SETTLING THE MAINE WILDERNESS

Moses Greenleaf, Maine's First Mapmaker

LESSON 13 *Historic Land Use & Distribution*

SUBJECT

Exploration of the economic use of land in Maine in the 19th century, and how land was distributed during Maine's early history, both before and after it became a state.

STUDENTSWILL

- Identify patterns of land use in the 19th century
- Explain how land use affected the people and economy of Maine
- Explain the connections between industry, natural resources, population, and economic development
- Explain historic land distribution in Maine
- Explain Moses Greenleaf's attitudes about land use

VOCABULARY *see note regarding Vocabulary in "How to Use" section*

litigation, state revenue, plantation, commonwealth, land grants, land charters, land claims, land sales, land distribution

PREPARATION

1. Review the maps for this lesson from the *Maine Bicentennial Atlas*: Plate 32, "Maine Agricultural Areas;" Plate 33, "Maine: 1872 Lumbering;" Plate 34, "Maine: 1880-1881 Mining;" Plate 35, "Maine: 1880-1881 Quarrying;" Plate 7, "Maine: 1620-1664 Grants & Charters;" Plate 10, "Grants & Charters to 1829;" Plate 68, "Principal Original Grants & Sales of Land in the State of Maine" (a Greenleaf map from 1829).

2. Copy the readings "Exploration, Land Claims, and Land Grants, 1600-1700" and "Land Grants and Land Sales in Maine made by Massachusetts, 1700-1830."

3. Copy the maps onto transparencies for overhead projection, or locate an LCD projector for viewing the maps digitally. Make copies for the students, or have them view the maps on laptops.

4. Read and make copies of the worksheets for the Jig Saw activity, "Table II. List of Academies" from page 367 of *A Survey of the State of Maine*, and pages 74, 77-78, 83-84, 100-101, 128 (Appendix III), 129 (Appendix IV) from *Settling the Maine Wilderness.*

BODY OF LESSON

Activity 1.

View and discuss the maps from the *Maine Bicentennial Atlas* showing agricultural, lumbering, mining, and quarrying use of Maine lands in the 1800s (plates 32, 33, 34, and 35). Discuss how these uses of Maine land contributed to Maine's economy, and whether these practices would be sustainable over time. **(Knowledge, Comprehension, Application, Analysis)**

Activity 2.

Pass out the readings on historic land distribution. Read the material individually or in class. While viewing the maps from plates 7, 10 and 68 from the *Maine Bicentennial Atlas* and the information in Table II from *A Survey of Maine* (pp. 367-8), discuss the different ways that people have come to own land in the area that is now the state of Maine. Include the early days of Native American and early settler claims, land grants and charters from Kings or other governing bodies, and sales by individuals or the state.

Note that land was sold to individuals who wanted to establish new towns, farm, or develop an industry such as lumbering, quarrying, or mining. Land was also granted to academic institutions as a source of revenue. **(Knowledge, Comprehension)**

Questions for Discussion:

1. How was land distributed in Maine both before and after it became a state?

2. Why did people buy land in the 19th century?

3. Who purchased the land, and what was it used for?

4. What characteristics defined a good piece of land?

Activity 3.

Jig Saw activity as follows: Divide the students into three home groups and assign each student within the group a number from 1 to 6. Pass out the Greenleaf readings as indicated on the Jig Saw worksheets, and have the students follow the directions to complete the assignment. **(Analysis, Evaluation)**

ASSESSMENT

By rubric and performance on the above activities and the final essay question

EXTENSIONS

1. Study land claims by Native Americans.
2. Research the history of land use by Native Americans.
3. Investigate historic land use issues discussed by the Maine Legislature.
4. Compare and contrast Maine's land use to another state's land use.
5. Create maps of other countries showing land use.

Jig Saw Activity

Home Group # _____ Date: _____

Directions:

Read the information from *Settling the Maine Wilderness* as indicated by the number you were assigned. Record your names next to your reading assignment on this worksheet. After reading the materials, meet with the students from the other groups that share your reading assignment, and work together to record what you each learned on the graphic organizer. When you are finished, bring the information back to your home group and work together to complete the worksheet with questions.

Student #1 (page 74) _____

Student #2 (page 77-78) _____

Student #3 (page 83-84) _____

Student #4 (page 100-101) _____

Student #5 (page 128) _____

Student #6 (page 129) _____

Graphic Organizer

Name: _____ Date: _____

Use the following graphic organizer to record what you learned in your readings and from your discussions with others who read the same material. (Note: Your individual reading may not cover all three of the topics listed below.) These are your notes for presenting the information to your home group.

Moses Greenleaf's attitudes about land use and distribution	**How land was distributed during the early 19th century**	**Key issues in land use and distribution in Maine**

[Teacher's Answers]

Moses Greenleaf's attitudes about land use and distribution	How land was distributed during the early 19th century	Key issues in land use and distribution in Maine
[pp. 83-84] Government should encourage land development so that all classes of people could grow in wealth, and the state could then become independent. **Greenleaf opposed the modern practice of the accumulation of personal wealth** **Greenleaf believed that the development of public land, transportation and education is an investment in the future** **He believed that banks were willing to support development** **He believed that taxes on lumber companies should be used to help develop the land and people** **He thought that the sale of public land and its produce would help future generations, and should be the government's first order of business** **Transportation and education are important to the state's independence** **[p. 100] He believed that land was the chief resource and proper management was important** **[p. 128] Greenleaf felt that land should be sold to attract families to increase the population** **[p. 128] Greenleaf felt that land had value as a way to increase the population in an area**	**[p. 100] North of Williamsburg there were 8-9 million acres of unsold forestland in 1820.** **[p. 128] Around 1815, there were 4,850,356 acres in towns and plantations, 4,252,298 acres had been sold, but not developed, and 11,779,700 acres belonged to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts** **[p. 100] Non-resident owners were exploiting Maine. The state was too quick to sell land. This was a time of huge lumber barons and wealthy land barons. Placing large tracts of land into the hands of a few people had a negative impact on the economy.**	**[pp. 83-84]** **Maine has the people to make it economically sound only if government encourages development** **The role of the legislature should be a pathfinder to providing for its own means** **Government should help people toward convenience and happiness** **People are afraid of public debt and are conservative in decision making** **Development cannot be left to the local level; it must be done on the state level** **[p. 129] Settlements in the interior develop slowly. The first settlers were usually wealthy. Land ownership brought the power to be heard and respected. States have a direct interest in selling and developing land for future revenue.** **[p. 129] Different classes bought land for different reasons: immigrants wanted to live on the land and prosper; the wealthy bought land because it was cheap and they visualized future development**

Student Worksheet
Jig Saw Activity

Home Group # _____ Name:_____ Date: _____

Directions: Using the information you learned and recorded on the graphic organizer, work together with your home group to answer the following questions about Moses Greenleaf's philosophy on land distribution.

1. What were Moses Greenleaf's views about land distribution in Maine?

2. What were Greenleaf's concerns about the future of Maine in the 19th century?

3. Why is it important to study Greenleaf's philosophy of land distribution?

Jig Saw/Writing Assignment Rubric

Name: Date: Class:

Assignment:

1. **Overall Development:** the overall effort of the paper.

1	2	3	4	5
LOW * Not developed * Poor awareness Of audience & task * Lacks clarity				**HIGH** * Well developed * Clear Awareness of audience & task * Original thinking

2. **Organization:** the degree to which the response is focused and clearly and logically ordered according to the assignment.

1	2	3	4	5
LOW * Lack of organization and focus; resembles free writing * Lack of opinion, transitions or conclusion sentence				**HIGH** * Well organized * Clear focus & logical order * Topic Sentence is strong opinion; good use of transitions; conclusion wraps up without repeating.

3. **Support:** the degree to which the response includes examples which support and develop the main point.

1	2	3	4	5
LOW * Virtually no details, too few details, or irrelevant details				**HIGH** * Supporting details are rich, interesting, and full * Details are relevant and appropriate for the focus

4. **Sentence Structure:** the degree to which the response includes sentences that are (a) complete and correct and (b) varied in structure and length.

1	2	3	4	5
LOW * Many errors in sentence Structure/grammar * Simple or repetitious Sentence structure				**HIGH** * Virtually no errors in sentence structure or usage * Varies sentence structure

5. **Word Choice: vocabulary**, word choice, usage.

1	2	3	4	5
LOW * Simplistic vocabulary and language * Incorrect usage				**HIGH** * Rich, effective vocabulary and fresh, vivid language * Correct usage

6. **Mechanics:** Spelling, punctuation, capitalization.

1	2	3	4	5

In 1452, the Catholic Pope issued a decree that a Christian king or queen could claim any land not controlled or occupied by another Christian ruler. Thus, in 1492, Christopher Columbus arrived in the New World and took possession of the land in the name of the King and Queen of Spain.

In the early 1600s, other European nations sent out explorers to locate and lay claims to new lands. The next step was to establish settlements. England, France and Spain all explored the coast of Maine, but only England and France made claims to the land and attempted to settle it.

The Europeans did not believe the Native Americans had a valid claim to the land since they were not Christians, did not build permanent settlements, and migrated seasonally from place to place. However, the Europeans did sometimes make agreements with the Native Americans to use or purchase land. (In 1980, the Maine Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, and Micmac tribes settled a suit against the State of Maine for the lands taken from them, in return for a settlement of $81,500,000 which could be used to purchase land in Maine.)

When a European nation claimed land, it became the property of the king or queen of the nation. Kings and queens rarely had the funds to create a colony, so they gave grants of land to wealthy persons or companies who then had the responsibility of building settlements. The land grants were usually large, and the owners then often made smaller grants of their land to other persons who then built settlements. The persons who actually built the settlements then either gave or sold individual plots to settlers.

The first English grant of land in Maine was given to Sir Ferdinando Gorges in 1622. In 1629, additional grants were made, including one to the Plymouth Colony. In 1651, the Massachusetts Bay Colony took over all of Maine, buying out the Gorges heirs, and the colony held it until Maine became a state in 1820.

[Information from: Steve Newcomb, "Pagans in the Promised Land," American Indian Alliance, www.ailanyc.org; Richard W. Judd, ed., *Maine: The Pine Tree State from Prehistory to the Present* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1995), p.582; Gerald E. Morris, ed., *The Maine Bicentennial Atlas: An Historical Survey* (Portland: Maine Historical Society, 1976), p. 2.]

Land Grants and Land Sales in Maine made by Massachusetts, 1700-1853

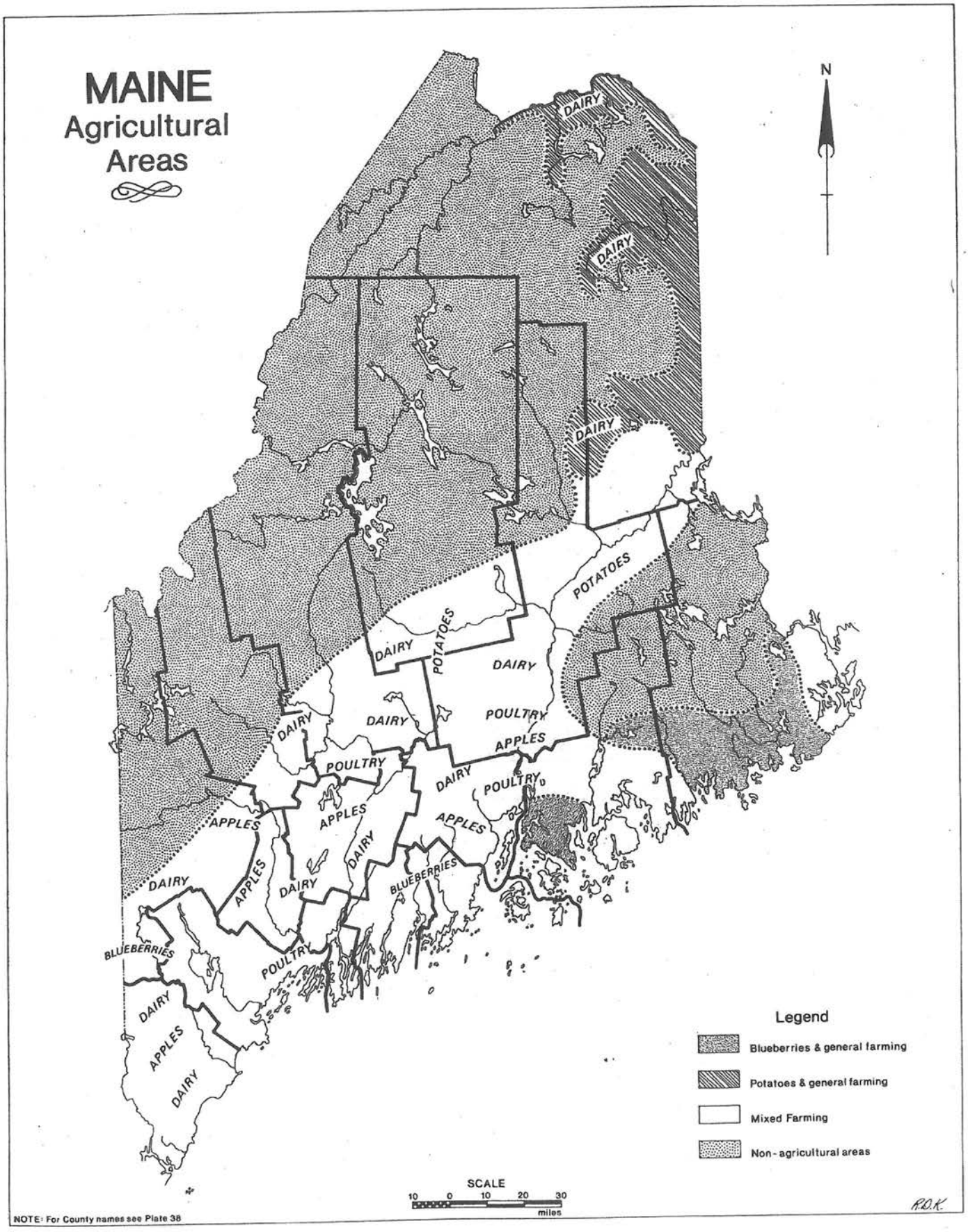
The overwhelming majority of English colonists did not believe that land should be owned by the government. Rather they felt that it ought to be placed in the hands of private individuals or companies who would divide it up and sell it to individual settlers as quickly as possible.

To accomplish this, Massachusetts continued the practice of the kings and queens of England, making large grants of land to wealthy individuals and companies whose responsibility it was to settle the land. However, there were some variations on this approach. Massachusetts gave grants of townships in Maine to companies of militiamen who had fought in the French and Indian wars and in the American Revolution. Massachusetts also gave townships to support academies and colleges, and sometimes to support transportation improvements, such as canals. The land would be sold to individuals and the proceeds given to the institution.

After the American Revolution, Massachusetts was in debt, and attempted to sell as much land as possible to pay off the debt. In 1783, Massachusetts began selling land in Maine in large lots. One scheme used was a land lottery, where winners could receive as much as an entire township of land, and every person who purchased a ticket was guaranteed to win at least a portion of a township. In 1795, 150 townships were sold or granted.

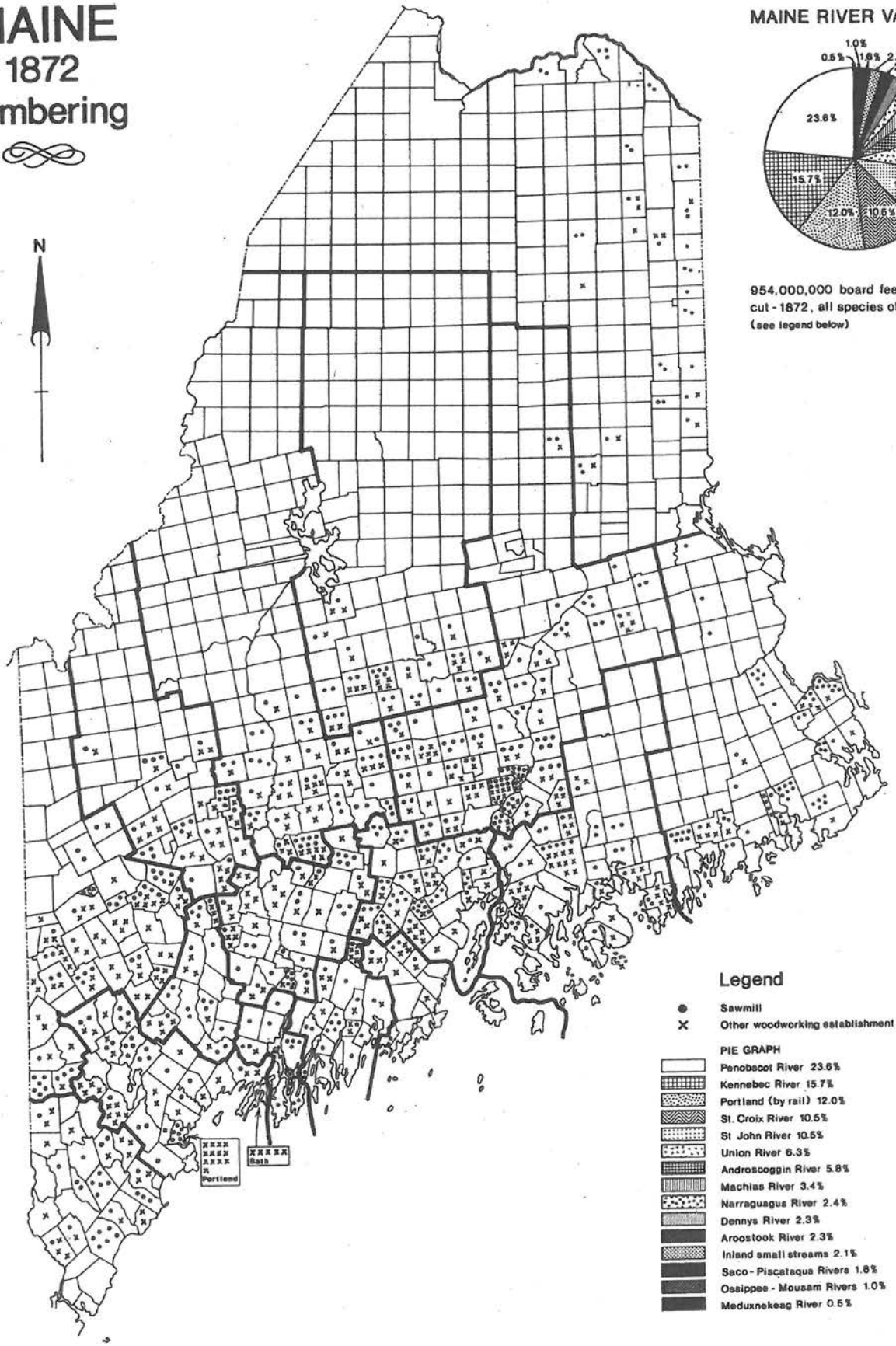
When Maine separated from Massachusetts in 1820, the unsold public land was divided between the two states. Massachusetts offered to sell its half to Maine, but Maine's leaders did not feel the new state could afford to purchase it. Thus, both states sold land in Maine, often at different prices, until Maine finally purchased the Massachusetts land in 1853.

[Information drawn from Richard G. Wood, *A History of Lumbering in Maine, 1820-1861* (1935; reprinted, Orono: University of Maine Press, 1961), pp. 48, 49, 54.]

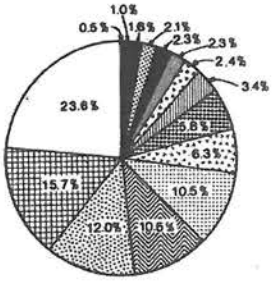


Text on page 16

MAINE
1872
Lumbering



MAINE RIVER VALLEYS



954,000,000 board feet of lumber cut - 1872, all species of tree.
(see legend below)

Legend

- Sawmill
- Other woodworking establishment

PIE GRAPH

- Penobscot River 23.6%
- Kennebec River 15.7%
- Portland (by rail) 12.0%
- St. Croix River 10.5%
- St John River 10.5%
- Union River 6.3%
- Androscoggin River 5.8%
- Machias River 3.4%
- Narraguagus River 2.4%
- Dennys River 2.3%
- Aroostook River 2.3%
- Inland small streams 2.1%
- Saco - Piscataqua Rivers 1.6%
- Ossippee - Mousam Rivers 1.0%
- Meduxnekeag River 0.5%

ROK

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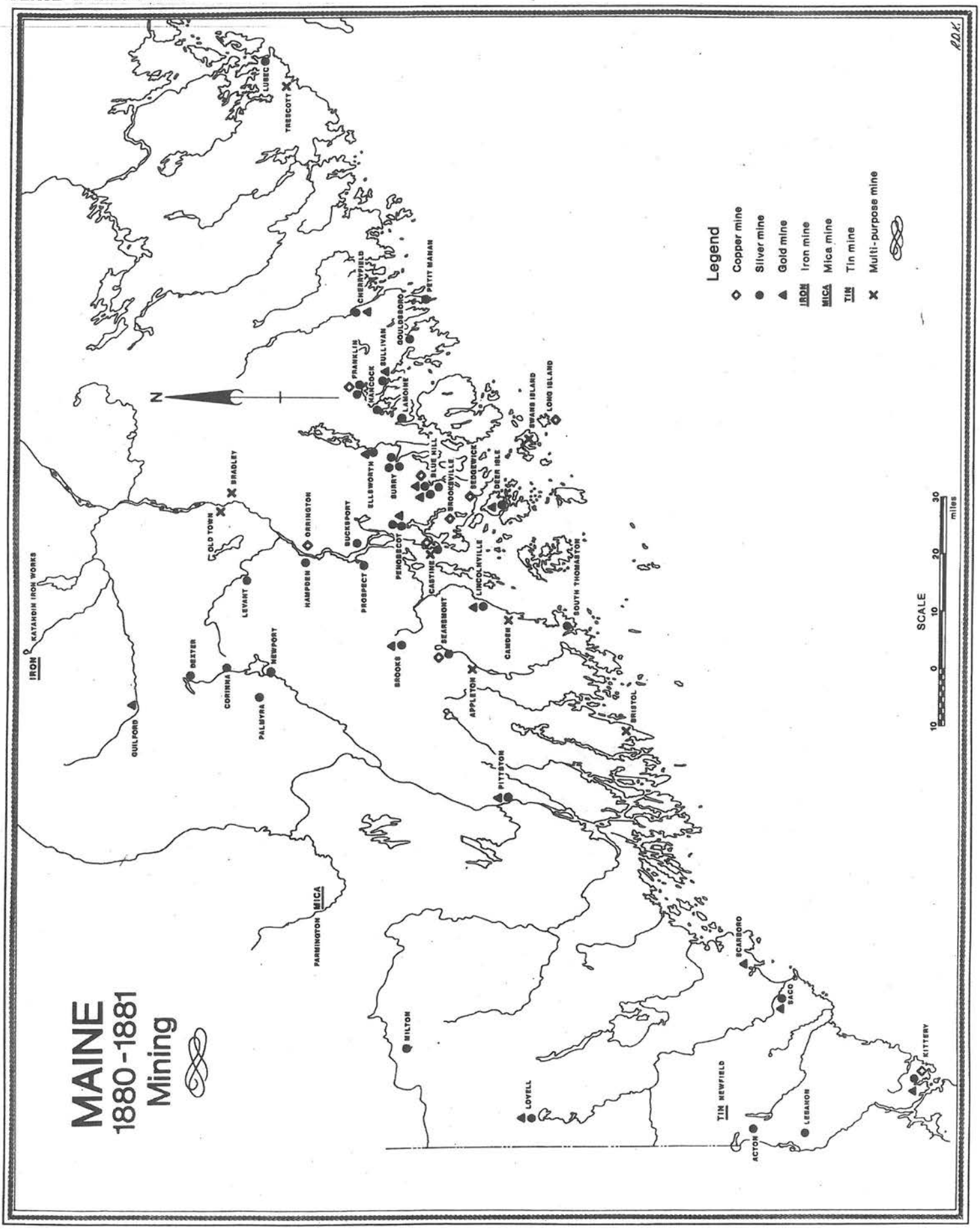

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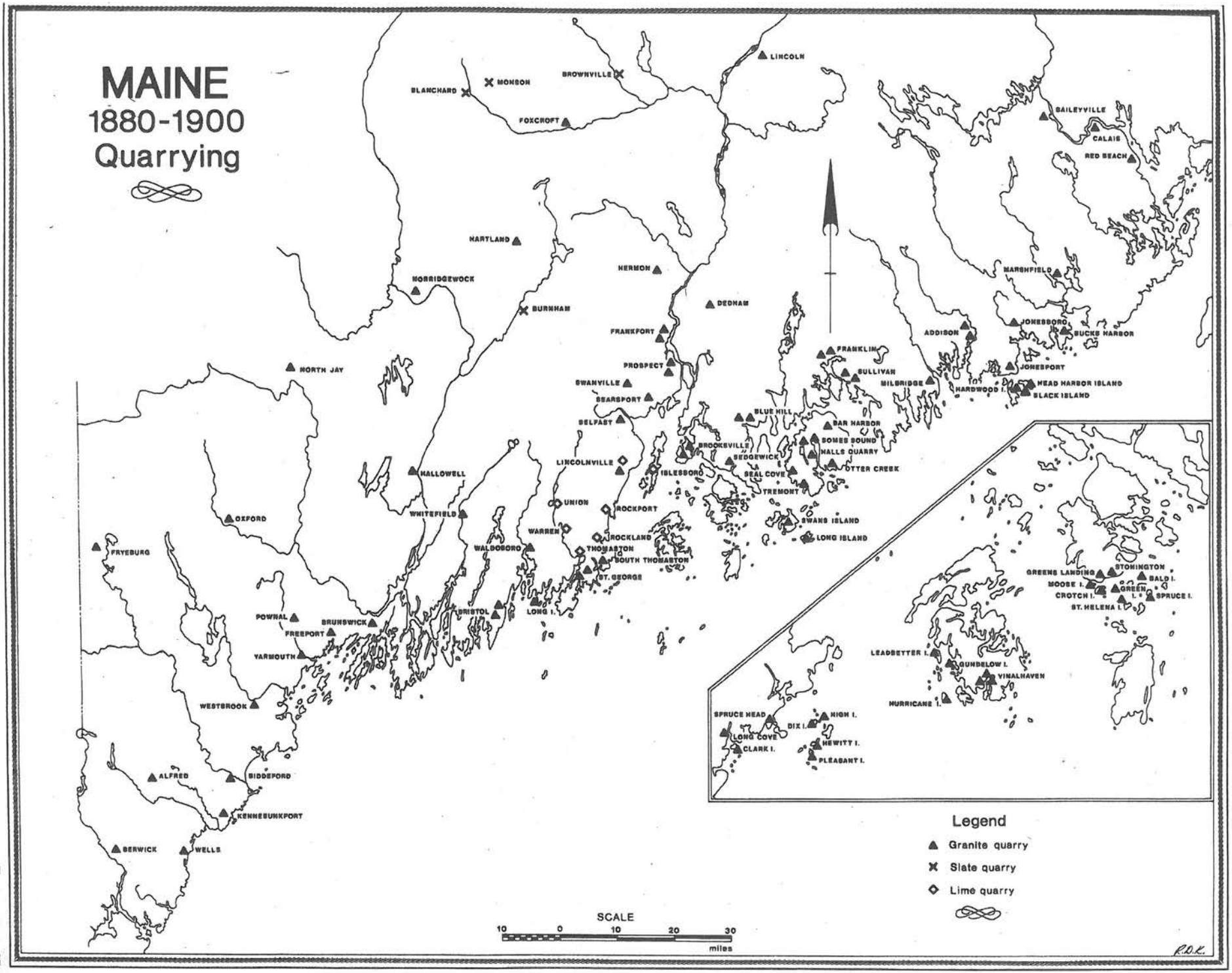

PLATE THIRTY-FIVE

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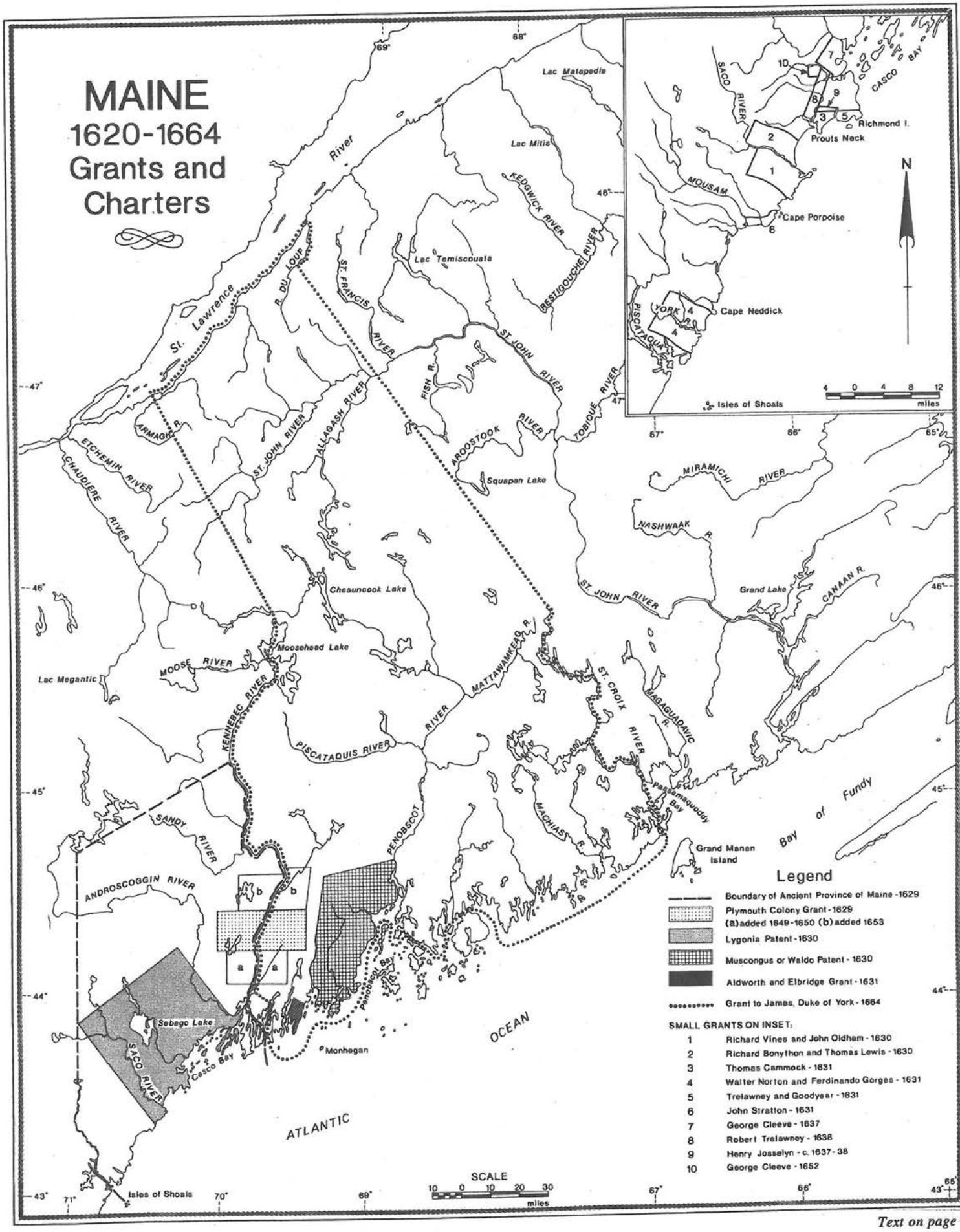

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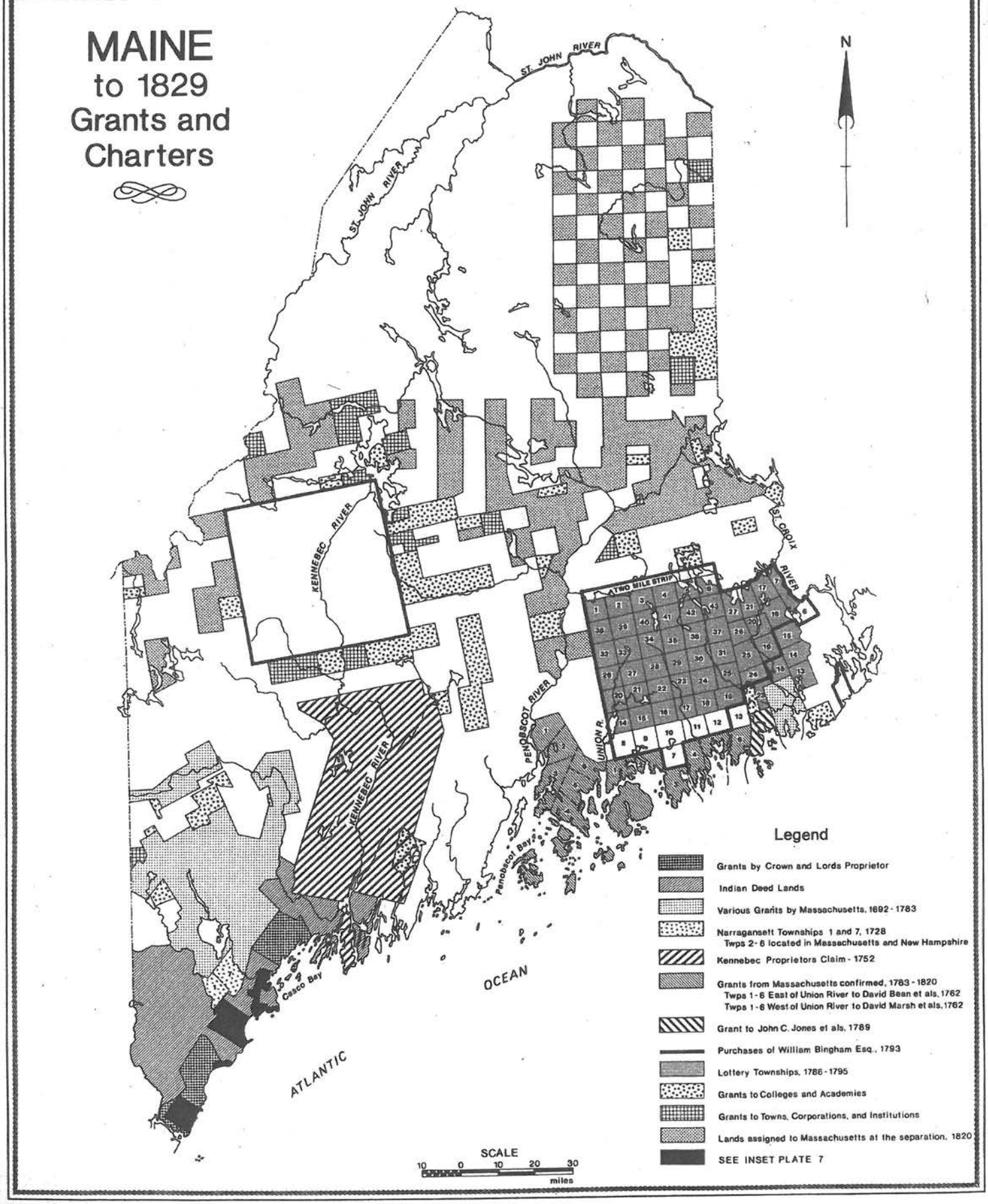

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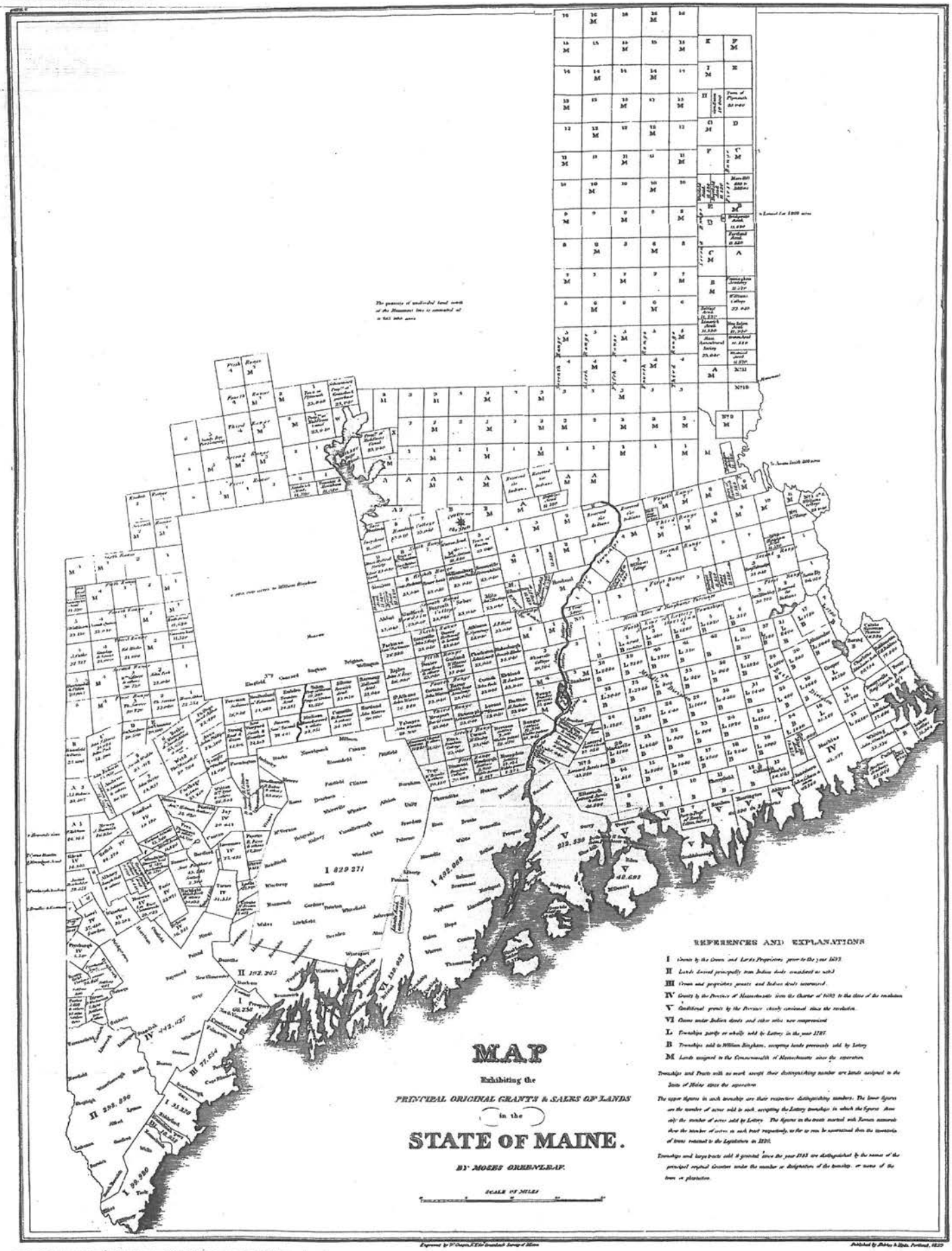

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TABLE II.

List of Academies, with the date of their incorporation, and amount of endowments by the Legislature.

NAME & PLACE	Date of Incorporation	Am. of land grant
Berwick at South Berwick	11th March, 1791	23.040 acres
Hallowell—Hallowell	5th March, 1791	23.040
Fryeburgh—Fryeburgh	9th Feb'y. 1792	12.000
Washington—Machias	7th March, 1792	23.040
Portland—Portland	24th Feb'y. 1794	11.520
Lincoln—New Castle	23rd Feb'y. 1801	11.520
Gorham—Gorham	5th March, 1803	11.520
Hampden	7th March, 1803	11.520
Bluehill—Bluehill	8th March, 1803	11.520
Hebron—Hebron	10th Feb'y. 1804	11.520
Bath—Bath	6th March, 1805	11.520
Farmington—Farmington	18th Feb'y. 1807	11.520
Bloomfield—Bloomfield	18th Feb'y. 1807	11.520
Warren—Warren	25th Feb'y. 1808	11.520
Belfast—Belfast	29th Feb'y. 1808	11.520
Bridgetown—Bridgetown	8th March, 1808	11.520
Bath, Female—Bath	11th March, 1808	11.520
Limerick—Limerick	17th Nov. 1808	11.520
Monmouth—Monmouth	19th June, 1808	11.520 upw.
Thornton—Saco	16th Feb'y. 1811	11.520
North Yarmouth—N. Yarmouth	4th Feb'y. 1811	11.520
Young Ladies—Bangor	27th Jan'y. 1818	11.520
Cony, Female—Augusta	10th Feb'y. 1818	11.520
China—China	12th June, 1818	11.520
Foxcroft—Foxcroft	31st Jan'y. 1823	11.520
Brunswick—Brunswick	23rd Jan'y. 1823	
Anson—Anson	8th Feb'y. 1823	
Oxford, Female—Paris	7th Feb'y. 1827	

The grants made by the Legislature to the several Academies, have been only in wild land, and, with but few exceptions, the amount of the grant to each has been equal. The actual value, however, realized by the several institutions, from the sale of their lands, has been very various; owing to the different value of the soil or situations where they have located them, and to more or less favorable circumstances under which they have sold them.

Some of the Academies have also funds arising from private

donations, and these, with the different sums realized from the lands granted by the Legislature, produce a very considerable difference between the available annual income of different Academies, and of course in their comparative usefulness.

To ascertain, as far as practicable, the amount of the actual funds of each Academy, with some indications, also, of the extent of its usefulness, inquiries have been addressed to gentlemen near, or connected with, each Academy in the State; answers to a part of which have been received; and from these, with an abstract from the returns made to the Legislature, in obedience to a resolve of February 1828, so far as they have been yet received, are deduced the statements in

welcomed the scope with which the issues were presented.[6] The gravity of the situation demanded a wide perspective based on general principles, as well as specific fact. After 1791 Massachusetts had no prospects to the west; her chance for expansion was "downeast" in a district that was, as one of her governors was to put it, populated by the "bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh."[7] First on the commonwealth's agenda should be the population of a land that had good agricultural potential, was equal in power opportunities, and surpassed the rest of Massachusetts in its position for fishing and international trade. Flesh and bone, dollars and cents were the issues Moses drove home with his facts and conclusions; and it was the latter, the dollars and the cents, that would most impress the average legislator and the proprietor. Three-fourths of the district lay either unsold or in the hands of private speculators. The relative value of this land depended on the rate of settlement. The value could be a little under two million dollars or well over ten million—it all depended on the actions taken.

Moses saw the relative value of land as fixed by need and scarcity and pointed out that the "demand occasioned by the increase of population may be considered as paramount to all other influences on the market value of wild lands."[8] The land's "intrinsic value" must be based upon its ability to produce once it was under cultivation. To establish a conservative estimate of intrinsic value, Moses chose land used for grazing and hay production. The value of a piece of land would be worth whatever capital, invested at 6 percent, it would take to produce the same net income as that provided by that land (see appendix 3). The figure so derived was twenty-seven dollars per acre. So much for the intrinsic value, but the relative value would not reach "anything near this figure as long as the land remained in the hands of the large proprietor":

> On the contrary, the longer it is to remain in his hands the less its present worth to him or to anyone. The flux of immigration has never, in the best of times, been so great, nor the price increasing so fast, in any average township, as that the proceeds of the sales, with compound interest, would eventually amount to a sum the present worth of which, or rather the worth at the time of commencing the settlement, exceeds two dollars per acre on the whole township and in most cases would fall much short of it.[9]

In fact, the reports of the Committee on the Sale of Eastern Lands, when adjusted to the interest involved, showed that the average selling price was closer to fifty-eight cents.[10]

The relative value would be the same as the intrinsic value only when all the land in a particular area is occupied in parcels sufficient for the maintenance of one family. Scrutinizing the data from populated areas, Greenleaf concluded that the population density at this point would be one family to every 160 acres. When this figure was reached, farmers would "begin to feel a little anxiety," and land would be "retained with too much tenacity to be obtained by the poorer classes."[11] Yet before this point had been reached, the population density would be sufficient to cause some emigration. There were many factors involved in this effect of people pressure:

> It may be rationally supposed, that in countries situated like the United States, a part of the inhabitants of any state or section will begin to migrate to some other when the average population approaches to some certain degree of density. This degree will vary with the circumstances and situation of the different States affording the surplus, and the encouragement offered to immigrants in the places which are open for their reception. Those States which are commercial and manufacturing, as well as agricultural, will . . . furnish the comforts and luxuries of life to a much greater population, than those . . . chiefly agricultural; and among those which are principally agricultural, it will be found that where the most improved method of cultivation is pursued; the land most equally divided among all classes of people; farms most easily and securely transferred from one to another; and laws and habits of the people the least favorable to the monopolies of over-grown landlords; the drains upon the population will not commence so early...[12]

In general, a population density of forty persons per square mile appeared to be sufficient to produce migration. Armed with this figure, and the average

proprietor or nonresident capitalist had rightly become an anathema to Maine people.

As Greenleaf noted, proprietorship in Maine began either on a basis "something akin to the ancient feudal principles," or for the purposes of "establishing a trade in the furs, lumber, and fish, with which the country and its shores abounded." Much had been expended, most of which was "fruitless and without doubt injudicious: yet some good resulted in encouraging the settlement of the country, and in assisting the inhabitants to the means of a livelihood."[22]

As it had been with the owners of the original grants, it was apparent that a large proportion of the new nonresident proprietors had motives much like their predecessors and that both might be considered predators. Moses groups the nonresident owners of large tracts of land into three categories. First there were those who were "apparently indifferent as to the sale or improvement of their lands, [and who] expend nothing, or next to nothing, for the opening of them to settlers . . . and [who] seem to expect . . . that the usual course of population, or the exertions of others, will effect the sale and settlement of theirs without any expenditure or trouble of their own." Second were those who "make some advances, to which sometimes they gradually add considerable sums for the purposes of opening roads, building bridges, mills, etc. for the accommodation of the settlers" and who consequently "tend to very much increase the value of their lands" and generally leave "permanent benefit behind." Finally there were those who "expend large sums, not only in making roads and other permanent fixtures, which yield no direct revenue; but in clearing and cultivating the land." In some cases these proprietors expended more than the mere sale of land at its present worth would return. The end result of such stewardship was to make their acreage truly valuable and to place the "active capital of the township . . . continually in circulation, inciting and rewarding the productive labor of the inhabitants."[23]

The last group composed a small minority, while the first category, unfortunately, represented the majority. They owned some 160 townships, and unless these nonresident "as a body should materially change their present system of management," they represented a drain from the wealth of the district of $280,000 annually for as long as they owned their land.[24]

In addition to these three categories, proprietors could be further divided into three general groups: those who had purchased their land during the flurry of speculation (1790s) with the hope of quick profits; those who intended their purchases as longer-term investments, less profitable but surer than the chances for profit offered in the mercantile field; and those who had acquired lands as foreclosed securities and thus had little choice but to be unwilling proprietors.[25]

All of these landowners had found less than a financial blessing, and only those who had a real urge to found a town, or who were left with no place else to turn, continued to struggle in this no-profit situation. There was no point in lingering over what-might-have-beens, as Greenleaf pointed out. The decline in immigration, the economic instability, and the throwing of large tracts onto the market and into the hands of private speculators had all worked to lower the sale price and to produce a "laxity" on the part of proprietors.

As the figures in the *Statistical View* demonstrate, even those who had obtained wilderness land at the low figure of twelve cents per acre could not look forward to prosperity under the existing conditions. The belief that those first settlers who had bought land in Maine had made fabulous fortunes turns out to be far from true when seen against a background of existing economic conditions, long-term investment, expenses, and the extremely slow market. Fortunes were not to be made by those who developed the land but rather by those who sought to buy stands of timber and to strip this resource at a final loss to both the public and the state.

Having considered the nonresident and resident proprietor and the problems inherited from past sales and grants, Greenleaf turned once again to the interior of Maine—that "vast accession of wealth and strength to the state" that was always his first and crucial interest. While the situation in the southern half of the district was entailed in the past, the lands of the interior were part of the future. More than sixteen million acres, as Moses figured, were still unsold and linked by a natural system of waterways—the Penobscot, the Allagash, and the great St. John Rivers. This country must be secured for the benefit of both the state and the nation.[26] Overall there was "no

other vacant territory which affords so many advantages of communication with different markets already established and flourishing."[27]

The *Statistical View* ends with a discussion of the resources of the state. It is no surprise to find Moses' attention centered on but two—the unsold land and the people. Less concrete than the factors of taxes and the valuation, but equally important, was the caliber of people who would settle. Without the proper encouragement and development the "consequence must be a slow and tedious progress of the settlements, by persons driven to it by necessity alone."[28]

> The better class of [settlers] will not generally be tempted by the difference of a dollar or two in the price of the acre of land, to settle them-selves in a part of the country where there are no roads, the settlement progressing slowly, and under many hardships and privations; when in another part of the country equally fertile, . . . they may in a short time enjoy the comforts of society, the means of educating their children, and the many advantages, pecuniary, civil, moral, and religious, which flow from a residence in a well-settled country, and among a well-informed and independent community.[29]
>
> Those who were likely to settle were of another sort entirely. They were those who . . . will overlook these advantages for the sake of a paltry difference in the price of land; or, pressed by necessities, will settle only where they can get land cheapest; or else, wholly regardless of every circumstance in their future prospects, save that of mere subsistence, or prompted by an illusory hope of freedom from some of the temporary inconveniences to which they may have been subjected in society, will retreat to the wilderness, where they become useless to the community, and very little better to themselves.[30]

Unless some action was taken, the character of the people within the district of Maine would suffer and that which might have been a joy to the commonwealth would become a liability. Greenleaf pictured the results thus:

> The inhabitants, for a long time, will of course be scattered; too few and poor to provide for the instruction of their children; and unable, careless or indifferent in instructing them themselves. The first generation at least must grow up in ignorance, habituated to disorder, and unaccustomed to the restraints, or the influence and advantages of a well regulated society.[31]

A scant ten years had passed between the time that Moses Greenleaf wrote this and the writing of that letter to his brother-in-law that was so filled with expectations for his own "household of faith" built in the wilderness north of the Piscataquis. This is Moses talking from his own experience and, one would judge, realizing that no household can long remain healthy without a community of faith.

scarcity in an energetic workforce. Moses carefully considered this subject in his chapter on population, and concluded that Maine "ranks higher in physical strength, or productive ability [as compared with total population] than any other of the Atlantic States."[13] The advantage of natural power and the hands to utilize it were present; it all depended upon the proper encouragement and development.

> Maine is as far advanced, and produces as much, as is expedient on the whole, or as its present circumstances and situation require. Should these advantages be properly improved, by a wise and liberal system of internal policy; and proper facilities be rendered, so that all classes of the inhabitants may avail themselves to the utmost, of the opportunities which nature affords; the reciprocally beneficial action of these several pursuits [agriculture, commerce, navigation, and manufactures] upon each other, will render the clearing and improvement of the wild lands, and the exportation or exchanges of the surplus products of the forest, the field, and the sea, and such manufactures as may be produced without disproportionate encouragement, more conducive to the real wealth and independence of the State, and contribute more to the efficient resources of the nation at large than can possibly be experienced from the diversion of the physical energies of the State, in an undue proportion, to the purposes of manufacture, at this early period.[14]

Greenleaf's economic viewpoint is diametrically opposed to the modern policy of charging oneself into prosperity. His envisioned economy was not based upon the production of luxuries or upon a market stimulated by clever appeals to social status. The role of the legislature and the various branches of governmental administration was not to be a pump or a resuscitator, but rather a pathfinder guiding the citizenry toward ways of providing its own means.

Accountability is the keynote of Greenleaf's tenth chapter on public burdens. His assertion that the proper objective of all governmental spending should be "the ultimate end to which the desires and labors of all mankind are directed—convenience and happiness..." strikes a perennial note.[15] There is, however, little common ground between Moses' era and our present burgeoning bureaucracy with its proliferation of agencies, controls, and socialized paternalism.

The state budget of Moses' day reflected a predilection on the part of the people for conservatism and a fear of creating a public debt. That such an attitude prevailed can hardly be doubted when one considers the failure to procure, at an early date, those lands within the state still held by Massachusetts. The importance of this issue was not missed by either the governor or the legislature, but what killed the measure was the cost. Even the committee appointed in 1821 to negotiate the sale felt that the price was higher than expected (the largest item being eight million acres at four cents each) and included in its report to the legislature the following statement: "It is readily admitted, that to encumber our infant State with a public debt, is an evil that ought, unless in cases of necessity, to be avoided."[16] With unfortunate parsimony, the legislature did indeed choose avoidance. Such conservatism was no virtue; in fact, as Moses clearly saw, it was utter folly.

In Greenleaf's opinion, the expenses incurred in the maintenance of a civil structure—or the "guardian expenditures," to use his phrase, that represented the bulk of both state and county budgets—should be "carefully guarded and limited to the least possible sum," as long as that sum was not less "than that which [would] command the talents of the best and ablest men to perform the services required."[17] Unproductive and consumptive expenditures should be curtailed and avoided wherever possible, but such programs as the management and development of the public lands, the building of transportation systems, and the promotion of education were investments in the future that, if judiciously promoted, would by their productive nature vindicate most risks.

Statewide, the greatest productive expenditure was being made upon the town level. There was an advantage in this—an accountability in which the spender was watched by the providing taxpayer.

Such an accountability was particularly appropriate for unproductive and unavoidable consumptive expenses, but the wider responsibilities to the people as a whole, particularly in respect to eradicating inequalities or developing the public land that represented the state's greatest wealth, could not be left to the local level alone.

The conservatism reflected in the state budget was not without some justification. The tax revenues from commerce, that area of Maine's greatest prosperity, belonged to the federal treasury. This being so, the state coffers depended on a direct taxation levied on polls and estates supplemented by a 1 percent tax on banks, and by what Greenleaf termed "taxes on litigation." The first two sources would increase as the prosperity of the state advanced. The banks, which Moses endorsed as a proper means of providing a circulating medium of exchange, should be willing to support development. The source of revenue, those fees and fines of litigation, would hopefully decline and, in any event, would hardly compensate for the expenses of the judicial and penal branches of the government.[18] Such a base did not create a willingness on the part of the citizenry to create public indebtedness.

There was one more source of state revenue—the returns from the sale of lumber cut on the state-owned land and the sale of that land itself. Such returns were no ordinary revenue; rather, they represented a consumption of the "capital stock of the community."

> It needs no argument to prove that the proceeds of the sales of lands and timber, though they have been received, and will still be receivable, for a length of time, perhaps for many years, yet they possess no part of the character of permanent revenues, or annual incomes, or products. The application, therefore, of these sums, to the purposes of ordinary annual expenditure, introduces a distinct article in the classification, for which no name is thought more appropriate than that of "capital consumed."[19]

Only in cases of undeniably productive expenditures could there be any cause for the consumption of public land. Unless the use of this capital, which belonged to the community as a whole, promised to create a greater capital in the prosperity and productivity of the state, it should remain as a trust for future generations. Putting it more succinctly, the revenues from the sale of public land or its produce should be used to ensure a future habitation on those lands by an industrious, dependable, and productive citizenry. In Moses' mind this was the state's first order of business.

Roads were also high on his list of priorities for development. Perhaps enough has been said earlier in this book to illustrate Greenleaf's crusade for canals, roads, and railways-enough to show that more than the shipping of commerce was involved in his thinking. Roads and education were two expenditures with built-in returns to the well-being of the community. Such expenditures might

> be at times burdensome to some parts of the community; and viewing them as a common concern, in which all are equally interested, and directly or indirectly receive the benefit, there are perhaps no public burdens which are borne so unequally; yet, whatever may be the amount which the people in general may impose upon themselves for these objects, within the limits of their utmost ability to pay, it is eventually no subduction from their wealth or means of enjoyment, but increases them; the expenditure being, in reality, only an exchange of a part of their present labor, for the future attainment.[20]

An entire chapter of the *Survey of Maine* is devoted to education.

> it will be admitted at once, by every intelligent person, that a well educated people possess a moral and physical energy far superior to that to which an ignorant unenlightened people can attain; and that the diffusion of the means of moral and intellectual cultivation, among all classes of the community, and rendering them equally accessible to the children of the poor, as well as of the rich, are the surest methods to perpetuate the privileges inherited from our ancestors. . . . One of the most important principles adopted in the practice of the first

> It's Team Maine vs. the world, and we can and will win. But finally, winning won't be worth the price if we don't hold on to the qualities that bind us to this special place and to each other.

Preserving community and civility, the importance of how we grow, and the crucial role of education all find a prominent place in Governor King's address as they did in Greenleaf's works.

> So this is the vision of Maine's future—widespread opportunity and prosperity, vibrant, livable communities—real communities, . . . and healthy people. It is a vision that is within our grasp, but grasp it we must, for it will not fall into our hands.[2]

Barringer, King, Greenleaf, and all those who are interested in community and civil society know that we human beings rely on vision, commitment, and belief. They also realize that these essentials must be encouraged and sustained through physical, economic, demographic, and political realities. In rounding out this celebration of Greenleaf's work and his dedication to the prosperity of Maine's people, we will review Greenleaf's major concerns and suggest the reasons for their persistent relevancy.

Population

As has been noted, Moses Greenleaf supposed that increasing pressures for land or for work, in both the eastern states and the surrounding Canadian provinces, would produce a steady immigration into Maine. He fully expected that the state's 1970 population (approximately 933,000) would be reached before 1870, and, possibly, should the proper inducement be offered, before 1850. He was especially concerned with the rapidity of increase. Only rapid growth would encourage state government and landholders to make investments that would ensure economic and cultural growth. Too slow settlement might well leave Maine without a place in the future.[3]

Obviously Greenleaf's extrapolations on population increases proved far too optimistic. Data from the years following 1850 show a persistent emigration from the state. This trend, coupled with the loss of many of the state's promising youth to the lure of greater prosperity, has long resulted in a pernicious loss of human resources.[4] Thus Greenleaf's insistence upon the importance of a wise and timely development of the physical and cultural opportunities in Maine as a basis for maintaining a growing, healthy community was very much on target.

Greenleaf was not interested in just numbers; his aim was always quality and the well-being of community. What is the optimum population density for maximizing cultural offerings, physical productivity, and the lessening of necessary governmental expense?[5] If settlement in Maine was to be worthwhile, immigrants who would be of benefit must be attracted through investments in the means for transportation, educational opportunity, and the stimulation of productive occupations. Very similar admonishment can be found in Governor King's 2002 "State of the State Address."

Land Use and Ownership

Land was and is one of Maine's chief resources. Landownership, development, and usage play through Maine's history in the story of private fortunes, public resources, and now in the cause of a "green future."

The land issue is complex. It appears to have been convoluted from the first settlement. Greenleaf certainly found himself in the midst of controversy and sometimes in an awkward position. He was the agent for a nonresident proprietor and, as such, a representative of out-of-state influence. He realized the troubles that such investors faced—the pirating of timber and squatting, for instance. But Moses also had put his roots into the land and had become part of the new state. He saw that outside ownership was an invitation to exploitation of the land and an occasion for selfish and shortsighted commercial development rather than "communitizing."

In Greenleaf's day everything north of his hill in Williamsburg was forest. He hoped to see it settled. Today, with the exception of the farming land in Aroostook, that vast acreage is primarily cut-over land.[6]

There is a great irony in this business of Maine lands. In Greenleaf's day the state was anxious to liquidate its unsold holdings. Now we find the state involved in a program of land acquisition and

concerned with making the most out of the scattered public lots that are the remnants of a grand endowment.[7] In all this, Greenleaf's position deserves careful review. He labored to demonstrate the value of the public lands that remained, adding his voice to those of other public-spirited figures such as Governor Enoch Lincoln. But in the end the legislature yielded to the pressure to keep taxes low—and in too many cases permitted, if not assisted, the profiteering of lumber interests. In 1820 there were between eight and nine million acres left unsold, and in reaction to the panic of the year before, the legislature voted to sell the lots at public auction. Land speculations kept pace with the growing demands for timberlands and often exceeded any such need. Landed families and lumber barons emerged, only to be followed by the mammoth pulp and paper industries, which coalesced the private holdings. Edgar Ring's Forest Commissioner's Report for 1908 told part of the tale. Quoting frequently from Greenleaf, he brought this account up to the last public auction by the state. Philip Coolidge's History of the Maine Woods provided a fuller understanding of land use and ownership during the years between Greenleaf and ourselves. Perhaps one can summarize by simply saying that the placing of such a large proportion of Maine in the hands of relatively few people who were primarily interested in profit has had, as Moses Greenleaf feared, a major and often negative effect on the economy of the state.[8]

Whether it was morally wrong for so few to own so much (an issue raised by many during the first years of statehood), or whether, according to Greenleaf's thesis, equity of opportunity and full economic benefit could only be realized through settlement, may now seem academic. But the issue of land, its use, and its ownership, remains. The living space of the people of Maine now has enticing value in an era when forest, clean water, and a livable environment have become sought-after commodities. To us, as it was for Greenleaf, the land is our chief resource, and its proper use our major concern.

Transportation

Transportation links Maine to the prosperity of the nation. This was as clear to Governor King when he gave his "State of the State Address" in 2002 as it was to Greenleaf. But Moses Greenleaf saw transportation as more than a vital commercial link to the outside world. Transportation was a means of communication within the state as well. The copy of Crabb's Synonyms that Moses used derives communication from communifico, which, Crabb said, signifies "to make common property with another." Communication meant for Greenleaf an enablement through cultural interchange. It is a deterrent against geographical privilege and sectionalism. Despite Maine's many rivers and large lakes, transportation has never been easy here. It is a big country, hilly—even mountainous—with its fair share of swamps and frost heaves.[9] The present and growing expense of maintaining roads, coupled with the rising costs of fossil fuels, bedevils Maine transportation as seriously as stumps and mud holes did in Moses' day. In his last years, he became convinced that railroads were the answer. Perhaps, again, we will find Greenleaf's judgment sound.

Industry and Commerce

Greenleaf's Survey of the State of Maine devotes fourteen pages, including tables, to "Manufactures." As one turns Greenleaf's pages one wonders why he didn't elaborate upon those shining examples of Maine's industry. Why didn't he focus on the fledgling textile mill at Saco, the growing sawmills on the Penobscot, and the long-standing practice of shipbuilding at dozens of sheltered harbors along the coast? To many he may seem blind to the promise of industrialization and the promise of "bigger is better."

A closer investigation shows that he was not only well aware of the increasing role of technology and industry, but also constantly endeavoring to save his own township through participation in manufacturing. Moses knew that the more populous the settlement, the more necessary manufacturing would become. One sentence serves to show Greenleaf's position on industry in his state: "Maine has already made a progress, in general nearly sufficient for its wants, and perhaps in most cases quite so." Moses was purposefully focusing his attention on what he considered the priority—settlement and the development of community soundly based upon agricultural utilization of the land.[10]

Appendix III: Outline of Moses Greenleaf's Analysis of the Relative Value of Maine Lands as an Investment, from His *Statistical View*

Background: Settlement Rates (Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 38)

Year	Number of Inhabitants	Rate of Increase
1750	10,000	
1772	29,088	5.0%
1777	42,241	8.0%
1784	56,321	7.5%
1790	96,308	9.5%
1800	150,939	4.0%
1810	228,767	4.5%

Land Within the District of Maine (Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 72)

Land in settled towns and plantations	4,850,356 acres
Land unsettled but purchased	4,252,298 acres
Land still in the hands of the commonwealth	11,779,700 acres
Approximate townships left unsold	650

Time Necessary to Fill the District to Density of 40 Persons per Square Mile

At natural increase of 3% per annum	to the year 1870
At 4.5% rate of increase (rate for 1800-1810)	to 1850
At a possible rate of 6% per annum	to the year 1840

Assumptions Made by Greenleaf

1. Relative value of land once populated density reaches forty persons per square mile would be two dollars per acre.
2. Townships will fill as those to the south reach a density close to forty persons per square mile. The filling of townships will be sequential, starting with the southern most and working northward. For purposes of analysis, the 650 townships left to be settled and sold can be divided into twenty ranges of thirty-two townships each stretching east to west across the district.

Analysis (Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 76-82)

Using the migration rate experienced during the period of 1790 to 1800 during which an average of 256 families per year moved into the state, Greenleaf calculates that it will take five years to achieve a population of forty families per township for each range of thirty-two townships (see above). At this rate the whole of the 650 townships could be settled to this density in a hundred years. Considering that each family would require one hundred acres, there would be left in each township fifteen thousand acres (four thousand acres having been deducted for water and wasteland). At $2 per acre, the unsettled acres would be worth $30,000 per township and $960,000 per range. He then considers this sum as a fixed term annuity for one hundred years (the time necessary for filling all 650 townships to the density of forty families per square mile) with twenty payments, each of which represented the period required to fill one of the twenty ranges of townships. In this way the total value of the land can be compared with a long-term investment. Greenleaf deducts 5 percent per annum to cover the loss of an investor who must wait for his land to come on the market and arrives at a figure for the value of the whole land as $2,850,700. Obviously, the faster the settlement, the greater the total worth of the unsold land belonging to the commonwealth.

Appendix IV: The Closing Paragraphs of Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 149-152

[In these paragraphs Moses Greenleaf spoke to the leaders of the commonwealth, "the present actors on the stage" as he called them, concerning the need to create conditions calculated to encourage a worthy community.]

The emigrants from New England are composed of all classes and descriptions of people. Some of them are of the best moral characters, intelligent, industrious, enterprising; others ignorant, idle, vicious. Some are possessed of considerable property, others again have none. Some have conscientious regard for the civil and religious institutions of their forefathers, and wish to be able to transmit the benefits of them to their children; while others are, to say the least, indifferent as to their use of themselves, or their advantage to posterity. These different characters and qualities are intermixed with various shades and combinations in different persons, but they may generally be resolved into two classes, unequal perhaps in number, and much so in their value to, or influence on the happiness and welfare of society.

The better class of these will not generally be tempted by the difference of a dollar or two in the price of an acre of land, to settle themselves in a part of country where there are no roads, the settlement progressing slowly, and under many hardships and privations; when in another quarter they can find a tract of country equally fertile, accommodated with good roads, and such facilities are afforded to settlers as present a reasonable prospect that they may in a short time enjoy the comforts of society, the means of educating their children, and the many advantages; pecuniary, civil, moral and religious, which flow from a residence in a well-settled country, and among a well informed and independent community; while others will overlook these advantages for the sake of a paltry difference in the price of land; or pressed by necessity, will settle only where they can get land cheapest; or else, wholly regardless of every circumstance in their future prospects, save that of mere subsistence, or prompted by an illusory hope of freedom from some of the temporary inconveniences to which they may have been subjected in society, will retreat to the wilderness, where they become useless to the community, and very little better to themselves.

Without a considerable change in the circumstances which have heretofore existed, and more especially which now discourages farther adventures into new places, the settlement of the interior must hereafter be expected to proceed very slowly, and principally with persons of the latter description. The inhabitants, for a long time, will of course be scattered; too few and poor to provide for the instruction of their children; and unable, careless, or indifferent in instructing them themselves. The first generation at least must grow up in ignorance, habituated to disorder, and unaccustomed to restraints, or the influence and advantages of a well regulated society. What must be the character of the future population springing from such a source; and what its effect on the general good of the community at large, when its numbers shall have become sufficient to make its influence felt, cannot be difficult to conceive. With a reverse of circumstances, effects, different almost to an extreme, may be reasonably expected.

If then, aside from consideration of mere revenue, it should be admitted that the preserving to Massachusetts the most respectable part of her own surplus population, with a share of that of the neighboring States, to which she is allied by every tie of local situation, kindred habit, social and religious institutions and feelings, reciprocity of interests and community of dangers, is in any degree of probability attainable by liberal and judicious measures to open and improve the vacant territory and develop its latent advantages: If the same measures may be made to tend directly and indirectly to ameliorate the moral character (as unquestionably may be the case): and if, superseding also the consideration of the eventual wealth, physical strength, and stability to be derived from this accession of numbers and character, the object is more than sufficient to counterbalance any expenditures which the increased price, or the anticipated interest on the eventual sales of the land may be expected to refund; it must be evident that the present actors on the stage of life in this Commonwealth have an object before them, demanding their deepest attention; the future interests of the State will be affected in a peculiar manner by the exertions of [or] the neglect of the present day; and a high degree of responsibility rests on those, who shall supinely suffer to pass unimproved the opportunities now before them, and undischarged, the important trust devolved on them for the benefit of their posterity.