

Carol Toner, "Franklin Muzzy: Artisan Entrepreneur in Nineteenth-Century Bangor" in *Maine Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 30, 1990. pp. 70-91.



In 1836 master artisan Franklin Muzzy wrote to his wife after a long day in his shop: "I have become wonderfully industrious; these two days have I been at the shop early and late..., have put on Saunders' Apron rolled up my sleeves and worked like a hero!! The fact that Mr. Saunders wounded himself Monday and will be out of the shop a few days may explain the above remarkable statement."¹ Muzzy's remarks to his wife reflect the tenuous nature of the transition from artisan to businessman during early industrialization when an artisan entrepreneur "put on the apron and rolled up his sleeves" if the shop needed more hands. But more importantly, Muzzy's comments indicate that by 1836 this master craftsman was already spending more time managing his shop than practicing his craft, more time doing the non-manual work of a businessman than the manual work of an artisan. A machinist and iron founder, Muzzy came to Bangor in 1832 with little more than his ambition and his artisan skills, but by 1860 his machine shop and iron foundry employed at least 35 people and was worth \$40,000. A closer look at Muzzy's life provides us with a lens through which to view this transition from master craftsman to businessman as he and other artisans responded to the emerging industrial order.

Until recently many historians ignored or misunderstood craftsmen-turned-businessmen like Muzzy, concluding, as historian Alan Dawley does, that the masters were "done in" by the industrial process.² While the model of the demolished master is appropriate to certain industries -- textiles for example, where large amounts of capital invaded the craft and did indeed wipe out the traditional artisan system -- other industries followed a different pattern. By way of revising the older model, Susan Hirsch studied other crafts where industrialization came at a slower pace and on a smaller scale, allowing the artisans themselves to contribute both technological innovations and entrepreneurial skills. Indeed, the small producer was as important as the large capitalist in the industrial process.³ Some masters, like Muzzy, were successful in seizing the entrepreneurial opportunities industrialization presented to enlarge their shops, hire additional workers, and, in essence, become businessmen. These artisans were not so much victims of antebellum industrialization as active agents in the process.

Other historians have viewed artisan entrepreneurs from quite the opposite extreme, painting them as grasping capitalists, traitors to the artisan tradition, or "Dickensian parodies of the parvenu."⁴ These historians have found increasing conflict between masters and journeymen when emerging industrialization challenged the unity of the traditional artisan community. Masters became more conscious of their entrepreneurial interests, while journeymen experienced an erosion of their skills, economic opportunities, and social status as they entered the permanent ranks of the proletariat. Many journeymen whose ambitions were thus thwarted embraced radicalism in an effort to oppose the inequalities of the new system. From the 1830s through the 1850s conflict punctuated the process of industrialization, as workers participated in walkouts, the ten-hour movement, and union organization.⁵

While conflict and degradation did characterize the artisan experience in cities where industrial capitalism penetrated deeply and rapidly into the old artisan way of life, many artisans in Bangor and elsewhere were neither proletarianized nor radicalized during this period. More than sixty years ago, Norman Ware observed that many antebellum journeymen and masters "found difficulty in disentangling themselves from the tradition," which he characterized as "the community of interests" between the two groups.⁶ More recently, Gary Kornblith suggests that artisan traditions often bridged the growing gap between masters and journeymen. In his skillfully written study of master craftsmen, Kornblith concludes that some craftsmen-turned-businessmen leant "the authority of craft tradition" to the industrial process and "obscured the emerging conflict of interest between capital and labor...."⁷ In many ways, Franklin Muzzy personified "the authority of craft tradition," an authority that maintained the ties between masters and journeymen even as the economic gap between them widened.⁸ Even after he made the transition to successful businessman, Muzzy continued to espouse traditional artisan values stressing the dignity of skilled labor, self-reliance, and the commonality of masters' and journeymen's interests.

While many artisans, or mechanics as they called themselves, made this transition from craftsman to businessman, Muzzy is a particularly interesting subject because we know more about him than we do about most artisans. At age twenty-one, Muzzy wrote an autobiography which offers a rare look at the

world of a hopeful young apprentice machinist in the 1820s.⁹ He also left a collection of letters to his wife which span more than four decades. When Franklin Muzzy's business or political affairs took him out of town, or when Caroline Muzzy spent the summers along the Maine coast (where she believed the air and salt water benefited their children's health), the two corresponded regularly. These and other sources provide not only the events of Muzzy's life, but also his thoughts and attitudes toward business, political, social, and family matters. While most Bangor mechanics did not attain the levels of wealth and status that Muzzy did, the details of his life illuminate the economic opportunities, social concerns, and values of many Bangor artisans confronting the changes wrought by early industrialization.

Franklin Muzzy was born December 8, 1806, in Spencer, Massachusetts, the youngest of ten children. His father died when Frank was twelve years old, necessitating the boy's early search for employment. Young Muzzy worked during the spring, summer, and fall, boarding with his employer and earning about twenty-five dollars for the eight months, and returned home to attend school during the winter months. It was a time of economic hardship, but the Muzzys were an affectionate and supportive family. In his journal the young boy described his reluctance to leave home each spring and his severe bouts of homesickness during his absences from Spencer.

At age seventeen Muzzy went to live with his sister in Gardiner, Maine, where he was to be an apprentice in the machine shop of a Mr. Wing. Although he had "an imperfect idea of the business," he decided that the machinist trade would be a useful livelihood. When Mr. Wing's machine shop in Gardiner failed shortly after Muzzy arrived, he was forced to find work in several shops over the next few months. Work was unsteady and employers unsympathetic. He worked for a while in a textile mill where the overseer promised to move him to the machine shop if Muzzy would work for a while "dressing" cotton yarn. "But after getting me into the dressing room by his fair promises, he denied me the privilege of returning to the machine shop....I was therefore compelled to work at a business I did not like under the nod of a surly tyrant who regarded neither honor nor justice."¹⁰ After four months at the mill, Muzzy collected his pay, \$6.50 per month, and left.

While he was out of work, Muzzy took the opportunity to study drafting at the Gardiner Lyceum, one of the earliest institutes in Maine designed to train farmers and mechanics.¹¹ A lack of money limited his attendance to a few months, but he learned a great deal that winter, and not just about drafting. In his own recollection, he benefited as much from contact with the Woodward family, with whom he boarded, as from the Lyceum. He perceived himself as an awkward young man who learned much about the "manners of society" from the Woodwards. He spent a productive winter improving his manners as well as his mechanical skills, but as Gardiner offered no employment prospects, he left in the spring.

Seeking work in Dover, New Hampshire, Muzzy found his lack of experience and references worked against him. He wrote, "I now began to realize my situation. I was in a strange place, a hundred miles from relations or friends, could not recommend myself to be anything like a workman at the business I wished to pursue, and had not more than fifteen dollars in money!"¹² The interviews with employers were disappointing and even degrading. Muzzy wrote that one employer concluded the young mechanic was "not worthy of employ under his lordship..."¹³

One evening while he was down on his luck, he happened to fall into conversation with a machinist who advised Muzzy to change his approach in trying to secure work. "If you wish to find employment, instead of asking 5 or 6 dollars a month you must ask 15 or 16, and tell them you are a good workman but are willing to go to work on trial."¹⁴ Muzzy considered this to be good advice. With very little experience but great bravado, he approached the local agent for the Great Falls Company. "I told him I would work for 14 dollars a month and was a pretty fair workman, but would work a month on trial, after which we would agree on the price."¹⁵ To his own great surprise and satisfaction, this bold move succeeded, and he set off for Great Falls.

Muzzy's experience up to this point had been limited to small shops where no more than half a dozen men worked. But the Great Falls Company was enormous, and his writing reveals the bewilderment that many young men must have felt in the early days of industrialization:lm8

Upon first entering the machine shop I was struck with dismay by the appearance of so great a collection of tools and workmen, instead of 5 or 6 men with tools accordingly, I now beheld 40 or 50 men and boys occupying a large room with engines, laiths [sic], and vices so thick as to be difficult getting about. These, together with the searching look of the workmen made me tremble for my fate among them.¹⁶

Unlike a traditional artisan shop, where an apprentice learned the trade from a master with whom he was contracted, here the boys were not assigned to any particular machinist, but had to gain the favor of the skilled workers. Muzzy realized that if he wanted to learn anything at Great Falls, he would have to work hard to excel among the many other youths who, like himself, wanted to learn the trade. After performing menial work for some time, Muzzy realized what he must do to advance himself. Im8

The workmen...all had friends or apprentices whom they wished to advance. I made it a point to use all my exertion to get into favour with these job workmen, and was well satisfied for doing their drudgery by their sometimes giving me a job which required some skill in execution. At length I succeeded in getting the privilege of trying to finish some parts of an engine....I was so successful with this that I had the same part to finish in several engines and laiths [sic].¹⁷

In this way, Muzzy impressed the other workmen and began to receive work requiring greater skill. As the experienced workers recognized his determination and growing skill, he ceased performing such tasks as cleaning and sweeping altogether and worked at more challenging jobs.

In this large shop, he successfully completed his training as a machinist. Although it was certainly not a traditional apprenticeship, still the work demanded certain skills which he learned from the experienced workers as he prepared for journeyman status. Perhaps this non-traditional apprenticeship in a large shop taught Muzzy more than the machinist's skills; it exposed him quite early to a factory setting. While some masters and journeymen saw new methods of production as a threat to the artisan system, Muzzy had little difficulty in later years reconciling craft traditions and innovation as his own shop grew to more than thirty-five hands.

Muzzy's autobiography ends here, in the machine shop at the Great Falls Company, where he was making some headway in learning the trade. Unfortunately, no account exists of his climb up the craft ladder from apprentice to journeyman and finally to master. We pick up his story about seven years later when he was a master in partnership with A. A. Wing in Bucksport, Maine, where the Muzzy and Wing machine shop made "machinery of all kinds."¹⁸ In the early 1830s, Muzzy and Wing moved from coastal Bucksport up the Penobscot River to Bangor, where their machine shop and iron foundry turned out sawmill and farm machinery as well as stoves and other ironware for residential needs.

Bangor's thriving lumber-based economy attracted Muzzy and Wing and many other artisans in the 1830s. The town's population increased impressively from 2,867 in 1830 to 7,547 in 1835, while the residents' assessed valuation soared from approximately \$600,000 in 1830 to nearly \$5,000,000 in 1835.¹⁹ The booming lumber industry provided work for a variety of artisans, including edge-tool makers and machinists, while the demands of the rapidly expanding population drew joiners, masons, brickmakers, painters, shoemakers, tailors, goldsmiths, carriage makers, butchers, and artisans of many other trades. The city directory lists some 462 artisans in 1834.²⁰

Despite Bangor's growing prosperity, Franklin Muzzy's first decade in the city was only mildly successful. Shortly after the move to Bangor, Wing sold his portion of the business to Nathan Perry and Daniel Hinckley.²¹ Named Franklin Muzzy and Company, the machine shop first appeared in the tax inventories in 1835, valued at \$500. The Panic of 1837 prevented further growth during the next few years; by 1840 the company was valued at only \$400. In 1841 a fire destroyed the entire business; the tax inventory did not even list the Muzzy Company that year.

Although he lost nearly everything in that fire, Muzzy was an ambitious man, and he vowed to rebuild his business. He wrote to his wife Caroline, "What we have accumulated has been the result of the exercise of our own energies under the blessing of Providence."²² Even in his youth he had exhibited unusual ambition, spending "muster days," while most people were celebrating, gathering walnuts to sell.²³ Such industry had carried him through his unusual apprenticeship and would eventually bring him success in his own shop. His newly established machine shop was a partnership with machinist Nathan Perry, Perry's three sons, and Moses Saunders.²⁴ By 1842, the tax inventory once again listed Franklin Muzzy and Company, and valued it at \$450. During the next few years the business flourished in the manufacture of a variety of machines: "Steam Engines, Turning Engines, Lathes, and Screws,- Shingle, Clapboard, Lath, Box, Sapping, and Threshing Machines."²⁵ The company also produced cast-iron items such as balance wheels for saw mills, plows for farm use, and a large assortment of parlor and cook stoves for domestic use.

In 1843 the editor of the Bangor Whig and Courier visited the Muzzy Company. He was impressed by the work quality and sophisticated machinery in the foundry and machine shop. He described the

steam engine which the Muzzy Company had built and which powered the whole business: "This engine is one of beautiful finish, compact form, accurate movement and great power. It was driving, during our visit, the forge blast, three engine lathes, and a circular saw which it drove handsomely through a three inch ash plank."²⁶

By the mid-1840s the company was worth \$5,625, and by the end of the decade, the R.G. Dun Company gave the foundry and machine shop excellent credit ratings.²⁷ During the next decade, the company surpassed most of Bangor's other metal shops in size and value. (See accompanying table) Employing 37 hands in 1850, the Muzzy Company was far larger than Bangor's average metal business which employed 8.1 hands.²⁸ The shop now employed a diversity of tradesmen, including machinists, blacksmiths, molders, and patternmakers.²⁹ Muzzy paid his hands \$29 per month in 1850 and \$34 per month in 1860, a wage that was about equivalent to other metal shops in Bangor. While the average metal shop declined in value from \$8,205 in 1850 to \$7,787 in 1860, the Muzzy Company increased in value from \$30,000 in 1850 to \$40,000 in 1860. Muzzy and his associates had invested \$12,000 in their business in 1850, compared to \$3,014 invested in the average metal shop. By 1860 investments in the Muzzy Company had grown to \$30,000 compared to the average, \$4,482, for a Bangor metal shop.

With the tremendous growth of his shop, Franklin Muzzy began to exert some influence in the business community during the 1850s. He became a trustee for the Bangor Savings Bank, served on the Market House building committee and delivered the grand opening speech there, organized the Bangor Mutual Fire Insurance Company, and like many businessmen of the time, supported railroad construction to connect Bangor to more distant markets.³⁰

But as Muzzy made the transition from craftsman to businessman, he also maintained his identity as a mechanic. He joined the Bangor Mechanics Association (BMA) upon his arrival in Bangor in 1832, signing the membership list as machinist, and remained an active member to the end of his life. The BMA was founded in 1828 to promote artisan interests and to provide artisans the opportunity for "self-improvement." Active and influential throughout the antebellum period, BMA's goal was "the elevation of all mechanics," that is, raising the status of all mechanics by providing programs to improve skills, morals, and general education. In weekly meetings, debates, and lectures, the association stressed traditional values, such as success for the industrious and the dignity of skilled labor, but it also kept the members abreast of the latest scientific developments related to their crafts.³¹

Franklin Muzzy valued his membership in BMA, as evidenced by the number of key offices he held in the organization. In 1833 and again in 1835 he served as a trustee, and then, in a rise to leadership unusually rapid in the BMA, he was elected to the office of president in 1836. Throughout the years he remained an active member and contributed in a number of ways: delivering the key address at the association's Triennial Celebration in 1837; representing BMA at the Maine State Mechanics Convention in 1842; presenting lectures to the membership; contributing to the association's weekly debates; and serving on numerous committees.³² Even when he was absent from Bangor, as when he served in the state legislature, Muzzy expressed his desire to maintain contact with "those so much identified with the success and advancements of the Mechanics of Bangor."³³

Muzzy's continuing concern for artisan interests is also illustrated by his involvement in Bangor's 1847 ten-hour movement. On May 1 of that year a number of artisans convened in City Hall to discuss what they called "the ten hour system of labor."³⁴ It was a move to force employers to limit the workday to ten hours, beginning at 7:00 AM and ending at 6:00 PM with one hour for dinner. The group issued a resolution claiming that too much labor resulted in "a broken constitution ere we have reached the term of middle age, thereby rendering, too frequently, the remainder of life a scene of anxiety and pain."³⁵ Mechanics and laborers, the resolution stated, needed more time to spend with their families and to pursue intellectual improvement.

Unlike many cities where the ten-hour movement polarized the artisan communities, setting journeymen against masters, in Bangor, masters and journeymen cooperated in resolving the matter quickly and quietly. Artisans attending the meeting elected Franklin Muzzy and several other masters to a committee to spearhead the movement. The ten-hour meeting produced a number of resolutions, in addition to the central issue of limiting the workday to ten hours. Then, in a move reflecting the masters' influence but also a persistent desire of many Bangor mechanics to maintain unity, the group passed another resolution stating that "the interests of the employer and the employed should be so closely identified that the employer receive our hearty co-operation during the hours of labor."³⁶

Historians have rightly interpreted the American ten-hour movement as evidence of the growing conflict of interests between masters and journeymen. Bangor, too, harbored the potential for conflict, if

the masters had come out in strong opposition to the ten-hour day and if proponents had seized the opportunity to radicalize the workers. But when Muzzy and other masters joined the effort, they effectively defused the conflict. Some scholars are skeptical of masters who supported the ten-hour movement, warning that such support was probably motivated by a desire to "win over" the disgruntled journeymen and to avoid further trouble.³⁷ We can never ascertain the full range of motives behind the Bangor masters' support for the ten-hour day, but only the most skeptical would deny that some hoped to improve the status of journeymen. The "elevation of all mechanics" had been at the core of the traditional artisan ideology, and this would not have been abandoned lightly. Further, Muzzy's own struggle for success no doubt sensitized him to other artisans' efforts to improve themselves.³⁸

Whether the masters supported the ten-hour day because they wanted all artisans to enjoy greater opportunity for self-improvement or because they wanted to "win over the journeymen," the result was the same: the ten-hour day was enacted and the journeymen were won over. The next year the Maine legislature enacted a law instituting the ten-hour system. It stated, "In all contracts for labor ten hours of actual labor shall be a legal day's work, unless the contract stipulates for a longer time; but this rule does not apply to monthly labor or to agricultural employments."³⁹ Although riddled with loopholes, the law must have satisfied the ten-hour advocates as they did not pursue the issue further.

In addition to his membership in BMA and his work for the ten-hour movement, Muzzy's interest in the artisan community is exemplified by his concern for apprentice education. In 1836 Muzzy was appointed to the city's school committee, which established a school for apprentices during his three-year tenure.⁴⁰ The city discontinued the apprentice school late in Muzzy's life, but even then he fought to open night classes for young apprentices.⁴¹ His continuing interest in apprentice education was evident in a resolution he presented to the 1842 Maine State Mechanics' Convention: "Resolved, that the advancing intelligence of the age in which we live, the duty we owe to the community generally, and more especially to ourselves as Mechanics demand the immediate establishment of a School for the benefit of the Apprentices of this State."⁴² Muzzy's reference to the "duty" mechanics owed to themselves underscores a commitment to his artisan identity.

While his own formal education was quite limited, Muzzy was fervently committed to the artisan ideology of self-improvement. Ever alert to the need and possibility to improve himself, he wrote to his wife from Augusta while serving in the state legislature, "I now feel most severely the want of more general knowledge of the political History of this country."⁴³ He must have felt his own lack of education most keenly when he was among fellow legislators. "I think sometimes I am in danger of being interpreted by my friends as being insensible to any other impressions than those made by the inspection of Pig Iron!"⁴⁴ Yet his letters and the BMA records indicate that he read widely and took an interest in a broad range of issues. He enjoyed BMA's forum for lectures and debates, and he himself lectured the organization on "natural philosophy" at least twice.⁴⁵ He hoped for betterment even among society's most deprived individuals and donated a small library to the city's poor farm.⁴⁶ Upon his death he made his final tribute to the self-improvement ideal: a \$4,000 bequest towards the establishment of the Bangor Public Library.⁴⁷

Like many nineteenth-century mechanics, Franklin Muzzy turned from self-improvement and the elevation of mechanics to the improvement and elevation of society in general.⁴⁸ Deeply involved in the two great reform issues of his day, temperance and abolition, he declared that his political activities were not for his own aggrandizement but to prevent the country "from becoming overwhelmed with slavery or sunk in intemperance."⁴⁹ Letters between Muzzy and his wife reveal their long-standing interest in these issues. Caroline Muzzy wrote to her husband describing the lectures, meetings, and other anti-slavery and temperance activities in Bangor. When he doubted his effectiveness as a reformer, she encouraged him: "The present aspect of our country demands vigilance and steadfastness on the part of the champions of humanity -- we are threatened with a deluge of rum, on the one hand and chains on the other."⁵⁰ She urged him not to despair in the face of criticism, because "every reformer must meet his share of persecution and abuse...."⁵¹ Eventually Muzzy assumed a leadership role in both causes, serving as president of the 1854 State Temperance Convention, and in 1856 as executive committee member of the East Maine Kansas Aid Society, an effort opposed to the establishment of slavery in Kansas.⁵²

Muzzy was among the many antebellum artisan entrepreneurs who changed their political affiliations from Whig to Republican. In politics, as in other areas, he rose to leadership, serving two terms as representative to the state legislature, 1841-1843, and three terms in the state senate, 1851-1855. In 1855, a year of "great political turmoil" surrounding the formation of the Republican party, he was

elected president of the senate by unanimous vote.⁵³ In a posthumous assessment of his performance as a politician, the Whig and Courier wrote: "While in the Legislature he was not a frequent speaker. His speeches were concise, clear and forcible, and commanded the attention of the members. He was there, as in other positions, a working man, and had great influence in shaping the course of legislation."⁵⁴ That Muzzy was described as "a working man" was significant, suggesting a man who, despite his impressive achievements, held steadfastly to the artisan ethic of industry and productivity.

In its eulogy, the Whig and Courier described Franklin Muzzy in the highest terms, referring to his honesty, intelligence, generosity, and ambition.⁵⁵ Even the R.G.Dun & Co. reports made reference to Muzzy's "high character" in reviewing the company's credit rating.⁵⁶ Ambitious but not greedy, Muzzy combined skill and industry to take advantage of an expanding economy during these years. But wealth was not his goal.⁵⁷ Muzzy revealed his attitude towards money in a letter to his wife: "We know dear Caroline that our happiness does not depend on wealth but on other and higher and holier objects...."⁵⁸ Instead of spending his life on acquiring a huge fortune, he turned his considerable energy to the concerns of the mechanics and the larger community.

Muzzy was not the large industrial capitalist with whom we so often identify the process of industrialization, those "traders of traditional artisan values."⁵⁹ He never abandoned his artisan roots and was remembered for his continued respect for the trades. The comment that "he had a high appreciation of the dignity of the profession of a mechanic" was more than just eulogistic generalization.⁶⁰ Muzzy's continued support for artisan interests is evidenced by his lifelong membership in the Bangor Mechanics Association, his involvement in the ten-hour movement, his interest in apprentice education, and a life dedicated to industry and self-improvement. His concern for the mechanic community reflects the values which many artisan entrepreneurs brought to the industrial process, and helps explain the lack of antagonistic class relations in antebellum Bangor.

Muzzy is buried in beautiful Mt. Hope Cemetery. The pride of nineteenth-century Bangor, the enormous garden cemetery abounds with quiet ponds, grassy hills, and countless monuments of impressive size situated on gentle slopes shaded by old trees. In a prominent area overlooking the Penobscot River and located centrally between the two ornate entrances are the monuments of nineteenth-century Bangor's most successful merchant-lumbermen: Samuel F. Hersey, George P. Stetson, Hastings Strickland, Rufus Dwinel, and Samuel Veazie; and the city's famous attorney, Hannibal Hamlin, Lincoln's vice-president. Here among these prominent men lies Franklin Muzzy, craftsman, businessman, and one of Bangor's most respected citizens. Bridging the gap between the traditional artisan world and the newly emerging industrial system, artisan entrepreneurs like Muzzy provided stability and coherence during a time of profound change.

Notes

¹Franklin Muzzy to Caroline Muzzy, June 15, 1836, Bangor Historical Society (hereafter, BHS), Bangor, Maine.

²Alan Dawley, Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 25.

³Susan E. Hirsch, "From Artisan to Manufacturer: Industrialization and the Small Producer in Newark, 1830-60," in Stuart W. Bruchey, ed., Small Business in American Life (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 80.

⁴Sean Wilentz warns against this characterization in Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850 (London: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 11.

⁵Studies of artisan conflict and decline include Dawley, Class and Community; Paul Faler, Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, 1780-1860 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981); Wilentz, Chants Democratic; and Bruce Laurie, Working People of Philadelphia, 1800-1850 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980).

⁶Norman J. Ware, The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860: The Reaction of American Industrial Society to the Advance of the Industrial Revolution (1924; reprint, Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964), p. xix.

⁷Gary Kornblith, "The Craftsman as Industrialist: Jonas Chickering and the Transformation of American Piano Making," Business History Review 59 (Autumn 1985): 368. See also his larger work, "From Artisans to Businessmen: Master Mechanics in New England, 1789-1850," Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1983.

⁸For a fuller discussion of the lack of class conflict among Bangor's antebellum artisans, see Carol

Toner, "Persisting Traditions: The Artisan Community in Bangor, Maine, 1820-1860," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Maine, 1989.

⁹Franklin Muzzy, Critical Early Years in the Life of Franklin Muzzy, Told by Himself, ed. by John Crosby, F.M. Crosby, and Caroline M. Fuller (Minneapolis: Harrison & Smith, 1927).

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 16-17.

¹¹Gardiner Lyceum, Gardiner, Maine, collection of unpublished manuscripts including the history and records of the Gardiner Lyceum, Special Collections, Fogler Library, University of Maine. See also Neil E. Stevens, "America's First Agricultural School," Scientific Monthly 13 (December 1921): 531-40.

¹²Muzzy, Critical Early Years, p. 20.

¹³Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 26-27.

¹⁸Maine Working Men's Advocate, June 19, 1833.

¹⁹U.S. Census and City of Bangor Tax Inventories.

²⁰The Bangor City Directory (Bangor, Maine: James Burton, Jr., 1834). As nineteenth-century directories frequently left out many journeymen, the actual number of artisans would have been greater than indicated here.

²¹Whig and Courier, November 5, 1873.

²²Franklin Muzzy to Caroline Muzzy, March 24, 1841, BHS.

²³Muzzy, Critical Early Years, p. 6.

²⁴Whig and Courier, November 5, 1873.

²⁵Ibid., March 8, 1843.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Bangor Tax Inventory, 1844; "Franklin Muzzy and Co.," R.G. Dun & Co., vol. 22, p. 60.

²⁸While Muzzy's shop was large by Bangor's standards, it was still small when compared to shops in larger cities. One Boston machine shop, the Corlis, Nightengale and Company, employed 400 men when in full operation and claimed to be the largest machine shop in the country. A number of other Boston machine shops and foundries employed over 100 workers, a significantly larger scale than Bangor's. See Kornblith, "From Artisans to Businessmen," p. 221. This smaller scale in Bangor helps explain the persistence of artisan traditions. See Toner, "Persisting Traditions," chapter seven.

²⁹The Bangor Directory (Bangor: Samuel S. Smith, 1855).

³⁰James H. Mundy, Presidents of the Senate from 1820 (Augusta, Me.: Secretary of the Senate of Maine, 1979), n.p.

³¹Bangor Mechanics Association, Minute Books, 1832-1860.

³²Ibid.

³³Franklin Muzzy to Caroline Muzzy, March 24, 1841, BHS.

³⁴Bangor Democrat, May 8, 1847.

³⁵The entire resolution was printed in Bangor Whig and Courier, May 8, 1847; Bangor Democrat, May 8, 1847; and Bangor Mercury, May 11, 1847.

³⁶Resolution.

³⁷Norman Ware argues that some ten-hour legislation was passed to "avoid trouble." See Industrial Worker, p. 145. Also, Gordon Marshall refers to the ability of employers generally to "win over" the workers, thereby "undermining the formation of working-class consciousness." See In Search of the Spirit of Capitalism: An Essay on Max Weber's Protestant Ethic Thesis (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), pp. 263-301.

³⁸Herbert Gutman recognized that small businessmen, as well as other segments of the middle class, often supported workers in their struggle against employers. See "The Workers' Search for Power," in The Gilded Age, ed. by H. Wayne Morgan (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971), p. 38.

³⁹Revised Statutes of the State of Maine, chapter 82, section 36 (Bangor: Wheeler & Lynde, 1857), p. 520.

⁴⁰Bangor Mechanic and Farmer, March 29, 1838; Bangor Whig and Courier, November 5, 1873.

⁴¹Bangor Whig and Courier, November 5, 1873.

⁴²Elevation of Mechanics: Five Addresses to the Mechanics of Maine (Bangor: Smith and Sayward, 1842), p. 110.

⁴³Franklin Muzzy to Caroline Muzzy, January 12, 1842, BHS.

⁴⁴Franklin Muzzy to Caroline Muzzy, January 17, 1855, BHS.

⁴⁵Bangor Mechanics Association, Government Records, January 14, 1855; Bangor Mechanics Association Minute Books, October 3, 1834.

⁴⁶Bangor Whig and Courier, November 5, 1873.

⁴⁷Henry A. Ford, ed., History of Penobscot County, Maine (Cleveland: Williams, Chase, and Co., 1882), p. 741.

⁴⁸For a discussion of mechanics as reformers, see Mary P. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), chapter 3. Also, Norman Ware refers to a widespread belief among people at this time that society was malleable, "capable of being made over." See Ware, Industrial Worker, p. 19.

⁴⁹Franklin Muzzy to Caroline Muzzy, January 12, 1855, BHS.

⁵⁰Caroline Muzzy to Franklin Muzzy, February 9, 1854, BHS.

⁵¹Caroline Muzzy to Franklin Muzzy, January 22, 1853, BHS.

⁵²East Maine Kansas Aid Society, collection of documents relating to the society, in the William Chase Crosby Collection, Special Collections, Fogler Library, University of Maine.

⁵³Mundy, Presidents of the Senate, n.p.

⁵⁴Bangor Whig and Courier, November 5, 1873.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶"Franklin Muzzy and Co.," R.G. Dun & Co., vol. 22, p. 60.

⁵⁷In his study of Jonas Chickering, Gary Kornblith urges a balance between naivete and cynicism when assessing the motivations of artisan entrepreneurs. He writes that while many studies see the masters as opportunists, historians should "be careful not to reduce the drama of the Industrial Revolution to a morality play." Many artisans were motivated to perfect craft skills as much as to increase profits. See "Craftsman as Industrialist," p. 365. ⁵⁸Franklin Muzzy to Caroline Muzzy, March 6, 1841, BHS.

⁵⁹Hirsch, "From Artisan to Manufacturer," p. 85.

⁶⁰Bangor Whig and Courier, November 5, 1873.