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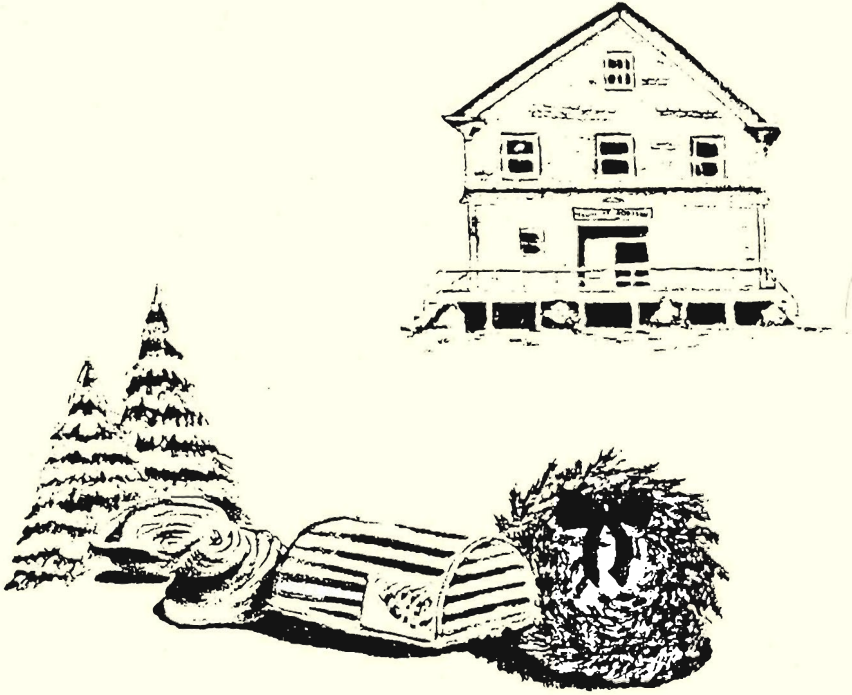


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Addison—Its Persistencies and Changes

Louis A. Ploch

Bulletin 829

August 1990



MAINE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
University of Maine

ADDISON—
ITS PERSISTENCIES AND CHANGES

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CONTENTS

FOREWORD	i
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
INTRODUCTION	1
Some Historical Perspectives	2
Shipbuilding	4
Quarries	5
Sea-related industries	5
The fire	6
ADDISON—THE COMMUNITY	7
Socialization	13
Social Participation/Mutual Support	17
Women's Auxiliary of the fire department	18
Recreation committee	19
Social Control	21
A GREAT CHANGE—URBANIZATION/SUBURBANIZATION	24
COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS	30
Economics	30
Town economics	30
Non-resource commercial activities	33
Agriculture	35
Marine resources	36
Government	38
Political parties	40
Town finances	41
Assessing	41
Road Maintenance	41
Fire Department	42
Social Service Agencies	43
Clam Committee	43
Solid Waste Disposal	44
Education	44
Family	48
Religion	51
Social Differentiation	55
SUMMARY	61
SOURCES CITED	64

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To a very large extent, social research depends upon the cooperation of informants. Particularly when the key informant approach is employed, both the quality and the quantity of the data is informant dependent. To help ensure the informants' full cooperation, they were guaranteed anonymity. Thus, no interviewees' names are mentioned. In a few cases, however, to lend credence to specific statements, the titles or positions of informants are identified. Although they must remain nameless, my sincere appreciation is accorded to the Addison residents who gave freely of their time and insights. And special "thanks" to those persons whom I contacted three, four, and more times.

Dr. Alan S. Kezis, Chairperson of the Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics, in many ways, made the studies possible. The major funding sources were the Maine Agricultural Experiment Station and the Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development. Appreciation is accorded to the Station and the Center and to their respective Directors, Dr. W.C. Dunham and Dr. D.K. Heasley. My thanks are also extended to Vance E. Dearborn, a long-time colleague, and Dr. Michele C. Marra for their helpful critical reviews. The attractive cover was done by Dr. Marra.

In manuscript preparation, the author's personal computer has replaced, to a large degree, the faithful secretary who corrected spelling, noticed inconsistencies, and was generally helpful. Mrs. Joan Bouchard is the person who did those tasks for me for many years. My sincere thanks, Joan, for transforming an almost illegible manuscript into a professional document.

FOREWORD

In 1947, at the request of the Maine Agricultural Extension Service, personnel of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and Extension workers studied three Maine towns: Addison, in Washington County; Easton, in Aroostook County; and Turner, in Androscoggin County. The prime purpose of the studies was to determine the factors related to participation in Extension and other community-based activities. The results of the research were summarized in Hay et al. (1949).

The 1986–89 study of Addison analyzed in this publication is a component of a research project that focuses also on Easton and Turner and Landaff, New Hampshire. The current study is not, per se, a duplication of the earlier research. The two projects employed different research methodologies. In 1947, interviewers utilized a set questionnaire to interview persons in “open country households in [the] three selected towns as to their participation in rural organizations and Extension activities.”

In the 1986–1989 series of studies, which also included Landaff, New Hampshire, the key informant technique was employed to obtain data related to the structure and functioning of key institutions in the four communities. Social change was also a focus of study in each of the communities.

To obtain the necessary data for each of the major social institutions—economics, education, family, government, religion, and the process of social stratification—residents of the town and personnel of relevant institutions and agencies, located both in the town and in the region, were interviewed.

During the three-year observation and interviewing process, more than 50 Addison residents were interviewed, many of them two or more times. All formal interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed. Town reports, a published history, local documents, and newspaper reports were also utilized.

The three companion publications to the Addison study are:

Easton—A Town on the Move. Miscellaneous Publication 700. Maine Agricultural Experiment Station. August, 1988.

Turner—A Study in Persistence and Change. Bulletin 824. Maine Agricultural Experiment Station. May, 1989.

Landaff—Then and Now. Bulletin 828. Maine Agricultural Experiment Station. November, 1989.

INTRODUCTION

Addison, Maine, is a study in contrasts. Despite its easily accessible location it is one of the “unknown” towns in Downeast Maine. It is located within less than an hour’s drive of Ellsworth, the gateway to the tourist mecca of Bar Harbor and Acadia National Park, the second most visited national park in the United States.

Those travellers heading northeast toward the Canadian Maritime Provinces on U.S. Route 1, the coastal highway from Calais, Maine, to Key West, Florida, could easily bypass Addison. Its northerly boundary is approximately one mile from Route 1. At the Columbia Falls “four corners” intersection of Route 1 and the unnumbered road to Addison, there are no indications of the town’s premier attraction, its more than 20 miles of coast, much of it spectacularly beautiful, but not easily accessible.

Although few Route 1 tourists do take the opportunity to travel the bypass route through Addison and Jonesport back to the highway, enough “people from away” have discovered Addison as a permanent or vacation home site to create tensions in the community. The actual number of new homes in Addison has been minimal through the 1980s, but property sales, particularly of lots with shore access including islands, have been brisk. As a consequence, the value of coastal properties has skyrocketed. According to one knowledgeable informant, most shorefront properties offered for sale at least doubled in price during the 1987–1988 period.

Townpeople view this trend as a mixed blessing. Although there is some resentment that strangers are buying so much land, few grumble about the fact that nonresident property owners pay one-half of the local property tax. Even though Maine state government is one of the more generous supporters of education at the local level, school support still accounts for the majority of town tax expenditures. Approximately three-fourths of Addison’s locally raised taxes, almost all from home sites and family-owned land, is allocated to the support of Maine School Administrative District (MSAD) 37.

To date, the newer owners of Addison shorefront properties or island sites (there are 39 islands within the town’s legal limits) are mostly summer folk. The tide, however, is turning. The trend is for both village, open country, and some seashore property owners to become full-time residents. There is some local concern that there will be an infusion of students into the school system and that the new residents will attempt to implant their urban ways into the community. This theme will be further developed in a later section.

Presently, almost all Addison residents who make their living within the town do so by some combination of clamming, worming, lobstering, woodwork, or “wreathing” (making Christmas wreaths on consignment). Many shift from one to another of these endeavors as the seasons change or market demands rise and fall. Because of the often repeated breaks in income flow, many persons also make

regular, repeated use of governmental aid programs, particularly the food stamp and fuel aid programs.¹ Some of the “old timers” feel that the aid programs are both overused and abused.

The newcomers’ preference for shoreland property is beginning to present a complicated dilemma to Addison as a municipality and community. Those local persons who make their living from the sea, shore, and woods must have access to their work places. Development within the strip of largely unoccupied land between the shore and the road that loops the Addison peninsula threatens to shut off that access. Historically in Maine rural areas, undeveloped land has been considered, to a large extent, common property. Now, with increasing frequency, access is being denied by new property owners. Some of the incidents and adjustments to this situation will be analyzed in later sections.

As the centerspread illustrates, Addison and its major road system are trapezoidal-like. Where practical, the roads parallel the shore, more or less. A combination of topography and the occupational pursuits of the inhabitants has resulted in a series of neighborhoods within the community. Addison Point, the “Cape” (Cape Split), South Addison, the Basin, and Indian River became residential and occupational centers early in the town’s history. Today they are largely residential neighborhoods. This situation provides their residents with a positive sense of local identity, but as will be detailed in later sections, it also tends to inhibit the town from being a fully cohesive social and political entity.

Some Historical Perspectives

Addison, as a community, possesses a sense of history. There may be some lapses in the collective memory of past events, but an interest in the town’s past is real and widely based. The Pleasant River Historical Society has elected officers and meets regularly. Although the Society does not possess a building for meetings or as a centralized location for memorabilia, its members do possess a variety of sources of information and artifacts. The Mayhew Library in Addison Point also contains a number of items related to the town’s history.

To date, however, and with one unique exception, no definitive history of Addison has been written. The exception, *Then and Now*, is unique in several aspects. The history was written in 1981 by four female sixth graders at Addison’s Daniel W. Merritt Elementary School. The girls were guided and encouraged by a capable and caring teacher’s aide. While it is short, and lacks the polish of professionalism, the volume is remarkably well done considering the youth and inexperience of its young authors.

¹In 1987, residents of Addison received \$201,306 in services from the federally funded Washington/Hancock Community Agency. More than a quarter of the sum was for “fuel assistance” to 165 homes for 432 people, approximately 40 percent of the population (Annual Report, Town of Addison 1988–1989:29).

In a way, *Then and Now* may be a key to help one understand this seemingly simple, but actually quite complex community. Present day Addison, a byway community lacking industry, with very minimal services, but with a reasonably prosperous resource-based economy, possesses a history that is largely, but not wholly, incongruent with its present. The accomplishment of the young authors is just one example of how Addison seems to be able to spawn the unexpected. The flowering in Addison in the 1860s of the Church of the Messiah and its Palestine Emigration Society (Holmes 1981) is another illustration of this quality of Addison.

The Hay et al. (1949) study of Addison focused almost entirely on the immediate post-World War II period. It does not consider the importance of Addison as a once flourishing center of shipbuilding, quarrying, and sea-related industries. In "The Purposes of the Study," the authors describe Addison as a:

Coastal area with a combination of blueberry and general farming and sea trades. Yankee stock with a wide experience in sea fishing and some farming characterize the population. The organizations are for the most part neighborhood centered and the people express a strong attachment to the neighborhood as a locality group. While many organizations headquarter in the villages, they are not well attended by the open country families (Hay et al. 1949:3).

The statement is neither completely accurate nor inaccurate for the late 1980s. It does catch the essence of the Addison of the present, of the turn of the century, and in the post-Civil War period. What is true, based on Hay, *Then and Now*, and a variety of other sources, is that Addison, throughout its history, has been a resource-based community. Its manufacturing, commerce, and ethos have all been intertwined and dependent on the sea and the productivity of farm and woodlands. To a large degree, this situation remains in the late 1980s, although changes have begun to occur. Currently the community is moving toward the late 20th-century trend of urbanization/suburbanization as analyzed by many social scientists including Warren (1978) and Luloff and Swanson (1990).

According to the *Then and Now* history, Addison's first major resource-based commodity may have been codfish: "In 1770 word came to Martha's Vineyard [Massachusetts] that Cod were plentiful in Wescogus River near Jeremiah Plummer's house" (*Then and Now*:4). David Smith, University of Maine Professor of History, who specializes in Maine history is convinced (personal communication) from other data that the 18th-century migration from Cape Cod to Maine was related primarily to the abundance of marsh hay on the Maine coast, including Addison.²

²For an illuminating documentation of the migration from Cape Cod to Maine relating to the desertification of much of Cape Cod due to misuse of the natural resources see Eves, Jamie H. 1988. *Ecological Crisis and the Settlement of Maine, 1763-1825*, unpublished M.S. thesis, University of Maine, Orono.

Whatever their motivations, it is known that “About seven families came from Martha’s Vineyard and landed on the shores of the Pleasant River” in Addison, (*Then and Now*:4). Involvement in the production, consumption, and distribution of sea and land products became a way of life in Addison. Agricultural production, wood harvesting, processing, and distribution, while of importance in Addison until approximately the end of World War II era, were, for most persons, part-time occupations. Usually, they were subsidiary to a variety of sea-oriented jobs.

By the 1940s, only a few farm operations were able to sustain a commercial scale. Within a few years, no full-time farms remained in Addison. A few families do maintain a limited amount of blueberry land and a few people raise some animals and/or maintain gardens from which they sell a limited amount of produce.

For the average family, making a living in Addison has always been a variation on the theme of “getting by” through taking advantage of the natural resources that were, in many cases, literally at their doorstep. In the late 1980s, the average noncommuting family gets by through a skillful, and in some cases, an ingenious combination of clamming, lobstering, worming, and wreathing.

Some long-time Addison residents, particularly older persons and people who managed to become a part of the white-collar economy, lamented during interviews that, in their opinion, many of the younger families have forsaken that tradition. When their cash income is decreased or ended, as it often is for clambers and wormers and other part-time workers, “they go on welfare and get food stamps.” The community significances of this turn of events will be more fully explored in the Community section to follow.

As of 1989, except for a four- to five-employee wire lobster trap plant which began operation in South Addison in 1988, there is no manufacturing nor fabricating enterprises in the town. This situation is in sharp contrast to the Addison of the last half of the 19th century and well into the present century.

Shipbuilding

Shipbuilding was especially important. One elderly informant, with extensive Addison roots and a lively interest in local history, maintains that “There were more bottoms [ships] launched on this river than anywhere in Maine.” The statement may be debatable, but it is documented that Addison made significant additions to the U.S. sailing fleet during the 1800s. At least 83 vessels were built in Addison from 1800 to 1900. The peak decade was 1860–1869 when 21 vessels were constructed in the town (*Then and Now*:31–33).³ According to a University of Maine historian, it is odd that the Civil War decade was the prime period for

³No sailing ship has been built in Addison for many years, however, as of spring 1990, a talented, dedicated newcomer to Addison is building a 65-foot, two-masted vessel of his own design to be used to spread the gospel of Christianity across the seas.

shipbuilding in Addison. Generally speaking, relatively few ships were built in the United States during this period.

From a historical perspective, perhaps the most noteworthy of Addison-built craft was the *Nellie Chapin*. The 133-foot, three-masted bark was built at Addison Point in 1866 by a local builder, Leander Knowles (*Then and Now*: 135). On her maiden voyage the *Nellie Chapin* carried 167 pilgrims, about 100 of whom were Addison residents, on a historic voyage from Jonesport, contiguous to Addison, to what was then known as Palestine (Holmes 1981:137). The intention of the religiously inspired group was to found a new homeland in which Christians and Jews could live in blissful harmony. The muted recognition and remembrance of this unusual event in Addison will be discussed in the Community section.

There are no precise data available on the impact of shipbuilding in Addison. The authors of *Then and Now* do provide enough evidence that it must have been considerable. The 83 vessels built in the town were constructed in at least six shipyards located in several sections of the community. Shipbuilding requires a number of complex skills, skills that Addison was apparently able to supply. Local artisans were known to have invented or modified machinery and apparatus to make shipbuilding viable in the town. One of the most apt of these persons was a man by the name of Aymer. He manufactured an especially serviceable block and tackle. "Aymer Blocks [were sold] the length of the coast. His lathe and other woodworking machinery were set up on the waterfront and were powered by a horse attached to a pole" (*Then and Now* 1981:29).

Quarries

For many years, Addison was noted for the quality and quantity of its building and monument stones. There were at least four quarries operating in the town from the latter half of the 19th century to the mid-20th century. Addison granite was used for three monuments in Gettysburg National Military Park in memory of the valor of Maine Grand Army of the Republic battalions. Addison granite was also used in construction of the Queens Midtown Tunnel in New York City, in the Federal Reserve Bank tower in Boston, and the Providence War Memorial.

The Addison quarries fell victim to a variety of forces. For some, it was the depletion of marketable quality stone; for others, it was the general drift away from the use of stone as a building and architectural material. The last operating quarry closed in 1958 when the owners "elected to give up the operation on Harwood Island and use the property thereafter as a summer retreat" (*Then and Now*, 1981:38).

Sea-related industries

Unlike many Maine coastal communities, Addison never became heavily dependent on the seafood industry as a source of employment and wealth

generation. For example, it did not join the trend in the late 1800s to support a lobster cannery. Over the years, however, Addison has been the locale for a number of seafood-processing and related plants. Its first sardine cannery was built in 1901, long after the establishment of similar facilities along the Maine coast. At peak production, the Addison plant's 100 employees packed 300 cases of sardines per day. The plant was lost by fire in 1931.

In 1903, "a clam and blueberry canning factory was located beside the sardine factory" (*Then and Now*, 1981:41). It also burned down in the sardine factory blaze. Addison's last canning factory was a sardine plant that was in operation from 1946 until 1960. It was subsequently converted into an apartment complex. Unfortunately it too burned, but happily, without the loss of life.

As noted, Addison's role as an economic center began its long decline with the loss of most of the shipbuilding industry by 1900. The decline in quarrying occurred more slowly, but just as surely. The loss of industry was accompanied by a loss in population from a high of 1,262 in 1860 to a low of 744 in 1960 (see centerspread). Despite the population loss, the town was able to sustain a reasonable array of commercial services, most of them in Addison Point. The town's peninsular configuration and the relatively great distances to substantially larger communities (20 to 25 miles to Machias) was a major factor in its retention of commercial services despite a declining population. The situation was to change dramatically after the late evening of May 7, 1938, when Addison Point's main street suffered a devastating fire.

The fire

In a matter of hours, the fire almost completely destroyed most of Addison's commercial enterprises. It has never recovered. The banner headline of the Monday, May 9, 1938, edition of the *Bangor Daily News* told the story in succinct terms: "\$100,000 Fire Destroys Business Section of Addison." In 1988 dollars the damage would amount to approximately \$900,000.

An inset [reproduced verbatim] in the article on the fire listed the damage to individual structures:

Buildings wholly or very nearly destroyed with unofficial estimates of loss were:

- Modern Theatre - Loss \$5,000.
- Calder Building containing wholesale plant of the Addison Grain Co., barbershop of Leslie Brigham, and tenement occupied by Mrs. Louise Norton and family. Loss of building and contents, \$15,000.
- Brown Building, occupied by general store of Milford H. Brown. Loss of building and contents, \$15,000.
- Residence of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert L. Ward. Loss \$3,000.
- Mayhew Memorial Library. Loss \$10,000. This does not take into account the intangible value of the antiques, some of which were almost priceless.

- Post office, \$2,000.
- Donald Building, but with furnishings, \$10,000.
- Methodist Church, \$10,000.
- Godfrey Building (only partly burned), occupied by grocery of William N. Nash, \$1,000.

The extent of the damages can be traced to multiple causes. The night was quite windy, Addison's fire protection was limited to a bucket brigade, the buildings were quite close together, and it took considerable time for fire companies from Cherryfield and Jonesport, approximately ten miles distant, to respond. The local author of the *Bangor Daily News* article captured the dynamics of the Saturday night fire, which began in the Modern Theatre, in "downhome" language:

The audience had been dismissed and the theatre closed about two hours... there are no second shows in Addison, when somebody noticed fire spurting through the room....They organized a bucket brigade, but there was a long and expensive delay before outside help arrived. [It took time before the First Selectman, who lived in Indian River could be located to make requests for outside help.] It is a long established custom recognized by fire departments throughout Maine that before firemen of one community can render service in another they shall first be called by the mayor, city manager, or first selectman or someone else in definite authority.⁴

In 1989 the only commercial services in Addison Point village are a service station which handles a few convenience items and the brick post office. The Methodist Church, the Masonic Hall, the Town Hall, and the "new" brick Mayhew Library are the only public buildings.

As illustrated in the Economic section the recent commercial development at the Columbia/Addison Point "4-Corners" on Route 1 probably precludes any significant commercial development within Addison in the foreseeable future.

ADDISON—THE COMMUNITY

"Community" is a perplexing term. It means different things to different people. Although, there is disagreement about the specifics of the concept, there is general agreement as to what constitutes the essentials of community. Included is some combination of territory, people in interaction, and the general acceptance of a set of norms and institutions. The Maine legal municipality known as the Town of Addison meets those criteria.

It is recognized, of course, that not every resident of Addison is "in community" with every other resident. Far from it. For better or worse, however, all of the 1,061

⁴This archaic system has been replaced by mutual aid compacts between towns that have proved to be highly effective through use of automated communication equipment and techniques.

persons (1987 Maine State Planning Office estimate) living within its legal limits of approximately 35 square miles have the same community obligations—obeying certain rules and regulations, direct or indirect financial support of the legally constituted local government, and generally keeping the peace.

In a number of ways, however, Addison is not a single community. The roughly trapezoidal configuration of the Addison Peninsula almost ordained that it would be settled in patches (See centerspread). Almost all of the early settlement (beginning in the 1760s) was in the several natural harbors. It was the sensible thing to do—roads into Downeast Maine were virtually nonexistent. Each harbor had its own attractions and limitations that determined how many people could settle there with the hope of making a living from the natural resource base.

Those harbors and landings that offered the most advantages flourished and persisted. They are linked together by the single road system that bounds the town; there are no crossroads. The road serves as the only link between the settlements. Its two connections with U.S. Route 1 are the only ways in, or out, of town (see centerspread).

By the late 1700s, three thriving communities had been established. Addison Point at the head of Pleasant River Bay, Indian River at the mouth of its namesake stream, and South Addison on Moose Neck at the head of Cape Split Bay continue to be Addison's major population concentrations in the late 1900s. Each of these settlements afforded easily accessible anchorages and at least a minimal amount of land for housing and related development.

Largely because of their isolation from each other, the three areas became quasi-independent subcommunities with their own identities. At their population peaks (in the late 1800s) each of them provided for the day-to-day consumptive needs of its inhabitants. They could boast of their "own" school(s), church(es), and social organizations. As the years progressed and Addison's population decreased from the 1860 high of 1,272 to the 1960 low of 744, each of the population centers lost some of its social institutions and most of its commercial services. Each area has, however, enough population and social organization to continue as a viable community force. At the annual town meetings, they often exert their sense of independence toward actions or proposals that they perceive to have special consequences for them. In effect, social change of all types in Addison must be filtered through the screen of neighborhood acceptance. As will be noted in this and other sections of the report, the three neighborhoods often take less than homogeneous stands on proposed changes and issues. As a consequence the perceptions of independence, and differentness between the areas is perpetuated.

Because of the existence of the neighborhoods, social organizations and activities are not concentrated in one location as is the case for some Maine towns of

Addison's size. Until the post-World War II period, several schools continued to operate in the town. In the late 1980s, the lone school in Addison is the Daniel W. Merritt Elementary School, a unit of the six-town Maine School Administrative District (MSAD) No. 37. The fact that the school is located in the open country, not in one of the village-like areas, is a concession to more than geography.⁵

There is a somewhat better distribution of churches than schools in Addison. There are two churches in Addison Point, one in South Addison, and a chapel on Cape Split in which services are held during the summer. Spurred by the interest of the Addison Historical Society, an attempt is being made to preserve a church edifice in Indian River as a community center. No regularly scheduled religious services have been held in it for many years.

In recent years the Union Church in South Addison and The Church on the Hill in Addison Point have become area-wide institutions. They are attracting persons from beyond their neighborhoods as well as from other nearby towns.

Until 1968, when the 1904-chartered Pleasant River Grange in Addison Point gave up its charter, each of the three subcommunities hosted a unit of this most prolific of rural-centered social/fraternal organizations. The Pleasant River Grange Hall was sold to the town for \$1.00 for use as a town hall and community building.

The Grange in South Addison was sold to a private entrepreneur in the 1980s. It is presently being used as the site of a small wire lobster trap manufacturing business. Chartered in 1896 as Addison's first Grange, Indian River Grange #330 is the lone survivor. It now has members from all sections of the town. The Indian River Grange is a major factor in that neighborhood's continuing sense of identity.

Except for Addison's churches, the only social organization with its own meeting hall is the Tuscan Lodge 106 A.F.A.M. (Masons) that was chartered in 1860. The present building was built in 1871 and shows its age. As of 1989, windows on the first floor of the building were boarded; paint was peeling on much of the structure's exterior. In contrast, the churches, the school, the firehouse in Addison Point, the town hall, and the Indian River Grange Hall are all well kept.

Although Addison Point, South Addison, and Indian River have lost many of their locally based and oriented services and organizations, they continue to serve as centers of neighborhood interaction and identity. Oddly enough, South Addison, some eight miles from the larger and more accessible center of Addison Point, is experiencing a mild growth in community-based services. In 1986, for the first time in many years, a store began operation in the neighborhood. It is a modern version of the old-time general store. Although it does not

⁵As can be noted in the centerspread, because of Addison's trapezoidal shape and its peripheral road system, there is no accessible location for a school that would be more or less equi-distant from the three larger neighborhoods.

carry clothing, tools, or animal feeds and other things common to the traditional general store, customers can buy a full line of groceries, meats, produce, ready-made sandwiches, pizzas, and other convenience foods. Perhaps the most significant sales item in the Moose Neck grocery is not a household or food item, but Instant Winner lottery tickets. In 1989, the store sold just over 70,000 one-dollar lottery tickets.

Although the three larger, definitive population concentrations in Addison have lost most of their former functions they do have social-psychological significance for the larger community. To a somewhat lesser extent, this conclusion is also true for several other loosely defined neighborhoods: East Side Road, the Basin, Cape Split, and Wescogus. Regardless of where they may have been held, during interviews for this study almost all of the respondents found a way to indicate in which section of the town they lived. In many cases they compared it, in various ways, with other sections of the community. Usually they indicated a positive bias toward "their" section of the town.

This localized sense of ethnocentrism pervades much of the functioning of the larger community, i.e., the town. For example, there is a certain amount of tension between Addison Point and South Addison. Some Addison Point residents refer to South Addison residents as "the people down below." The most often repeated tale that reveals a negative attitude toward South Addison relates to an incident that took place some years ago. It involves the alleged misuse of a fire engine by fire fighters from the South Addison area.

A large proportion of the individualism exhibited by Addison's three major neighborhoods is a product of their physical separation. South Addison is approximately eight miles from Addison Point. Indian River is also approximately eight miles from both South Addison and Addison Point (see centerspread).

Persons from South Addison (including Cape Split) and Indian River travelling to Machias, the shiretown (county seat) and nearest commercial center, normally bypass Addison Point. Indian River and South Addison residents who travel to the shopping area in Columbia on Route 1, or to either Ellsworth or Bangor, the major shopping and commercial center in northeastern Maine, find little reason to stop in Addison Point for services. The most likely services for them in Addison Point would be those provided at the town hall and the post office.

Despite its lack of services, if there is a dominant center in Addison, it is Addison Point. This dominance is related primarily to its being the site of the town hall and a largely federally financed public landing. As noted above, Addison lacked a town hall until the former Pleasant River Grange Hall was conveyed to the town and converted into a municipal building.

The system of roads, which more or less circumscribes Addison's main peninsula, has been in existence for many years. Sections of the road system, particularly Eastside Road, the land artery from Addison Point to South Addison,

was not paved until the 1960s. Its extension to Cape Split was not completely paved until the late 1980s. Physical isolation was a major factor forcing both Cape Split and, particularly, South Addison to become functional neighborhoods. Especially in the winter, their isolation led to the development of close and meaningful social interactions. Card games and parties among neighbors were the chief diversions of most families. These and other interactions assured the development of strong identification and loyalty to their own section of the community. As children matured and married, those who did not leave the county or state tended to establish a household in South Addison. Similar situations have prevailed for each of the population centers in the town.

The tendency to remain in one's own neighborhood in Addison may have diminished over the years, but it does continue to some degree. Several informants provided the same example of a particular family. As their family grew, the parents began to purchase parcels of land as near to the parental homestead as possible. Their goal, in which they succeeded, was to be able to provide a 100-acre lot to each of their many offspring. The immediate area of most of the property in the neighborhood is known by the family name.

Indian River is, today, the smallest of the three Addison neighborhoods that were once small-scale social and economic centers. Indian River reached its zenith of importance as a social unit in the latter half of the 19th century. For a brief period in the 1860s, it became well known in Maine and beyond. As previously noted, Indian River was the center of operations for the Church of the Messiah, a short-lived religious group that sponsored a social experiment that gained national attention both for its inception and its failure. For an absorbing account of the Church of the Messiah, its near messianic leader, and the Palestine Emigration Society, see Holmes 1981.

In 1866, more than three-quarters of a century before the founding of the modern state of Israel, 167 zealous pilgrims landed on the shores of Jaffa, Palestine, then a part of the Turkish empire. This band of religiously inspired pioneers, about half of whom were Addison residents, intended to establish a community at Jaffa (now a section of the Israeli capital of Tel Aviv) in which Christians and Jews could live in harmony and prosperity.

The creator of the Church of the Messiah was George Jones Adams, an excommunicated ("disfellowshipped") Mormon. Adams was beset with a mission to reestablish Jerusalem with a colony of Americans and Jews. Adams inherited this ambitious goal from his former mentor and close associate, Joseph Smith, the founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormons), (Holmes 1981). In 1861, some 16 years after his Mormon disfellowship, Adams found his way to Addison. It proved to be the garden in which his hopes of creating a new Jerusalem flourished.

A master manipulator of his listener's emotions, the charismatic Adams soon convinced Abraham K. McKenzie, the leading citizen of Indian River, of the God-ordained importances of his mission. McKenzie housed and financially supported Adams. This was enough evidence for many residents of Addison, including those who were relatively well off and influential, to join the bandwagon. The Indian River Universalist Society agreed to let Adams use their meeting house. Meetings were attended with enthusiasm.

In just five years Adams generated enough interest in The Church of the Messiah for it to charter the *Nellie Chapin* for the historic voyage to Jerusalem. The trip to the Holy Land was the maiden voyage for the Addison built *Nellie Chapin*. Both events made the trip of great interest to Addison and Washington County. Holmes does not specify how many persons were at the shore in Jonesport to bid the *Nellie Chapin* God speed. The crowd must have been sizeable: "They converged from every direction like filings to a magnet, town's folk as well as those bound for Jaffa" (Holmes 1981:191).

The trip across the Atlantic, as Holmes (1981) relates, was not without its difficulties. The problems of the voyage, however, were dwarfed by those in Palestine. Sickness, death, impoverishment, chicanery, and most of all, the incompetence of the alcoholic George J. Adams doomed the expedition to failure. By the fall of 1867 the settlement was in shambles. Although a few of the emigrees stayed in Palestine and prospered, most of them returned to Washington County or to a religious colony in Michigan. They had lost both their life savings and their self-esteem.

Perhaps it is the failure of the expedition, not its purpose, that accounts for the almost total disinterest about it in Addison. There is no tablet, monument, or memorial of any kind related to the *Nellie Chapin*, George J. Adams, or to the Church of the Messiah. In 1966 there was no ceremony marking the 100th anniversary of the historic trip. Few residents are aware of where the Universalist Society building stood or what part it played in the well-intended, but disastrous attempt to create a new Holy Land.

Why there is so little interest in the Church of the Messiah in Addison and particularly in Indian River, is difficult to fathom.⁶ As mentioned earlier, there is a lively interest in history in the community. An evidence of this interest is an effort to restore the former Baptist Church in Indian River to a living monument to the past. The building has been deeded by Baptist authorities to a local group

⁶When asked if people in the community talk about the Palestine emigration, a person with knowledge about the group replied, "I don't think some of the people want to hear about it at all because some of their relatives went.... There were some people who thought they were doing good, but there were some people who thought they were crazy and told them so before they left." A 94-year-old informant with ancestors from both his parents' families who made the trip answered the "Why?" question succinctly: "They are ashamed of it."

which is raising funds for the restoration project. Although there are no plans to use the building for regular church services, it is contemplated that weddings might be held there. There also might be an occasional religious service.

Socialization

Warren (1989:177) defines socialization as:

The process through which individuals, through learning, acquire the knowledge, values, and behavior patterns of their society and learn behavior appropriate to the various social roles that their society provides. [Community is] the arena in which the individual is confronted with the *particular way* [my emphasis] in which his or her society structures individual behavior.⁷

Addison, for a variety of reasons, imprints a particular cultural pattern on its residents. Among the town's socializing forces are its secluded peninsular configuration and its largely Anglo-Saxon, Protestant heritage. Many residents are descendants of one, or more, of the community's early settlers. They are proud to recall that they have early ancestors buried in at least one of the town's more than 30 cemeteries.

Addison's traditional dependence on its own natural resources imparts a sense of pride and independence to the community. Although shipbuilding, often using local materials, quarrying, woods work, part-time farming, and blueberrying have lost their former levels of importance, the town's dependence on its own resources remain important. Clamming, worming, and lobstering are now the major economic enterprises in the town. Each of them tends to impart a particular cultural set into the community. It should also be noted, and as will be developed in the section on social differentiation, that there are both positive and negative images related to the sea-related occupations.

The impact of a localized culture is compounded in Addison because of the existence of the previously mentioned neighborhood communities. Over time each of them developed some of their own social and cultural traits and identities. A major force in the socialization of youngsters was the elementary school in their neighborhood.

Originally each local school was controlled by its own school board. The values, the folkways, and the "specialness" of their neighborhood were instilled into the minds of the young scholars.⁸ Over time, as population dwindled and transportation improved, the localized one-room schools were closed. By the

⁷Beginning with socialization, the next four sections are treated as community functions as analyzed by Warren (1978). The community function that Warren calls production-distribution/consumption, will be included below as one of the institutions of community.

⁸Even in the late 1900s, when residents of South Addison or Indian River (both with minimal services of any kind) are asked by non-Addison residents where they live, they are apt to reply with the name of their neighborhood, rather than the town name.

1960s, the lone remaining school was the S.S. Nash combined elementary, junior high, high school at Addison Point. When Addison joined the six-town MSAD 37 the S.S. Nash School reverted to an elementary institution.⁹ It was closed in 1975 when the school district located the Daniel W. Merritt Elementary School between the Wescogus and Indian River Neighborhoods.¹⁰

No person interviewed for this study voluntarily stated that they believed too many local resources were being spent for education. One elderly Addison native, who was graduated from the S.S. Nash high school in the 1930s, when asked about the community's attitudes toward education replied:

Well the fact is a lot of 'em never went to high school, but I would say the majority of the people in the town realize the value of education. Rather than do anything to hurt education, they are striving to do anything that would better it. Sometimes I do think they put more time on athletics and outside activities than they do on the actual education. Maybe that's one thing that keeps them in school. You don't get all your education in school.

Based on interviews and observations in Addison, the informant's opinion, particularly the final statement, appears to represent a community consensus. Particularly for boys who do not complete high school, much of their vocational education is learned within the family context.¹¹ A large proportion of the males who do not graduate from high school follow their fathers or uncles into clamming, worming, and lobstering.

It is not unusual for boys, and a few girls, to begin clamming when they are ten or so. If there is a major socializing force in the Addison of the late 1980s, it is clamming and associated sea-related industries. The opinions and life styles of those who make their living from the sea, often in combination with other part-time resource-based vocations, tend to set major behavioral patterns in the community. Negative reactions toward the life styles of the clammers and wormers by persons employed in other occupations—mainly white collar, service industry employees—are also important socializing forces in the community.

⁹Seventy-five percent (\$172,287) of Addison's 1987 tax commitment was its allotment to MSAD

¹⁰The six MSAD 37 towns and their respective 1987 populations as estimated by the Maine Development Office are: Addison, 1,100; Cherryfield, 980; Columbia, 280; Columbia Falls, 510; Harrington, 880; and Milbridge, 1,300. Milbridge is the only MSAD 37 town that has a downtown section of any consequence. Ironically, it is the smallest town, Columbia, that is gaining a significant number of commercial services. At the intersection of the main road to Addison and U.S. Route 1, there is a four corner cluster of stores and services. Among them are a modern supermarket, furniture store, "super" gas station, fast food take-out, quantity discount store, clothing/general store, and a branch bank. Addison's location off the main highway probably means that it will not develop commercially to any extent.

¹¹In 1980, just 61.4 percent of Washington County residents 25 and over were high school graduates, the second lowest proportion among Maine counties. Addison's proportion of adult high school graduates was 58.0 percent.

Culture, which in its most general terms can be defined as the way of life of a people, is riddled, at all levels, with inconsistencies. The existence of a locally hired, supervised, and compensated clam warden in Addison is an apt illustration. As both stated and implied in a number of places in this narrative, independence in thought and action is a highly valued Addison tradition. A local clam warden would appear to be a contradiction to that value. Instead, it is an illustration that Addison's traditional independence is moderated by a lively sense of pragmatism.

For a number of years, the people of Addison recognized that clams were becoming a scarce resource. If unabated harvesting continued, the supply of clams would decrease drastically and the livelihood of many residents would be in jeopardy. One of the clam warden's major responsibilities would be to keep unlicensed persons and people from other towns from depleting Addison's clams. He was also to make sure that local diggers did not abuse the resource.

There is a strong consensus in the community, among those who clam and those who do not, that overall, the warden has been effective in helping to maintain clam digging as a major factor in the town's economy and way of life. Interestingly enough the clam warden is the highest paid person directly compensated by the town.

There is not, of course, universal agreement that a clam warden is needed. The degree of acceptance of the warden, particularly by the clambers, appears to depend upon who is in the position, and how he conducts himself. If the warden violates local norms, he is likely to be sanctioned. Several informants claimed that a clam warden was relieved of his position, at least in part, because he arrested the "wrong persons" when making an inspection.

The power of community socialization is also illustrated in another action involving the position of clam warden. When the office was created, it was filled by popular election at town meeting. In due time, a town meeting vote changed the position to an appointed office. Among the comments made by town officials and others as to why this action was taken were:

If the clam warden had done a good job and arrested a lot of people, they [clambers and their families] weren't going to come to town meeting' and vote for 'em.

If we got one [elected] who was any good, the next year he wouldn't be elected. [Many of the diggers] are related through marriage or relations. The whole family will vote for who ever the clam digger or the family want. We found it was much better to have an appointed one.

The practice of appointing rather than electing the clam warden may not prevent favoritism in the enforcement of the clam laws. One community-ori-

ented clam digger, when asked if it was better to have a towns person or an outsider as clam warden, replied:

I think it's better [to have an outsider]. That way [he's apt] to have very few relatives in town. This way he's not biased. If you had a fellow right from town, he might have buddies and he wouldn't take 'em [arrest him]. Bound to have relatives. Quite a job to go and take your brother or your father or something like that.

At the time that remark was made, the clam warden was from out of town. When he was not reappointed, he was replaced by an Addison resident, who, from the accounts received from numerous informants, is highly accepted. To justify paying the new warden an acceptable salary as well as to meet a state mandate for a code enforcement officer, the two positions were combined. This action is consistent with the sense of pragmatism which pervades much of Addison's public actions. While it is in part fortuitous, the fact that the clam warden/code enforcement officer is also a sworn protective officer may make his code enforcement activities more readily acceptable in a community that values independence of action.

Addison did not have a centralized town hall until after the Pleasant River Grange Hall closed in 1968. The Grange deeded its large hall to the town for one dollar. With the exception of the Daniel W. Merritt Elementary School, it is the largest building in Addison. Prior to the centralization of town services at the municipal building and the hiring of an administrative assistant who kept the office open during the day, Monday through Friday, obtaining municipal services was a time-consuming, catch-as-catch-can process.

The position of administrative assistant to the selectmen has made the provision of town services much more convenient and efficient. When asked how the office of administrative assistant has functioned, a town official gave a response that reveals how that position has become a socializing force in the community:

Its cost us a lot more money, but it's worth it. It's hard to compare the services we are getting now with what we got before.... You take the registration of autos and boat registration. Before we had the administrative assistant you had to hunt up the tax collector. You might have to take two-three trips to the southern end of town. Then the tax collector might not be home. You couldn't telephone him. You can't blame the tax collector. The pay was so small he couldn't afford to stay to home all the time. Now the office is open every day. You can get your auto license, register an ATV, pay excise tax on a boat and file intentions to get married [the administrative assistant is also town clerk]. You'd be surprised how many people go in and see who is getting married [the book is on the clerk's counter].

Informing oneself as to who is getting married to whom is a subtle form of social control/socialization. Traditionally in Addison most social control has been ac-

complished by informal, often non-obtrusive, measures. The town does not support a county deputy sheriff within its boundaries. Instead, it relies on the traditional local constable system. For Addison it may be more correct to say it has an informal system of constables, some of whom have particular specialties. A former selectman commenting on law enforcement in the community remarked:

We have one constable that if we have a dog problem, dogs running loose, he looks after that. We have another constable that is real good if they have a family problem. He goes and talks to them and finds out what the difference [between them] is and sort of gives them a little advice and quiets things down.

While behavior problems among teenagers and somewhat older persons is not the problem in Addison that it is in some rural communities, delinquent behavior does occur. Perhaps it is because of lack of alternatives, or simply because the opportunity exists, a major type of delinquent action is the setting of fires in the woods in Washington County's more rural areas. A few years ago there was a rash of small, obviously set woods fires in the Addison area. Local fire officials were perceptive enough to understand that, at least to a significant degree, the setting of the fires was an attempt to create some excitement in a very quiet setting. They found that one way to reduce the number of set fires was not to have any of the response vehicles—fire engines, state police, or forest service cars—sound sirens or flash their lights.

Whether or not this type of action would be effective in the long run is debatable if fire setting is as ingrained a practice as it seems to be in Downeast Maine.¹² An area forest fire warden indicated how ingrained fire setting can be by recalling an incident that occurred when he was new in the area.

When I was new here I was called to a fire in a meadow that I learned was burned every year. One of the old timers wanted to know why I was upset. I said it's a 'set fire.' He said 'Yeah, but you put it out and it will get burned again. It burns every year.' I asked, "why?" He replied, 'Damn it, I told you it burns every year.'

Social Participation and Mutual Support

Warren (1978) treats social participation and mutual support as separate community functions. Often they are. It is not uncommon, however, for organizations that place emphasis on member participation to have goals and purposes that are primarily mutual support and community oriented. Most local units of Kiwanis and Rotary are examples. A number of Addison's organizations have both membership and community/mutual support aspects. Two organizations that place their emphasis on community/mutual support the fire department's Women's Auxiliary and the Addison Recreation Committee—will be discussed in some detail.

¹²A fire warden, with many years experience in Washington County, reported that of all the forest fires that he had investigated, only one could be attributed to natural causes.

Women's Auxiliary of the fire department

The interlocking of social participation with community-based mutual aid is not necessarily a planned function in Addison. It appears to be more of a deep-seated, but not often vocalized, community value—get the most out of what you do. One way of expressing it might be, “If we are going to do something [raise money for the fire department] let’s enjoy it and help others at the same time.” A prime example is the Women’s Auxiliary of the Addison Fire Department. As are most Maine small town fire departments, the Addison company is an official town body, but its membership, except for the fire chief, is composed of volunteers. Each year at the official town meeting, money is raised for the support of the fire department.¹³ This sum is augmented by funds raised by the Women’s Auxiliary.

When asked why she was instrumental in organizing the Women’s Auxiliary, an informant replied in a non-assuming, matter-of-fact way that is not atypical in Addison: “Just started it to help out the fire department. It’s come quite a ways,” Her “quite a ways” is a considerable understatement. From its beginning, the Women’s Auxiliary has supported the fire department with generosity. It has also become the town’s most important agency for imparting and maintaining a sense of community. It played an important role in remodeling the Pleasant River Grange Hall in Addison Point into one of the largest, most widely used community buildings in rural Maine.

The large first floor room of the town hall is the site of community-based activities throughout the year. The Women’s Auxiliary notes major holidays—Christmas, Easter, Halloween, Thanksgiving—by appropriately decorating the hall. The Women’s Auxiliary hosts a Christmas party for youngsters, complete with gifts handed out by a local Santa Claus.

Addison’s older citizens are regularly honored and feted by the Women’s Auxiliary. The Senior Citizens’ Party features a buffet dinner, dancing to live music, presentation of a plaque to the ‘oldest citizen,’ and picture taking. During the interview period (intermittently from 1986 through early 1990) the Senior Citizens’ Party was the most mentioned and most applauded community activity.

To spend money on community activities, it must be raised. The Women’s Auxiliary takes advantage of a somewhat mixed metaphor of Maine bureaucracy. The Auxiliary’s major source of support is from weekly “Beano” games held at the town hall. “Bingo” is illegal, but its twin, “Beano,” is legal if profits are used for a community purpose. To support their sponsorship of the party for the elderly, and for their youth and other activities, the women sell refreshments

¹³In 1989, Addison expended \$10,320 for the fire department.

at Beano and hold occasional dances, also at the town hall. A very active Addison fireman summarized the activities of the Auxiliary by stating:

By state law the money they raise by Beano has to go to the fire department. What they raise in the kitchen by selling refreshments, selling lottery tickets, they do as they please. That's what they do all this other stuff [elderly, youth activities] with. They have done a lot for us [firemen]. We have equipment we wouldn't have seen for another 15 years without them.

No respondent in the study, including three ministers, volunteered remarks that were entirely negative about the raising of money through the sponsorship of Beano. When asked a direct question about their opinion of the Beano games, a few persons did give replies that were equivocal, but not outright condemnations. Some had reservations about Beano per se, but because the Auxiliary members were so hard working and sincere, and because their funds were being used for such worthy causes, they would do nothing to hinder it.

This attitude is consistent with what appears to be a general pattern of values in Addison. Because positive social goals are important, they should be reached by the most readily available means. Perhaps because of this attitude, while many respondents volunteered positive comments about the Women's Auxiliary as a valued community resource, no one, without prompting, mentioned the names of the officers of the group. What they do is important, not who they are.¹⁴

Recreation committee

Unlike the Women's Auxiliary of the fire department, the recreation committee was created by action of the selectmen, but, as its chairman stated, it "is a very loosely organized group. When I first came to town, I went to a meeting ... in a few months I was chairman." Loose organization and acceptance of outsiders who express an interest is characteristic of most of Addison's social organizations and town committees.

The recreation committee's general charge is to provide recreational opportunities for the town's youth. It has sponsored a number of activities, but none of them have been long lasting or vigorously supported by the community. The committee, both as a group and in its accomplishments, has waxed and waned several times during its relatively short existence. As of late 1989 it consisted

¹⁴There were two major exceptions to this generalization during the interviewing process. Whenever the fire department was mentioned, the speaker almost always added, "you should talk with the fire chief." This information was not volunteered simply because he is the fire chief, but because of community respect for him.

The same situation applied to an elderly resident. When questions were asked about a variety of issues and events, informants would say, "you should talk to about that." He is an Addison native whose ancestors were early settlers; he is a long-time assessor, former selectman, and a font of information.

of four couples, three of whom were not long-time Addison residents. The chairman does have a list of 30 persons who have expressed some interest in the recreation committee's activities. He reports, however, when they are contacted about attending meetings there is little response.

For the past several years the major project of the recreation committee is to plan for an outdoor recreational area. The idea has general community acceptance. At three straight town meetings (1987-1989) \$2,500 was raised for the proposed project. As of fall, 1989, there was a total of \$8,300 in an escrow account. The project has been delayed mainly because of legal problems related to its proposed site. This situation is an example that the kind of bureaucratization and impersonalization that Warren (1978) includes in his "Great Changes" affects small rural communities as well as much larger ones.

With considerable logic, the chosen location for the outdoor recreation area was town-owned property adjacent to the closed S.S. Nash school. Although the building has been allowed to deteriorate badly, there is considerable sentiment within the town to preserve it. The building is one of the last of the two-to-three-room high schools remaining in Maine. Unfortunately a boundary dispute between the town and an abutting landowner has risen over the exact boundaries of property.

A further complicating factor was that the town had leased the building to the Addison V.F.W. for \$1.00 per year. The V.F.W. wished to renovate the building and attempted to get a bank loan for that purpose. They were refused because they did not have a clear title to the building. At a subsequent town meeting the V.F.W.'s request for title to the building was denied. Although many Addison residents were sympathetic to the V.F.W.'s request ("it was a difficult vote for everybody...sympathetic on both sides"), they were concerned about what would happen to the school if the V.F.W. disbanded. The building continues to be a treasured memory for both the town and former students.

This turn of events gave impetus for the movement to create a community recreational center that would include the school. There is some interest in restoring it as a school-like museum. The main use of the property would be for recreational facilities.¹⁵ The plan, as of 1989, was to have a combination court on which tennis, volleyball, and basketball could be played. Tentative plans also included an outdoor ice skating rink.

Although the project (as of fall 1989) is on hold, it is not unlikely that the recreation area will become a reality. Addison tends to take its time on community decisions, but when the situation is right, action can be swift: "If we put out

¹⁵At the 1990 town meeting it was voted to deed, for one dollar, the building and the land to the fire department and the Women's Auxiliary of the fire department. The transfer has been delayed until the original deed is located.

a call, and say that in two weeks from now we need a bulldozer and a couple of backhoes, I think we would get them.”

Social Control

With the exception of the clam warden, social control in Addison has traditionally been more *Gemeinschaft* than *Gesellschaft* (Loomis and Beegle 1978). That is, the control of behavior is more informal than formal. Long-standing community norms and peer pressure are more important in shaping social behavior than are formalized means of constraint—laws, sheriff deputies, constables, etc. That situation is undergoing some change, but informality rather than formality continues to characterize Addison’s social control mechanisms as was illustrated in several examples in the preceding Socialization section.¹⁶

Addison’s formal social control mechanisms are, primarily, its system of constables and the clam warden. Serious deviations of norms and laws are handled by state police officers. As indicated in the Socialization section, the constables operate informally. They tend to advise more than arrest. The personalization of the constable system is so informal that, according to a former selectman, in referring to an inactive constable, “His name is kept on the list [in the annual town report] so there would be no hard feelings.”

Keeping the local law enforcement informal is, according to one prominent lifetime Addison resident, a way to keep crime at a minimum. His philosophy, right or wrong, may be a reason that the Addison protective system has been maintained at its low key level. He summarized his opinions by stating:

The way I have it figured out, in these small towns you don’t need a police force until you establish a police force. Then you have a need for it. I’ve seen it happen in the [nearby] towns of Jonesport, Millbridge, and Cherryfield. Just as soon as you appoint a chief of police, there will be plenty of work for him to do.

This person’s conclusion was based on a long-standing knowledge of how tight-knit, homogeneous communities function. While his follow-up statement (quoted below) may be somewhat overdrawn, situations such as he describes are not uncommon in rural Maine:

I think [rural people] resent [anyone assuming a police role] no matter who you put in for a police force in these towns. If he doesn’t have any enemies the day he is employed, he soon will. All the friends and relatives of his enemies [also] become his enemies. They will do anything they can do to aggravate the police department.

¹⁶In many ways social control is an aspect of socialization. Formalized social control (external control in Warren’s [1978] terminology) is an act by society, in this case the town of Addison, to ensure that its norms (particularly laws) will be upheld. The community socializes its residents to internalize this perspective.

During the interviewing process at least six respondents, all of whom were well informed, reported the level of crime and delinquency in Addison to be low. Most people continue to keep their doors unlocked. Most crime that occurs is relatively minor, but a few serious exceptions do occur. Two examples are the theft of a portable electric generator from a hunting camp and the killing of a flock of sheep on an uninhabited island. In the latter case the offenders were described by the sheep's owner as "human foxes."

For the present at least, Addison has no plans to expand or formalize its protective services. It will rely on the local constables for minor infractions and the state police for more serious ones. Local efforts will continue to reflect the town's rationality. For example, to discourage teenagers from congregating at night on the town pier where they were noisy, a "No Loitering" sign was erected. Just to make sure it would stay in place, it was put on a long, stout pole.

As previously mentioned, in Addison the positions of clam warden and code enforcement officer are combined. Combining the offices is an example of Downeast pragmatism. The position of clam warden was created because of the recognition by the selectmen and a majority of those with an interest in the clam industry that the local supply had to be protected. The state mandated the code enforcement position. Combining them enabled the town to make the position financially rewarding by local standards (\$12,500 and expenses for the 1987-1988 year). It also endowed the code enforcement officer with a status he probably would have otherwise lacked—the clam warden is a sworn officer.

Addison was the first town in the area to have its own clam warden. It also adopted a two-inch minimum size limit on clams before any other area towns. Addison's action was instituted several years before it became a state law. These actions are examples of an attribute believed to be indigenous to the town by an acute local observer: "We are generally a little more forward looking" [than other towns].

To help ensure that clam digging will remain a viable occupation in Addison, the selectmen-appointed clam committee stimulates and oversees conservation practices. When asked how the members of the Committee are selected, the chairman replied, "We try to get men from different areas of town—two from uptown [Addison Point], two from South Addison, and two from Indian River, something like that. Try to spread it out." His statement confirmed both the continuing significances of Addison's three major population concentrations and the community's rationality. Not to select the committee members on a territorial basis would jeopardize its chances for success.

The social control functions of the clam committee are both indirect and direct. In consultation with the selectmen the committee decides how many resident and nonresident clam licenses will be issued. The number varies from year to year depending, primarily, on the expected supply of clams. The

committee's main function is to maintain the conservation program. A member of the committee stated: "We have authority to recommend to the DMR [Maine Department of Marine Resources] at a public meeting. [To actually close a flat] we have to get permission from the DMR."

To help keep clambers from digging in restricted areas, when they buy their license at the town hall, they are instructed to read the map on the counter which outlines restricted areas. As a member of the clam committee reports, this precaution doesn't always work: "We try to keep 'em [closed flats] well marked [with signs]. But some diggers will go in and tear 'em down and dig there anyway. Then [if apprehended] they'll say, 'It wasn't posted.' That's why we have the map at the town office."

The Addison Clam Committee has been an active participant in a clam-seeding project sponsored by the University of Maine at Machias and the DMR. Town officials, the clam committee, and most of the clambers support the reseeded effort. The town makes a contribution toward its support. Despite the general acceptance of the reseeded, when asked if the local clambers were interested enough to make the 10-mile trip to the hatchery, a member of the clam committee replied: "It's an awful job to get 'em to go down there and look."

As of the fall of 1989, Addison does not have a comprehensive zoning ordinance. By a state law passed in 1988, Addison, and other towns with its particular size and growth patterns, must have planning and zoning regulations in effect by January 1, 1996. No reaction to the state mandate was volunteered by any informant during the interviewing process. While it is unlikely that a locally generated zoning ordinance would have received a majority vote at an Addison town meeting in the 1980s, there is general acceptance of the subdivision ordinance.

As its name implies, the subdivision ordinance regulates the creation of new subdivisions. So far it has been effective. Perhaps its most important provision for maintaining the community's traditional dependence on marine resources is that it requires, as a minimum, a public access to the shore every 1,500 feet. Even with this restrictive clause, clambers and others who have used old tote roads and other lanes to get to the ocean are feeling the pinch of development. One clammer in reacting to a question about the effects of people from away buying shore frontage said:

Well they put in 'no trespassing signs.' We was always free to go where we wanted to, and it was always accepted, you know. If you had problems with your seine [net] and pulled up on the beach, you'd expect that fellow [home owner] to help you. Now people wouldn't go near it. Makes it difficult. It's their property, they own it, and they don't want you near it. Hard to understand that they can be this way.

In addition to the state mandates related to land use planning, Addison has had to staff two additional social control-like positions: plumbing inspector and

code enforcement officer. As mentioned earlier, the latter position has been combined with that of clam warden. Although there is not yet a building rush in Addison, a number of new homes have been built and a number of mobile homes have been sited on individual lots. In keeping with the informal norms of life in the town, the code enforcement officer has not been overly officious in carrying out his duties. In the words of one knowledgeable observer, "If [town officials] know of someone who is building...too close to the road he goes to them, counsels and informs them of setbacks. If they don't have a building permit, he takes them a blank. He will even help them make it out. Then he gives it to a Planning Board member to take to the next meeting. It works out real good."

The plumbing inspector also operates in a low key way. He makes sure that the intent of state regulations are met, but not necessarily in the way the state bureaucracy advocates. Life in Addison has been predominated by a live-and-let-live philosophy. It is the intention of most of the town's residents to keep it that way, but as will be further detailed in the following section, that goal is becoming more and more difficult to achieve.

A GREAT CHANGE— URBANIZATION/SUBURBANIZATION

Warren (1978:) identifies seven community-based processes that he terms Great Changes:

1. Division of labor
2. Differentiation of interests and association;
3. Increasing systemic relationships to the larger society;
4. Bureaucratization and impersonalization;
5. Transfer of functions to profit enterprise and government;
6. Urbanization and suburbanization; and
7. Changing values.

According to Warren, "Changes on the community level are taking place at such a rapid rate and in such drastic fashion that they are affecting the entire structure and function of community living (Warren 1978:53)." Although not all students of the community agree with the specifics of Warren's conceptions, his general conclusions have been widely accepted. Warren does not indicate that there is an order of priority among the seven changes he identifies, instead he states that they are interrelated. The interrelation of the "changes" has been identified in several aspects of this study, including urbanization/suburbanization and division of labor with respect to changes in Addison's natural resource industries. For this reason and for space requirements, except for urbaniza-

tion/suburbanization, community change will not be treated separately. The process of urbanization/suburbanization is a major force in restructuring the five major social institutions and social systems and the process of social differentiation that will be analyzed for Addison in the following sections.

According to Warren (1978:75): "To say that urbanization has accompanied...community changes...would be an understatement, for actually urbanization is so intimately intertwined with these changes as to be inseparable from them." A casual observer travelling through Addison, and probably, many Addison residents, might question the validity of Warren's conclusions for the town. Certainly, within the township limits, there are few evidences of modern urbanism. Addison lacks a "downtown" commercial area, fast food franchises, tightly packed multiple housing areas, heavy traffic, smog, etc.

In a sense, Addison's urbanization is more external than internal. Isolated as it is in sparsely populated Downeast Maine, nevertheless the town is greatly affected by the American urbanization process. Almost everyone receives a daily newspaper or has access to one, almost every home has a television set (cable TV came to Addison in 1989-1990), most families often shop in Ellsworth, the major commercial center of Downeast Maine. Significant numbers of Addison residents also make frequent trips to Bangor, some 90 miles distant, for shopping, health services, and entertainment. Increasingly, employed Addison residents commute to larger towns in Washington and Hancock counties. The centralized high school (MSAD 37) Addison students attend immerses them in American urban culture in a variety of ways.

Addison's population base has been sustained to a large degree by an influx of immigrants, many from urban areas. They bring some aspects of their urbanism with them. In both direct and indirect ways the community is affected by this process. Addison residents are also affected by the daily barrage of urban consumer culture contained in newspaper and junk mail advertising. An increasing number of state and federal regulations are forcing Addison into a national urbanized social environment.

As have most rural areas, Addison has succumbed to much of American material culture. There is still a strong desire, however, to maintain as much of the traditional rural way of life as possible. In reality, the community is becoming more urbanized day by day. The recent, almost universal desire for and acceptance of cable television will hasten the inculcation of urban culture in the community.

Addison's reactions to both urbanization and immigrants, particularly those with urban backgrounds, is a type of "eat your cake, and have it too" philosophy. There is a general desire to have the advantages of urban life without the loss of their traditional small-town way of life. At the same time there is resistance and resentment, often quiet and subtle, toward suggestions and/or plans for

change. If it is a recent immigrant(s) who suggests an “improvement,” opposition is likely to be particularly vocal and pointed.

The aspect of the urbanization/suburbanization process that is having the most obvious effects on Addison is the speculation in shorefront and island properties, and their consequent development as housing areas. Some local people have profited from the sale of land for future development. In most cases, however, sales by long-time owners have been for modest prices. The real estate developers and others who were the original buyers have resold their purchases for what, by local standards, have been astronomical prices.

The most often repeated example of an outrageous deal, which appears to have infuriated local officials, concerns a small spit of land, which one informant described as “No bigger than this small house,” and another said it was “about 25 by 30 feet.” He described it as:

the Duck Ledges. Nothing grew on it, [it] is just ledges. One time it wasn't taxed 'cause [the Town] didn't think it was worth anything. Someone wanted to pay taxes on it, said they owned it, so they [town] taxed it to him. He paid \$5,000 for it. This year it was sold for \$89,500.

Another well-informed person, in talking about the same sale remarked: “No one in their right mind would pay \$89,500 for that little island. I have often wondered if he didn't have a friend give [pay] that price for it on paper, then use it as a security to make a substantial loan, then if he didn't make out, he didn't lose on it.”

The “Duck Ledges” transaction is the only incident of suspicion toward the honesty of developers noted during interviews in Addison. If there is hostility related to development, it is focused on some of the persons who have bought lots, primarily on the shore or on islands. In the words of one native resident:

Sort of a mixed group we are getting in [Addison]. Some of them are real desirable and a benefit to the town. Other ones, I wish they hadn't found Addison on the map. They got tired of living in the city and city life, then they come here and the first thing they want to do is to build it over just like everything they just left. They want to duplicate everything they had in the city.¹⁷

As implied earlier, there is at least some feeling of resentment toward new residents in a general way. Part of it, as indicated, does relate to people with money buying up property at prices local people cannot afford. The large, semi-luxurious houses they build also cause some hard feelings.

There is some muted hostility to another classification of new residents. They are “working class” people who buy small lots, with perhaps, an older house on it. In other cases they bring in a mobile home. Most of the family members have

¹⁷For data on the extent and effects of immigration to Maine see Ploch (1988).

cars; many like to see how fast they can drive on secondary roads. One person who had lived on a "side road" for nearly 50 years complained about the recent spurt in traffic and fast driving by saying:

Its gotten so, last three years, I have to back my car in. I can't back out—cars coming up. They don't drive right. Think that they are the only ones on the road. And we've had juveniles that speed around here all night long, keep you awake.

The key to acceptance in Addison, as it is in most communities, is conformity to the norms. Inmigrants who do not rock the boat too much and who have something to offer the community are generally well accepted. Even newcomers who are white-collar professionals, who clam part time, are accepted as long as they follow the folkways. If, however, they over-step their locally defined bounds, or if they fail to perform satisfactorily in some community-related role, their immigrant status is noted. In effect, they become "ugly Americans."

Because Addison is small (1987 population estimate 1,100) it might be assumed that the urbanization/suburbanization process in the town would be relatively simple. In actuality it is quite complex. There are at least two thrusts to the process in Addison, and to some extent, they are interrelated. Much of the land with access to the shore (or views of it) and the islands have been bought by "outside" developers. They, in turn, are selling it at high prices (by Addison standards) to "people from away." Initially most of the new owners, when they build houses, use them mainly as vacation homes. As some of the owners become older, they spend more time in Addison; a few have become permanent residents. To date, this category of new land owners have had minimal social effects on the community. They add few if any children to the schools, and except for some demand for road improvement, do not add to town expenses.

The other group of immigrants are primarily persons who moved to Addison because it was their vision of small-town America. Most of them were able to find a job suitable for their needs and aspirations within commuting distance of the town. The case of one relatively recent immigrant may be typical. He had obtained a professional position in Machias, some 20 miles from Addison. Because they preferred to live in a rural setting within a reasonable commuting distance to Machias, they felt fortunate in finding such a location in Addison. It is an early 1800s farm house in their price range with considerable acreage and two farm ponds. They enjoy their rural setting, but both have become involved in a number of community activities to the extent that "We find ourselves stretched."

One way in which development is affecting Addison relates simultaneously to three of Warrens (1978) "Great Changes"—urbanization/suburbanization; bureaucratization and impersonalization; transfer of functions to private enterprise and government. Two individuals, one local, one from out-of-state, have

bought large tracts of land that, at least for the present they intend to keep undeveloped. To avoid paying the regular tax rate on a total of over 2,000 acres of land, they have placed them under the tree growth act. This state law reduces the amount of local taxes the owner pays while the land is kept undeveloped. The town has the advantage of land maintained in pleasant vistas, but the disadvantage of very minimal income from the property. This latter provision is not appreciated by local town officials.

Purchases of shorefront land is particularly vexing to those community residents who engage in sea-related industries. The clammers and wormers, especially those who do not own power boats, must have easy access to the flats. Traditionally, access to the flats was considered a public right regardless of whom may have owned the abutting property. As mentioned previously, to protect the needs of the clammers and wormers from the effects of development, the Addison development site plan mandates that property owners preserve a 25-foot wide right-of-way to the shore at least every 1,500 feet. According to a local official:

The idea of that...was that about 25 percent of our workers in the town of Addison are clam diggers and people who work on the water. What we were afraid of, and trying to guard against, was someone might buy up several miles of water frontage and restrict clam diggers going to those shores.

So far, the ordinance has worked quite well. There have been, however, a number of incidents involving the closing of long-used routes to the shore. With almost no variation, but with a sense of glee, several informants repeated a tale that involved the chaining off of a long-used access road by its new, out-of-state owner. In the fall, he hung a heavy chain across "his" road. The chain was secured with a lock. The next spring when he arrived in Addison, he was unable to unlock it. Some anonymous person (who was probably well known to the clamming community) had jammed the lock with an application of "super" glue. Although incidents of this type appear to be infrequent, they are frequent enough for the new land owners to get the message.

Traditionally, land values in Addison have been low, very low in most cases. As late as 1986 there had been only modest increases, and mostly for shore property. In that year, the lowest property valuations were \$60 per acre for "woody waste, swamps; wouldn't be usable land for anything but to grow forest products and some not suited for that." The highest values were at the "head of the cape," Cape Split:

That land down there, since 1965 when they started to subdivide, some of those lots sold just once, others sold as high as three, four times. Every sale from the beginning up to date [1986] with the exception of two sales, have sold for \$10,000 an acre. That pretty much established the value for that area [for tax evaluation].

By 1987 the price of shore property in Addison had increased dramatically. Lots that had been selling for \$10,000 were now commanding \$40,000. One particularly desirable acre that had been valued at \$10,000 was sold for \$80,000. Another example of a nonresident reselling shore property involved land that had been originally sold at a very reasonable price. The resale price for 2.1 acres was \$210,000. Island properties also increased in value at a rapid rate. According to a town official some of the islands that had been valued for less than \$100 were sold for from \$50,000 to \$250,000.

When one knowledgeable native was asked how the general population of Addison felt about subdivisions, he replied:

The majority of 'em don't like it. They don't like to see any change in town whatever. But change is something that an individual or several individuals, isn't going to stop. The only thing is they try to have guidelines in the right direction.

In keeping with the usual low key, but pragmatic customs of Addison, its development guidelines are limited, but practical. They appear to be adequate for the present, but are likely to be amended in the future as conditions warrant. In the meantime, there is at least one private initiative that could set the tone for similar actions in the future.

At the head of the Cape (Cape Split), perhaps the most desirable housing location in the town, the land owners have formed an association that has established restrictive and protective regulations. In the terminology of Loomis and Beegle (1978), these actions are examples of "boundary maintenance." The association has set standards for its members that have the effect of separating them from the rest of the community. The self-imposed regulations tend to increase the wall of separation between a group of "people from away" who are more wealthy and different in social class status from the majority of residents.

As related by an assessor, among the restrictions now in force in the Harbor Hill subdivision are:

they can't have any commercial vehicles parked overnight on any of the lots unless it is there performing a service as someone having a well drilled. If a man [resident] was in a business and had a vehicle that was registered commercially, he couldn't keep it in his own dooryard overnight.

It is unlikely that long-time residents of Addison would permit any regulation even approaching the restrictiveness of the Harbor Hill action in 'their' part of town. The general populace of Addison will, however, be confronted with dealing with the effects of increasing urbanization/suburbanization. If past history is to be repeated, the town's actions will be rational, and probably undertaken more quickly than is the norm for other small, rural Maine communities, perhaps before the 1996 deadline for a comprehensive planning document and ordinance that complies with state mandates.

COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

All organized communities develop institutionalized means to meet the basic needs of their residents. Families shelter, care for, and comfort their members. Economic, social control (government), educational, and religious needs are provided directly and/or indirectly by the community. Each of these institutions are interrelated—each affects the other. In a sense, they are the community.

Each of the community institutions are affected (and effected) in one way or another by the process of social differentiation. The following six sections comprise an analysis of the social institutions and social differentiation as they existed in Addison, Maine, during the 1986–1989 period.

Economics

As noted in the history section, Addison's economy from the early days of settlement to the late 1980s was characterized by resource-related industries. A combination of fishing, farming, woods work, and ship building dominated Addison's economy for generations. Somewhat later, quarrying local granite also became important. Although the town was physically isolated on a peninsula connected to the rest of Maine by an inadequate road system, it was not economically isolated. Its several harbors provided relatively easy access to other, larger Maine coastal towns, and in actuality, to the rest of the commercial world.

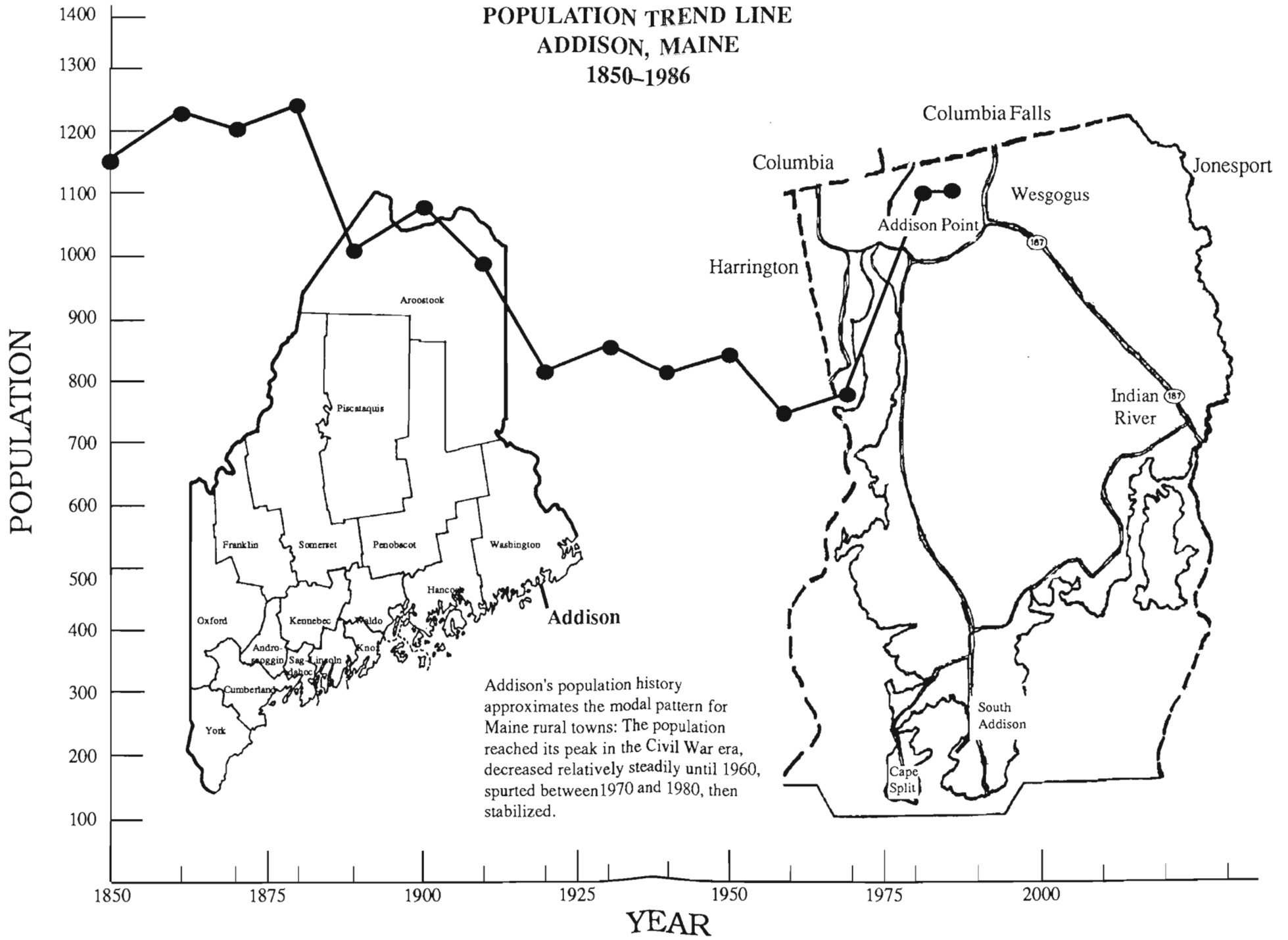
In consequence, Addison could easily import needed staples, but continued to remain relatively unaffected by the "outside" world. It developed its own way of life based on a resource economy. Unlike many other Maine coastal towns, it did not become a community dominated by a few wealthy entrepreneurs, who lived in mansions and controlled the government and most other aspects of the town, including its churches. Exceptions to this generalization were modest. Addison has always been a community in which working hard, rolling with the tides of change, and making a modest living from local resources was, and is, the norm.¹⁸ Wrestling a living from the sea, primarily by clamming or worming, continues to be the most important *locally based* economic activity—one informant termed it "Addison's life's blood." This assumption continues to be prevalent although not more than a third of Addison's families currently depend directly and solely on the sea for their livelihoods.

Town economics

In small rural communities, particularly those like Addison in which social class differences are slight, town government tends to be a reasonable reflection

¹⁸As indicated in an earlier section and as will be elaborated in the Social Differentiation section to follow, there is a growing concern among Addison's "middle class" that too many families take too much advantage of available social aid programs.

**POPULATION TREND LINE
ADDISON, MAINE
1850-1986**



of its citizens. In addition, many Addison residents work in the town in natural resource industries which provides them with a common basis for community decisions. In 1986 a town official stated, "seventy-five percent of the people who live in Addison, work in Addison. The majority who live here, work here [in] either the school department, clamming or lobstering, or working in the woods cutting pulp."

Although the community is basically conservative, it will engage in practices, which by some definition of the term, are liberal. For example, the town was the beneficiary of a sizable public grant to build a pier in Addison Point for those who make their living from the sea. The pier became so popular that there is interest in building a second one for South Addison, eight miles away by road. The town also has made use of a state and federal program to upgrade and/or install home sewerage disposal systems on a cost-sharing basis.

The town secured a loan from the Farmers' Home Administration (FmHA), a federal agency that provides loans to farmers, rural residents, and small communities. The money was used to convert the former Pleasant River Grange Hall in Addison Point to a town hall. Eventually FmHA sold the loan to the General Electric Company finance subsidiary. General Electric (G.E.) demanded that, among other things, Addison should bond the town treasurer and tax collector for higher amounts of liability. This action irritated the selectmen. Through an article in the Town Meeting Warrant, they were authorized to borrow money from an area bank and pay off G.E. "We paid them [G.E.] off and that's [the bank loan] all we owe." The loan is at a reasonable 6.9 percent interest.

If they had desired, the town could have paid off the outstanding debt (\$20,000) from their surplus account. When asked why Addison, a town with a low average income level, and overall low property evaluation, carried a large cash surplus (\$220,684 in 1987) a selectman replied,

We used to use up our surplus. Between mid-March and August, we would have to hire [borrow] money, make a temporary loan to carry us through until taxes started coming in. By carrying the larger surplus, we can finance our own business. So we do save money by doing that.

Another selectman, who approves of the practice of maintaining a relatively high cash surplus, also recognized that it had at least one practical limitation. With a high cash surplus "if you try to get a [state or federal] grant, they might say you are not poor enough."

The decision, in the 1960s, for Addison to become a constituent town of MSAD 37 was based, in part, also on rational economics. The decision to join or not join the school district was put to a town vote. "The first selectman said it would cost us a lot less money. Actual first year costs were a little less. Course it's costing us a lot now, but if we were out on our own, it would cost even more."

There is one housing complex for the elderly in Addison. In the mid-1980s, the town voted down the opportunity to apply for grants for low-cost family public housing. When a public housing official inquired why the town voted against the opportunity to acquire public housing, she was told:

If you come up here, I will show you how our low-cost housing is solved. An individual trailer, their dog, their broken down cars, their snowmobile—that's their property. The only thing this man has in the world is that. They spread out all over the place. Plenty of land between each one. If you take those people, and you put them in public housing, you've got problems right away.

Not all town officials, nor all families eligible for public housing in Addison would agree with that statement, but neither is it completely inaccurate. As in all communities, particularly small rural ones, the economics of the town, including its social and psychological implications, and the economic philosophy of its residents are intermeshed.

As implied above, persons of average or lower income who move to Addison are likely to settle in other than the expensive shoreland developments. In the 1960s–1970s, there was an inflow of persons generally termed “back-to-the-landers.” One long-time resident remarked:

Quite a lot of people moved in here and thought they was going to live off the land. But they didn't stay more than 2–3 years. They found they had to go back where they came from. They couldn't live off the land here.

Another informant, whose occupation puts her in contact with many of the immigrants, made a statement similar to the preceding one:

[Although we have few rental units] the turnover rate is high. People buy a place, then leave. Guess they find out they can't make a living here. Mostly out-of-state people. They come and try to get away from city life and find out there isn't much here. If they are retired, they stay.

The economic effects of immigration to Addison are both positive and negative. The more affluent migrants pay high taxes, but cost the town little.¹⁹ As one well-informed person put it: “I don't think we have had a kid to educate [from the families buying shore property].” On the other hand, many of the lower income families have children to educate. Some of them also take full advantage of social aid programs. In contrast to earlier years, the present plethora of state and federal welfare programs permits low-income families to live in Addison without becoming a major burden to the town. Addison is one of the lower average income communities in Washington County. A town official says,

¹⁹In recent years, non-resident property owners made up one-third of the town's tax payers, but paid one-half of the taxes. Some of these persons are becoming permanent residents as they retire.

“Everyone knows that Washington County is a poverty area.” Despite that truth, the same person stated: “People can move in here, and in one day they can get all that free [public aid] stuff. Can become a resident overnight.” The role of lower income families will be explored further in the Social Differentiation section.

Non-resource commercial activities

At one time or another, primarily from the early 1900s to the immediate post-World War II period, Addison was host to at least one of each of the following commercial services: blacksmith, barber shop, clam shop (clam shucking), cobbler, drug store, garage, general store (as many as five at one time), grain store, hat store, grist mill, livery stable, physician’s office, post office, sail maker, sawmill, and tannery. In the late 1980s, there is: a repair garage/gas station and post office in Addison Point; a modern general store, marine supplier, smoked seafood specialties, and lobster trap manufacturer in South Addison; two small convenience stores near Indian River; and a fitness center and custom meat shop in the Wescogus area. The once more-or-less self-contained community is now almost fully dependent on other communities for most commercial services.

The lack of a local economic infrastructure has several consequences for the community. Retail, wholesale, and manufacturing businesses usually are owned and operated by persons with abilities that can be integrated into town government, the schools, and general community activities and affairs. Their absence in Addison limits the pool of individuals for vital community roles. As a result the affairs of the community, both formal and informal, fall to a few people for relatively long periods.

Addison’s economic ethos, almost without exception, has been small scale. Even the shipyards and quarries were owned and operated by an individual or a few individuals (usually close relatives). Self-employment and small family businesses continue to be the norm.

The local preference to work for oneself in a local setting, in a natural resource industry, was put to the test in the early 1980s. According to an informant:

About seven years ago someone from G.E. [General Electric Co.] came in. The store [Brown’s Market] was operating then. [He said] he was doing a survey of available labor in town. He had [with him] maybe 200 forms. He asked if it was all right to leave the forms by the cash register. G.E. was thinking about building a factory to employ up to 300 people. He put a pile of the forms by the two cash registers. Said he would be back in 2–3 weeks to see how many people accepted.

The form asked, “are you available for work?” “what kind of work would you like to do?” “would you be available for work at night?” I think he got three replies.

They are independent individuals. They have managed to make a living, their children have managed to make a living, without having to commit themselves to the job from 8 to 4, day in, day out. They don't like that.

There is little doubt that in areas where it is possible to make a living from the natural resource base, it is a coveted right to be "your own boss"—to work at your convenience, at your own speed. An example of just one of the many incidents in Addison concerns a man who left the town for a factory job in a central Maine coastal town. "He was gone about eight months, and he had to come back. He said, 'I couldn't take that every day.' I would say that most of them [local people] wouldn't try to do anything else. Even the young people like it here, and they stay here."

Although Addison's economy is dominated by the sea and other natural resource industries, a number of local men are employed as craftsmen. Local builders, carpenters, roofers, and masons have found employment working on the new houses of immigrants. The local economy has been buoyed by the increase in house construction.

Despite the great amount of commercial development in the adjacent town of Columbia at the intersection of U.S. Route 1 and the main route to Addison, a new store in South Addison appears to be doing well. It, as previously mentioned, combines some of the attributes of the old general store with the modern chain convenience outlet. The store stocks all household staples, including fresh vegetables and meats, as well as many convenience items—sandwiches, soft drinks, beer.

The store's profitability appears to be related to two unrelated factors, both of which are reflections of modern American culture—state lotteries and specialized tourism. Mooseneck store does not have a lottery computer for Maine's Tri-State Megabucks lottery (which has occasional payouts as high as several million dollars). The store sells, however, instant lottery tickets (which have a maximum \$1,000 payout). The open wall space of the store is papered with hand-written signs announcing the names of lottery winners. The store receives a commission of 8 cents on each ticket, and ticket sales have generated up to \$5,600 net income per year—a significant proportion of its total income.

Sales in the Mooseneck store increase markedly in the summer. A large proportion of summer sales come from visitors who sail up Eastern Harbor to South Addison. According to the operator in 1989, "We've had some fantastic days." The economy of both the store and the community are revealed by the statement: "You got to look at [this store] as a seasonal business. We have to put away money when we are making money, so we can get through January and February. That's when we have a lot of people on food stamps." At one time in the store's short history, over extending credit to customers was a problem.

Both the “summer people” and touring yachts have increased the Mooseneck store’s income. In 1989 the operator of the store remarked:

We get a boost from the summer people, and of course, we get regattas in here. Last summer we got the New York Yacht Club in here, 158 yachts. It was unreal, really something to see. They waited until it was dark, shot off a cannon, and they all turned on their lights at the same time. It was like on Broadway—beautiful to see....Did almost three days business in one day.

Agriculture

The salt hay that grew profusely in the 1700s, in what is now Addison, was an attraction for early settlers. Except for the shipping of salt hay to Cape Cod in the early period, full-time commercial agriculture was never a major aspect of the town’s economy, but part-time farming was. Because of Addison’s isolated location, without the meat, milk, eggs, vegetables, and fruit from home plots, it would have been impossible for the settlement to survive. In later years, some people in the town received part of their income from selling homegrown foodstuffs to persons who did not produce their own.

Informants, including several who were 70 years of age and older, were able to remember just two full-time commercial agricultural enterprises. One was a general farm with an orchard of approximately 400 apple trees. The other was an egg-laying operation, with about 1,000 hens at the peak of production. Neither were able to survive very long after World War II.

Over the years, the major commercial agricultural enterprise was sheep raising on some of the unoccupied islands. In the 1980s, the last of these operations fell victim to thievery and advanced age. A former sheep raiser remarked: “There were sheep on that island before I was living, and that’s been a long time.”

Unlike neighboring towns, Addison is not a major blueberry producer. In the 1980s just two families were selling blueberries commercially. The estimated acreage of blueberries in 1986 was 100–125 acres, much less than the average for individual owners/processors in Washington County.

The Hay et al. (1949) study of Addison concluded that approximately half of the people in the town received some income from farming. There was general agreement among the older respondents in this study that part-time farming was fairly prevalent until the post-World War II period, but that it died out very quickly after that. The situation was well summed up by one key informant:

What farms we have are farms in name only. They don’t even raise the vegetables they eat. They do everything else but farm. There really isn’t what you’d call a farm today. There is a slaughter house, he buys and sells animals. His primary business is meat packing, including deer.

The historic price of land for farming in Addison would not seem to be a detriment for farming. In fact, the land prices probably reflect its inadequacy

for agriculture. According to an elderly informant, "When I first came here, I bought land for 50 cents an acre. Quite awhile after that it was \$1.00 an acre. Now, the last land I bought, paid \$140 an acre." Prices are, of course, higher in the 1980s, but land without shore frontage or shore access is still relatively inexpensive in Addison. It is unlikely, however, that prospective farmers will take advantage of the reasonable prices.

Oddly enough, a new supplemental agricultural endeavor began in Addison in 1989 on property with shore frontage. A relatively young retired professional couple from out-of-state bought a large tract of land on the west shore of the Pleasant River. On a high bank overlooking the river they are constructing a striking 102 ft. by 32 ft. two-story home. Part of the house will become Addison's first bed and breakfast lodging. An added attraction is a multi-colored herd of llamas. The breeding herd will be built up to approximately 30 animals. In just a few months the llamas have become Addison's major attraction. Visitors approaching the farm are alerted to its presence by an official looking sign: "Caution—Llama Crossing."

Marine resources

Addison's most important natural resource, in addition to the sea and its numerous inlets, is its 1558 acres of intertidal flats. In the late 1980s clam production on the Addison flats was considerably below its potential. According to a benthic biologist, with proper management, including periodic reseeded, their potential is at least double the present level of production. Wormers also make their living from the shore. Lobstering, while continuing to be important in Addison, employs fewer persons than clamming and worming.

Over the years in Addison, the number of lobstermen decreased, but the number of clammers and wormers increased.²⁰ Several interrelated factors account for the growth differentials. In lobstering the number of traps per boat has increased dramatically. As power boats grew in size, the number of traps per fishermen increased from about 50 to several hundred. When asked about the increase in the number of lobster traps, one elderly informant replied, "Buoys [that mark trap location] are so close together you can walk across them."

Another reason clamming and worming increased relative to lobstering is the difference in the cost of entry into the industries. Lobster boats, particularly those equipped with the latest electronic navigational and locational devices, are very expensive. In contrast, worming and clamming require almost no

²⁰Recently, the number of sales of commercial licenses decreased because the state license fee was raised from \$13 to \$38. Commercial diggers also have to have a local \$25 license. The recreational license is \$12.50. Some persons who "used to buy a commercial license, just to help the town out, now buy just the cheaper recreational one."

equipment beyond a few inexpensive rakes, a serviceable pick-up truck, and, quite often, a four wheel all terrain vehicle to get to the flats from the road. For travel to islands, a small boat, usually with an outboard motor is a necessity. Worming and clamming are easy industries to enter and leave.

When prices are high, the flats are crowded with diggers. As prices decrease, the number of diggers, particularly part-timers, also decreases. Clammers, especially those who work at it year round, complain about the clam price cycle. During late spring and summer both the clam supply and the market price tend to be at their peak. The diggers do well by local standards. In 1986 prices were as high as \$75 per bushel , and good diggers were harvesting two bushels per tide. In the winter the clam supply and the price are down, and digging conditions vary from unpleasant to miserable. Due to the combination of bad weather, few clams, and low prices, some diggers apply for income supplement programs. As mentioned previously, some Addison residents recoil at the sight of clammers and wormers exchanging food stamps for groceries. The general community belief is that the clammers and wormers are, or should be, reasonably well-off.

During the interviewing process for this study, the most common remark made about sea-related industries was that "there are more clammers, but fewer clams." To address this dilemma, Addison restricts the number of clam licenses that it issues, particularly to non-residents. The town hires a clam warden to prevent illegal practices and supports a clam committee, whose major charge is clam conservation and reseedling.

There is a general consensus in the community, among clammers and non-clammers alike, that the clam warden and clam committee are worthy of town support. According to a very active citizen, the community feels:

that anything [the town] can do to help the clam industry will help the people of the town of Addison. About 25 percent of the work crew of the town depends on clams for at least part of the year.

Both the position of clam warden and the clam committee were established in Addison before they were in nearby towns. As previously mentioned, the actual support of the committee and the warden is conditional. As long as the clammers are convinced that the clam warden and the clam committee are beneficial to them, they will be supported. If an individual or a group of individuals believe that they are being treated unfairly, immediate economics become more important than the long run good of the industry. Occasionally there are incidents, usually not violent, which indicate the clammers' displeasure particularly with the warden. The unstated maxim appears to be: regulation and conservation are okay as long as they don't infringe on my rights and my income.

Despite the general support of the work of the clam committee there is pessimism in Addison of how long clamming and the other marine industries will remain viable. Biologists with knowledge of clam culture are far less pessimistic. Their optimism, however, is predicated on proper reseeding, protection, and harvesting of the clams.

While it is likely that the sea-related industries will remain as the major source of employment within the town boundaries, it is just as likely that, proportionately, fewer Addison residents will be employed in them. Despite its semi-isolated location in a sparsely populated area of Downeast Maine, Addison and its people have become part of the commuting society. The economics of the community will be determined more by what happens to commercial and industrial development in coastal Maine than by what occurs specifically in Addison.

Government

In Addison three selectmen, three assessors, the town clerk, and the road commissioner are elected annually. Because Addison is a member of Maine School Administrative District (MSAD 37), members of the school board are not town officers per se; its three school board members are officers of the six-town school district.

Although the selectmen are the town's governing officers, it is the town meeting (at least one per year is mandated) that sets the parameters for the selectmen's actions. A major constraint on the selectmen is that they cannot expend any funds for any purpose that has not been authorized by the passage of an article at a town meeting. The selectmen, however, can use surplus funds without direct authorization, a concession in keeping with Addison's preference of practicality over needless bureaucratic roadblocks.

New England town meetings are often extolled as examples of "pure" democracy. In a way, they are. Each adult citizen has the right of full debate and the privilege to vote "aye" or "nay" on each warrant article.²¹ In practice, town meetings are not always fully democratic forums. A former moderator of Addison's town meeting, when asked if people attending the meeting sometimes felt pressure to vote a particular way on an article, replied:

Often people, for whatever reason, are unwilling to vote their conscience on certain issues. Whether because of social pressures or because they belong to a certain group and they are not willing to have that particular group know that

²¹As late as the 1950s, by Maine law, persons who had received direct aid from the town in the previous year were denied the right to vote in town meetings. In one town in Piscataquis County, the town clerk would stand at the town hall doorway, record book in hand. Any "pauper" entering the building was directed to sit in the balcony with the school children and other non-voters.

they are voting a certain way just because they would feel ostracized as a result, I am not sure.²²

When a particular article on the warrant appears to threaten the vested interests of some group, reactions at the town meeting can be spirited. An example occurred in the 1980s centering on the rights of clam diggers who harvested the flats year round and those worm diggers who used them only seasonally. In the words of an elderly informant, who was so upset over the disagreement that she no longer attends town meeting:

All the clam diggers from the whole town arrived. No matter what anyone [else] wanted to do, it was voted down. All they [the clam diggers] wanted to do was to keep the worm diggers from using the clam flats.

In relative terms attendance at Addison's town meetings is quite high, averaging about 200, over 300 at times. One former selectman, a person with a strong interest in and knowledge of town affairs, believes that some persons fail to attend town meetings, even though they may be especially interested in a particular article. He believes that they are reluctant to rouse any kind of hostility. He further stated: "some of these people get wind of what took place, and they'll be all over town criticizing what was done."

To help ensure that the selectmen do not dominate actions at town meetings, most Maine towns have a budget committee. In Addison, the budget committee is appointed by the selectmen. Efforts are made to choose persons from all areas of the town to avoid charges of favoritism.

Budget committees generally serve as screening forums for the selectmen. Their procedures and importance vary from town to town. Addison's budget committee includes the selectmen, town clerk, road commissioner, and the appointees. It's recommendations accompany the statement of the articles in the annual town report. In most Maine towns each article on which the budget committee has made a recommendation is moved separately for adoption. Addison deviates from that method; instead one article lists the money requests, a practice that is an example of rational practicality.

Addison's, appointed budget committee and the elected board of selectmen are dominated by men. For the nine fiscal years, 1980–1981 through 1988–1989, of the total 110 one-year appointments to the budget committee, nine were women. Similarly for the 27 one-year terms of office for selectmen during the same period, women were elected for three terms.

The election of town officers in Addison is accomplished by nomination from the floor of the town meeting in the best tradition of community democracy.

²²The moderator is the presiding officer at town meetings. The moderator keeps the meeting moving, usually by the use of Roberts' Rules of Order, and maintains decorum.

Although there have been some breaches, outright electioneering is frowned upon. Voting is by secret ballot. All terms of office are for one year. When asked why Addison had not adopted three-year rotating terms of office, a practice which is common among Maine towns, a veteran office holder replied:

Well, if you put a person on for three years and find he is no good...well you're stuck with him for three years. Then if you get another one that's about like that, makes it bad.

The one-year terms appear to be another example of Addison's rational practicality—"no good" officers can be easily replaced. If they are acceptable, they are easily retained. The record indicates that Addison voters keep satisfactory persons in office for multiple terms. For example, during the 1980–1981 to 1988–1989 period, one person was elected first selectman eight of the nine years, and second selectman, for the remaining year. During the same period, another person was elected selectman for six of the nine years, and a third person held office for four of the nine years.

Political parties

In Maine, elections for town offices are officially nonpartisan although it may be well known that a candidate is active in a particular political party. With the exception of a few scattered enclaves, and the French-Canadian St. John River Valley in Aroostook County, most rural Maine areas are at least nominally Republican. The values and traditions widely practiced in Maine rural towns tend to reflect those of the Republican Party. In many of these communities, however, the largest segment of the registered voters are "unenrolled"—neither Republican nor Democrat. Addison is an example of this trend. In 1986, of the 759 registered voters, 20 percent were Democrats, 37 percent were Republicans, and 43 percent were not enrolled in either party. The large contingent of unenrolled voters is a reflection of the rural value of independence—voters choose the candidates who are on the "right side" of important issues.

This is not to say that politics does not play any role in the community. In earlier years political preference was important. The Republican Party was the predominant force. According to an elderly informant, one former town clerk, a "rank Republican," attempted to ensure that his party continued to be the party of choice in the town: "When a first-time person enrolled [if he/she did not state a party preference] he would put them down as a Republican, so the town of Addison was always a strong Republican town."

Currently, party affiliation has little or nothing to do with whom is or is not elected or appointed to office in Addison. Because Addison has not, at least until recently, had a high rate of immigration, most of the office holders are natives. For example, in 1986 of 14 persons holding town-related positions, 12 were

Addison natives, one was from another Maine town, and one was from out-of-state. With the rise in immigration in recent years and the real possibility of some new landowners becoming permanent residents, it is likely that more non-natives will be assuming offices in the town. This event, if it does occur, does not mean necessarily that the direction of town government will be changed radically. Research indicates that immigrants tend to conform to local norms (Ploch 1988). For many of them, their choice of community was based on the congruence of their values with those of their new community (Brown and Wardwell 1980).

Town finances

Assessing. Through 1989 Addison was fortunate for many years to have as its first assessor a very competent native who made assessing and property sales his hobby. In his retirement years, he taught himself to use his own home computer. He uses it to keep track of all land sales. This information is kept as an adjunct to official records. The town's rapid rate of land sales and escalating prices make some people think that Addison might soon need a professional assessor.

A person with intimate knowledge of Addison, when asked in 1988 about the possibility of professional assessment for the town, replied:

it will come to town meeting in the near future, I'm sure. [But] I don't think it will pass, not if people are smart, it wouldn't. [Why?] It would put a lot of older people right out of their homes. They couldn't pay the [higher] rates.²³

Although overall higher property evaluations do not mean necessarily that everyone's taxes would increase, the possibility of higher taxes endows political decisions in Addison with a conservative, cautious perspective.

Road Maintenance. Road maintenance provides an example of Addison's fiscal conservatism. Town warrants in rural Maine generally contain several articles pertaining to roads and road maintenance. In Addison usually there is just one or two road articles. A town officer explained that town officials, including the elected road commissioner, meeting with the Budget Committee decide on how much to spend on roads. Generally the town meeting accepts the budget committee's recommendation that includes specific sums for specific roads. Unlike many other Maine towns, the Addison road commissioner is not paid a lump sum. "He is compensated by how many hours he spends and turns

²³ Article 31 of the warrant for the March, 1990, Addison town meeting read: "To see if the Town will vote to have a State Certified Assessor revalue all the Real Estate within the Town of Addison and take the money from Surplus to pay for the same." The article was defeated by a three-to-one majority.

in. He gets paid by the hour [but] he has to keep within the budget by road classification.”

The combination of setting parameters, but allowing some leeway for the road commissioner is an example of an Addison value—“we will not tie your hands, but you have to keep within certain bounds.” The clam warden and fire chief operate under like conditions. Similarly, the selectmen are given the right to be selective in how they use surplus funds. A former member of the budget committee commented about this practice:

It gives them [selectmen] a lot of latitude. Never has been abused. It is necessary to save the town from borrowing any money—saves the interest. Also saves calling a special town meeting. It is an economic measure. [The selectmen’s request to use surplus funds] has never failed to pass—whatever the budget committee requests will go through.

Allocating considerable authority to the selectmen is, as indicated by the quotation, thought to be a rational action. Such actions, however, do not mean that the town-meeting form of government has lost all of its traditional spiritedness. It is the little items, with minimal consequence, that stir emotions and controversy. An example:

The really big ones [expenditures] will slide right by. Everyone knew we had to have a new fire engine, no argument about that. Then you get to \$50 for ambulance service. They will start arguing which one [ambulance service] we should give it to. All this stuff might take two hours.

Fire Department. Articles for appropriations for the Addison Volunteer Fire Department are most often accepted readily. Part of this ready acceptance may be related to the disastrous 1938 fire. The fire was not forgotten although the fire department was not organized officially until the early 1950s. Even though there had been no serious fires for sometime, in 1975 an advocate for buying a new engine took advantage of Addison’s economic rationality. He informed those at the town meeting:

‘If we get it now, 52 percent of it will be paid by nonresidents.’²⁴ I think that was one of the key things that made them vote for it. Don’t think anyone in town was sorry we got it. Paid for it in five years and hardly knew the difference.

There were mixed opinions in Addison during the late 1980s when the issue arose of building a fire station in the south part of town and housing an engine there. Both the pro and con forces presented examples from past experience to

²⁴For the 1989–1990 fiscal year, the value of nonresidents’ property (land and buildings) was 50 percent of the total Addison valuation of \$23,840,912. Perhaps more important for the future, just 24 percent of the nonresident valuation is on buildings. As lots in developments are sold and homes are built that are more costly than the average for the town, the tax burden will shift more toward the nonresidents and new residents.

plead their cases. South Addison residents recalled how an elderly man lost his life presumably because of the slow response of the fire equipment from Addison Point—eight or nine miles distant. Some of the people against the idea reiterated the example of how a fire engine that had been stationed in South Addison became useless because it was allowed to freeze up in the winter.

An important factor in the 1989 town meeting approval of \$5,000 for construction of a fire house in the southern section of the town may have been based on economic rationality. Fire insurance is substantially lower for those persons who live within five miles of the fire station.

Social Service Agencies. As mentioned earlier, although the price of shoreland and other attractive property increased dramatically in the 1980s, non-village inland sites remain relatively inexpensive. Because of the availability of inexpensive land, coupled with minimal site and building restrictions (including those related to mobile homes) persons with low incomes have immigrated. The influx of low-income newcomers has not been a burden on the town as it would have been in the past. In 1986, according to a town officer, "this town used to raise \$2,000–\$3,000 for the poor account. Last year we raised \$1,000, this year only \$500." The difference is that state and regional agencies have assumed much of the income supplementation and related welfare costs.

Although many Addison residents are disturbed by the overuse of the food stamp and other welfare programs, they remain generous in their support of a variety of helping agencies. During 1987, the town of Addison spent \$6,723 to support 15 "helping" agencies, all of them headquartered outside of the town. Grants ranged from \$2,155, for the Washington-Hancock (Counties) Community Agency (WHCA), to \$25 for Northeast Combat, a consumer advocacy group located 80 miles away in Bangor.²⁵

There may be wrangling over individual items, but the requests for funds from "outside" agencies are funded much more often and readily than in other Maine towns of comparable size and financial ability. In 1986, "the entire slate of requests by community agencies for funding assistance was passed as a single motion." They had all been recommended for funding by the budget committee. Each of the requests apparently had met Addison's requirements of need and common sense—the agencies will do good and funding them is the least expensive way to accomplish this good.

Clam Committee. Support of the clam committee's efforts to reseed Addison's clam flats is a further example of Addison's economic rationality. In 1986,

²⁵The WCHA provided \$201,306 worth of services to clients in Addison in 1988. The appropriated sum is approximately 1 percent of the amount spent by the WHCA in the town. The range of services included fuel and energy crisis assistance, prevention of electricity shut offs, weatherization and heating, child care and food subsidies, and transportation.

\$2,500 was allocated for clam reseeded. The success of the program was a factor in the 1989 appropriation of \$5,000 for this project. Addison's liberality can go just so far, however, and petitioners must make very convincing arguments. As a former town official stated: "When agencies request more funds than [they did] for the previous year, usually there is a motion [at town meeting] to cut it back to the amount voted the previous year."

Solid Waste Disposal. In Addison, as in all communities in the late 1980s, there are concerns about solid waste disposal.²⁶ In 1989 the Addison dump was in good shape, but there was recognition among town officials that the state would soon be dictating how the town's solid waste would be handled in the future. A former town selectman, who is active in a variety of town affairs, is Addison's representative on a regional solid waste planning committee. There is optimism that Addison will not suffer seriously from any new solid waste regulations.

In the late 1980s, Addison joined with all the other organized towns in Washington County to prevent the establishment of an incinerator ash dump in an unorganized township. The communities opposed the dump, which was designed to incorporate state-of-the-art technologies for storing incinerator ash, on the grounds of potential pollution of an important aquifer. The ash would have been trucked over a narrow, dangerous road from a waste recovery facility 90 miles away in Penobscot County. After lengthy hearings, the license for the facility was denied by the Maine Department of Environmental Protection.

Solid waste management/recycling, increased property sales (particularly in developments), and the consequent problems of creeping urbanism will have significant impact of Addison's local government. More specialized expertise will be needed to study and solve problems. There will be needs for increased town revenue. Inmigrants will make special demands, and larger proportions of them will run for town offices. These and other changes will place strains and challenges on Addison's three-person, annually elected board of selectmen.

Education

Traditionally, providing education to their children was so important in many rural communities, that in a very real sense, the schools were the community. Education and schools were never quite the social and cultural forces in Addison as they were in Easton, Maine, (Ploch 1988) or Landaff, New Hampshire, (Ploch 1990), but they were important. Almost all persons interviewed for this study,

²⁶To assure the continued use of their present dump and to provide a steady source of income to an elderly Addison resident, Article 19 of the 1990 Addison Town Warrant read: "To see if the Town will vote to purchase the property from Alice Kinghorn which is now being used for the town dump. Purchase price will be \$100.00 per month for the rest of Alice Kinghorn's natural life." The article passed, but has not been implemented because of a legal impediment.

who were over fifty years of age and educated in Addison, spoke of their schools and the quality of their education with an affection that transcended nostalgia. Most of them quoted chapter and verse why their education was both sound and valuable to them.

A number of Addison citizens have distinguished themselves at the college level although their early education was limited. Perhaps the most amazing success story heard during the interviewing process was recited by the daughter-in-law of an Addison native who was born before the turn of the 20th century:

When he went to Boston [as a young man] he found this place on Boylston Street called M.I.T. He went in and said 'What do you have to do to study here?' They replied, 'Take an examination.' He then said, 'When can I take it?'...That man never went to high school...Four years later, in 1895, he was the number one student at M.I.T.

The community's early interest in education has been transmitted to succeeding generations. An informant, now in his late sixties remembered: "During high school I had to get my own breakfast, put up my lunch, and milk the cow. Then I had to walk three miles to meet the postmaster at 7:00 a.m. on his way to pick up the mail. Got to school over an hour early. Used it to study."

Financial support of public education was an early priority in Addison. The first tax levied in the town was for school purposes. In these early days there were ten school districts within the town, each with taxing power. The amount of taxes could vary from district to district, a situation that enhanced identification with neighborhoods.

In the 1800s it was a common practice for students to supply their own school needs, including text books. According to the authors of *Then and Now* (1981: 11) "The Town of Addison was one of the foremost in this section to adopt the Free Book System, which gives the children of poor parents an equal opportunity for learning with those of better means. This was done in 1889, one year before the law was passed by the legislature." In the 1880s there were at least eight elementary schools. By 1890 there were also two high schools, one in Indian River and one in Addison Point.

During the 100 years that Addison's population decreased from its historic high of 1,272 in 1860 to 744 in 1960 (a decrease of 42 percent) there was an even greater decrease in the number of schools. In 1905 there were "eleven school districts with a total of 317 scholars" (*Then and Now* 1981:12). At one time, at the S.S. Nash School in Addison Point "there was three schools in the one building."

In 1968, Addison joined with five neighboring towns to form Maine School Administrative District No. 37 (MSAD 37). The S.S. Nash School served as Addison's elementary school until 1975, when the new, modern, attractive, and functional Daniel W. Merritt Elementary School, a unit of MSAD 37, was

opened. Although the sentiment and the vote to join MSAD 37 was not unanimous in Addison, it passed by a comfortable majority. In the late 1980s, while the school district continues to have some detractors, the conclusions of a MSAD 37 School Board member from Addison appears to represent a community consensus:

Now, as far as I can tell people are quite satisfied with the [M] SAD. [There are] little problems here and there, but they're quite satisfied. Really wouldn't want to go back [to the old system...We...couldn't incorporate [in S.S. Nash building] business courses, or good courses in college preparatory or vocational subjects.

Some lamentations are voiced in the community that the "new" schools lack the warmth and personalness of the old smaller units. This sense of *Gemeinschaftness/informality* [Loomis and Beegle 1978] was illustrated in the report of the Addison School Superintendent in his statement in the 1947–48 Town Report in which parents were invited to visit the schools:

during regular sessions so that [you] may see [your] son or daughter work with a group of which he or she is a member...[you are urged to work with the teachers] because it is only in this way that we shall be able to improve the effectiveness of our educational efforts for your child.

At one time, one-room schools did reflect local culture to a great degree. Before the time of organized groups such as P.T.A.s, local parents, particularly mothers, involved themselves with the school. For example when there was an elementary school in Indian River, the Mothers Club, with help from the town, replaced outmoded desks with "individual" seating (Addison Town Report 1953–1954).

Today there is very little of that kind of effort directly related to the schools. Instead of elementary pupils now being concerned about school picnics and very localized events, their interests tend to be interrelated with national and regional culture. An example: in 1986 the year New England's beloved Boston Red Sox baseball team almost won the World Series, there was a "Go Red Sox" banner in the multipurpose room of the Daniel W. Merritt elementary school.

In most rural towns that belong to a MSAD, it is a fact that parent and citizen involvement with the schools, particularly the high school, is minimal. At one time school issues and support were brought before town meeting. Under the present system, there is one school budget meeting for the administrative district. MSAD 37 is not an exception to the rule that relatively few voters attend the meeting that determines what school expenditures will be for the next fiscal year. A member of the MSAD 37 School Board maintains that "Addison always has the largest turn out" for the budget meeting. The general lack of interest is remarkable in many ways, especially considering that, typically, one-half or

more of local tax expenditures are allocated to the school system. For the 1988–1989 fiscal year 66 percent of Addison’s local tax funds was spent on public education.²⁷

A member of the MSAD 37 School Board who appears to understand both the attitudes toward education by Addison people and the educational needs and concerns of a natural resource base community stated:

I believe the high school has a good college prep program. I don’t think it is doing an adequate job for the other two. That is being addressed by the school board....A lot of us feel that the non college bound students are the ones who are going to be living in the area—probably for much longer periods of time than those who are going to college. They leave to go to college and many don’t return. The person who doesn’t go to college may go to the service for awhile, but they generally come back.

As indicated in several sections of this narrative, Addison, as are all rural resource based communities, is affected by its dominant industries. Unlike the other towns comprising MSAD 37, Addison has only a relatively few acres of commercial blueberry land. The dominance of blueberries in the other towns does affect the operation of the high school. In 1986 it opened one week late because the blueberry season was later than usual.

As early as 15 years before Addison students began attending MSAD 37 Narraguagus High School, there were serious concerns about the S.S. Nash High School program. In 1953, after a visit to the school, the Maine Director of Secondary School Education stated in a report:

the town should consider making some rather extensive improvements in the now existing facilities, or make arrangements for the education of its high school pupils at some other school having better facilities (Addison Town Report 1953–1954:26).

No Addison informants made negative comments about MSAD educational facilities except for the time it took for students from the southern section of the town to get to Narraguagus High School. They have to change buses in Addison Point. There were several complaints that the teaching program is not focused more on the specific needs of non-college bound students. A common sentiment was that there should be more efforts made to train students in those fields in which they are likely to be occupied as adults. One long-time resident, well known in the community for enunciating his beliefs stated, “There’s lot of pulp cutters here, but no forestry course at all. ’Bout all that high school does is preparing school teachers.”

²⁷Despite the high proportion of local funds spent for education, an Addison selectman stated in 1987 that, “the state claims we get 73 percent of [total] school costs from it.”

The increase in Addison's property valuation related to sales to outsiders has consequences for local education costs. The local (non-state) share of the expenses of operating MSAD 37 are apportioned to the six towns based on their property evaluation. Consequently, because Addison's property values are increasing more rapidly than those in the other towns, its portion of financial support for the district has increased. This fact, which the district itself cannot control or affect, has generated some resentment in Addison.

Family

By 1778, 19 years before the General Court of Massachusetts authorized the official formation of the town of Addison, there were 243 inhabitants in the community (*Then and Now*). Among the early settlers there were 30 surnames. In the late 1980s, 15 of those names are borne among Addison's approximate 1,100 residents. It is likely that more than 15 of the early settlers have descendants in the community.

Although Addison's population is comprised, to a significant degree, of persons whose forebearers were residents of the town through many generations, there is not the social and political emphasis on "old family" found in other communities settled in the colonial period. It should not be construed, however, the family lines have no significance in Addison. Family is important in the community, but not in the classical sense of social domination. Some persons, not surprisingly, do take pride in being descended from the Driskos, Looks, Merritts, Nashs, Nortons, Wass's, and other early settlers.

Pride in colonial period ancestry generally is expressed quietly in Addison. With just a few exceptions, informants did not volunteer that they were descendants of the very early settlers, or other persons who were important personages in the town. With some questioning, however, it was clear that a number of persons were very proud of their colonial ancestry; they just do not make a point of it.²⁸ For example, although it was never mentioned, it is highly likely that some of the informants had ancestors who were involved in the Revolutionary War. Some of the residents are probably eligible for, or perhaps are, members of either the Daughters (or Sons) of the American Revolution. Self-aggrandizement is not an Addison characteristic.

It is quite well known and appreciated in the community that Daniel W. Merritt was both an early settler and the person who "laid out [surveyed] the town." According to one of his descendants:

²⁸The continuity of the "old" families in the community is illustrated by the following statement from a person who can trace his ancestry to the early settlers. "This house sits on the original grant. The land has *never* been sold to anybody. My ancestor, who obtained it, was the land agent. He was dividing up the land in the area, trying to get settlers to come here so his company could do business with them in 1767."

He was the one who petitioned the state of Massachusetts [the General Court] to incorporate this town as Addison...Daniel was authorized by the state of Massachusetts Legislature to draw up a warrant and call together the first town meeting.

There are 14th and 15th generation Merritts living in Addison. In 1986, the member of the Merritt family who held title to the original landing site of Daniel W. Merritt deeded the property to a young grandson who bears the name of the original Merritt settler in Addison.

The family interrelationships that appear to be most important in Addison in the late 1980s have less to do with old family lines than they do with occupation. The closest ties are among the families whose members are clambers, wormers, lobsterers. Presence or absence of "old family" connections are of little importance in the every-day lives of those who make their livings from the sea.

In the opinion of an organizational agent who works with Addison people, they tend to be more "close" in their interpersonal relationships than are the residents of some other western Washington County coastal towns. "They are more clannish; harder to make inroads with them. They [clambers, etc.] are all related, mingle among themselves. Coastal communities are quite reserved and they [Addison] residents are quite typical."

Another professional person who lives in the community evaluated "family life" as being very closely knit. The same person concluded that when there is a family rift it tends to be quite serious: "When I first came here there was a married couple that did not talk to his parents for seven years, and they lived right in same house."

There is a strong tradition in Addison, especially among the clambers, wormers, and lobstermen, that children, particularly males, follow in their father's occupational footsteps. This message was conveyed to me by persons ranging in age from nine or ten to their late sixties, early seventies. A typical remark:

You know once a person gets in one of these industries it's passed down through father to son. They make their living that way.

For many children born into the sea-related families, following their father's occupation is not just an expectation, it is a necessity. It is a norm in most Washington County coastal communities (as it is in Aroostook County potato towns) that children, male and female, will earn much if not all the money needed to buy school clothing. One adult, speaking from experience, remarked:

Lot of kids earn their own school clothes. We have the clam flats or lobster fishing. [In some towns the kids] have to wait until they are 12, so they can go blueberrying.

When asked whether or not she would encourage teenagers to stay in the community, an elderly woman who is more or less the unofficial, but recognized, matriarch of one of Addison's neighborhoods replied:

I think I would encourage them to stay here. You're born in a place, you should stay there. Right here it's a comfortable life. The thing is to have work where you go. I would encourage kids to stay here. Lots go, but they all come back.

For its size, and the educational and economic level of the adults, there is a fair amount of child/parent-related activities in Addison. In recent years there have been three 4-H Clubs (one with just three or four girls in South Addison). The county 4-H leader feels there should be more, but adult leaders are difficult to recruit. There is a Brownie Troop, and an off-and-on-again organized summer sports program. There are at least tentative plans to increase organized recreational activities.

When asked about family recreational activities in the town, a person whose professional duties include family contacts replied:

It's like they don't really get out to do a lot of social things. Well they play Beano—that's the big thing. Mostly they just stay to themselves. I do find when I go into their homes they are friendly.

Another professional stated that Addison residents "support their youth." He also mentioned that the support of school activities was excellent: "When there is a function they all come, and that isn't characteristic of a rough-tough town."

Addison is not as rough nor tough as some isolated rural Maine towns. It is not, however, without deviations from ideal standards. Interviews with state agency personnel who deal with the problems of unwed mothers and family abuse problems in Washington County indicate that although Addison is not among the towns with the highest proportions of family related problems the rates are higher than desirable.

In relation to the problem of teenage pregnancy, a social worker stated, "Washington County has the highest teenage pregnancy rate in the state, but I don't see Addison as heavy." The same worker said that "the major problem of the teenage mothers is they have a tendency to tie themselves with boyfriends who are into drugs and alcohol."

Although teenage pregnancy is not rampant in Addison, it appears to be interrelated with family lines. According to a social worker "There is a lot of third and fourth generation [teenage pregnancies]. A lot of them had grandmothers [who were unwed mothers]." The worker placed much of the blame of teenage pregnancies and the related problems of drug and alcohol abuse on the system, rather than on the individuals: "It's difficult to motivate clients to make changes and not be able to offer them anything to make changes with."

In Addison, as is the situation in most communities, the segments of the population that have few problems of teenage pregnancies, substance and/or family abuse, tend to blame the individuals involved for their problems. On the other hand there appears to be relatively little overt ostracism of those who do not meet certain community standards. Unlike other rural communities that I have researched or am familiar with, no particular family or family grouping was identified as being the source of delinquency of any kind.²⁹ Addison is a relatively tolerant community in social relationships, including family matters.

Religion

The traditional, stereotyped picture of New England rural communities almost always contains at least one white clapboarded Protestant church. There are presently three churches of that type in Addison. Since the town's formation there have been at least eight formal religious organizations. Three churches for some 1,100 persons is not a high church-to-population ratio. In Easton, Maine, there are five Protestant churches for 1,150 persons (Ploch 1988b).

The difference in church-population ratios between Easton and Addison tells just part of the story. When Easton was studied in 1986–1987, informants almost always, either directly or indirectly, indicated that Easton “is a religious (and/or church) community.” No interviewee in Addison made a similar remark. Two local ministers indicated that Addison ranks low in religious interest. There are, of course, highly religious persons in the community, related and not related to the local congregations. A major difference between the two towns is that in Easton religion and church affiliation permeates the community in multiple and meaningful ways. In Addison, at least until recently, and except for a few devoted followers, the churches were more symbolic of an institutional heritage than a dynamic force in the community.³⁰

Organized religion began in Addison in 1789, nine years before the community was officially organized as a town. The Union Evangelical Meetinghouse was built on the hill west of Addison Point village on a site purchased from an early settler, Joseph Drisko, for \$16.25 (*Then and Now*). Beginning in the colonial period, “union churches” were quite common in New England communities. They signified a general attitude that although religious diversity existed, it would be impossible or “foolish” for each of the religious preference groups to build and maintain their own edifice (Ploch 1990). Addison shared in

²⁹A fictional, but realistic, account of the effects on a rural community of a delinquent-prone family grouping is portrayed in *The Beans of Egypt, Maine* by Caroline Chute.

³⁰The fact that the “Church on the Hill” and the Union Church in South Addison have both undergone a type of religious metamorphosis will be discussed in following paragraphs.

the New England Yankee practicality. In many New England towns the church property was initially owned by the town.

In 1825 the Addison Baptist Church Society was established as [the] Union Evangelical Society (*Then and Now*). According to *Then and Now* (15) "In 1848, the church became a Baptist Church until 1951. It is now called the Union Evangelical Church." Locally, the building became known as "The Church on the Hill." The present building, the third on the same site, was built in 1860. The minister is a member of the Assemblies of God faith. She conducts the services consistent with that denomination's literal biblical interpretation.

The Methodist message was heard early in Addison. "The first Methodist Church preaching in this area was in about 1770...when Duncan McCobb, from the Provinces...preached for a few Sundays" (*Then and Now*:17).

In 1810 a Methodist circuit was established in western Washington County. "From then to the present, Methodist Services have been held in some part of the town" (*Then and Now*:17). It was not until 1870 that a Methodist congregation was established in Addison. The first services were held in the Addison Point Universalist Church. They later met in the more comfortable Masonic Hall. In 1917 the congregation, with \$800 of borrowed money, purchased their present building, a former general store.

The Universalist Society maintained a church in Addison Point from 1841 to 1932 when it was destroyed by fire. Apparently it was never heavily attended, but its membership was both community and religiously minded.

There is some evidence that at one time there was a church on the Cape Split peninsula. Presently the former Cape Split elementary school, which is still owned by the town, has been converted into a summer chapel. It is supported by both permanent residents and Cape Split summer people. Speakers include both clergy and non-clergy persons.

There were at least two churches in Indian River in the 1800s. A Baptist Society existed in the neighborhood at least from 1853. In that year Susannah K. Emerson deeded a parcel of land to "The Baptist Cause" (*Then and Now*). The church and land were deeded to the Maine Baptist Missionary Convention for one dollar in 1886. There is also evidence of a second Baptist church in Indian River in the 1880s (*Then and Now*).

A Universalist Church was functioning in Indian River in the mid-1800s. The well-known religious liberality of the Universalists was demonstrated in their granting use of their hall to George Jones Adams. It was in this building, also known locally at the time as Adams Hall, that the plans to establish a homeland in Palestine for Jews and Christians were formulated by Adams and his followers. The building later became a garage; it burned in 1976. There is no trace left of the church hall, nor is there any tablet or other memorial to indicate where the building stood.

The most recently built church in the town is the Union Church in South Addison. This relatively new (1945) edifice was built, to a large degree, in the traditional style of New England village Protestant churches. Also, in keeping with a New England tradition, it is a “union” church—a building in which more than one religious expression can be practiced. In the late 1980s, the Sunday School is operated on the “union” non-denominational principle. Church services are, effectively, those of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, a church that is relatively strong in coastal Washington County.

From a total community perspective, the Methodist Church, located on Addison Point’s main thoroughfare near the town hall, is the most community-oriented religious organization in the town, but its influences on the community are limited as are those of the other churches. At one time the church, through its women’s group, served hot lunches to Addison school children. The closing of the S.S. Nash School and the inception of the federally subsidized hot lunch program ended this service to the community that also raised a sum of money for church purposes. The church does continue to sponsor community suppers as a fund raising activity. Beyond whatever income is derived from them, the suppers may not have great importance to the congregation. An officer of the church remarked: “Very few of the church people are involved in that [church suppers]. Mostly its community [non-Methodist Church members] that go to them.”

Although it has a relatively small attendance, the Methodist Church Sunday School is probably the most community-related aspect of any of the Addison churches. Oddly enough, according to the pastor in 1986, the Sunday School and the church as a whole were not strongly interrelated.

The Sunday School has about 20 kids. Their families relate somewhat [to it]. But the church itself is mainly older people. The Sunday School families, about 10 of them, are younger. We would like to have them as part of the church [but] the young families don’t have much to do with the church, and the church people don’t know much about Sunday School.

In 1989, a church official confirmed that both the church attendance and the number of children in Sunday School “was creeping up.” He stated that the latter was “the main Sunday School thrust of the town.” He also stated that because of the quality of the Sunday School “a lot of people in the community see that their kids go.” The spokesperson believed that because “local volunteers do the teaching [it] was a good deal—it’s all a part of the community.” He also stated that before the town hall was renovated to serve as a social center many community events were held in the “downstairs” of the church....I think the church feels that was a loss.”

The Addison Point Methodist Church is one of three churches sharing and supporting a minister in two adjoining towns—Harrington and Columbia Falls.

This creates some problems but does allow for the provision of services and activities that one small church could not support. A united choir is one example. In 1989 a church official estimated that “the actual membership is around 50 people, members, but counting friends and what not, closer to 100 or so.”

The Methodist Church tends to serve as the church of choice of some of the immigrants who have not been Methodist. A church member explains this situation by stating, “You know the “mainline” denominations [Methodist, United Church of Christ, Presbyterian, American Baptist, etc.] pretty much stick together.” If this presumption is correct, the increasing migration into Addison Point of persons in the white-collar occupations who tend to belong to Mainline Churches, (Ploch 1990) might result in an increase in the membership of the Addison Point Methodist Church.

The Church on the Hill, which as previously noted was originally a union church, for many years was effectively Baptist. Under the guidance of the present minister, it now is in fellowship with the biblically oriented Assemblies of God denomination. The reasons for becoming affiliated with the “Assemblies” were:

If you are independent, people don't know what you stand for....When you belong to a regular denomination where people know where you are coming from it's a plus. Ever since we went Assemblies...we have had growth.

By any measure, the “growth” has been minimal. In the fall of 1989 there were just 14 actual church members, but “we've had a lot of new ones who have not yet become members. We run [at church services] anywhere from 30 to 40.” A considerable proportion of the increased interest in the church is from persons from neighboring towns. There are church sign posts on U.S. Route 1 at the junction of the two roads that lead to Addison Point.

The minister uses her home, a former railroad station, as the site for midweek services. The interior of the house is comfortable and quite attractive with a showpiece stone fireplace. Informal prayer services are held in the home. Interestingly enough, the volunteer work to remodel the building has been supplied primarily by students from a conservative Christian school located some 100 miles from Addison. The student workers have spent weekends at the home working and “in Christian fellowship.”

No informants directly criticized the transfer of the former Union/Baptist Church into an Assemblies of God congregation. There were, however, indirect statements that the church should have continued its traditional format.

The Union Church in South Addison, as stated earlier, is not an official LDS church, but for church services it functions as a Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The active congregation is apparently larger than any of the other Addison Churches. The average church attendance is 35 to 40 persons — larger for evening services that are combined with a reorganized LDS

congregation in nearby Jonesport. The church has little or no relationships with the other Addison churches or the town except for South Addison.

The quite low level of cooperation among Addison's three church bodies is not unusual for Maine rural communities. It is common for individual churches, both rural and urban, not to cut across whatever status levels may exist in the community (Ploch 1990). In Addison the separateness of the churches appears to have little to do with social status, but if there is one church that is most related to the community's high prestige carriers, it is the Methodist Church. The Church on the Hill, according to its minister, has no one of wealth among its congregation. The distance between the South Addison Union Church and the other two probably accounts, to a large degree, for its separation from the other two religious bodies. Rather than variations in the affluence of parishioners it is the diverse religious orientations of the three churches that is the major factor in their separation. The Church on the Hill, as mentioned, interprets the gospels quite literally including the requisite of tithing. The Methodist Church is, in fact and in community conceptions, the most "liberal" of the three churches. An official of the church refutes that conception, "I don't think we are that liberal. Our theology is very strong...we are open to the gospel [but] we are the mainline denomination in town."

The Church on the Hill and the Methodist Church share joint sponsorship of services, but only occasionally. The ministers of the two congregations are, however, in personal fellowship with each other although "our [different] theology is the issue between us." A former minister of one of the churches, when asked about inter-church differences remarked, "It's kind of nice in a small town for the people to have that choice." That remark, although made by a person who had been in the community for a short period, tends to sum up an Addison cultural characteristic: "Sure we have our differences, but they are not great enough to split us apart." Variation in religion is one of those "differences," but it is a benign difference—it has very little effect, pro or con, on Addison as an interactive community.

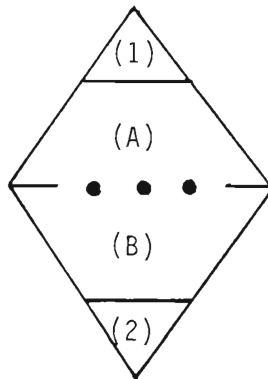
Social Differentiation

In Addison, social and economic differences between individuals, families, and neighborhoods tend to be ill defined and elastic. For this reason, the term social differentiation will be substituted for social stratification, a concept that implies relatively definitive, often rigid, separation among social groupings.

Whenever informants indicated that there were some social or economic differences among individuals or groups, with a few exceptions, they did not use the term "social class." Instead when the subject was discussed, the modal responses indicated that, at least for Addison natives, one's social position in

the community is not fully a matter of a specific class inheritance, but one's family identification does have lifelong importance. As one person put it: "Early in life you're tagged with a name [some sort of family identification] like the 'Smith boys' and it sticks for the rest of your life."

If there is a system of social differentiation in Addison it approaches, to some degree, the conception of social and economic inequalities that James West (pseudonym) derived from his classic study, *Plainville, U.S.A.* (1945:117). West conceived Plainville's system of social differentiation to be diamond shaped:



As the drawing indicates, West conceptualized that for Plainville there were relatively few persons in either the top (1) or bottom (2) social stratum. The bulk of Plainville people fell into the two middle groups — A or B. West characterized the upper middle class (A) as "good, honest, self-respecting, average everyday working people" (West 1945:117). The lower middle group (B) were described as "good lower class people" (West 1945:117).

The methodology of this research did not include a technique that permitted the determination of the number and parameters of social and economic groupings in the Addison of the late 1980s. It became quite evident, however, that social differentiation in the community at least approaches West's conclusions for Plainville. There are very few resident families that can be described as very high or very low socially or economically. The bulk of the population conforms to West's "A" or "B" configurations.

The "A" section of the diamond can be visualized as representing the white collar, professional, and craftsman residents of the community. The lower middle portion of the triangle, in a loose, imprecise way tends to represent Addison's "working class" including some, but not all of those who make their

livings from the sea. While income is a socially differentiating factor in Addison it is modified by what West terms “manners,” roughly translated as “ways of life” (West 1945:124).

In addition to “manners,” West (1945:120–126) asserts that for Plainville there were five other interrelated criteria for the determination of social position: (1) geographical, (2) technology, (3) good families, (4) worth (wealth), and (5) morals. The following distribution is a transformation of West’s social status criteria for Addison.

1. **Geographical.** In Addison, in relation to social differentiation, geographical distribution pertains largely to location in Addison Point, the major village, versus location “down below”—primarily South Addison. Addison Point remains as the prestige neighborhood in the town for long-time residents and some newcomers. As previously mentioned a house lot with shore frontage is becoming the location of choice for most of the “better off” newcomers.
2. **Technology.** In Addison, technology relates primarily to the sea-related industries. Particularly for lobstermen, prestige is related to having the newest, largest, most powerful boat. For the clambers and wormers a new, deluxe ATV (all terrain vehicle) and/or a new fully equipped pickup truck are technologies that can add to an individual’s prestige.
3. **Good Families.** In Addison “good family” is a diverse term. It includes most of the “old” families, providing that they are neither “uppity” nor violators of community norms. For parents, providing well for your immediate family and being loyal to your extended family are factors in enhancing family status. The positive aspects of “manners,” to be described below are also included in most local definitions of “good families.”
4. **Worth.** Wealth is, of course, interrelated with all of the other criteria of social differentiation in Addison. Except for some of the newer homes of immigrants, and the penchant of some persons for fully equipped boats, pickups, ATV’s, etc. one’s wealth tends not to be ostentatiously displayed. Particularly for those making their livings from local resources, the definition of worth (wealth) for many persons is a relatively steady income that is high enough to meet their basic needs as well as to provide for a few extras. Unfortunately, because of the fluctuations in both the supply and demand for their products, the income levels of many of the natural resource families fall well below this goal. When this happens, and they resort to using food stamps and other (by local parlance) “hand-out programs” their social status in the community suffers. Exceptions to this generalization are some widows and a few other “deserving” people.

5. **Morals.** In Plainville, West asserts that "Morals count for more in judging lower-class people" (1945:122). Carolyn Chute makes the same point in her fictional account of rural Egypt, Maine (Chute:1985). During interviews for this study, many more or less middle-class informants spoke with some intensity about the morality of persons whom they perceive to occupy lower positions in the local social status hierarchy. There was almost no mention of the moral values of other social groupings.
6. **Manners.** West (1945:124) explains that "The number of traits associated with manners is so nearly infinite that no effort can be made to describe them all." In effect, manners is a summary concept. In Addison it includes working hard and living up to one's potentials in all facets of life, being dependable for both small and large commitments, moderated by a sense of moral obligation. In the eyes of those with "good" incomes by local standards, the cardinal sin for lower income people is the misuse of the food stamp program or accepting other public aid for which they are not fully deserving.

As indicated in several sections of this narrative Addison is a community of neighborhoods. Placing of families and/or individuals in any hierarchy of social differentiation must be modified by the neighborhood in which they live. For example, an individual might have one social status in the Basin, and a quite different one in the community as a whole. This conclusion was documented in the 1948 Hay et al. study of Addison in regard to organizational leadership and its relationship to social position. The Hay study (1949:19) which employed a door-to-door formal, quantitative interviewing technique, found that in Addison "nine-tenths of their leaders lived within the neighborhoods or communities."

In 1986 a former Washington County Extension Service agent who was an interviewer for the 1948 study of Addison reflected about leaders and leadership in the earlier period:

The leaders were apt to be people that had status and ability to earn, and [judged by] how long they had lived in the community. With women, it seemed to be less different as far as income was concerned: they were good in the community. Good as a neighbor. [For women] income didn't seem to have much to do with it.

Also in 1986 a "summer person," whose family had maintained a home in Addison since the 1930s, believed that the part-time residents "now tend to interact more with natives than in the 30s." His inference was that there was a weakening of traditional boundaries between the native or long-time residents and those "from away." The recent great increase in the number of sales of house lots in developments, and a modest increase in the number of professional white-collar people moving into the town may create increased tensions be-

tween the new people and the long-time residents. If at all severe, these tensions could result in a rigidifying of the existing system of social differentiation.

Until the late 1980s, however, the new land and home owners, who are obviously well off by local standards, have not created a new, definitive social strata in the town. When a very well informed person, who occupies a position of importance in Addison, was asked a series of questions about changes in social differentiation in the community related to the new residents, the replies were somewhat equivocal, but, on balance, they appear to indicate that the impact of the newcomers on the community's social structure has been slight. An example:

Question: Are the new people looked upon positively or negatively?

Answer: I would say definitely positive. Most of them don't have any children going to school in the area [so they are not a tax burden]. And, like I say, their properties are worth quite a bit. [When they need help] they are nice and polite. Don't try to push you around at all....Basically they are all friendly, even people with money and high class—but they don't act that way....The new people are welcomed to the community, [but] maybe they don't feel that way.

If these comments are typical of the attitudes of the native middle social grouping, they indicate that, to date, Addison's loose system of social differentiation has not been greatly altered by the influx of new residents. It is not without possibility, that, in the long run, there will develop greater barriers between the community's upper middle grouping and those in lower middle grouping.

It is also likely that the upper middle grouping will further stratify. There are some subtle indications that this process is in its early stages. When asked about the dynamics of social differentiation in Addison, a college-educated immigrant professional replied:

There is an upper class in the Cape Split area. These are primarily people who do not stay year 'round [but might eventually]. They are what I like to call L.L. Bean types. They wear L.L. Bean clothes. I don't think they look down on others, but they do live differently. Down there, if they want to build a \$200,000 swimming pool, they do.

This same informant provided insight related to the areal distribution of the various social economic groupings in Addison. His observations were that the highest status (wealth) group lived primarily on Cape Split. The next ranking, the growing number of professional persons "live all over." His third grouping was described as the "larger and larger number of people that have a job where they 'punch-the-clock.' They work mostly out-of-town—the blueberry factories, the 4-corners complex in Columbia, and a lot in Machias." The final

grouping he perceived to be the natural resource people, the clammers, wormers, lobstermen.

[They live scattered about the town], they don't have secure incomes—they can't say what their income will be next week, but at the end of year it is about the same [as the blue-collar workers].

Although Cape Split is the only section of Addison that is almost universally identified as the residence area of a particular social grouping, the "lower end of town" also approaches that designation. As one person with experience stated, "If you're from the lower end of town, you wouldn't get as many votes as if you were from the upper end of town."

While the influx of newcomers with greater financial resources than is the norm for Addison may create some separation based on wealth, education is seen in the community as a factor in making the system of social differentiation less severe. Prior to the introduction of school busing to all sections of the town, children who lived in the outlying areas were less likely to attend high school:

More of the children in Addison Point [the largest village and the location of the high school] would go on to high school. Less dropouts up there, too. The dropout rate was very high.

There is also a general feeling that despite the more-or-less depressed condition of clamming related to the decrease in supply, that the overall economic level of the community is higher than it was a generation ago. A native and long-time activist in town affairs, after being asked whether there were more or fewer "poor" people in the 1980s than in the 1940s, summed up the situation by stating:

I would say less. I don't know of any family in the town of Addison right now that I would consider poor. Some are taken care of through disability programs or some government program.

The same person, however, reiterated the oft repeated theme that a number of families take unfair advantage of government aid programs. If there is a lower social strata in Addison, by local standards, it is this body of miscreants.³¹ Most of these persons make their living from some combination of clamming, worming, and woods work. When the price and/or the supply is down they often apply for welfare benefits rather than to seek work aggressively. An elderly native who had held a number of blue-collar jobs, but who was never unemployed, remarked that: "I don't see too many looking for jobs. They have hiding places; they crawl into 'em and watch the jobs go by." A local businessman made

³¹ Although I believe that I had good rapport with this person and a number of other well-informed persons who were aghast at the misuse of helping programs, no informant mentioned the names or in any other way identified those who were "cheating." This appears to be an Addison characteristic: "you can condemn a practice, but you don't call names—that's their business."

a similar complaint: "You can't hire nobody to work for you. They make more money getting relief than they can by working."

As indicated in the following quote from a person with both official and unofficial knowledge of the lower income people in the town, there is an ambivalent attitude toward the segment of the population that makes use of available helping programs.

Question: Is there a feeling in town about those who might be able to work but don't always take the opportunity to do so?

Answer: I think so, but not because they are getting the help. I don't think anyone looks down on them for getting the help, but they do for the reason they get it. Why should the rest of us work when they sit home and receive money [that] comes out of the money we make? They are as able to work as we are.

Some of the persons who have low and irregular incomes, according to middle-class informants, at times resort to unlawful acts. One example concerns not only a theft, but also the low key way justice is sometimes achieved in Addison. When possible, local problems including law breaking are settled locally without outside help.

A man who had his outboard motor stolen from his yard suspected that the culprit was his neighbor. In keeping with the local norm he did not make an outright accusation. Instead, when he needed to have a section of his woods cleaned out, he informed the suspect:

The man agreed to do it, took about a week. So when the work was done the owner said 'Now we're even,' and he walked away. He got his restitution without having to go to court. Everyone around here knows everyone else and how they live.

SUMMARY

As documented in Zimmerman (1938) and DuWors (1952), persistence and change are characteristic of all communities. Although communities are in a constant state of change, cultural patterns tend to persist, but usually in moderated form. Addison is not an exception to the generalization.

From its beginnings in the late 18th century, Addison was "turned to the sea." That heritage, although modified, remains alive and well in the community. With a minor exception, the shipbuilding and sea commerce era ended in the town in the early 20th century. The products of the sea—fish, lobster, clams, and relatively recently, marine worms—became Addison's major resource based industries. Quarrying was also important into the 20th century. Woods work and

seasonal wreath making are now important as secondary income sources for some families.

In contrast to these economic persistencies, an important social and cultural change with many economic implications is occurring in Addison. In a nontraditional way, it relates to the town's marine location. The low wooded hills and bluffs that dominate much of the town's extensive shorelands have become prime sites for housing developments. Because of the relatively high prices for house lots in the developments, they are being sold primarily to "persons from away" who, by local standards, are wealthy. The impact of this process is in its early stages—the lots in most developments have sold briskly, but relatively few new homes have been built.

There is a general concern in the community about the development process. There are fears that local taxes will rise, that Addison's share of support for MSAD 37 will increase, and that property values will become so high that local young adults will not be able to buy a home site. Beyond these economic issues, there is a deep seated resentment that the "new" people will impose their "city" ways on the community.

The clammers and wormers are particularly worried about continued access to the marine flats. Traditionally they have made their way to the shore via a network of paths and old tote roads. Many of these entrances are now owned by the immigrants. This trend is signified by a number of "no trespassing" and similar signs. One example reads: "Warning. Unlawful for unauthorized persons to remove this chain. Walkers are welcome." The chain is not removed, but it is lifted so that clammers can drive their four-wheel ATV's to the flats.

To help prevent the new landowners from assuming complete control of the accesses to the flats, Addison's site plan requires a 25-foot wide roadway every 1,500 feet in new developments with shore frontage. This provision is one of several actions by the Planning Board and other official bodies that are attempts to guide change in the community without preventing further development. Addison, unlike some Maine rural towns, takes rational rather than harshly restrictive actions toward change and development.

The single most traumatic event in Addison's history was the great fire of 1938. In a few hours almost the entire commercial and civic base of the town was destroyed. The burned post office and library were replaced with new buildings and the Methodist Church was repaired. Addison's commercial enterprises did not recover. There are still vacant lots where once thriving businesses were located. The fire was a major factor in regionalizing Addison's commercial contacts. Instead of being able to meet nearly all of their day-to-day living needs in the village of Addison Point, most of the town's residents do their "daily" shopping at the array of stores and shops at the nearby "four corners" shopping center in Columbia.

During the period since the 1938 fire, the process of persistence and change became very apparent in Addison. In terms of persistence:

- The population remains almost exclusively white and Anglo Saxon and predominantly Protestant, but non-church related.
- Lobstering and clamming continue to be the major resource based industries. Sons, and a few daughters, follow their fathers into sea-related occupations.
- A relatively low proportion of young people leave the community after finishing their schooling. A number of them return home after short stays in larger communities or a stint in the armed forces.
- The selectmen/town meeting form of government remains virtually unaltered. In many respects it is a people's forum. Each year all adult citizens have the privilege of electing the three selectmen, the three assessors, the town clerk and the road commissioner.
- Local law enforcement is entrusted to a group of dedicated constables who lack formal law enforcement training.
- Very few changes have occurred in the communities basic value system. Independence ("doing it my way") continues as a dominant theme.

The number of changes is considerably greater than the number of persistencies, *but* the majority of changes is the result of mandates by higher levels of government or local attempts to maintain old values and ways of life that are consistent with present day realities. Among these changes are:

- Loss of local schools and, consequently, joining with five other towns to form MSAD 37.
- Creation of the position of clam warden and formation of a clam committee.
- State mandated code enforcement officer and plumbing inspector.
- Institution of the position of Administrative Assistant to the Selectmen.
- Loss of two of the three Granges.
- Formation of a recreation committee.
- Support of a formal, equipped fire department, and a fire house for South Addison.
- Formation of the Women's Auxiliary to the fire department and the sponsoring of Beano for the support of the fire department.
- A private enterprise fitness, exercise salon.
- Sale of state run lottery tickets.
- Wire lobster trap plant in former Grange in South Addison.
- New town dock by use of federal funds.
- Tremendous rise in property values, particular shore lots and large parcels of land, including islands, bought by outside developers for sale to immigrants.

- Llama farm/bed and breakfast operation.
- New union church in South Addison. Shift of the Church On The Hill from a Union/Baptist format to the Assemblies of God faith.
- Introduction of cable television.

The majority of the changes are adaptations to the pressures and mandates of the larger American culture. They are indications that Addison is no longer a socially or culturally isolated community that can set its own operating agenda. Despite the wishes and hopes of its remaining traditionalists, Addison has been both pushed and pulled into accommodating late 20th-century modernism. Despite all the changes, because of its small population, relative physical isolation, its dependence on a natural resource base, and its long tradition of social and cultural independence, Addison will remain as a near prototype Downeast, coastal community.

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