary newspaper reported, "into which have poured the refuse of more than 100,000 people, and the waste of numerous mills and factories." The chemical content of the Androscoggin water was such that in Lewiston "soap-suds" periodically boiled up out of the river, filled the canals, and rolled out over the streets, standing in some cases nearly eight feet deep in the lower sections of town. The bottom of Merrymeeting Bay was a mass of putrefying waste, with foul-smelling gas bubbles constantly rising to the surface, the result of decades of sawdust and mill pollution, town sewage, tannery wastes, sulphite, and waste paper.

In the post-World war II era, rapid deterioration of Maine's rivers first drew a response from business leaders in towns and cities downstream from the major water polluters. Indeed, industry itself was affected by the practice of dumping waste into the state's waters. The dilemma was summarized by a Department of Development official in 1955: "Every industry . . . would dearly like clean water to use, but by agreement among them, each mill, plant, and factory spends money to purify the water it uses and adds its waste to the pollution of our streams and rivers, when it would cost no more to build disposal plants to keep the waste

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

out of the water." The system, based on longstanding legal precedent and vested interest, was as rigid as it was illogical: "Not only is the beauty of the country being despoiled, the fishlife being killed or driven out, and the health of our citizens being endangered, but the problem of attracting any [new] industry needing clean water in its process . . . is obviously doubled if that industry must make arrangements for a water purification system before it can start operation."

One year later a local Topsham businessman expressed this same contradiction as it applied to the Cathance River. Dependent on clean water for purifying feldspar, the businessman complained to Governor Muskie that his mill property, and the "whole community," were threatened by Army Engineers' plans for dumping more sewage into the river. The continued pollution of the Cathance River, he objected, would mean "that a[nother] Maine river is made useless to a Maine industry."

Frustrations with this situation reached a breaking point in Lewiston as early as 1941, touching off a campaign among local business leaders to clean up Maine's rivers. Worried about the rising stench from the Androscoggin and its effect on commerce and real estate, they formed citizen action clubs and began efforts to control discharges from the upriver paper mills. The protest spread to other river towns and resulted in lawsuits against the paper companies and the creation of a special commission to regulate the Androscoggin. In Washington, Maine's Congressional delegation, Wallace White, Ralph Owen Brewster, and Margaret Chase Smith, led the most thorough debate on river pollution since the Rivers and Harbors Act in 1899. Senator White's federal pollution bill failed in Congress, but served as a prototype for clean water legislation in the 1960s and 1970s.

- At the state level, Lewiston's business leaders established an important, although somewhat modest goal: that rivers would conduct their business as industrial sewers with a minimum of discomfort for downriver citizens. But the effort ultimately fell short. Small businessmen such as made up the early anti-pollution movement believed too firmly in unbridled economic expansion to propose radical curbs on industrial dumping, and few legislators in the 1950s felt the presence of a popular demand for pollution control.

It was left to a new generation of clean water advocates to carry this ideal further. This second generation was a marvelously diverse assortment of grassroots organizations, including local PTAs worried about the health of school-age children, downriver chambers of commerce concerned about prospects for a more diversified economy, conservation organizations hoping to enrich Maine's landscape, riverside real estate owners, women's clubs participating in the national campaign to beautify America, sportsmen's organizations interested in restocking fish, resort associations below Merrymeeting Bay, and officials from towns that had already invested in pollution control facilities and wanted others to bear their fair share. Joining the fight for classification of the Kennebec in 1961, for example, were the Maine Fish and Game Association, the Sagadahoc Rod and Gun Club, the Phippsburg PTA, the Popham Beach Improvement Association, the Kennebec Power Squadron, the Augusta Jaycee Wives, the Central Council of Parent-Teacher Associations, the League of Women Voters, and state board of health officials.

This broad cross-section of Maine's population responded enthusiastically to growing nationwide concerns for conservation issues. They also linked clean waters with other strands of statewide conservation thinking, such as Maine's growing concern for rural zoning and community planning, its attempts to conserve farmland, its hopes for improving recreational access to coastal and forest areas, its billboard control laws, and its attempts to restore salmon migrations in the state's larger rivers. Each of these issues was in its infancy, but advocates drew mutual support as they came together in the late 1950s.

Out-of-state visitors also contributed. One traveler from Philadelphia, for example, wrote Governor Muskie that touring in the Androscoggin Valley subjected his family to "repulsive sulphurous odors from the river [that]destroyed the pleasant impression which an otherwise lovely countryside should have

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

provided." If Maine was to continue to advertise itself as Vacationland, the visitor admonished, "it must adopt a clear-cut policy toward protection of [the] assets which attract visitors."

It was this widespread and diverse coalition of grassroots organizations that won the battle to clean up Maine's rivers. In the 1950s Maine created a Water Improvement Commission to oversee classification of the rivers, and this task was completed in the 1960s. The Kennebec was classified in 1961, the Penobscot a few years later, and, under federal prompting, the Androscoggin was classified by 1969. By the end of the decade Maine's rivers were far from clean, but the administrative process for regulating pollution was in place and operating.

This conservation campaign offers important lessons for today's concerned citizens, even though the issues have changed somewhat. First, and perhaps most obvious, the pollution issue and the clean waters campaign demonstrate the interconnectedness of local community concerns. The rivers - only one example of the state's many common resources --- knit together the lives and work of all towns --- of all Mainers. The cumulative effect of each town's water use planning --- or lack of planning --- affects the quality of life of every other town from the mountains to the coast. Town planning cannot proceed in a vacuum.

Second, and equally as important, this history demonstrates that conservation efforts are not simply scientific and technical processes. That the clean waters movement originated in Lewiston, an afflicted city, rather than at the capitol in Augusta, suggests popular, rather than administrative origins. Diversified grassroots activity was crucial to the movement: when interest flagged in one organization, another took up the cause. Today's environmental agencies are a direct result of past citizen action, and further change in the way these agencies operate will also have to come from citizen initiatives.

Third, I believe it's important to view actions taken by ordinary people such as you and me as history in process. After all, history is the aggregate of small, seemingly inconsequential events --- someone raising uncomfortable issues at a PTA meeting, lecturing selectmen on their lassitude in conservation matters or getting together with neighbors to express a common complaint. These are the building blocks of history, and it's important to remember that people such as us empower presidents, governors, and even environmental experts.

Fourth, I also think it's important to remember that the accomplishments we celebrate as history --- national accomplishments or events right here in Maine --- were the results of decades of effort. By writing history we telescope this long process into a phrase or two, an article, or a book and, I'm afraid, we often ignore the setbacks and frustrations in an effort to portray all events rushing to some grand conclusion. Only in retrospect --- through history --- can we see that today's defeats set the stage for tomorrow's victories. But if written history can help us maintain this long-range perspective on a very frustrating process --- on events that at the moment seem overwhelming --- it has more than done its job.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the integrity of the financial system and for the ability to detect and prevent fraud.

2. The second part of the document outlines the specific requirements for record-keeping, including the need to maintain original documents and to keep copies of all supporting documents. It also discusses the importance of ensuring that records are stored in a secure and accessible manner.

3. The third part of the document discusses the role of internal controls in ensuring the accuracy and reliability of financial records. It emphasizes that internal controls should be designed to prevent errors and to detect and correct any irregularities that may occur.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the importance of regular audits in ensuring the accuracy and reliability of financial records. It emphasizes that audits should be conducted by independent auditors and that the results of the audits should be used to identify and correct any weaknesses in the internal control system.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the importance of transparency and accountability in the financial system. It emphasizes that all transactions should be recorded and reported in a timely and accurate manner, and that the results of the financial statements should be made available to all stakeholders.

6. The sixth part of the document discusses the importance of ongoing monitoring and evaluation of the financial system. It emphasizes that the internal control system should be regularly reviewed and updated to reflect changes in the business environment and to ensure that it remains effective in preventing errors and detecting irregularities.



Burt Temple, eel fisherman.

Bowdoinham Historical Society

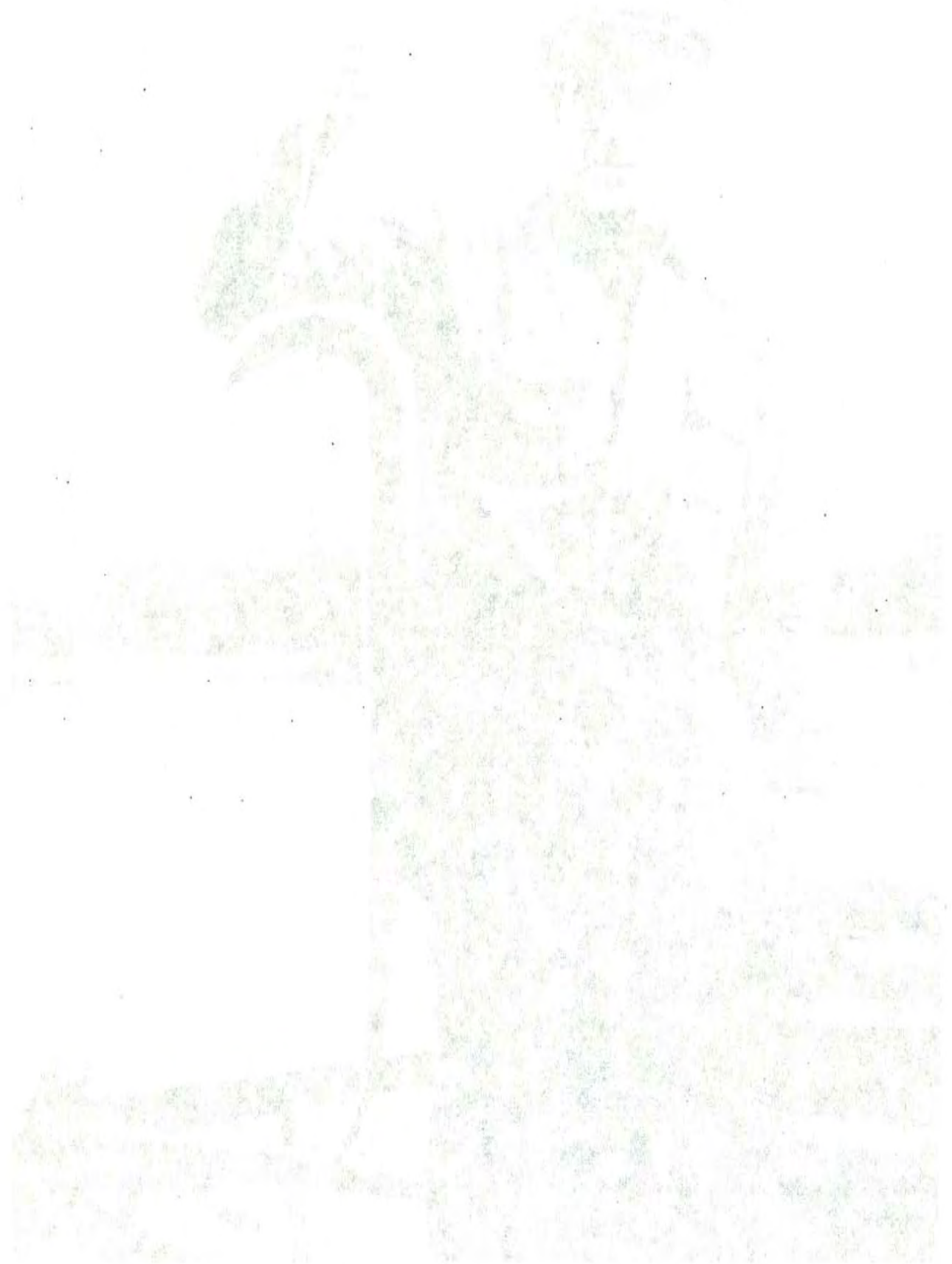


Figure 1. A person standing in a field, possibly a historical or scientific illustration.

Merrymeeting Bay and the Question of Moral Community

Lawrence H. Simon

*Talk presented at the Merrymeeting Bay and Regional Planning Conference,
Bowdoin College, April 1990.*

A policy for the development and use of an area or resource is typically formulated by certain people on behalf of others. The planning process, if it is to be responsible, must provide a mechanism that allows the planners to take account of and properly weigh the claims and interests of all those affected in an appropriate way by the policy. Part of the problem is a methodological one of how the various claims and interests can be made commensurate. But there is a prior problem. We must be able to identify early on in the process the parties that will be affected by the policy, the interests that they have, and how their interests will be affected. We need to ask, then, who is to count as an affected party and what it means to be "affected in an appropriate way?"

In this essay, I will propose a framework for approaching these questions. The framework will center on the concept of a "moral community." To be affected by a policy in the appropriate way, I will suggest, is to be recognized as a member of the moral community. I will go on to suggest three dimensions in terms of which we should think about membership in the moral community: people spatially distant from us, people temporally (through time) distant from us, and non-humans. In this paper, I will not answer the question of whom we should recognize as members in the moral community. Rather, my purpose is to recommend a way of thinking about some of the moral issues involved in policy decisions that might aid those formulating plans to become more aware of the assumptions they bring, often unknowingly, to the process and to help them consider these issues in a more systematic and informed way.

Before developing the concept of a moral community, I want to discuss two points. The first is to note that all policy decisions have an unavoidable normative dimension in which appeal to norms or values is made. Policy and planning decisions are sometimes thought of as technical matters, as though "getting the facts" right were all that was involved. Formulating policy certainly does centrally involve factual data, analysis and judgments. But an evaluative stance --- questions about the satisfaction of interests and desires and judgments involving values --- always enters into policy decisions whether we realize it or not. Policies always involve goals, states to be achieved, maintained or avoided, and the selection of goals requires some value judgment, if only in the form of the implicit affirmation of the status quo.

The second point is that in many ways, policy and planning decisions are not merely normative but should be regarded as moral decisions. In order to clarify this point, I need to distinguish three perspectives from which decisions can be made: that of short term self-interest, that of enlightened self-interest, and the moral point of view.

When one makes a decision from the point of view of short term self-interest, the only considerations that matter are those that concern one's own well-being. What is of primary importance is the satisfaction of immediate or felt desires or the interests one now has. There is no concern for the interests of other people or even for the fact that the interests one will have in the future may be considerably different from those one presently has. Thus, this perspective operates within a short term time horizon defined by those actions that will most efficiently satisfy present desires and interests. In many ways, the perspective of short term self-interest lends itself to standard economic analysis that emphasizes relatively short term gain.

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

Enlightened self-interest, by contrast, takes into account considerations of one's future welfare. This point of view allows questions to be raised that the first perspective effectively ignores. To what degree will my desires and interests change over time? Are the desires I now feel and the interests that seem most pressing at the moment the ones that in the long term I want to satisfy? To what degree should I now be concerned with the happiness and well-being of my future self? This perspective also allows for consideration of the well-being of others, if only instrumentally, for sacrificing in the present to help others satisfy their desires might bring you even greater future repayment in kind. Nonetheless, the focus here is still on the satisfaction of one's own desires and interests, either present or future. Because of the long term nature of most environmental problems, the perspective of enlightened self-interest more easily makes room for ecological considerations than does short term self-interest.

It should be noted in passing that we often experience conflicts between the recommendations made from these two perspectives. Avoiding desserts that I would gain a great deal of pleasure from eating may be irrational from the point of view of short term self-interest but rationally required from the perspective of enlightened self-interest.

The third perspective is that of the moral point of view. This perspective introduces consideration of the desires and interests of others for their own sake. That is, weight is given to the importance of satisfying third party desires and interests independently of how so doing would affect you. As it is normally understood, when one acts from the moral point of view, one does not privilege one's own desires and interests but rather attempts to treat all appropriate desires and interests, one's own and those of others, equally. In this sense, the moral point of view is often taken to be that of an impartial or disinterested observer.

Let me illustrate the differences among these three perspectives on decision-making by reference to a very controversial issue of the day, raising property taxes to pay for education. Although I cannot enter into all the complexities of the issue here, one might think about whether taxes should be raised to increase funding for schools in three ways. First, you might be opposed to any tax increase on the grounds that it would cause you to suffer short term sacrifices without any short term benefits. This point of view might be especially attractive to those who did not have children presently in school or any who would be in school in the near future.

Second, even someone in this situation might reason that although a tax increase would require short term sacrifices, in the long term, strengthening the schools now would provide future benefits. A better educated work force would improve the state's economic viability, thus causing a general prosperity that would increase your future well-being. Enlightened self-interest, then, might dictate voting in favor of the tax increase. On the other hand, if you did not think that these future benefits would be forthcoming, then you might oppose the tax increase from the perspective of enlightened self-interest.

From the moral point of view, the issue would, of course, look different. Even if you could foresee no direct benefits for yourself, either in the short or long term, coming from a tax increase, you might still feel that the benefits to others, the satisfaction of their desires and interests, were such as to require supporting the increase. To not do so would be to deny others, present and future children, for example, what they deserved.

Note that adopting a perspective does not dictate the outcome of the decision-making perspective. Depending on the circumstances, a decision to support, or to oppose, a tax increase could be arrived at from any of the three perspectives. But in each case, the mode of reasoning and the types of considerations that are taken into account are very different.

Discussing these three perspectives in the context of planning and policy decisions makes it necessary to raise two further questions: Who is to be taken as "the self", that is, the party that decides and acts? And

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

who is to be taken as "the other," where "the other" might include any parties on whose behalf the decisions are made or that are otherwise affected by the decisions and actions of the self? Depending on the level of analysis, these questions can be answered differently. For instance, from the point of view of developing a long range town plan, the town planner, citizens on appropriate committees, and other town officials might be taken as "the self" and the general population of the town as "the other." Or, from a regional point of view, the town as such might be construed as "the self" and other towns in the region that might be affected by the first town's actions might be taken as "the other."

I can now clarify what I meant above by the claim that planning and policy decisions should be regarded as moral decisions. For all practical purposes, such decisions always have impacts on parties in addition to those making the decisions. That is to say, a self and an other are always involved. Most of us would surely feel that an injustice was done if the desires and interests of "the other" were not properly taken into account in the decision-making process, if, for instance, the interests of only the town planner and her cronies were considered, or if the interests of one neighborhood where the mayor happened to live were disproportionately weighed. This might well be the case if the perspective of either short term or enlightened self-interest were adopted in the planning process. Town planners, we strongly feel, surely should adopt something like the moral point of view.

The same is true, if less obviously so, on the regional level. If each town thought of only its own self-interest in devising its long range plan, other towns might well be adversely affected in ways that we might consider unfair. Furthermore, if individual towns did not approach regional planning from a moral point of view, common resources shared among the towns such as Merrymeeting Bay might be destroyed in the process. If each town thought about the Bay from the point of view of how that town might best exploit it to its own advantage, the Bay might well quickly become overdeveloped, polluted and ruined for all. By adopting the moral point of view as opposed to one of self-interest, by taking the interests of at least the other towns in the region into account, planning processes can avoid these results.¹

I have argued thus far that each town should regard planning as a moral process that involves moral decisions. Part of the process involves identifying the relevant senses of self and other. I have also indicated that this is especially important in regard to common resources such as Merrymeeting Bay shared by all the towns. Thus, in addition to identifying their town's interests in the Bay, those in the various towns who are formulating a morally responsible plan in relation to Merrymeeting Bay should ask early on in the process whose interests are going to be affected by the plan and how will they be affected.

Especially when dealing on a regional level with a complicated resource such as Merrymeeting Bay, one cannot answer these questions as easily as one might want. Should the plan take into account all parties that will be affected, no matter how indirectly or remotely? Should all affected interests be counted, or only those affected in the appropriate way? These are difficult and complicated questions to which there are no easy or straightforward answers. Still, planners and involved citizens can think about these questions in better or worse ways, ways that are more naive or more sophisticated.

¹ This last argument is actually an argument from the perspective of enlightened self-interest for adopting the moral point of view. It is in the enlightened self-interest of each town to approach questions of the use of shared resources such as Merrymeeting Bay from the moral point of view or else common resources could be ruined by overexploitation, thus depriving each town as well as all the others of use of the resources. In fact, a well known argument by Garrett Hardin popularly referred to as the "tragedy of the commons" shows the inadequacy of my argument. Enlightened self-interest actually dictates that each self act from the point of view of short term self-interest unless coercively bound to do otherwise. This is not the place, however, to go into the complications of this argument and so I will let what I say in the text stand in the hope that it at least initially seems acceptable.

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

One way of thinking about these questions is in terms of the notion of a moral community, where membership in the moral community means that one's claims and interests deserve due regard in the decision-making process. We are all members of various communities whose boundaries are drawn locally (Brunswick, for instance), regionally (mid-coast Maine), nationally or internationally. The boundaries of the moral community are conceptual and not physical and thus they do not necessarily coincide with those of any other community of which we might be members. They may cut across the spatial, temporal and conceptual boundaries of all our other communities. How, then, are we to conceive of the moral community? Who are we going to allow into the moral community? What are the criteria of membership? In particular, when formulating a regional policy for Merrymeeting Bay, how should we construe the relevant moral community?

Certainly the people living in the immediate area of the Bay and the incorporated municipalities in the region are the principal parties affected by what happens to the Bay. They are clearly members of the relevant moral community. Many of us, when thinking about a policy for the Bay, might not include, at least in a systematic way, anyone else in the moral community. But is that adequate? Do we need, when making policy for the Bay, to think in terms of a larger and more inclusive moral community? I would like to recommend for consideration three dimensions along which we might enlarge our moral community: that of spatial distance, temporal distance and to non-humans. My purpose here is not to argue that we necessarily should enlarge our moral community along all three dimensions. That decision has to be made through discussions by those involved in formulating the policy for the Bay. My point, rather, is to suggest that by considering these three dimensions in a way that we might normally not, we can make better informed and more comprehensive moral decisions concerning policy for the Bay.

The first dimension is that of spatial distance. As mentioned, our relevant moral community certainly includes the people living on and near the Bay. They are obviously affected most immediately by what happens to the Bay. If the resources of the Bay are squandered and the Bay's fragile ecosystem destroyed, we who live near the Bay will suffer most. Likewise, we have the most to gain from the careful management and protection of the Bay and its resources. Among other things, this implies that individual towns, in formulating their comprehensive plans, should include in their moral community at least the other towns in the region.

In passing, I might note that even if we limit our moral community for the purposes of planning to the towns in the region, difficult and controversial decisions still remain. The individuals, even in this limited moral community, by no means share homogeneous desires and interests. The major conflicts among interests are public versus private and economic versus ecological. We tend to assimilate the ecological to the public and the economic to the private, but this need not be the case. A private landowner might be more concerned with ecological considerations and preserving her land than in developing it for economic gain. In general, however, the salient conflicts that the comprehensive plans will have to address concern the interests of property owners to use their land for economic gain versus the interests of the public in not allowing economic development to destroy our natural, social and cultural resources.

These conflicting interests are not easy to resolve. There is no simple rule or algorithm that tells planners and policy makers where and how to strike a balance. Certainly, private property owners have rights in regard to their property, and we in general recognize the right of people to promote their self-interest by pursuing profit through the use and development of their property. On the other hand, we also recognize the right of the public to limit and regulate an individual's use of his or her property in the name of the public good, for example, through zoning laws. A complicating factor is that limiting and regulating the use of private property generally imposes costs on some individuals, if only in terms of the opportunities foreclosed. Justice within the moral community requires that the issue of the fair distribution of these costs be addressed. The art of planning, and it is an art, a moral art at that, requires the skill to find

an acceptable balance and resolve these conflicts in each specific case given the concrete circumstances that exist.

Thus far I have talked about the moral community as only including the people who live in and near the Bay. We local residents are not the only ones affected by what happens to the Bay, however. Certainly it is not too much to argue that everyone in the State has an interest in the Bay. But is their interest one that we should recognize, and if so, how should it be weighed? The importance of this consideration can be seen if we ask two additional questions. If protecting the Bay requires regulation of access to it and its resources, how should that access be coordinated? Should the immediate and near-by residents of the Bay have privileged access, or should access be more equitably distributed across the State to anyone interested? Second, if protecting the Bay will incur costs, monetary and otherwise, as it certainly will, who should bear the burden? Should the immediate and near-by residents shoulder the majority of the costs, or should they too be distributed across the State? However much we might like to, it would be difficult to argue for privileged access for local residents but State-wide sharing of costs.

Moreover, interest in the Bay does not stop at state lines. Maine is becoming increasingly integrated into the national economy, as the recent acquisitions by Georgia-Pacific so amply demonstrate. And the coast of Maine is a national tourist attraction as we all know so well. Development pressures on the Bay are not exerted only locally, but nationally as well. Do people and corporations from outside the state have any valid interest in access to and use of the Bay? Should they be included in the relevant moral community? For instance, by limiting development of the Bay, would policy makers be unjustly ignoring the claims and interests of people outside of Maine who would move to the area and settle near the Bay if they were allowed to? And if some recognition is granted to the legitimacy of interests outside the State, does this mean that these parties also have a responsibility to help share the costs of protecting the Bay?

The next step, of course, is to move from the national to the international level. The Bay has been recognized as one of the two most important waterfowl habitats on the continent's Atlantic coast. A case for the international importance of the Bay and its interest to Canadians, for instance, can thus be made. I think, however, that the considerations of the spatial dimension are stretched rather thin at this point. Let me then move on to the temporal dimension.

The issue of the spatial dimension raised the question of the moral legitimacy of the claims and interests of people living increasingly far from this area. The issue of the temporal dimension raises the question of the interests of those who live at a temporal distance: namely, future generations --- people who do not exist in the present but who will exist in the future and who will have an interest in the condition of the Bay and its resources.

To a very large degree, the world posterity will inherit from us will be determined by our actions and policies in the coming decade. If we continue to use natural resources at the present rate, without thought of the future or any effort to conserve, we will leave a vastly depleted and less beautiful world for the future. In effect, in that case, posterity will be asked to pay the bill for our present practices. On the other hand, if we conserve our resources so as to ensure a fair portion for future use, this policy will impose a cost, again, monetary and otherwise, on us. Should we, those alive in the present, sacrifice for the well-being of the future, a future we will not be alive to enjoy?

The clearest and perhaps most important example of this trade-off concerns fossil fuels. If we continue to consume oil at the present rate, the world's supply will be exhausted sometime during the middle to end of the next century. Our grandchildren and great grandchildren, perhaps even our children, will perforce have to live without oil. If we want to avoid imposing this hardship on them, we must drastically cut back our consumption of oil. To do this, however, would obviously impose a significant hardship on us, and depending on how the hardship were distributed, some of us would undoubtedly suffer more than others.

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

In general, then, two questions are raised by considering the temporal dimension. Are the claims and interests of posterity, those who do not exist now but will in the future, morally legitimate? In other words, should we grant to posterity membership in the moral community? And secondly, if we do grant them membership, how do we weigh their claims and interests against those of people alive today?

In my discussion of the temporal dimension thus far, I have focused on the future. Some philosophers argue, however, that the question of membership in the moral community arises not only in relation to our heirs but also in relation to our ancestors. That is, should we take account of the claims and interests of past people no longer alive when deciding policy issues? As an example of this question, consider a woman, call her Lynne, who owns a piece of property that was once owned by her now deceased grandmother. Assume that Lynne knows that her grandmother strongly felt that the property in question should always belong to a member of the family. Does Lynne have an obligation to her grandmother not to sell the property even if it is clearly not in her self-interest to do so? Many of us would, I dare say, answer yes, even if we felt that the obligation was not an overriding one. Giving this answer is, in effect, to admit Lynne's grandmother into Lynne's moral community.

Application of these temporal considerations to Merrymeeting Bay is fairly straightforward. The Bay consists of various resources that can be exhausted or ruined if they are not used properly. As long as we get to use these resources in the ways that we wish, should we care if they are no longer available in fifty or one hundred years? For instance, assume that ensuring that plentiful fish stocks exist in the Bay in one hundred years requires that we institute strict regulations on development around the Bay, impose costly pollution controls, and limit present fishing quite drastically. (I do not know if in fact these policies would be necessary.) Are these costs we are willing to pay or should be willing to pay for benefits, notice, that we will not personally reap?

Looking in the other temporal direction, we have a fair amount of information about the values and traditions of people living in the area of the Bay over the past several centuries. Should we, in considering the future of the Bay, take into account what these people would have wanted to happen to it? If the answer is yes, then we must go on to ask, which people? Our ancestors? European settlers in general? Native Americans from this area? These considerations obviously are related to the work done by historians and archaeologists on the recovery of the past and the place and value of tradition in the present.

The third dimension to which I wish to call your attention involves considerations you may well find even stranger than the preceding. Many philosophers concerned with the environment have in the past few years begun to raise questions about whether only humans should be allowed membership in the moral community. This question raises a series of complicated considerations that I cannot go into here. Arguments often evolve attempting to show that there is no morally relevant difference between humans and other animals, and thus no good reason to exclude these other animals from the moral community. These arguments are analogous to ones used to demonstrate that racism, sexism, anti-semitism etc. are morally wrong, that there is no morally good reason to exclude people on the basis of their skin color, gender, religion or the like.

As an example of such an argument applied to other animals, consider pain. If you believe that inflicting gratuitous pain is wrong, and if you believe that the pain experienced by animals such as cows, sheep and pigs is the same sort of pain as that experienced by humans, then you would have to conclude that inflicting pain on these animals is as wrong as inflicting it on another human. I needn't draw out the implications of this argument for vegetarianism.

Admitting other animals into the moral community implies that they have claims and interests that cannot be reduced to those of any humans, and that might indeed conflict with those of humans, but have to be duly taken into account nonetheless. This position is obviously a radical departure from our traditional

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

moral views, but is receiving a fair amount of attention of late. A practical expression of this moral position is the animal rights or liberation movement.

But even more radical considerations are being voiced by some environmentalists. Not only should higher order non-human animals, such as primates, be granted moral status, all animals that can feel pain should as well, some argue. Others go even further and argue that life itself is a sufficient criterion and that all living things should be given some moral consideration. A yet more radical position holds that non-living things, for example, wilderness areas that are composed in part of living things but are not themselves living things as such, have interests that deserve moral attention independently of their relation to the interests of humans.

The position that is the greatest departure from traditional Western ethics goes even further still. It holds that the entire ecosphere, the land --- to use the term of Aldo Leopold --- should be seen as one inclusive community, involving all its constituent parts, living and non-living. This community is the only thing that deserves independent moral consideration. The claims and interests of all of its individual parts, be they human or not, living or non-living, are to be subordinated to the well-being and health of the overall community.

I certainly do not wish to argue here for any of these radical positions in environmental ethics. But examining them, even briefly, does allow us to raise levels of consideration that many people have not explicitly confronted before.

How do all these positions relate to the formation of a policy for Merrymeeting Bay? The Bay is home for many varieties of wildlife. Do these animals have any moral claims on the Bay? Consider the eagles that have returned to the area. Obviously, their fate depends on our policies. Should their particular viewpoint and interests be explicitly taken into account in our deliberations? What about the interests of species that might be brought closer to extinction if we do not respect their existence as part of the ecosystem of the Bay? Do the fish have a right to clean water in the Bay, regardless of whether this is in the best interests of humans? Does the Bay itself have an interest in being a certain way, based simply in its intrinsic value and independently of all human consideration?

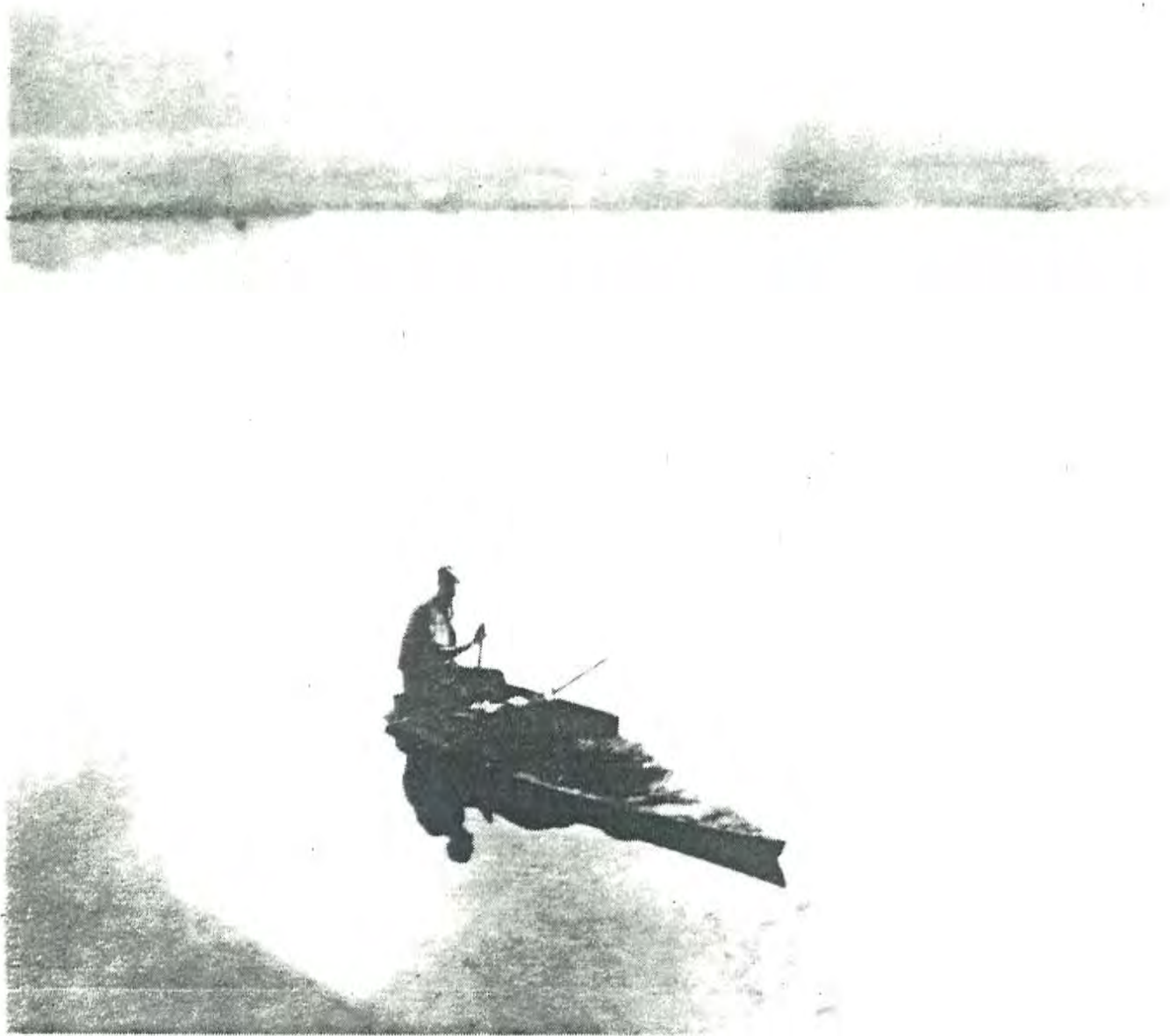
These questions might strike some as absurd and even incoherent, others as of obvious immediacy and importance. If even some seem relevant to consider, however, the complexity of the moral dimension of policy formation is greatly increased. If we decide that the moral community should include animals and other entities beyond humans, then the next question is to assign weights to their various interests. For instance, if it is decided that a morally responsible policy must taken into account how certain uses of the Bay would impact deleteriously on animals in the region independently of how it would affect humans, one must decide how much the possible harm to the animals matters in light of the possible benefits of the policy to humans.

There is no easy answer to this sort of question. In a certain sense, however, these questions are unavoidable. Not to raise them is, in effect, to answer them, for by not raising them for consideration, we are assuming, as traditional ethics does, that only humans are members of the moral community and only human interests count. This assumption may well be true, but increasingly people are beginning to question it. If we are to continue to support it, it is better to do so after explicit consideration and criticism of the alternatives.

In this essay, I have offered a way of thinking about some of the moral issues raised by policy making. I first differentiated the moral point of view from those of short term and enlightened self-interest. I then suggested that when we adopt the moral point of view, we think in terms of membership in the moral community. I briefly explored three dimensions along which the scope of the moral community might be

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

determined: the spatial dimension, the temporal dimension, and that concerning non-humans. I raised a number of conceptually difficult questions that do not admit of straightforward answers. My aim, however, has only been to open questions, not answer them. Acceptable answers must be hammered out through the course of the actual planning processes and the formulation of policy in specific cases and through the presentation of proposals to the public and the ensuing debate. One way or another, the fate of Merrymeeting Bay, the wildlife that live in its waters and on its shores, and the resources it holds out to us will be decided through these planning processes and debates over the next few years. The contribution I hope this essay can make is to suggest a conceptual framework and a set of considerations that might help those involved in the formulation of policy and in the public debate of it merits become more aware of the assumptions they bring to their tasks and how some of these assumptions might be more closely scrutinized, defended or enlarged.



Duck hunting on the Bay in a "float" or "sneak" boat.

Bowdoinham Historical Society

The Merrymeeting Bay Region:
*A Guide to Resources for Comprehensive Planning and
the Natural and Human Histories of the Region*

Edward L. Hawes, compiler

Please note the following source locations and abbreviations:

State Library, Augusta - Aug: SL

Bowdoin College Library - Brunswick: Bow. Lib.

Bowdoin College Environmental Studies Program - Brunswick: Bow. ES

Patten Library - Bath: Patten

Maine Historical Society - Portland: MHS

For additions or corrections please contact Becky Koulouris, Environmental Studies, Bowdoin College.

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Reed, Parker McCobb. *History of Bath and Environs*. Portland: Lakeside, 1894, 526 pp. Reprint: Ann Arbor: Univ. Microfilms, 1972. [Aug: SL; Bath: Patten; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]
Somewhat random local history with index. One half is a biographical dictionary.

Turner, Walter Frye. *Illustrated Historical Souvenir of the City of Bath, 1800-1899*. Turner, 1899, 320 pp. [Aug: SL; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]
A biographical dictionary.

Bowdoin:

No books at Aug: SL or Brunswick: Bow.]

Bowdoinham:

Adams, Silas. *The History of the Town of Bowdoinham, 1762-1912*. Fairfield: Fairfield Publishing, 1912, 195 pp. Reprint: New England Historical Press, 1985. [Aug: SL; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

See his comments on the effects of deforestation, water pollution and poor farming practices which constitute materials for environmental history of the Bay region.

Ames, John Wallace. *Bowdoinham Was My Home Town*. Kennebunk: Star, 1975, 167 pp. [Aug: SL; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Recollections from early in this century by a town resident covering farming, industry and the railroad among various topics.

Brunswick:

Helmreich, Louise R. (ed.). *Our Town: Reminiscences and Historical Studies*. Brunswick: Pejeboscot Hist. Soc., 1967, 93 pp. [Aug: SL; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Kirkland, Edward Chase. *Brunswick's Golden Age*. Lewiston: Loring, 1941, 45 pp. [Aug: SL; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Excellent study of the 1880s, especially of the mill, French Canadian immigrants and the development of public services.

Wheeler, George Augustus; Wheeler, Henry W. *History of Brunswick, Topsham and Harpswell*. Boston: Mudge, 1879, 959 pp. Reprint: Somersworth, N. H.: New Hampshire Publ., 1974. [Aug: SL] Reprint available from the Pejeboscot H. S.

Dresden:

Allen, Charles E. *History of Dresden, Maine, Formerly Part of the Old Town of Pownalborough . . . to 1900*. Augusta: Kennebec Publ., 1931, 894 pp. Reprint, 1977. [Aug: SL; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Classic topics of local history including Indians, settlement, revolutionary period, industry, transportation. Small sized, but excellent photos. Very useful for the quotations and summaries on the natural and cultural environment from the papers of Rev. Jacob Bailey, a minister in what is now Dresden and Richmond in the 1760s.

Palmer, Rundlette. *A History of Dresden, Maine*. Typescript, Dresden: the Author, 1979, 562 pp. [Aug: SL]

Valuable compilation with maps keyed to locations of mills, cemeteries, etc, and sections on settlement, the ice industry, public services. Includes reprints of the population census from 1790-1900 and the 1906 directory published by Mitchell.

Richmond:

Flemming, John D. (ed.). *Richmond on the Kennebec*. Richmond: Historical Society, 1966, 198 pp. with maps. [Aug: SL; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Covers shipbuilding, ice industry, railroads, mills, Swan Island, Irish immigrants in the 1860s and Russian immigrants in the 1950s. Includes transcriptions of a few documents, interviews on shipping. Excellent photographs.

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

Topsham:

Wheeler and Wheeler. See Brunswick above.

West Bath:

Purington, William C. *A Look into West Bath's Past*. N. p., 1976, 214 pp.
[Aug: SL; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]
Covers industry, transportation.

Woolwich:

Wallace, Burnett B. *The World of the Old Nequasset Meeting House*. Woolwich: Historical Society, 1989, 86 pp. [Aug: SL]
Very useful chronological account from 1688 to 1988 with some transcriptions of documents, pictures of old houses, mills and ferryboats.

Articles and Brief Studies ---

Region and County:

Austin, Phyllis. "Merrymeeting Bay: A New Highway Brings New Pressures," *Maine Times*, (May 14, 1976), pp. 2-3.

Foye, Robert E., at al. "Maine Rivers: The Kennebec," *Maine Fish and Game*, vol. 12, no. 1 (Winter, 1969-70), pp. 6-11.

"The Kennebec: A River on the Rebound," *Habitat*, special thematic issue, vol. 6, no. 4 (August, 1989), pp. 16-35.

Articles on human history on the river, its geology, reclamation and recovery of fish habitat.

DeRoche, Stuart E. *Fishery Management in the Androscoggin River*. Augusta: Maine Dept. of Inland Fisheries and Game, 1967, 37 pp.

_____. "Maine Rivers: the Androscoggin," *Maine Fish and Game*, vol. 11, no. 3 (Summer, 1969), pp. 20-23.

Owen, Ray B., Jr., et al. "An Endangered Species: The Bald Eagle," *Maine Fish and Wildlife*, vol. 20, no. 3 (Summer, 1978), pp.22-22.

Townsend, F. Clark. "Banding Birds of Prey in Maine," *Maine Field Naturalist*, vol. 13, no.s 1-2 (Jan.-April., 1957), pp. 8-13.

Wonderful article by amateur in Brunswick. Photo by Hal H. Harrison of Townsend in article was reproduced in the Merrymeeting Bay broadside and in these *Notes*.

Bath:

Purington, William C., "The Bath & Woolwich Railroad Ferries," *Down East*, vol. 22, no. 7 (April, 1976), pp. 61-64.

Bowdoin:

No articles found at Aug: SL.

Bowdoinham:

Foss, Norman T. *Bowdoinham, Maine: The River Road. Pratts Corner to Richmond.* 1962, 37 pp. [Aug: SL, probably filed in folder shelved with books about Bowdoinham] Historic house tour.

Brunswick:

American Association of University Women. *From the Falls to the Bay: A Tour of Historic Brunswick.* Brunswick: Chamber of Commerce, 1980, 11 pp. [Aug: SL, in folder shelved with books about Brunswick. Available for \$1.00 at Pejebscot Hist. Soc.]. Helpful guide to historic structures.

Cummings, O. R. *Trolleys to Brunswick 1896-1937.* National Railway Hist. Soc., 1966, 42 pp. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.(Me. Coll.)]

Locke, William N. "The French Colony at Brunswick, Maine; A Historical Sketch," *Les Archives de Folklore* (Montreal), vol. ? (1946), pp. 97-111. [Aug: SL, photocopy in folder shelved with books on Brunswick]

Useful article that complements Kirkland's little book.

_____. "Notes on the Vocabulary of the French Canadian Dialect Spoken in Brunswick, Maine," *French Review*, vol. 19, no. 6 (1946), pp. 416-22. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib. in Spec. Colls.]

_____. *Pronunciation of the French spoken in Brunswick, Maine.* Greensboro, NC: American Dialect Society, 1949. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Wheeler, William A. *Brunswick Yesterdays. A Boy's Eye View . . . in the Early '80s.* Gorham, [1944], 30 pp. [Aug: SL]

Smith, Lincoln, "Political Leadership in a New England Community," *Review of Politics*, vol. 17:3 (July, 1955), pp. [Aug: SL, photocopy in folder shelved with books on Brunswick] Insightful article that helps understand the present.

_____. "The Unrequited Quest for City Status, A Case Study of 100 Years," journal unknown. [Aug: SL, photocopy in folder shelved with books on Brunswick]

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Dresden:

Allen, C. E., "Ancient Pownalboro and Her Daughters," New England Magazine, n. s., vol 24 (July, 1901), pp. 516-34. [Aug: SL, in folder shelved with books on Dresden.]

Includes photos: "River at Swan Island," p. 522; "Barker House with view of Kennebec."

_____, "Leaves from the Early History of Dresden," Colls. & Proc. Me. Hist. Soc., 2nd ser., vol. 1 (1890), pp. 313-20. [Aug: SL [in folder with books on Dresden; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Includes "a few of the milestones set along the pathway of the local historian," p. 319. Settlement by Huguenots in the 1750s, founding of town of Pownalboro with Frankfort as the shiretown, etc.

_____, "Some Huguenot and Other Early Settlers on the Kennebec in the Present Town of Dresden," Coll. & Proc. Me Hist. Soc., 2nd ser, vol. 3 (189?), pp. 351-79. [Aug: SL, in folder shelved with books about Dresden; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

On what could be called "people of the Bay:" Opens with Forest Grove Cemetery overlooking the Kennebec where the Houdelette's were buried, and argues that the Huguenots were more significant in the settlement of Dresden than the Germans. Also includes James Carney, an ironworker.

Thayer, Henry O., "The Transient Town of Cork," Coll. & Proc., Me. Hist. Soc., 2nd ser., vol. 4 (1893), pp. 240-65. [Aug: SL, in folder with books on Dresden]

Investigates real location of Irish settlement of 1717 to 1720.

Richmond:

No articles found at Aug: SL.

Topsham:

West Bath:

Purington, W. C. *Meadowsweet: Its Rich Historical Environment*. [Brunswick?, 1973?], 24 pp. [Aug: SL; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

A brief history of area owned by Charles W. Ring including mention of the carrying place between the New Meadows River and the Kennebec, the effort to develop a canal, early roads.

Woolwich:

Thayer, Henry O., "The Problem of Hammond's Fort. Richard Hammond, His Home and Death," Coll. & Proc., Me. Hist. Soc., 2nd ser., vol. 1 (1890), pp. 261-94.

His investigation places it near Day's Ferry drawing from evidence such as Hammond's farm boundaries and place names ("Hammonds Head").

Post-1945 Commemorative Publications ---

Bath:

Centennial Committee. *Official Program . . . 100th Anniversary of the City of Bath*. Bath, 1947, 53 pp. [Aug: SL; Bath: Patten]

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

Bowdoin:

Historical Society. *Bowdoin Bicentennial 1788-1988*. Pictorial History. Bowdoin, 1988, 30 pp.
[Aug: SL]

Good photographs of mills and houses.

Bowdoinham:

Bicentennial Historic Book Commission. *Bowdoinham, the Seventeenth Town in Maine, 1762-1962*. Bowdoinham, 1962, 61 pp. [Aug: SL; Brunswick: Bow.]

Helpful history with good photos.

Brunswick:

Downing, Paul M., et al. *Brunswick, Maine. 250 Years a Town*. Brunswick: Town, 1989, 208 pp. [Brunswick: Pejebscot H. S.]

Dresden:

Richmond:

See *Richmond. A Long View* under Primary sources: Photographic Books.

Topsham:

West Bath:

Woolwich:

Planning Reports ---

State and Regional:

Bath/Brunswick Regional Planning Commission. *Population and Housing Statistics for the Bath-Brunswick Region from the 1970 Census*. Bath, 1971, 15 pp. [Aug: SL]

Department of Inland Fisheries and Wildlife. *The Identification and Management of Significant Fish and Wildlife Resources in Southern Coastal Maine*. Augusta, 1988, 140 pp. [Aug: SL]

Kennebec River Council. *Discover the Kennebec. The Fisheries Resources of the Kennebec River*. N. p., n. d., 46 pp.

Maine State Planning Office. *Bibliography of Regional Planning Agency Reports*. Augusta, 1979, 40 pp. [Aug: SL]

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

Naval Air Station: *A Regional Airport for Southwestern Maine*. Brunswick, 1963, 47 pp.
[Brunswick: Bow.]
Study of possible usage for summer/recreational population in two or three coastal regions based on 1960 census records.

Reed & D'Andrea. *Merrymeeting Bay*. Augusta: Maine Department of conservation, 1975, c. 300 pp.
[Aug: SL; Bowdoin: Environmental Studies Office].
Groundbreaking study including inventory and assessment of natural resources, socio-economic features, outdoor recreation, land use and ownership patterns, land use plans and controls and synthesis and recommendations. *Should be available to the comprehensive planning committees of all the towns on the Bay.*

Southern Mid-Coast Planning Commission. *Economic Profile of the Southern Mid-Coast Region*. Bath, 1976, 56 pp. [Aug: SL]

Bath:

Bath Planning Board. *1959 Bath Downtown Plan*. Bath, 1959, 8 pp. [Aug: SL., Brunswick: Bow. ES]

_____. *1959 Citywide Plan Summary*. Bath, 1959, 15 pp. [Aug: SL, Brunswick: Bow ES]

_____. *City Plan Report 1959*. Boston: Blackwell, [1959], 106 pp. [Aug: SL]

Bath/Brunswick Regional Planning Commission. *Open Space Plan*. Boston: Community Planning Services, 1972, 18 + 57 pp. [Aug: SL]

Bath Planning Board. *Comprehensive Plan. A Guide for the 80's. City of Bath*. Portland: Governmental Services, 1983, 88 pp. Plus Section XII on "Waterfront Issues and Policies" passed 9/6/89. [Bath: City Clerk's Office; Brunswick: Bow ES]

Based on *Preliminary Comprehensive Plan: City of Bath*. Portland: Government Services, 1981, 80 pp. [Bath: Patten, cataloged under "David Flaherty" who was chair of the Planning Board]

Bowdoin College Public Affairs Center. *Bath Area Economic Profile*. Bath: Chamber of Commerce, [1972], 49 pp. [Aug: SL]

City of Bath. *Land Use Code, 12/7/83*. Bath, 160 pp.; Bath: City Clerk's Office. [Bath: Patten]
Based on "Proposed Land Use Code: City of Bath" prepared by Government Services, 1982, 145 pp.

Stull Associates. *Bath Downtown Development Plan*. Bath: Downtown Development Corp., 1981, 9 pp. + 3 maps. [Brunswick: Bow ES]

Urban Renewal Authority. *"Survey and Planning Application: Downtown Bath."* Bath, 1960, 29 pp. [Aug: SL]

Veazie, Carl Edward. *The Changing Economy of Bath. Report to the City Planning Department*. Portland: University of Southern Maine, Center for Research and Advanced Study, 1979, 30 pp. [Brunswick: Bow.]

Important resource containing population projections.

Whitman and Howard. *Bath Maine: Master Plan Revision*. 1967, 94 pp. [Bath: Patten]

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Bowdoin:

No planning reports found at Aug: SL.

Bowdoinham:

Brunswick:

Blackwell, John T. *Town of Brunswick Preliminary Town Plan Report, April 1959.* Boston, 1959, 74 pp. [Aug: SL]

Brunswick Chamber of Commerce. *Report on Brunswick: Economic and Social Characteristics of a Growing Maine Community.* Brunswick, 1955, 78 pp. [Aug: SL]

Brunswick Planning Board. *Second Stage, Town Plan Report.* Boston: Atwood and Blackwell, 1962, 83 pp. [Aug: SL]

Cahill, Richard. *Brunswick Neighborhood Analysis Study.* Augusta: Dept. of Economic Development, 1967, 54 pp. [Aug: SL]

Dresden:

Dresden Planning Board. *Preliminary Report, Dresden.* Dresden, 1971, 29 pp. [Aug: SL]
Covers history, population, public services, transportation, commerce and industry.

Richmond:

No planning documents at Aug: SL.

Topsham:

Topsham Planning Board. *Master Plan. Phase I Report.* Topsham: Wright and Pierce, [1963?], c. 100 pp. with maps. [Aug: SL]
Covers land use, public services, population, transportation, industry, employment.

_____. *Summary Report of the Comprehensive Master Plan for Topsham, Maine.* Topsham, 1965, 32 pp. with maps. [Aug: SL]
Covers transportation, public services, recreation, natural areas, industry and finance.

West Bath:

No planning documents at Aug: SL.

Woolwich:

No planning documents at Aug: SL.

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

Post-1945 Maps ---

Regional:

Maine Dept. of Marine Resources. *Coastal Marine Resource Inventory 1982, Small Point to Pemaquid Point*. Augusta: Department of Environmental Protection, Bureau of Oil and Hazardous Materials Control, [1984]. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]
Report prepared by Donald J. Card and Ronald A. Aho of the Marine Resources Laboratory.

U. S. Geological Survey. *Land Use and Land Cover 1973*. Bath Region. Reston, VA, 1979. One sheet. [Aug: SL]
Covers the Merrymeeting Bay area.

Bath:

Bowdoinham:

Brunswick:

Dresden:

Richmond:

Topsham:

West Bath:

Woolwich:

Primary Sources

Books: Reports, Commemorative Publications, Diaries, Collections of Documents ---

Region and County:

An Answer to the Remarks of the Plymouth Company. Boston, 1753, 50 pp. [Aug: SL]

Report of the Secretary of Maine Board of Agriculture. Vols for 1855-1950. From 1857 onward second volume titled *Agriculture of Maine, Second Series*. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]
Between 1857-1877, reports for annual fairs of each county. General agricultural topics covered in second volume. Indexed.

Transactions of the Agricultural Societies in the State of Maine. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]
Vol. 1 (1850-52), pp. 497-607 on the Cumberland Country Society; pp. 619-656 on the West Lincoln Society. Vo. 2 (1853), pp. 3-52 on the Cumberland Country Society, pp. 233-50 on the Lincoln Country Society, pp. 251-304 on the West Lincoln Society.

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

York Deeds. Sixteen volumes. Portland: Hull and Thurston. [Brunswick: Bow.]

Bath:

Owen, Henry W. *Bath Deeds*. Bath, 1981, 325 pp. [Bath: Patten, Maine Coll.]

_____. *Bath Estates and Plans*. Bath, 1981, 575 pp. [Bath: Patten, Maine Coll.]

Bowdoin:

Bowdoinham:

Brunswick:

Chase, F. Halycon. *Brunswick: A Brief History of the Growth and Development of the Town. Her Businessmen and Their Interests*. Brunswick: Record, 1903, 32 pp. [Aug: SL; Bow: Lir]

Discussions of contemporary industries and commercial establishments are useful and could be tied with the *Maine Register* information. Also includes section on the street railway.

Furbish, John. *Facts About Brunswick . . . Commenced 1862*. Brunswick: Pejepsco Historical Society, 1976, 62 pp. [Aug: SL; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Facsimile of diary from 1862-1879. Covers climate, industry, commerce, farming, water supply and population composition. Still in print and available from the society.

Guild, Edward C. *Brunswick, a Sketch of the Town, Its Advantages as a Place of Residence and Its Attractions as a Summer Resort*. Brunswick: Tenney, 1887. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib. Spec. Colls.]

Pejepsco Historical Society. *Celebration of the 150th Anniversary, June 13, 1899*. Brunswick, 1889, 91 pp. [Aug: SL; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Includes early settlement "by the Anglo-Saxon race," Cabot Mill development and strikes. Good photographs include "Maine Street from the Tontine [before p. 9]," and the Androscoggin by Cabot Mills [before p. 41].

Putnam, Henry. *A Description of Brunswick, Maine, in Letters by a Gentleman from South Carolina*. Brunswick: Griffen, 1820, 28 pp. [Aug: SL (safe); Brunswick: Bow. Lib. photocopy]

Rich source covers natural history, Indian sites, agriculture, industry, shipping, cotton and woolen factory. Note circular saws used for clapboards as early as this period.

Dresden:

Richmond:

Souvenir Programme of the 100th Anniversary of Richmond, Maine, 1823-1923. Richmond, 1923, 16 pp. [Aug: SL].

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

Topsham:

West Bath:

Woolwich:

Reports, Transcriptions, etc. of an Archival Nature ---

Bath:

Bowdoin:

Bowdoinham:

Bowdoinham Baptist Association. "Minutes," vols. 9 (1795)-79 (1865). [Aug: SL]

Brunswick:

Moulton, James M. et al. "The Brunswick Wetlands Survey." Typescript, Augusta: Dept. of Marine Resources, 1966, 3 pp. [Aug: SL]

Describes plans for field study under auspices of the Brunswick Planning Board.

Dresden:

DAR, "1761 Town Minutes of Pownalborough," Misc. Recs., vol. 33, sect. 1. [Aug: SL]

_____. "Tax Lists of Dresden, Maine, 1795-1849," Misc. Recs., vo. 33, sect. 1 [Aug: SL]

Lilly, Georgiana H. (comp.). "Dresden Maine Records," Misc. Recs., vol. 12 (1942-43). [Aug: SL]
Contains the "First book of town records," pp. 1-95 with index; "Census of 1850," 31 pp. listing names of people in households, occupations and where born.

Richmond:

Topsham:

Hill, Mary P. (transcriber). "Original Family Records on File, Selectmen's Office." Typescript, Topsham. [Aug: SL]

Sager, Robert. "Customers Listed in Robert Sager's Account Book 1809-14," typescript, Topsham, 12 pp. [Aug: SL]

Transcription of parts of " original owned by Jessica J. Haskell of Hallowell."

West Bath:

Woolwich:

Thayer, Henry O. "Town of Woolwich, Maine." Typescript photocopy, New York: Thayer, 1924, 51 pp. [Aug: SL, in folder shelved with other materials on Woolwich]

Wonderful collection of transcribed documents and historical lore told him. Essentially his notes for unwritten articles and books. "Miscellaneous gatherings -- what people told me. Old traditions, some valueable, some worthless."

Annual Reports, Statistical Reports ---

State and Region:

Maine Register or State Yearbook and Legislative Manual. Portland: Donham, et al., 1820s-present. [Aug: SL, Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Town Reports also in Aug: SL. Consult "Shelf List" for holdings

Bath:

Town Report, 1892-1964, 1966-84. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Bowdoin:

Town Report, 1880-1977, 1987. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Bowdoinham:

Town Report, 1890, 1903, 1906-85. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Brunswick:

Town Report, 1868-1899, 1906-66, 1969-71, 1973-88. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Dresden:

Town Report, 1852, 1877-1917, 1942, 1962-64, 1967-76, 1982-3, 1985-86.
[Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Richmond:

Town Report, 1870-73, 1878-1949, 1956-77, 1981-86. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Topsham:

Town Report, 1859, 1862, 1864-67, 1869-75, 1877-1901, 1903-88. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

West Bath:

Town Report, 1910-69, 1972-73, 1978-84. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Woolwich:

Town Report, 1882-1984, 1987. [Aug: SL, Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Directories ---

Regional (including bibliographies):

Damien, Brian. *Survey of City Directories for Brunswick, Harpswell, Topsham and Bath.* Typescript, Brunswick, 20 pp. [Aug: SL; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Bath:

The Bath, Brunswick and Richmond Directory. Nos. 1-7 (1867-87) Boston: Greenough. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

The Bath, Maine, City Directory . . . and the Towns of Arrowsic, Georgetown, Phippsburg, West Bath and Woolwich . . . 1922-23. Portland: Crowley and Lunt. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Directory of Bath and Sagadahoc County, Maine. . . 1905-1906. Methuen, MA: Union, 1905. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Directory of the City of Bath and Country Mailing List, 1914. Boston: Guide, 1914. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Shaw, John O. *Bath, Brunswick and Richmond Directory for 1867-68.* Bath: Longford and Chase, 1867, 168 pp. [Aug: SL]

Shaw, William E. *Directory of Bath and Surrounding Towns.* Boston: n. p. Vols. 1-3 (1895-1901). [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Bowdoin:

No directories at Aug: SL. See under Brunswick.

Bowdoinham:

_____. *The Topsham and Bowdoinham Register 1905.* Brunswick: Mitchell, 1904, 133 pp.

See under Brunswick.

Brunswick:

Directory of Greater Brunswick, including Bowdoin, Bowdoinham, Harpswell and Topsham. vols. 1-18 (1917-1956), vols. (1957-64, 1979-). [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

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Mitchell, H. E. *Resident and Business Directory of the Town of Brunswick and Topsham Village with Maps 1910*. Augusta: Mitchell, [1910?], 154 pp. [Aug: SL; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

See under Bath.

Dresden:

Mitchell, H. E. *The Town Register, Wiscasset, . . . Woolwich, Dresden 1906*. Brunswick: Mitchell, 1906, 284 pp. [Aug: SL; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]
Dresden, pp. 206-227. Alphabetical listing of household heads and members with occupations, including non-resident members and where they live.

Richmond:

Jack, Charles W. (comp.). *The Richmond Register 1909*. Augusta: Mitchell, 1909, 44 pp. with map. [Aug: SL; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Mitchell, H. E. *The Richmond Register 1904*. Brunswick: Mitchell, 1904, 105 pp. [Aug: SL; Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

See under Bath.

Topsham:

See under *Brunswick*; Mitchell, 1905 under *Bowdoinham*.

West Bath:

See under Bath

Woolwich:

See under Bath and Mitchell, 1906, under *Dresden*.

Vital Statistics and Cemetery Records, Genealogical Records ---

(Note: The Maine Historical Society has extensive collections in this category)

Bath:

Hott, Alfred T., "Bath Families," 2 vols. looseleaf notebooks. [Bath: Patten, Maine Coll.]

Bowdoin:

Cox, Rachel T. (ed.). *Vital Records of Bowdoin, Maine to the Year 1892*. Portland: Maine Historical Society, 1944-45.

Merrymeeting Bay Notes

Bowdoinham:

Brunswick:

Dresden:

Richmond:

Topsham:

Hill, Mary Pelham (ed.). *Vital Records of Topsham, Maine, to the years 1892*. Portland: Maine Historical Society. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

West Bath:

Woolwich:

Maps & Bird's Eye Views---

State & County:

Beers, F. W. *Atlas of Cumberland County*. New York: Beck, 1871, 62 pp. [Aug: SL]

Saco Valley Pub. Co. *Old Maps of Lincoln County Maine in 1857*. Freyheburg, 1985, 46 pp. [Aug: SL]

_____. *Old Maps of Rural Cumberland County in 1871*. Freyeburg, 1979, 52 pp. [Aug: SL]

_____. *The Old Maps of Sagadahoc County in 1858*. Freyeburg, 1983, 32 pp.
From the 1858 wall map done by J. Chase of Portland.

Podmaniczky, Christine B.; Settleworth, Earle G., Jr. *Through a Bird's Eye: Nineteenth-Century Views of Maine*. Rockland: Farnsworth Museum, c. 1981, 44 pp.

Descriptive catalog of an exhibition in 1981 with many plates. List of views published indicates such exist for Bath, Brunswick-Topsham, Richmond in the Bay region.

Bath:

Sanborn Insurance Map Co. *Bath*. New York, 1884 ff. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]
1884.

Bowdoin:

Bowdoinham:

Brunswick:

Sanborn Insurance Map Co. *Brunswick*. New York, 1884 ff. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]
1884 (4 plates), 1889 (6 plates), 1895 (7 plates), 1901 (10 plates), 1906 (10 plates); 1912 (14 plates); 1923 (14 plates).

Dresden:

Richmond:

Topsham:

Sanborn Insurance Map Co. *Brunswick*. New York, 1884 ff. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]
1884 (plate 1, Androscoggin Mill area); 1889 (plate no. 5); 1895 (plate no. 7); 1901 (plates 9-10); 1906
(plates 9-10); 1912 (plates 12-13); 1923 (plates 11-12).

West Bath:

Woolwich:

Sanborn Insurance Map Co. . *Bath* . New York, 188? ff. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]
See the ferry landing area in several plates.

Photographic Books ---

Bath:

Hewitt, Charles E. *A Backward Glance: A Selection of Photographs of Bath in the 1890s*. Brunswick, 1976, 100 pp. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib.]

Times Co. *Views of Bath, Maine*. 1915, 25 pp. [Brunswick: Bow. Lib. Maine Coll.]

Young, Arthur. *Do You Remember?* Coastal Publ., [197?]. [Bath: Patten]
Interesting collection, especially of business street scenes.

Bowdoin:

Bowdoinham:

Brunswick:

Dresden:

Richmond:

Richmond, A Long View 1823-1973. Richmond: Historical Society, 1973, n. pagination.
[Aug: SL]

Photographs of game shot in area, ships, houses, streetscapes, Johnson Seed Potato Co., railroad, ice houses.

Topsham:

West Bath:

Woolwich:

TO : The President
FROM : [Name]
SUBJECT: [Subject]

1. [Faint text paragraph]

2. [Faint text paragraph]

3. [Faint text paragraph]

4. [Faint text paragraph]

5. [Faint text paragraph]

6. [Faint text paragraph]

7. [Faint text paragraph]

8. [Faint text paragraph]

9. [Faint text paragraph]

10. [Faint text paragraph]

11. [Faint text paragraph]

12. [Faint text paragraph]

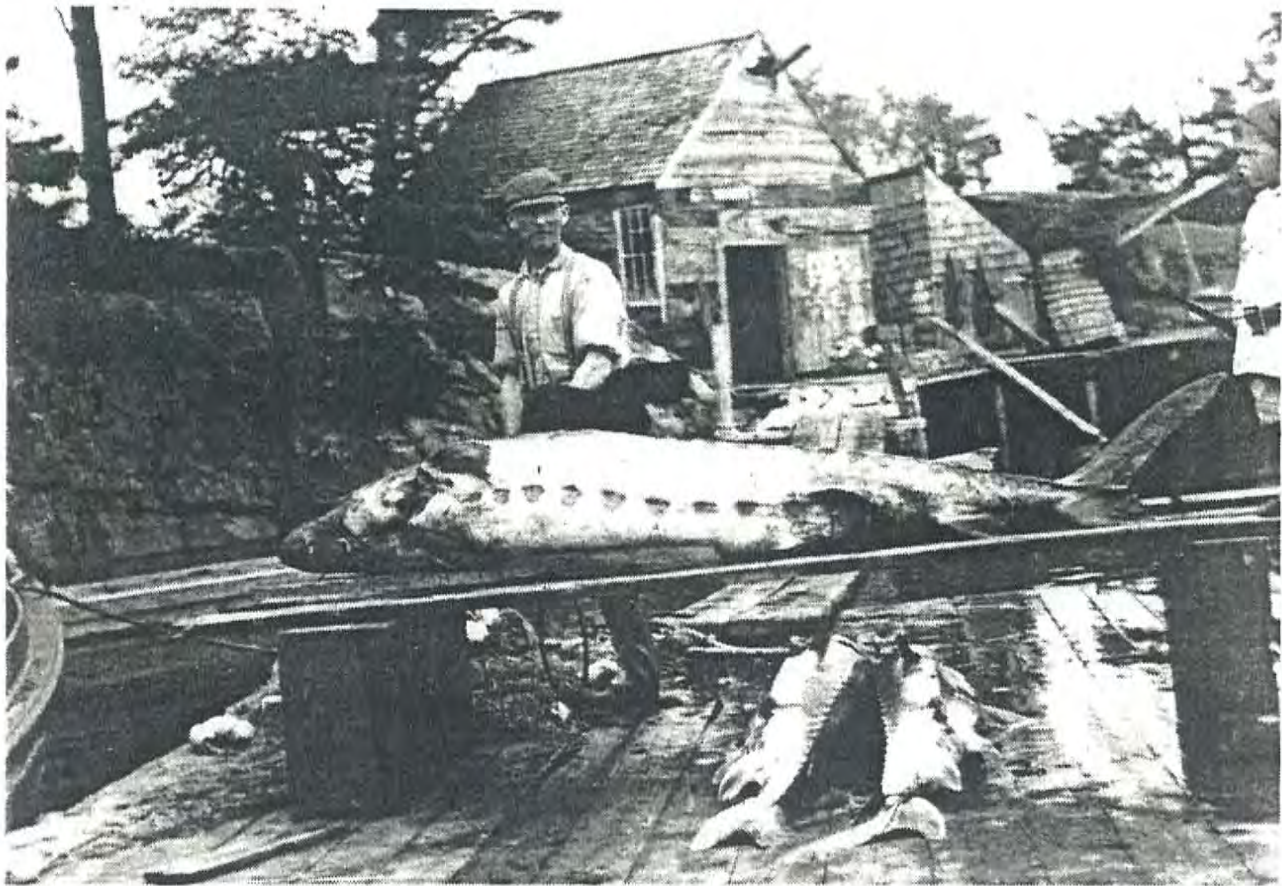
13. [Faint text paragraph]

14. [Faint text paragraph]

15. [Faint text paragraph]

16. [Faint text paragraph]

17. [Faint text paragraph]



Fish processing on the Bay. Kenneth Edgecomb on Sturgeon Island, c. 1900.

Maine Maritime Museum



1871

1872

Contributers and Acknowledgments

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