

2006

## Settling the Maine Wilderness - Moses Greenleaf, His Maps, and His Household of Faith, 1777-1834

Walter M. Macdougall

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WALTER M. MACDOUGALL

SETTLING THE

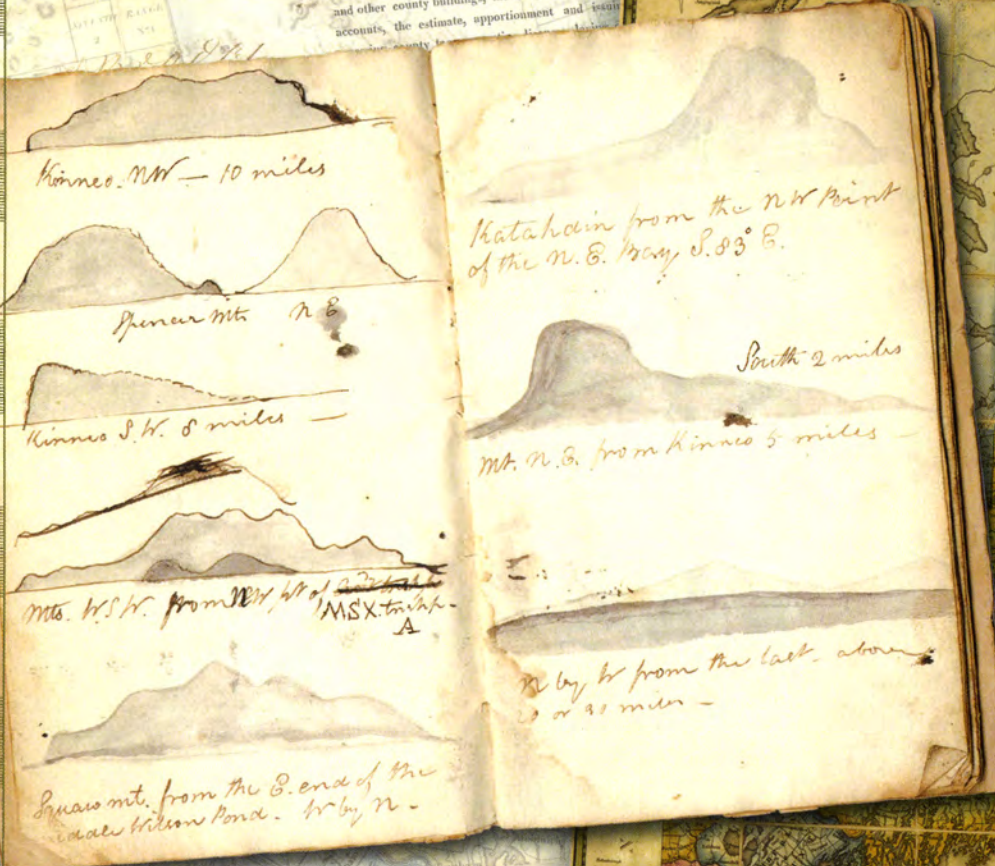
# Maine Wilderness

MOSES GREENLEAF, HIS MAPS,  
AND HIS HOUSEHOLD OF FAITH, 1777-1834

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

To all Persons to whom these Presents shall come :

WHEREAS, in and by a Law, passed on the twent  
February, 1819, entitled, "An Act to establish Courts of  
it is enacted, that from and after the first day of June,  
the Court of Sessions, in the several Counties in this Cou  
shall be holden by one Chief Justice and two Associate  
any two of them; to be appointed and commissioned by  
with advice and consent of the Council, who shall hav  
ers, rights and privileges, and be subject to all the  
at the time of passing the act aforesaid, were vested  
Courts of Common Pleas, relative to the erection and  
and other county buildings, the allowance and settle  
accounts, the estimate, apportionment and issue



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*The purpose of this occasional publication series is to stimulate public interest in and awareness of maps and cartography. It seeks to provide meaningful contributions to the cartographic literature that can be appreciated by both the layperson and the scholar.*

Osher Library Associates,  
c/o Osher Map Library,  
University of Southern Maine,  
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# Settling the Maine Wilderness

MOSES GREENLEAF, HIS MAPS,  
AND HIS HOUSEHOLD OF FAITH, 1777-1834

WALTER M. MACDOUGALL



Osher Library Associates, Occasional Publication No. 3

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*Dedicated to the memory of*

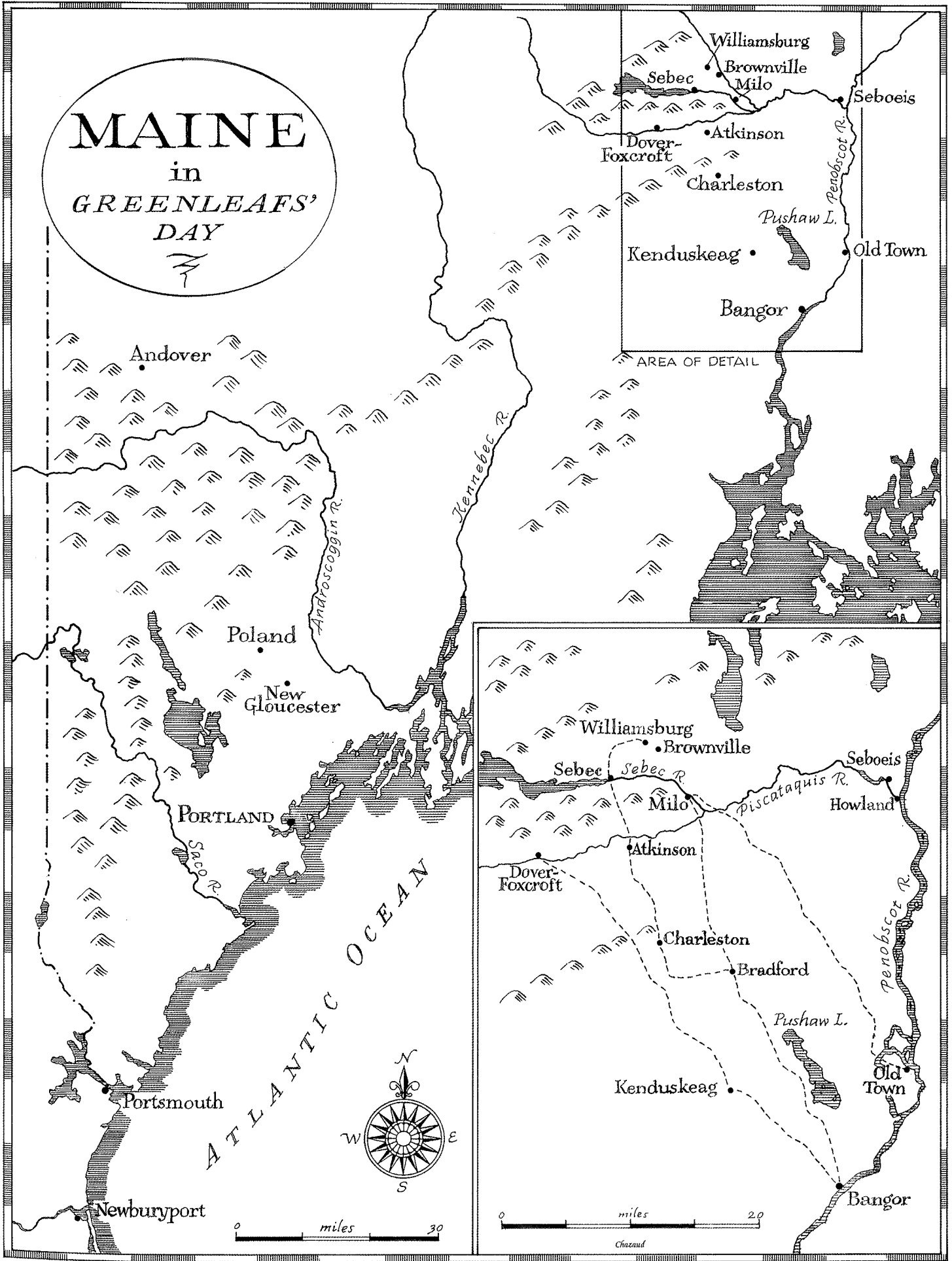
*Lillian Fredin*

*who by lineage and in spirit belonged to*

*Moses Greenleaf's household of faith*

# MAINE

in  
*GREENLEAFS'*  
DAY





# C O N T E N T S

- vi LIST OF FIGURES (BETWEEN PAGES 107 AND 122)
- vii ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES
- viii ACKNOWLEDGMENTS
- ix INTRODUCTION

## PART ONE: MOSES GREENLEAF'S LIFE

- 3 CHAPTER 1. MOSES GREENLEAF AND HIS TERRA INCOGNITA
- 6 CHAPTER 2. MAKING IT IN A NEW WORLD
- 12 CHAPTER 3. THROWING OFF THE YOKE
- 16 CHAPTER 4. NORTH OF THE PISCATAQUIS
- 22 CHAPTER 5. GREENLEAF HILL
- 29 CHAPTER 6. A VOYAGE OF SURVEYING
- 33 CHAPTER 7. WILLIAMSBURG AND HOME
- 39 CHAPTER 8. FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS
- 45 CHAPTER 9. THE CRAFT
- 49 CHAPTER 10. TRANSPORTATION, SLATE, AND REALITY
- 55 CHAPTER 11. POLITICS AND SOCIETIES
- 61 CHAPTER 12. OF HEIRS AND IRONIES

## PART TWO: MOSES GREENLEAF'S WORKS

- 66 CHAPTER 13. THE WRITINGS OF MOSES GREENLEAF
- 72 CHAPTER 14. THE *Statistical View*
- 79 CHAPTER 15. THE *Survey of Maine*
- 86 CHAPTER 16. GREENLEAF, THE MAPMAKER
- 99 CHAPTER 17. INVENTORY: 170 YEARS LATER

## 107 FIGURES

## APPENDICES

- 124 I. GENEALOGICAL TABLE
  - 125 II. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MOSES GREENLEAF'S PUBLICATIONS
  - 128 III. OUTLINE OF MOSES GREENLEAF'S ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIVE VALUE OF MAINE LANDS AS AN INVESTMENT, FROM HIS *Statistical View*
  - 129 IV. THE CLOSING PARAGRAPHS OF GREENLEAF'S *Statistical View*, 149-152
  - 130 V. MEMORIAL OF MOSES GREENLEAF TO THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF MAINE, JANUARY 1830
  - 132 VI. A POLITICAL ARTICLE BY MOSES GREENLEAF, 1831
  - 134 VII. A PARTIAL LIST OF THE EFFECTS OF MOSES GREENLEAF
  - 135 VIII. JOSEPH WHIPPLE, WRITER ON MAINE
  - 136 IX. THE OSGOOD CARLETON MAP
- 
- 138 FOOTNOTES
  - 152 INDEX



## LIST OF FIGURES

1. Profile of Moses Greenleaf, reproduced from Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, frontispiece.
2. Osgood Carleton, 1802 Map of Maine, reproduced from the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine.
3. Moses Greenleaf, Map of the District of Maine, 1815, reproduced from the Bangor Public Library.
4. Moses Greenleaf, *Map of the District of Maine from the Latest and Best Authorities* (Boston: Cummings and Hilliard, 1815), reproduced from the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine.
5. Moses Greenleaf, *Map of the State of Maine with the Province of New Brunswick* ([Portland], 1843), reproduced from the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine.
6. Moses Greenleaf, Map of the principal Rivers, Mountains and Highland Ranges of the State of Maine, plate 1 of *Atlas Accompanying Greenleaf's Map and Statistical Survey of Maine* (Portland: Shirley & Hyde, 1829), reproduced from the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine.
7. Moses Greenleaf, Sketch of the Imaginary Ranges of Highlands, plate 3 of *Atlas Accompanying Greenleaf's Map and Statistical Survey of Maine* (Portland: Shirley & Hyde, 1829), reproduced from the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine.
8. Moses Greenleaf, Vertical Sections, Exhibiting The comparative Altitudes of the principal Highlands and Rivers of the State of Maine, plate 4 of *Atlas Accompanying Greenleaf's Map and Statistical Survey of Maine* (Portland: Shirley & Hyde, 1829), reproduced from the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine.
9. Moses Greenleaf, Map of the inhabited part of the State of Maine, plate 6 of *Atlas Accompanying Greenleaf's Map and Statistical Survey of Maine* (Portland: Shirley & Hyde, 1829), reproduced from the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine.
10. Details of the northeastern quadrants of (a) Moses Greenleaf's map of 1815 (see figures 3 and 4), (b) his map of 1829, (c) his map of 1844 (see figure 5), and (d) a modern map (GIS map was produced by Rosemary Mosher, Orbis L.L.C.).
11. Title pages of Moses Greenleaf's books: (a) *Statistical View* (1816); (b) *Survey of Maine* (1829); (c) *Atlas Accompanying Greenleaf's Map and Statistical Survey of Maine* (1829).
12. Certificate of appointment of Moses Greenleaf as an associate justice of the court of sessions, reproduced from Maine State Library, Moses Greenleaf Papers: 1919, 091Gb14, Folder J.
13. Moses Greenleaf, Memorial to the Governor and Council, 1829, Box 27-3, Doc. #93, reproduced from the Maine State Archives.
14. Ebenezer Greenleaf, Field Book, 1819, reproduced from the Maine State Library.
15. Surveyor's compass of the type used by Moses Greenleaf and surveyor's chain that belonged to Moses Greenleaf, reproduced from the Maine State Museum.

# ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

## PUBLISHED WORKS

Greenleaf, *Statistical View*

Moses Greenleaf, *A Statistical View of the District of Maine* (Portland: Cummings & Hilliard, 1816). (See appendix 2.)

Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*

Moses Greenleaf, *A Survey of the State of Maine* (Portland: Shirley & Hyde, 1829). (See appendix 2.)

Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*

Edgar Crosby Smith, *Moses Greenleaf, Maine's First Map-Maker* (Bangor: for the De Burians, 1902).

Williamson, "Moses Greenleaf"

William D. Williamson, "Moses Greenleaf, of Williamsburg (From the Note Book of the late William D. Williamson)," *Bangor Historical Magazine* 4 (1888): 75-76; reprinted in Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, 134-136.

## ARCHIVAL REPOSITORIES

BHS Brownville Historical Society, Brownville, Maine.

BPL Bangor Public Library, 145 Harlow Street, Bangor, Maine 04401.

MaSA Massachusetts State Archives, 220 Morrissey Boulevard, Boston, Massachusetts 02125.

MHS Maine Historical Society, 489 Congress Street, Portland, Maine 04101.

MSA Maine State Archives, 84 State House Station, Augusta, Maine 04333-0084.

MSL Maine State Library, 64 State House Station, Augusta, Maine 04333-0064.

## A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

During the years in which this biography became a reality, the number of those who aided in its writing grew to a legion. Among those who gave early encouragement to the author and who generously made available their expertise and resources were: David Woodward, Arthur H. Robinson Professor Emeritus of Geography, University of Wisconsin; Richard Boulind, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University; Clark Elliot and Geoffrey Kern, Harvard University Library; Roy Williamson, National Geodetic Survey; Henry Chandler, the Poor family genealogist; and, Ronald Banks, professor of history at the University of Maine.

Moses Greenleaf would take great pleasure in the number of public resources that now disseminate information. I would like to thank the able and courteous staffs in the following institutions: Public Archives of Canada; National Archives and Record Service; Library of Congress; Maine State Library; Maine State Archives; Maine State Museum; Massachusetts State Archives; Boston Public Library; Maine Historical Society; Bangor Public Library; and Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education.

Special thanks go to the Grand Lodge of Maine, Free and Accepted Masons, which, through a generous donation, made possible the dissemination of this biography to schools and public libraries throughout Maine.

Not to be left out from this acknowledgment is Edgar Crosby Smith, who preserved a quantity of source material and who, through his biography written in 1902, first drew attention to the contributions of Moses Greenleaf.

The manuscript map depicting Maine during Greenleaf's lifetime and his family tree were drawn by Jacques Chazaud of South Portland, Maine.

As important as all these contributing sources have been, this biographical effort would not have come to fruition without the editing assistance of Joel Eastman, professor emeritus of history, University of Southern Maine, and the professional and meticulous critique of Matthew Edney, faculty scholar of the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine. The enthusiastic coordinator of the publication was Yolanda Theunissen, curator and head of cartographic collections at Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine.

My sincere thanks to all those mentioned and unmentioned for their part in portraying the contributions of Moses Greenleaf as recorded in this biography.

— *Walter M. Macdougall*

# I N T R O D U C T I O N

Moses Greenleaf was born in 1777 in Newburyport, Massachusetts, into a prosperous family with strong ties to New England. The span of his life corresponds with the first five decades of the formation of the Union and his movements reflect the migratory shift from coastal towns to interior settlements during this period of American expansion.

On his father's side, six generations of soldiers, sailors, shipbuilders, farmers, and tavern keepers had established themselves in colonial Massachusetts since their ancestor, Edmund Greenleaf, set sail from England in 1635. From his father he learned draftsmanship, shipbuilding, and the tenets of Freemasonry, which served as his lifelong moral compass. His mother's relations exposed him to civic duty and leadership as exemplified by several ministers, lawyers, and state governors. Moses Greenleaf's life appears to recapitulate these disparate family influences. He taught school, owned and operated several general stores, served as justice of the peace for Hancock County, surveyed Moosehead Lake and neighboring townships, compiled data for his *Statistical View*, and made several maps of Maine including the first map printed after statehood in 1820. He served as land agent for Township Number Six, a two-day ride on horseback from Bangor. Here in 1806, in a frontier settlement named Williamsburg, he built his home and lived out his days in pursuit of his "household of faith."

While he was shaped by the social, political, and economic forces of his time, his friends recognized that Judge Greenleaf espoused ideas that were well ahead of his time. One could make the case that many of these issues are still relevant some two hundred years later, such as improving public education, expanding the economy through industrial growth, experimenting with sustainable land practices, and developing a transportation network. It must have been disheartening for Greenleaf to witness the mass migrations from his beloved state, including his own children and neighbors, to stake claims in Ohio, Illinois, and the trans-Mississippi west while Maine's prospects declined.

Given that the only book on Greenleaf dates back to 1902, a contemporary assessment is long overdue. For professor Macdougall, this book is the culmination of over twenty-five years of research and writing carried out during breaks from teaching at the University of Maine. By examining the cultural milieu of his time, he places Greenleaf's contributions within the context of Maine's growth and development during its formative years from province to statehood. This biographer also shares a kinship with Greenleaf on several counts. First is an appreciation for the land which Greenleaf held dear, since his own home is situated in Williamsburg. As a Freemason, he lives by the same principles which governed Greenleaf's life and imbued his "household of faith." And last, as an educator, he shares his concerns for improving the educational opportunities for Maine's youth.

We wish to express our appreciation to professor Macdougall for his sustained commitment and consider it a privilege to assist him in bringing his biography to the public. While our initial interest was focused on Greenleaf's remarkable cartographic contributions, professor Macdougall's historical narrative has made both the man and his time come alive. This adds immeasurably to how we read and interpret Greenleaf's maps. The Osher Library Associates are pleased to add his book to its roster of Occasional Publications.

— Yolanda Theunissen  
Curator of the Osher Map Library and  
Director of the Smith Center for Cartographic Education



# Part One

MOSES GREENLEAF'S LIFE



# Chapter One

## MOSES GREENLEAF AND HIS *TERRA INCOGNITA*

---



**A**cross the valley, the hills of Brownville and Williamsburg stand old and weathered round. Beyond the hills rises a wall of mountains, blue against a sky of cloud. The long shafts of sunlight and the hurrying shadows of the clouds brush the hills with color and sudden contrast. As I watch from my study window, a beam of sun sweeps across the nearest hill, and there at the head of the mowing, a white house shines against the greenness.

Moses Greenleaf built that house. He has not pruned his orchard nor kept court in his parlor for well over a century and a half, yet I think of him as our neighbor. His concerns and his grasp of fact, his dreams and his insightful commentary, are in many ways contemporary. It was his conviction that Maine's promising future was poised between to be and not to be. Its prosperity and happiness were being weighed in a scale that might be tipped in Maine's favor by intelligent development. With keen insight he warned of problems that sound to us familiar. With equal sagacity he suggested solutions worth our present consideration. I like to think that were I to knock on his front door, he would answer wearing his carpet slippers and easy clothes—a welcome smile on his face and in his left hand sheets of notes and data.

One looks forward to meeting people such as Moses Greenleaf. He cleared a hillside of stumps and rocks and built a roof over his family's head. He loved

books and fresh ideas. He was quiet, good humored, and capable of an incredible drive and passion on behalf of causes he felt would better the human lot, and himself as well. He was a man who loved these Maine hills and in his effort to encourage their settlement he became, as the Maine Bicentennial Atlas stated, "Maine's most notable cartographer and promoter."<sup>1</sup>

The maps he drew represented a monumental accomplishment. They were a major advance in the depiction of Maine's vast interior. They served the settlers of townships, the explorers for timber, the searchers for means of transportation, and they would soon gain new importance in the northeast boundary dispute between the United States and Canada. Yet, in retrospect, Greenleaf's greater legacy is his insistence that Maine's future depended upon a scientific study of her geography and a statistically sound survey of her demographics. Moses Greenleaf was a geographer and, more than that, he remains the spiritual leader of all those who came and still come to Maine seeking a saner way of life.

His intention as he began the settlement of a township was to create what he termed a "household of faith." He believed that we have it within ourselves to fashion a better life for ourselves, our children, and our children's children. Here on these unspoiled hills of Maine and below these skies of freedom, this better life could be built. His view ranged "far down the



future's broadening way," to use a phrase from an old hymn. Yet he was no surface visionary. He, more clearly than any of his contemporaries, understood that Maine's long-term prosperity hung in the balance. He welcomed the fact that we humans always live upon the boundary of a terra incognita. Across that border, between our now and the yet-to-be, danger and possibility, risk and opportunity coexist. As Greenleaf said of himself, he was one who welcomed a challenge and believed in the best. He threw his energy into grasping opportunity.

Of course, it is not accurate to say that Moses cleared his farm on the edge of a physical terra incognita. The Indians kept in their minds much of what lay beyond. But for the Whites the great interior of Maine was true wilderness. From the church steeple in Newburyport, Massachusetts, that town where Moses Greenleaf was born in 1777, one could look northward to Mount Agamenticus. Beyond, unseen and in details unknown, stretched the district of Maine—a vastness of rivers, lakes and swamps, of hills rolled on hills, and bald-topped mountains. Farther still lay the height of land from whence the rivers flowed into the St. Lawrence.

Two years before Moses Greenleaf's birth, Benedict Arnold and his army had crossed that height of land. Following John Montresor's sketchy map, they had left their blood upon the early snow and their dead in the swamps. Not a man in that tortured force cared to retrace his steps to discover where he had become lost.

Before the Revolution, in 1763, when the Indians still held their lands above tidewater on the Penobscot River, Joseph Chadwick was sent by Governor Francis Bernard to find a route from the Penobscot to Quebec. Chadwick met with the Indians on their island home, now in the town of Old Town. The Indians were hostile and suspicious of this new intrusion into their country. For two days Chadwick met with the Penobscot leaders, with the threat of an open confrontation always lurking in the shadows of the council lodge. Finally the Natives allowed Chadwick to go on if he promised to make no drawings of his route. To make certain that Chadwick kept his promise, the Indians sent a party of Abnaki with him.<sup>2</sup>

Chadwick followed the ancient Indian waterway, the old Piscataquis-ah-wagan, up the Penobscot River, into the rock-strewn Piscataquis River, past the hills where Moses Greenleaf was to live, over the ponds and carries to Moosehead Lake. From there Chadwick went up the West Branch of the Penobscot toward Canada. Casting a weighted line before his canoe, he estimated the miles, a tally that seemed as endless as the constant dipping of the paddles. In the evening he sat by the fire, compiling his notes—the lay of the land, the stretches of white water, the carries, and the bearings of his compass needle. The Indians rested beside him chewing their parched corn and watching.

They went over the height of land and down the Chaudiere River to Quebec. On their return, they followed the West Branch of the Penobscot for its full length. It was on the West Branch, below Chesuncook, that Chadwick came close to The Toddin (Katahdin), that mile-high home of Pamola—the terrible mountain spirit whose breath, the Indians said, was as the driving knives of a blizzard. It was Pamola who brooded over the expanse of forest and lakes from his granite citadel and who had snatched up men with his talons so they left no trace behind. Chadwick had seen enough to feel the presence of the wilderness and to know that swamping a road from the Penobscot to Quebec would be a task for Hercules.

Considering the obstacles he encountered, Chadwick's map, which he later drew from memory and from his notes, is astonishingly representative. Through his work and that of Montresor, the British knew something about Maine's rivers, her great lakes, and her guiding mountains. The French knew more, as is evidenced in an extraordinary but unpublished chart drawn by Guillaume de Rozier in 1699.<sup>3</sup> De Rozier portrayed the upper Kennebec, Moosehead Lake, the branching Penobscot, and the arching St. John with a conformity that was not to be seen again for more than a hundred years.<sup>4</sup>

As England and France battled for possession of portions of the New World, drawings of Maine's interior were marked "top secret" and later were buried in archives or lost. In their place inferior

representations were published. These tended to degenerate with each copying. Resumption of responsible mapping of Maine's interior awaited the work of Moses Greenleaf and his son Moses Greenleaf III.

After the Revolution there were few people in the commonwealth of Massachusetts who could comprehend the full extent of the district of Maine or visualize its ruggedness. In 1794 the Land Committee in Boston was confident that it was only a distance of fifty or sixty miles from the corner of William Bingham's million-acre land purchase in the southeastern sector of the district northward to the St. Lawrence watershed. Its members proposed that surveyor Park Holland lay out a rectangle bordered on the south by the Bingham purchase and on the north by the height of land between the St. John and the St. Lawrence. Holland knew that even the Indians were not familiar with all the wilderness caricatured on the Land Committee's map. He took the job "with much reluctance and no anticipation of anything but hardship."<sup>5</sup> He was right.

Holland ran a line 152 miles north from the designated corner of Bingham's land through swamps, across lakes, and over hill after hill. He never did reach the St. Lawrence. Ragged, and with supplies about gone, Holland's party headed west and then south, still persistently attempting to close its survey. Summer had come and gone and now snow was falling. The men would have starved had it not been for Holland's little dog, who saved their lives, and his own, by running down porcupine.

In contrast, the coast of Maine was well known before the birth of Greenleaf. Settlement had taken place up the tidewater reaches of the rivers, in the coves, and upon the headlands. Five years after landing in Plymouth in 1620, the Pilgrims had established a trade with Indians along the Kennebec River; shortly thereafter, they had built a truck house at the head of tide, now the site of Fort Western at Augusta. On the Penobscot, William Crowne established a trading post below the Indian village at Orono. These marked the extent of English penetration into the wilderness of Maine for years to come. In point of time, the establishment of these

trading posts marked the end of fanciful dreams and the beginning of a contest with reality and the sober business of making a living. Norumbega, a mythical city of riches, appeared only on charts already yellowed with age.<sup>6</sup>

Pioneers who came found the district of Maine a place of beauties that were to later make it the "Vacation State." There was good land, but there was also winter to take into account. Survival year after year was a matter of ingenuity and calluses. Of the climate, settlers said there was "nine months of winter and three months of damn poor sledding." Yet many followed and called this land of contrasts home.

When Moses Greenleaf was born the settlement of southern Maine was under way. Old Falmouth, Maine, was a town to astonish the backwoodsman; York had been a place of government for more than 130 years, while Kittery Point boasted several mansions rivaling those of the Newburyport merchants. These towns were on the edge of a new frontier where the name Greenleaf was already well represented.

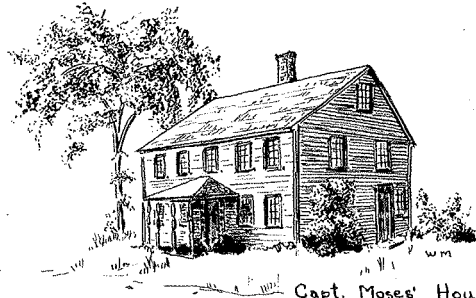
Three of Moses' relatives were proprietors of Narragansett Number One;<sup>7</sup> Joseph Greenleaf was justice of the peace in Pownalborough, where he lived in a one-room log cabin along with his family of eight, while Samuel and Richard Greenleaf had signed a petition asking the General Court of Massachusetts Bay to make Wiscasset a town. "With great labour we have subdued and cultivated our lands, have increased in number as to stand out against the enemy [in] the last war, have had a minister preaching with us for more than five years." So read the capsule chronicle of settlement.<sup>8</sup>

When Moses Greenleaf built his home in Williamsburg, Maine, he did so on the edge of risk and possibility, just as his emigrant ancestors had done on the banks of the Merrimack, and it is there that this account must begin, not just in time and place but also in the flux of ideas and in the counterpoint of frustrations and dreams that were a part of old Massachusetts. All these factors play their roles in Moses Greenleaf, the thinker, the doer, and the man.

# Chapter Two

## MAKING IT IN A NEW WORLD

---



Capt. Moses' House on  
Peacock Hill, New Gloucester

*The name the Gallic exile bore,  
St. Malo! from thy ancient mart,  
Became upon our Western shore  
Greenleaf for Feuillevert.*

*A name to hear in soft accord  
Of leaves by light winds overrun,  
Or read, upon the greening sward  
Of May, in shade and sun.*

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER, "A NAME" (1880)

In the year 1635, when Edmund Greenleaf was sixty-one, he left his birthplace in Ipswich, England, and brought his family to Newbury, Massachusetts.<sup>1</sup> Sixty-one is not the age at which to start things anew but then, Greenleaf left little security behind. He was a silk dyer by trade, not a prosperous business since the Thirty Years' War had ruined the textile industry. He was also a Huguenot and that was not auspicious, for Bishop Laud was making life dangerous for those who would purify the church. The Protestant Greenleafs had already known persecution for their faith. They had been driven from France—from Saint-Malo, as the family tradition went—and now they found it wise to move once more.

Edmund Greenleaf began anew. Tavern keeping seemed like a lucrative choice, and he was soon licensed to keep an "ordinary," as such wayside places were called. He prospered in a modest way, was made an overseer of the town and captain of a militia company.

The Greenleaf coat of arms is surmounted by the dove of peace, but for generations the Greenleafs were to live in troubled times; there would be no place for the dove to light. Along the Merrimack, in the snow-deep woods of Maine, at Crown Point, at Boston, and at Saratoga, the Greenleafs were to be soldiers. Bearing arms became a way of life for Edmund Greenleaf and his descendants. In this new world they found much for which they had been in search—property, a chance to say one's piece, to rise in the community, and to worship as one felt right, but if they thought problems would be left behind, then they were wrong.

At times the plagues of old Egypt seemed to be upon New England and her "errand into the wilderness." Even nature seemed to be violent. A wind blew the Newbury meetinghouse from its foundation, earthquakes shook the town, and wagon wheels were stained green by an infestation of worms. Far more dangerous, raiding Indians came

paddling noiselessly down the rivers to the doorsteps of Newbury. Such was the world in which the first generations of Greenleafs were to live.

When the General Court, the Massachusetts legislature, directed each town to draw up a plan of preparedness against Indian attack, Edmund was appointed to divide Newbury into four wards, each to supply an armed guard for the Sunday meetings and Monday lectures. When the order went out that each family should provide a place “for the breeding of saltpeter [for gun powder] in some house for poultry or the like,” Edmund was made supervisor of this operation. The old records refer to him as “that ancient and experienced lieutenant.” Edmund Greenleaf was old, but he had not become sedentary. When he was eighty, he sold his dwelling, left the keeping of the ordinary, and moved to Boston, where he remarried.

Among Edmund’s many children was Stephen Greenleaf — a man who kept several irons in the fire. He ran a farm and built ships, an occupation that was to be the livelihood of several Greenleaf generations to come. But what is truly impressive about Stephen and his family is their involvement in local issues and their public service.

In 1679 Stephen Greenleaf was appointed a tithing man in Newburyport. His duties included the enforcement of the Sabbath and the correction of unruly children, recalcitrant servants, night walkers, and tipplers. Increasingly Stephen became concerned with larger issues. He was soon to serve as Newbury’s representative to the Council for Safety and the Preservation of Peace. England was tightening its hold on the colonies and, in defiance, Massachusetts threw Governor Sir Edmund Andros into prison. The kaleidoscope of issues shifted and, with England, Massachusetts turned to face the French. When Sir William Phips left to capture Quebec in 1690, Stephen Greenleaf went with the expedition as a lieutenant. The campaign was dismally unsuccessful, and on the return a storm tore the fleet apart. Greenleaf was drowned.

Stephen’s grandson (and Moses Greenleaf’s great-grandfather) Daniel was also drowned in a

storm off Newbury Bar in 1729. He left his wife, Sarah Moody, destitute with six children and a new baby. The following year her son Jonathan, at age six, was apprenticed to Edward Presbury, a builder of ships in Newburyport. Such was the start for Moses Greenleaf’s grandfather. Most apprentices got a new suit of clothes when their apprenticeship was completed. Jonathan received the hand of his master’s daughter, Mary Presbury, with whom he had been in love for six years, and she with him.

Stephen and Mary were married in 1744, the year of the third major earthquake in Newburyport. In those years it was not only the earth that shook in Newburyport. The social and political atmosphere was tremulous. Newburyport was a busy town; her horizons were expanding, and with each new reach outward, increasing commerce crowded her docks and passed along her streets. In such a climate, Jonathan Greenleaf prospered until he was the owner of his father-in-law’s shipyard. He became a wealthy merchant, shipbuilder, and a member of the First Continental Congress, where he was called a “silver-tongued orator.”

He was a man of stern convictions, yet he was noted for his kindness. A strict Calvinist, he seldom missed the opportunity to hold family devotions. Physically he was short and well built. He had the Greenleaf’s hazel eyes, high forehead, and aquiline nose. His teeth were a bit too large, perhaps, but his frank smile transcended that defect. His voice was quiet but compelling. Keeping his head while others raged, Jonathan could move dexterously to gain a contended point. His son Captain Moses, and his grandson Moses Jr., were to inherit his admixture of gentleness and staunch passion for that in which they believed.

When the British army took Quebec in 1763, Newburyport celebrated despite the smallpox that was rampant in the town.<sup>2</sup> Moses Greenleaf’s father was then four years old—old enough to be thrilled by the fireworks. There were many things for a boy to see in Newburyport: a new fire engine from London, ships fresh from the Sugar Islands, and, a little later, the effigy of the stamp collector

hanging from a branch of the elm tree on his father's front lawn. A bright fire of tar barrels had been lit under the dangling scarecrow, and the flames sent long shadows toward the house. The night was full of shadows. Up and down the streets roamed gangs that challenged everyone they met with the question, "Stamp or no stamp?" Wise was the man who answered quickly, "No stamp." When the Stamp Act was repealed, Newburyport expended six and one-half barrels of gunpowder in celebration.

Jonathan Greenleaf was not one of the mob. As a member of the Massachusetts General Court, he made his intentions clear. He pledged his effort in the cause that future generations would enjoy a full measure of the privileges ensured in what he called "our glorious constitution." By adoption the Greenleafs were as much Englishmen as were their neighbors, the Presburys and the Coffins. They had become American Englishmen, and for them this status meant the possession of certain rights. They did not hold a feudal fief by grace of king or Parliament. Edmund Burke realized what had transpired in America, but it is astonishing how few men in England did. Much later Rudyard Kipling would write: "What do they know of England who only England know?"

But if mediation with England should fail, there would be no doubt on which side Jonathan Greenleaf would be. Along with his cousin, the Honorable Benjamin Greenleaf, Jonathan served on the Committee for Correspondence and Safety appointed in Newburyport. His name was on the Alarm List kept at Lexington, and when the alarm was sounded Jonathan marched as a captain in the Massachusetts militia.<sup>3</sup>

In Newburyport, General Benedict Arnold's men were quartered in the ropewalks waiting for the little fleet that would take them to the Kennebec, where they would commence their march to Quebec. On every wharf and at every street corner was talk of privateering and of what would happen should the British fleet sail into the harbor. The General Court ordered Plum Island fortified to protect the town, and a company of

"seacoast men" was raised to man the defenses. Moses Greenleaf Sr., the father of this book's protagonist, was made a second lieutenant.<sup>4</sup> From then on he rose rapidly in rank, first lieutenant in the Eleventh Massachusetts Regiment, then captain. All this took place in 1776, and in September of that year Captain Moses was married. His wife would see little of her husband in the next five years; he would be away at war when their first son, Moses Jr., was born.

When independence was won, George Washington paid a visit to Newbury and Newburyport. Jonathan Greenleaf was one of the notables who officially welcomed the new president. Before the square face of the Tracy Mansion in the center of Newburyport, the parade halted then split to allow the president to ride between the cheering lines and toward the waiting dignitaries. It all seemed a celebration of a long-awaited stability. Hope of new commerce was on the incoming tide. One could smell prosperity in the aromas of newly hewed pine along the waterfront.<sup>5</sup> To many the insurrection of debt-ridden veterans and farmers in western Massachusetts (Shay's Rebellion of 1787) was the upwelling of anarchy and a clear indication of the need for a stronger federal government. As merchants and shipbuilders, the leaders of Newburyport wanted assurance of protection and social order. The Greenleafs were Federalists, and these political convictions were to persist in Moses Greenleaf's future political stance and, as we will see, keep company with his Jeffersonian belief in the existence of an aristocracy of spirit among certain human beings that could be depended upon for the maintenance of a just and rational society.

The merchants of Newburyport had a lot to lose. The first ship to fly the American flag over the glum waters of the Thames River in London had hailed from Newburyport, and now her vessels were trading furs with the Indians of the Northwest and dropping their anchors beside the rich commercial houses of China. Captain Moses, on his return from the war, had joined his father in building ships for

this increased trade. Together they sent twenty-two schooners and brigs down the ways in nine years.

This was the Newburyport in which Moses Greenleaf Jr. lived until he was thirteen—a town filled with activity, increasing wealth, and widening interests. Charts, stories of far-off places, the art of building ships, and the science of steering them to their destination were the pulse of Newburyport and a part of young Moses' education. It was a town alive with the application of useful knowledge. The presses of Mycall and Blunt were busy printing almanacs, arithmetics, and the best books on navigation to be found anywhere.

At the Greenleaf home, a large house at the upper end of their shipyard, Captain Moses instructed his sons in draftsmanship and naval architecture. How well his son Moses learned to use the pen can be seen in his beautifully drawn maps of Maine. His brother Simon would also put this training from his father to good use in the practice of admiralty law.

In school Moses did very well in writing and reading; he was particularly competent in mathematics.<sup>6</sup> By the time Moses went to school, the citizens of Newburyport had set regulations as to the length and regularity of school sessions. Teachers' salaries were figured from an average taken from the wages of day laborers, joiners, and ship carpenters. Considering the importance of ship carpenters in Newburyport, teachers have been less favorably viewed. Fortunately for Moses there were several men of learning and ability who chose to teach rather than to carpenter. Stephen Sewall, who doubled as town clerk, taught in Newburyport for years and was probably one of Moses' teachers. Whoever they were, they seem to have accomplished their task. His background in the basic skills was thorough and the only formal education Moses had.

Moses Greenleaf was a reader, and what he read he remembered. Many years after leaving Newburyport, when he was writing a monograph on Indian place-names, he recalled an article he had read as a boy in an old English magazine. The

article, which examined root words in the Welsh language, must have been tough reading, but Moses remembered not only the author's name but also a number of roots. Besides his memory, Greenleaf's greatest asset was his interest in everything that touched his life.

Town, school, reading, and his father's instruction all contributed to Moses' character and background. There was also his mother, who for the first four years of his life was both mother and father. She was dark-eyed Lydia Parsons, a woman of quick step and wit. Her parentage united two rich strains. She was the daughter of the Reverend Jonathan Parsons and Phoebe Griswold. Her father was a Presbyterian minister in Newburyport, a competent thinker, highly respected, and a close friend of the great evangelist George Whitefield.<sup>7</sup> The Reverend Jonathan's son was Samuel Holden Parsons, who, though he had been appointed as king's attorney, served from Bunker Hill to the end of the Revolution in the Continental army and emerged from the war as a brigadier general. Washington appointed him chief justice of the Northwest Territories, and he was responsible for the acquisition of the "Western Reserve" in Ohio. Such were Lydia's father and older brother. On her mother's side the Griswold family provided twelve state governors. As for Lydia Parsons, she was, by all accounts, an exceptional person. She was to witness the death of her son Moses, and then to die on the following day. Mother and son were buried side by side on the hilltop in Maine where Moses had made their home.

Captain Moses and Lydia had five children spaced every two years. All of these children were born in Newburyport and all of them, along with Captain Moses and his wife, were to move to Maine.

First to be born was Moses, on October 17, 1777. Then came the only girl of the family, Clarina Parsons Greenleaf, on November 12, 1779. Clarina was the acknowledged letter writer of the family, an art she developed early, according to her brother Eben, through communicating her thoughts to her intimate friends. She also wrote

poetry with considerable grace.<sup>8</sup> Clarina married Eleazer Alley Jenks of Portland, Maine, a young editor who at the age of twenty-two founded the successful Jenks Portland Gazette.

Ebenezer Greenleaf, better known as Eben, or “the Captain,” was next, born on November 23, 1781. He was to be a member of Moses Greenleaf’s “household of faith.” At nineteen Eben went to sea, and for a few years skippered the packet Caroline between Portland and Liverpool. In September 1808 he married Hannah Haskell of New Gloucester, Maine. Their first child was born in the spring of the next year, and sometime during the interval, Eben decided to spend the rest of his life ashore. His life seems to have retained something of the nautical atmosphere in its inner and outer seasons. As Eben himself said, he was harassed through life “from pillar to post” and often “pelted by the pitiless storm,” the latter phrase being one of his favorites. He seems to have been poor much of his life. He, too, could write letters and turn a nice phrase. He once commented on the chores that his wife was giving him that she gave him no more peace “than a toad under a harrow.” But that was in fun. He was a jovial man of sensitive kindness.<sup>9</sup>

Simon was the fourth child, born on December 5, 1783. In the judgment of his day, Simon became the foremost member of the Greenleaf family.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps he was the favored one within the family as well, for when his father left Newburyport, it was Simon who stayed with his grandfather Parsons to finish his education in the Latin School. After practicing law in Maine and editing nine volumes of Maine’s Supreme Judicial Court records, which were so well received nationally that a second edition was printed, Simon left the state to become Royal Professor of Law at Harvard College.

The youngest member of the family was Jonathan, born on September 4, 1785. Like his grandfather on the Parsons side, Jonathan became a Presbyterian minister. Becoming the editor of the Sailors Magazine and secretary for the

Seaman’s Friends’ Society, he moved to Boston and finally to New York City.

The Greenleafs had been part and parcel of Newburyport’s history and society. Then in November 1790, Captain Moses broke the long association. He left his business of building ships and took his family to New Gloucester, Maine.

The Newburyport that Captain Moses left behind was flourishing, without the slightest premonition of the soup kitchens that the Embargo Acts would bring to that sea-tied town. Even much later, in 1809, when the people in the towns along the coast of Maine were bartering their family plate for a keg of sugar,<sup>11</sup> Newburyport managed to launch twenty-one vessels. Rather than the threat of destitution, Captain Moses appears to have moved because of what wealth had made of Newburyport.

While for many the wealth in town was stimulating, for others it was disturbing, since, more often than not, it appeared to be in the hands of the parvenu. There were dancing schools where a new generation, made wealthy in one man’s lifetime or less, learned to spend their leisure amid snuff and lace. There was French wine in the cellars by the gallon and, in the shops, all the little fooleries from London. A few of the young set ate new green paper currency on the proper occasions just to show their disdain.<sup>12</sup>

The old Newburyport had been more to Captain Moses’ taste. His stature was straight and military; he was five feet, eleven inches, but seemed taller in the saddle. He wore a cocked hat, as had his father, and a broadcloth suit usually of a dark red mix, a greatcoat when the weather demanded thrown over his shoulder like a cape, and silver knee buckles just above his polished boots. His hair, nearly black, he wore in a queue. His eyes were hazel but darker than was customary with the Greenleafs. Those eyes gave one the feeling that the brain behind had made a clean distinction between having fun and being silly. This was the man who left prospering Newburyport and moved his family to New Gloucester in the district of Maine.

Captain Moses became what might be termed a “hilltop aristocrat” (see chapter 8). He was one among many who came to Maine dissatisfied, even disgruntled, with the life they left behind and who might well have seconded George Cabot’s remark to a fellow Federalist: “Why can’t you and I let the world ruin itself its own way?”<sup>13</sup> Some were repulsed by a growing materialism and an insidious tendency toward the complex. Others were alarmed by the disintegration of social structure. Political machinations had disillusioned others while many simply wanted elbow room and a saner living space. This quest often led Federalists such as Captain Moses closer to Jefferson’s agrarian beliefs.

In New Gloucester he built a two-storied house, front door centered and windows balanced, seated strongly on a hilltop. There he settled down to live the life of a man who had already done his part and was now determined to spend his evenings by the fire and his days close to the soil. Tradition has it that the captain raised peacocks on the side; the name Peacock Hill survives to give the story credence.

But the hilltop aristocrats represented a small portion of those moving to Maine. Immigration northward was rising to its 1790 peak, driven by pressure for cheaper land and by greater expectations. Speculators were very optimistic. Certainly the talk of Massachusetts’ “eastern lands” must have been common in the Greenleaf household before the family moved to the district of Maine. The captain’s father had acquired a considerable block of land in Hebron, Maine—not far from where the Greenleafs were to build their new home—and his grandfather had been appointed a commissioner for the sale of lands in Maine, serving faithfully for three years and attempting, as a law-and-order Greenleaf, to curb squatting and the pirating of timber.

We do not know what Lydia Parsons Greenleaf

thought of her husband’s move to Maine. It may have been as much her idea as his. In fact, she may have chosen the site of their new habitation, for the name Parsons was well established on those hillsides of New Gloucester where civilization had been sown. Apple trees had been grafted, wells dug, barns built, and though the “meadows” were still owned by the proprietors and considered common grazing, the last division of town lots had been made.<sup>14</sup>

As New Gloucester’s commerce grew, Moses Greenleaf Jr. was maturing into manhood. He stood five feet, ten inches tall. His grandniece Elizabeth Merrill later described him as “high cheekboned, rather large features, brown hair and dark hazel eyes.” She added that he “stooped a little when he walked” but perhaps that only came with the burden of his later years.<sup>15</sup> His close acquaintance William D. Williamson remembered that “his complexion was rather light, his manner easy, and himself always frank and assessable.” As for his mind, “it was quick as was his skill at composition and his speech.”<sup>16</sup>

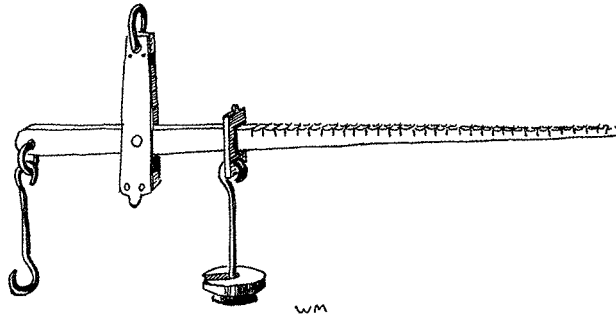
To these descriptions there is one other physical characteristic that deserves mention. Family tradition says that Moses suffered an illness in his boyhood that left him somewhat lame. There is no other mention of this affliction, but in 1819, while away from home and in Bangor, Greenleaf suffered an attack of which he wrote: “my old disorder in the left leg returned with pain and swelling.”<sup>17</sup> It was two weeks before he was able to travel back to Williamsburg.

Whatever the extent of this infirmity, Moses Greenleaf was in the year 1799, at the age of twenty-one, ready to take on the world. He came down from his father’s farm and into the thriving village of New Gloucester—which was ripe, it seemed, for the new general store he would provide.



# Chapter Three

## THROWING OFF THE YOKE



*Any mind which could put up with dependence  
unless as a result of dire necessity,  
when an opportunity offers to throw off the yoke,  
must be either criminally negligent in the discharge of his duty,  
or too imbecile and abject to deserve or be safely trusted a boon.*

MOSES GREENLEAF TO ELEAZER ALLEY JENKS, SEPTEMBER 14, 1806

Moses Greenleaf's seven years of storekeeping were only an interlude before the chance came to "throw off the yoke." It would have been tragic had he kept on behind a counter—not that success would have forever eluded him, but rather that he might have succeeded and therefore only kept store. He would later look back on his merchant years and write, "I believe *all* apparent ill to result in real good."<sup>1</sup>

Yet Greenleaf must have nailed up his first sign with every anticipation that his store would go well. There was enough to occupy his mind during the first year. He sold razors, files, penknives, beef, shad, tobacco by the pound, cider by the barrel, rum by the gill, blank books, gum paper, twine—in short, everything from tea to the pot in which to brew it. Out back he filled glass vials with patent medicines and concocted the recipes found in his copy of *Materia Medica*.<sup>2</sup>

What really animated Moses, however, even during those early years, were the stories of fertile lands to the north, where a man might own part of a township and live as an independent gentleman. It was during those years that his interests focused on the lands that lay beyond the Piscataquis River

where the blue mountains rise, their backs to the north winds and their faces to the southern hills. One of the men who told Moses of the townships to the north was Joseph Foxcroft.<sup>3</sup> When Foxcroft hitched his two-horse chaise in front of Greenleaf's store, there would be exciting talk around the stove. Foxcroft was just four years older than Moses and a dashing fellow who had already bought his township on the Piscataquis. He had been north to explore his town and talked of intervals where the Canadian blue-joint grass grew shoulder-high and waterpower, waiting to be tapped, thundered over the falls. Moses made his first investment in land when he paid Foxcroft six hundred dollars for two sixty-fourths of Foxcroft's township.

It is impossible to follow Moses' activities closely during the years 1802 and 1803. His interests were not limited to storekeeping. For a term, at least, he taught school in Shepardsfield Plantation (later East Oxford and part of the present Hebron, Maine). This was during his first year away from Peacock Hill, when a little cash was welcome. He acquired a house lot in Gray, but there is no indication that he ever lived there. In 1802 he moved from New Gloucester to Poland,

Maine.<sup>4</sup> Poland was just being organized as a town, and its citizens were concerned with the exigencies of life. The year that Moses moved to Poland, the town fathers authorized a bounty of sixteen and a half cents for every crow's head brought in, and ordered two palls for covering the human dead. The new town had been dependent upon New Gloucester for its shopping, and there was considerable interest in being self-sufficient—which meant having a store of its own. Interest, however, does not keep a store open, and although Moses managed to buy another four hundred acres on the Piscataquis from his friend Foxcroft, he did not prosper in the new town of Poland. He took no part in the affairs of the town, which was unusual for Moses, despite his brief stay. By late in the summer of 1803, he was ready to move once more.

To move from New Gloucester to Poland was but a matter of crossing the town line; Moses' next move took him ninety-five miles closer to his final destination on Greenleaf Hill in Williamsburg, Maine. His new location was Kenduskeag Plantation (now Levant, Maine) just northwest of Bangor. Kenduskeag was a village of some nineteen houses, a gristmill, and a sawmill. It had the only frame buildings between Bangor and the Kennebec River, boasted the only bridge across Kenduskeag Stream, and was larger than Bangor. An outpost on the edge of Maine's interior, Kenduskeag was a likely location for a store.

When Greenleaf arrived, the settlement was celebrating the fourteenth year since the first opening had been made and the third year since the coming of the capable and energetic Moses Hodsdon. The Hodsdons hailed from Berwick, Maine. They had a military bent; both Moses and his brother, Isaac, were later ranking militia officers. Moses Hodsdon had built the mills and three of the frame dwellings in Kenduskeag, but it was his work as an explorer and surveyor that makes him important to this account.

Hodsdon and Moses Greenleaf were soon closely associated. Hodsdon traded at Greenleaf's store, where his account was more than one thousand dollars—which he paid, in contrast with

many of Greenleaf's debtors. His cash was as welcome as his information on the lands to the north. He had "run out the lines" in both Foxcroft's town and the neighboring township of Sebec. He was Moses' first contact with a real authority on the lands north of the Piscataquis.

There was another man who brought Moses out from behind his counter to talk land and to compare sketches against Osgood Carleton's map of Maine. This was Andrew Strong, a surveyor who lived in Ohio Plantation (now Corinth, Maine). He often brought his compasses to Moses for repair. From Hodsdon and Strong, Moses learned that the prospects north seemed unlimited, that little actual surveying had been done, and that any map of the interior of Maine drawn thus far might best be used to start a fire.

In the fall of 1803 Moses had sold his holdings in Foxcroft's township for \$862, probably to finance his new store in Kenduskeag. His talks with Hodsdon and Strong must have made him regret the necessity of that sale, but on the financial side of things, Moses had much to regret. Yearly the yoke seemed more firmly placed upon his shoulders.

By February of the next year Moses had moved again, this time to Bangor. He bought a lot on the east bank of the Kenduskeag where it joined the Penobscot, a spot later called "city point." Bangor in 1803 was scarcely a village and nothing like the Bangor of twenty or thirty years later, when lumber was king and that city its throne. In the summer of 1801 a visitor by the name of William Crosby tied his horse to a tree and, after being assured that he stood in the center of Bangor, rode away disappointed. When Daniel Webster visited the town three years later, he crossed the Kenduskeag on floating logs. As late as 1835, there were but few sidewalks in Bangor, and those were made of hemlock plank. Mud was a problem. According to an eyewitness, to pass through West Market Square to the Bangor House was a "dangerous undertaking," and walking down French Street, built as it was in a clay bank, was "altogether out of the question" after rain.<sup>5</sup>

There were hardly more than ten houses in the village when Moses came to Bangor. The road to Orono was so poor that it was hard to stay in the saddle, and the roads south and west were not much better. The mail came in saddlebags from Boston twice a week, weather permitting. Spiritually, some thought Bangor as deeply mired as her streets.<sup>6</sup>

Everyone seems to have recognized the strategic position of Bangor, seated as she was at the head of tide and at the foot of the forest. People with foresight saw that the town was destined to be a center of trade. But Moses Greenleaf, striving to be a merchant, came too early and left too soon.

The three years that Moses spent in Bangor were crucial. It was while keeping a store on the point between Kenduskeag Stream and the Penobscot River that the opportunity finally came to throw off the yoke and undertake a vision that had long been materializing in his mind. Moses also met the woman he came to love and marry. Eben Greenleaf joined his brother in the fall of 1803 and, during the winter of 1804, helped him in the store. This first reuniting of the two brothers was an overture to the later gathering of Moses' "household of faith." Years later Moses may have looked back with nostalgia on those Bangor days, for though the place was small there was a group of unusual men gathering in the area, men who would, each in his own way, participate in the growth and development of society along the Penobscot and northward. Among these leaders were Park Holland, the patriarch of Maine explorers and surveyors; the Chamberlains, who were to be soldiers and statesmen; the Carrs and the Crosbys, who were merchants, investors, and holders of public trust; and the Emersons, who built ships. These and a score of other families produced an invigorating neighborhood for Moses.<sup>7</sup>

Luke Wilder was another customer who became first Moses' friend and then a relation by marriage. Captain Wilder was a Revolutionary veteran who had migrated to Bangor from Salisbury, New Hampshire. While in Salisbury he had married

Susannah Poor, one of the six daughters of Deacon Ebenezer Poor. It is probable that sometime during 1804 Susannah's sister Persis (Greenleaf's wife-to-be) visited the Wilders and perhaps went shopping in Moses' store. Unfortunately, little has been recorded concerning Persis. She resembled her mother in good looks and a fair complexion; but one would guess that she was no match for her younger sister, the lovely Phoebe, who had caught the eye of Daniel Webster but married Jacob McGaw, another young lawyer who was to become a leader of the Maine Bar.<sup>8</sup>

Persis was thirty, on the verge of becoming an old maid, when she met Moses. This fact may have mitigated her family's concern over her choice of a husband. Moses was a merchant to be sure, but one who seemed destined for bankruptcy—partly because he was too kindhearted, but mostly because he was forever talking about what might be and forever looking for a chance to make it happen north of the Piscataquis. Everyone agreed that Greenleaf was a good man and likable. He had a frank and easy manner, a good humor, and something more that children sensed, for they always took to him. One could sense a change in atmosphere when he came into a house.<sup>9</sup> There can be no doubt that Persis Poor loved him—loved him enough to follow him to Williamsburg where trees would be her closest neighbor. It may not have been a choice vivacious Phoebe Poor would have made.

On Sunday, February 11, 1805, Moses and Persis were married at East Andover. The newlyweds returned to Bangor to set up housekeeping. Eleazer Jenks, Moses' brother-in-law, procured some needed articles for them and had them shipped up the Penobscot in the spring: a sideboard, a pair of card tables, a looking glass, a dozen spoons, and a bedstead. All but the last item, Jenks had obtained "at short credit" and hoped that Moses would send as much of the "root of evil as convenient"; if not cash, then a keg of salmon would be acceptable as partial payment.<sup>10</sup>

Ready cash was something Moses did not have.

When it came to keeping stores in Bangor, or anyplace else in Maine for that matter, cash was the problem. Twenty years after Moses left Bangor, merchants were still having problems collecting debts. Zadock Davis, a tanner, shoemaker, and skilled doggerelist, wrote the following newspaper item to his debtors: “caution now to mend your ways / And pay me up in thirty days / You’ll save the sheriff’s lawful ration / And gain my hearty approbation.” Where it was hard to collect in 1825, it was often impossible in 1805. Many had no cash and depended on barter for currency. The credit column in Moses’ store accounts ran to such items as mink skins (worth about twenty-three cents each), barrels of fish, stove wood, and payments in service through the repair of Moses’ shoes. Besides this exchange of time and goods, there was a thriving interchange of “notes of hand,” mortgages, and parcels of land.

Through his store accounts, Moses acquired an interest in the mill and dam at the foot of Sebec Lake. There was nothing wrong with Moses’ foresight or his business sense; he knew a good deal when he had a chance to see one. In 1804 Samuel Kimball and Mark Trafton had built a dam across the outlet of Sebec Lake and had imported Roger Chase, a genius of wooden gears and waterwheels from the Kennebec Valley, to install the works of a saw and gristmill. From Sebec, timber and boards could be rafted down the

Piscataquis River to Bangor. Power and location would make Sebec Village the center of commerce for a number of generations to come. Had Moses been able to retain his partial control of the mill and dam in Sebec, he would have “cashed in.” But such boons were not to be for Moses. Like the merchant who sold all he had on discovering a pearl of great price, Moses sold what he had (the part not lost in paying store debts) for a chance to live on a hilltop in Williamsburg.

When he closed his account books, there was owed to him some sixty-eight hundred dollars. His total receipts during the years in Kenduskeag and Bangor amounted to little over \$5,000, yet he could lay his hands on only \$50.20 in cash. Moses’ store accounts do not show the full extent of his dismal situation; when he finally entered upon his great adventure north of the Piscataquis, he owed ten thousand dollars.<sup>11</sup> He might have recouped his losses once the period’s inflation passed and the embargo had been lifted. He might have become one of Bangor’s many wealthy merchants and timber barons, but the opportunity had come to throw off the yoke. That chance came through the person of William Dodd, a merchant of Boston, who in the spring of 1804 had bought Township Number Six in the Eighth Range North of the Waldo Patent (T6 R8 NWP), a town that, appropriately, would be named Williamsburg.

# Chapter Four

## NORTH OF THE PISCATAQUIS



*However improbable it may appear to you, who draw your analogies from that part of the country which is under your immediate observation, a society will in a very few years, be found north of the Piscataquis which will approach nearer to your own ideas of the useful and agreeable, than any I am acquainted with in any of the country towns of Maine.*

MOSES GREENLEAF TO ELEAZER ALLEY JENKS, SEPTEMBER 14, 1806

What is known of William Dodd can be quickly told. We meet him galloping down the post roads as a dispatch rider, bearing messages for the Continental Congress and probably paid by John Hancock. There is a moment of notoriety when a British spy relieves him of several dispatches, and then we lose sight of William until we find him in Boston selling groceries amid the smells and sounds of Hancock Wharf. Both his store and the brick house on Fish Street where he lived were the property of the Hancock family, but Dodd had acquired some property of his own. He owned a house on the same street, held a five-thousand-dollar mortgage on the wharf, and, of course, possessed some twenty-four thousand acres in Maine.

When his time came, he was buried at Copp's Hill, leaving an estate of fourteen thousand dollars that, after all his bills were paid, netted his wife four hundred. As for his township, the value had dropped from one dollar to thirty cents per acre. None of his family ever moved north to that township or became rich enough to be listed in Boston's blue book.

When Greenleaf and Dodd met, the latter was much involved in the new ferment of building

personal and family empires. The Revolution transmuted the old adage "Honor is ancient riches" to "Honor is new riches"—and especially the possession of land. Dodd like so many others was grasping for the top. What Moses brought to their association was a vision of a new beginning where money and the power of influence were not everything and where there was an opportunity for a natural vindication of the noble spirit. Moses was twenty-nine and filled with enthusiasm for the opportunities ahead, while William Dodd was fifty-one, old enough to hope for one last gamble at success. Dodd's investment in Maine lands took on additional meaning as he listened to Moses, for in those days the younger man spoke with the power of an apostle of escaping the establishment and the system. For a time Dodd himself was determined to join Moses and to go north. But in the end his agreement with Moses was strictly a business deal.

There is no question that Greenleaf saw in the land north of the Piscataquis a place for a new start. He had four objectives: independence, rank, competence, and respectability.<sup>1</sup> One gathers from certain passages in his letters that he sought the chance to form his own aristocracy, but his intentions had breadth. He wanted these

objectives to become real, not only for himself, but also for all those whom he would gather on the high hills of Williamsburg.

But what were the risks? His agreement with William Dodd, finalized in 1806, shifted to Greenleaf's shoulders all those requirements regarding settlement of the town that the commonwealth of Massachusetts demanded. For this burden, Moses gained the chance to purchase one-fourth of Williamsburg on a six-year note along with the right to pay off this note through his share of the profits.

There were in all eleven clauses in the contract between William Dodd, merchant, and Moses Greenleaf, yeoman. Their content dealt mainly with the matter of settlement. The commonwealth intended that whatever tracts of land it sold in the district of Maine would be populated. To implement this program, conditions were written into the deeds giving time limits in which a proprietor was to have land cleared and a certain number of families settled with fires burning on their hearths. As a partner, and as Dodd's agent, it was Moses' responsibility to settle Williamsburg at his own expense.

In the three years following the signing of the agreement, Moses was to bring "ten persons or families" to Williamsburg, and ten more each year thereafter for the next three years. To be counted among the forty settlers, a man must take up his residence and build a "suitable dwelling." Moses, himself, was given four years in which to move his family north, for as the agreement clearly stated, it was the "principle object with said Dodd to have said Greenleaf a permanent settler and resident in said town."<sup>2</sup> If Moses failed to move to Williamsburg, he was to pay Dodd a five-hundred-dollar penalty.

Greenleaf was to take charge of selling lots to settlers on a price scale stipulated in the agreement. There was an interesting bit of logic behind this scale. Supposedly the land would become more valuable with an increase of neighbors, roads, and the general benefits of society. Consequently the first group of ten settlers

would pay \$1.00 per acre; the next group of ten would find the price risen to \$1.10. The price then rose to \$1.25 per acre and finally, after the settlement of thirty families, to \$1.50.

The surveying of lots and the laying out of roads were also to be Moses' responsibility. Dodd placed a limit on the road-building clause—no more than thirty-six miles at no higher cost than thirty dollars per mile. The expenses of road building and town settling were to be shared by both parties, one-fourth by Moses and three-fourths by Dodd. Both partners agreed to share the cost of any increased requirements demanded by the commonwealth. Should they lose their township through failure to meet the stipulations of the original deed from Massachusetts, Moses would forfeit any amount owed to him for his labors and services but retrieve whatever he had managed to pay on his note to Dodd. Neither party was to "divide his portion of the township from the other" until the settlement mentioned in the agreement was completed. Finally, Moses was granted the right to choose his own homestead in any place he most desired. On these terms Greenleaf and Dodd became, in a sense, joint proprietors of Williamsburg. Moses took the risks, signed a note for \$5,920, and the agreement was sealed.

Moses left Boston, where he had finalized his pact with Dodd in the middle of March 1806, and headed back to his wife and five-month-old son. On his way to Bangor he stopped off in Newburyport, where he sold to his grandfather a square mile of Williamsburg. Old Jonathan Greenleaf dickered well with his grandson, getting this land for ninety-four cents per acre with an additional 160 acres thrown in, the latter to come from Moses' quarter of the town. It was an ominous beginning, but apparently Moses had no misgivings. In fact, as we shall see, his optimism was soon to lead him to assume additional obligations involving the selling and settlements of Maine lands.

In truth the land situation was becoming grim. The flux of immigration into the district had abated from its high point at the turn of the

century. Moses had intended to move his family north soon after his agreement with Dodd became final, but the problem of finances, along with the difficulty in finding homesteaders, caused him to postpone doing so.<sup>3</sup> Besides these annoying particulars, there were the doubts offered by close members of the family—doubts that he had to weigh against his own inner faith and outward convictions.

Greenleaf wished more than the reassurance that would come from his family's approval of his personal plans; he wanted them to come with him. There was little hope that Simon would come north; more likely he would be going south to Portland and beyond, pursuing his way to the top of his profession. Jonathan was stationed at what brother-in-law Jenks termed the "headquarters" in New Gloucester. It looked as though he would take over Captain Moses Greenleaf's farm. Eben was back at sea. Chances were that he would eventually come to the "land of promise," but Moses did not feel he should encourage him to do so now.

Aside from Eben, it was Clarina's husband, Eleazer Alley Jenks, whom Moses most hoped would come to Williamsburg. Perhaps one reason for the affinity felt between these two men lay in their similar frames of mind. In 1806 Jenks was traveling, not retired from his Portland newspaper, but restlessly looking for something. During a Sunday ride, these two men had discussed the proposition of Williamsburg. Moses had not given all the details, but he had outlined enough for Jenks to understand what was afoot. The letter that Jenks wrote to Moses soon after this ride was pessimistic. In gentle warning Jenks pointed out that William Dodd's financial position seemed none too secure. Moses, unperturbed, gave defense of his plans in his answering letter. He had become accustomed to calamities and argued that what might be called misfortunes in the past had actually forced him into a position "happier and brighter" than before. He was sure this was not an unusual experience. As he looked back on the seven years in which he had tried to keep a store, it

seemed as though "almost all the good [he] had enjoyed . . . had been elicited from seeming ill." The Infinite Wisdom that in its own way guided all things did so toward "the greatest possible good."<sup>4</sup>

If this was true, as it seemed to be in his own case, then he was convinced it held equally for Jenks. It might be a blessing that Jenks found himself beset with vicissitudes. He might be thus extracted from a protracted and laborious profession while he still was young enough to make a better way. Thus Greenleaf placed himself and Jenks in the same boat with a view to the windward that promised "nothing in which the mind can rest with satisfaction," unless the course were changed and changed radically. It was the moment, as Moses put it, to either "make a figure" or go down "rusted in obscurity."

Having begun his argument by depriving Jenks of a choice between a safe and a daring passage, Moses proceeded to make his indictment against the society he proposed to leave behind—a society with which Jenks was also dissatisfied. What is the price that must be paid for living in this society and for acquiring a "regular stipend"? Isn't it the cost of freedom, the consignment to dependence, and a "continual intercourse with a multitude, the greater part of whom one must cordially despise"? And what was to be gained? Certainly not security, unless one was at the top; even then one's position was precarious, only to be maintained at the expense of someone less fortunate. Perhaps one should consider the education of one's children as a boon for membership in the establishment—but on inspection that, too, failed. While one's children might gain the "rudiments of science," they would certainly imbibe as much that was negative and superficial. The whole issue turned on happiness and what happiness had to do with that "variety of objects" and the "fascinations of what is misnamed society." Name them over, these comforts, these trinkets that society held up as bait to capture the spirit of a man and the yet-untried spontaneity of his children. What could be worth such a cost; and how was happiness to be obtained through such self-defeating means?

Happiness was a matter of the internal, not the external, environment. It all boiled down to the fact that society, the good and building society, came not as wages but as fruit to those who were “qualified to enjoy it.” Society was neither a certain multitude nor a particular and prerequisite number of conveniences and institutions, but a gathering of persons, however few, who enjoyed “congenial tastes and habits.” Such a society formed at once whenever the right persons found the freedom to combine their mutual drives and desires. This was the basis for Moses’ hopes and for his household of faith.

One obstacle proposed by Jenks remained. It was a problem that was to prove as relentless as the alders encroaching upon the cleared field. Granted, there was a chance to start north of the Piscataquis, a freedom like the north wind over the forest, and a clarity of perspective like the sweeping view from the hilltops, but what of the culture left behind? Could one bring culture as one did the scions for new apple trees? Jenks feared the wilderness would have its way. Perhaps not in the first generation—who, as Moses insisted, would bring their enlightenment with them—but what of the second generation, and the third? Jenks did not say so, but he might have reminded his brother-in-law that Moses’ bass viol alone, however well played, was not a quartet, to say nothing of being an orchestra.

Greenleaf could only answer by reiterating his own determination that this loss of culture would not take place. That cultivated understanding that kept the mind alive would be perpetuated and passed along. “What difficulties are insurmountable to those determined to conquer them?” he asked, and left Jenks to make his own reply. As to the supposed privations of the wilderness and its inherent savagery, these were “bugbears” and inhabitants of “thin air” with not half the substance of those dark evils that crouched ever closer to the city. As to culture, Moses and his household of faith would keep the light alive in Williamsburg.<sup>5</sup>

In February 1807 Moses reserved a section of land for his brother-in-law, so there was hope that he had been swayed. Then in July of that same year came one of those misfortunes for which there is no redress. Jenks was returning to Portland on board the packet ship *Charles* bound out of Boston. At sunset they passed Boon Island and disappeared in a thickening fog. The breakers off Richmond’s Island were sighted too late; the ship broached and hit the ledges. Jenks and thirteen other persons were washed from the wreck and drowned.

During the year before Jenks’ death, Greenleaf came to understand that his interests could not be limited to the settlement of Williamsburg. There was an interconnection of needs—a relationship of dependencies—that embraced the entire district, not the least of which was the necessity for the means of transportation. Both the petitions he was soon to present to the General Court (see chapter 13) and the map of the lands along the Piscataquis painstakingly drawn in 1806 (see chapter 16) demonstrated the growth of this wider interest. His letters to Jenks demonstrated his concern for a new society that embraced more than his family and his friends. On his manuscript map he sketched the routes of roads to come and studied the possible waterways, the falls for waterpower, and the likely place for new villages.

In the winter of 1807 he had again gone to Boston with several schemes in mind. Most important was a petition to the legislature that, if passed, would provide the means of building a road to Canada. Any road from Bangor to Quebec would have to swing northwest from the Penobscot, passing close to, if not through, Williamsburg. Such a road was of paramount importance to Dodd and Greenleaf, but it was something that they could not hope to build without aid. As staunch Federalists, they considered it the duty of governments to provide such assistance.

If the commonwealth was to build a road, Moses knew that there would have to be a greater inducement than simply the benefit to a



population that as yet did not exist or the possible sale of townships that had not yet been surveyed. Moses was quick to point out to anyone who would listen that a road to Canada would have tremendous military significance.

Once the petition had been presented, Moses discovered that another company had been formed for the same purpose. A compromise was worked out, and he wrote to Jenks saying that the scheme for a Quebec road would undoubtedly be a success, and the General Court would likely grant a township to the road builders as payment for their services.<sup>6</sup>

Greenleaf presented a second bill for a grant of land to finance a new academy. It ran into strong opposition and was tabled. Speaking against the bill was Lathrop Lewis, a representative from Cumberland County in the district of Maine. He was a member of the Committee for the Sale of Eastern Lands and thus an influential person. Moses had talked with him and again wrote to Jenks that he had "some hope of bringing Lewis over to the faith."<sup>7</sup>

While Moses was in Boston lobbying and attending hearings, he was also busy making arrangements to settle the township just to the west of Williamsburg.<sup>8</sup> The proprietor of this township was Samuel Parkman, a "faultless dresser" and one of Boston's richest merchants. If William Dodd was a struggler in the currents of prosperity, Parkman was an example to all who were paddling for success. He had not been born into Boston's aristocracy; rather he had become so rich that he could not be excluded. As the son of the Reverend Ebenezer Parkman, he had a social position that hovered between respectability gained by education and poverty that barred the way to any real acceptance into society's inner court. He had arrived in Boston penniless and found a job at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern as an errand boy. From such a start, he emerged to be the man who contracted Charles Bulfinch to design him a marketplace, who gave a whole township to Harvard, and who donated Stuart's

paintings of Washington and Peter Faneuil to the town of Boston. In addition and incidentally, he was the progenitor of a line of rich, brilliant, and emotionally hair-triggered Parkmans.<sup>9</sup>

Greenleaf's dealings with Parkman had none of the occasional familiarity that appeared in his associations with Dodd. Moses contracted to settle thirty families in Parkman's township, to see that they erected a house of logs or some other suitable material and that they paid Parkman for their land. Parkman was explicit about the details, each of which Moses was to accomplish while keeping Parkman's best interests in mind.<sup>10</sup>

Again as payment for his labors, Moses could choose land (thirty-five hundred acres) within the township, according to his own preference, in lots of up to four hundred acres. This would cost him the going price of one dollar per acre. Of course Moses had no money, but Parkman accepted two notes: one amounting to twelve hundred dollars secured on land in East Andover,<sup>11</sup> and a second note with Moses' quarter of Williamsburg as collateral. This was a precarious arrangement as Moses did not have a clear title to either property, but Parkman was shrewd enough to see that he had nothing to lose and perhaps a great deal to gain from an agent as enthusiastic and as capable as Greenleaf.

What about Moses Greenleaf's wife, the patient Persis? She apparently supported her husband in his plans, but leaving Bangor for the wilderness may not have been her first choice. There would be no such celebrations in Williamsburg to match the Fourth of July party held at Samuel Greenleaf's tavern in Bangor. Every Federalist for miles around had turned out for the festivities. The Stars and Stripes flew from a tall pine, the doorway of the tavern was arched with a bower of greens, and inside there was music and an elegant dinner. In Moses' township there would be no roads, no stores, no churches, no doctors, and no great social excitement for several years at best.

Yet Persis Greenleaf could see that there was little use for her husband to remain in Bangor.

Business was off. Houses being built remained skeletons, and the masts of ships in the river were few and carried no sail. There was little ready money in the village and even less in the surrounding countryside. People were so poor that they seldom paid a bill unless sued. Joseph Leavitt, commenting on the economic slump around him, thought the chief causes to be idleness, drunkenness, and extravagance, but the problem was national and even international in scope. A few men had moved to the back settlements, where Leavitt supposed they soon would become wealthy farmers and landed gentry.<sup>12</sup> Presumably, Persis' husband would be one of these gentlemen.

Having finished in Bangor by the summer of 1807, and still not ready to go to Williamsburg, Moses took his family to East Andover. For Persis this may have seemed a reprieve. She was pregnant again, and the baby was due in the fall. They settled on the farm of William Poor, a brother of Persis who had given up agriculture to become an apothecary.

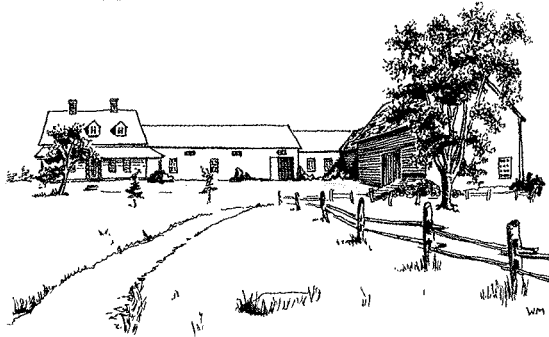
Greenleaf could not have spent much time with his family during those last few years of preparation. He traveled north of the Piscataquis several times and, in 1807, he was in Williamsburg marking lots. An advertisement that appeared in several newspapers that same summer urged all "enterprising and industrious farmers" to contact

either Simon Greenleaf at his law office in Gray or Jacob McGaw in Bangor for information on the golden opportunities to be had in Williamsburg. Readers were assured that indisputable title to lots in this town could be had from Moses Greenleaf, who was now in residence. During the fall of 1808 Moses surveyed and mapped Parkman's township. In the fall of 1809 he was in Williamsburg again, clearing land and building a shelter. It is likely that he had chosen a building site as early as 1806. Luke Wilder closed his store account with Moses that year and paid in part by felling eight acres of trees; quite probably those acres composed Moses' new homestead in Williamsburg.<sup>13</sup>

The four years in which he was to become a resident in Williamsburg according to his agreement with Dodd were up, and Moses had to make his move. Persis joined the church at East Andover and had their two children baptized. She was ready to leave her relatives and join her husband in his adventure. They left East Andover in December 1810. December seems a hard month in which to make a long, arduous journey, but winter provided better sledding over roads that hardly deserved such a label.<sup>14</sup> There was to be a last reprieve in civilization. The Greenleafs would stay in Bangor, probably with the McGaws, until Moses could build a suitable place in Williamsburg.

# Chapter Five

## GREENLEAF HILL



*Having an eye on your prospects, we look forward with anxiety and hope  
ere long all our family but Simon and Jonathan will,  
within the circle of half a mile finish our pilgrimage on earth...  
A comfortable log house, the best of brothers, whose councils and society  
we can always enjoy, retired from the bustle,  
noise and turmoil of a vain wicked world ought to make us content and happy*

EBEN GREENLEAF TO MRS. CLARINA JENKS, DECEMBER 13, 1822

In 1803 Eli Towne, the first settler of Dover, Maine, brought his wife to the small cabin he had built on the Piscataquis River. They came by boat to Bangor and then set out afoot carrying their thirteen-month-old child, both parents lugging all they could manage on their backs. They were exhausted by the time they reached a gristmill some twenty miles north of Bangor in the present town of Levant, Maine. Fortunately, they found a boy at the mill who had come down from Charleston with a horse and was about to head home with his grain. Eli hired the horse so that his wife might ride, but the path was so rough they thought it best for Eli to continue carrying the child. Having stayed in Charleston overnight, the Townes journeyed on, still lucky enough to be able to rent the horse. They spent the entire day in traveling the remaining fifteen miles, and as they approached the Piscataquis, it began to snow wet flakes. Dreariness hung like a shroud over the scene Mrs. Towne surveyed from the swayback of her horse, the small cabin sitting alone in a clearing strewn with half-burned logs, wet and black. She turned her head, not wanting her husband to see her tears.

The Townes found themselves in a frontier world of risk. It was a life on the margin when even the loss of a family needle was a calamity. There was the constant work of spinning and preserving of food. There was the seemingly endless swinging of the ax and scythe when the hungry deerfly was one's only company. Most serious were the winters when even the thickest linsey-woolsey could not keep out the cold, and all one's work with an ax seemed to be going up the wide throat of the fireplace. In those white seasons, one watched the depleting stores of dried apple and pumpkin and wondered if the seed ends of potatoes that had been saved for planting would have to be consumed. If the world Persis Greenleaf entered was not quite as bleak, it was stark enough.

Improvements north of the Piscataquis came slowly. Four years after the Townes arrived, the "road" from Bangor to Dover and to Foxcroft's town had not been greatly improved. When a dam was built across the Piscataquis at Dover, the two essentials, rum and iron, had to be brought north on a one-horse traverse. Five years after the Townes had settled, another group of pioneers coming to Foxcroft by oxcart found it necessary to

make their own bridges and to widen the road before they could get through. By 1810 the road had been extended to Sebec. From there a bridle trail led to Williamsburg.

There were other roads to Sebec by the time Moses Greenleaf moved his family to Williamsburg in February 1812. The fact that he moved in winter indicates the conditions of these new routes. The Greenleafs came by Pushaw Pond, through Blakesburgh (now Hudson), then Charleston and on to Sebec. This route would become, and is still labeled, the “Stage Coach Road.”

In July 1811 and before their move, Moses Greenleaf wrote in his journal: “to Williamsburg and found Bunker at Drews, borrowed tools at Downings, prepared to work on the house.”<sup>1</sup> So there was a house waiting for its new mistress and neighbors within borrowing distance.<sup>2</sup> More important than four walls must have been Moses’ confidence. There was the sound of axes upon the hills, and the Mark Pitmans, who hailed from New Hampshire and who had made their clearing on a nearby hill, had brought into the world the township’s first child, a girl named Sally, born June 10, 1810.

It is not clear just where the first Greenleaf house in Williamsburg stood. It seems to have been near the center of the township and well placed for welcoming the settlers whom Moses hoped would soon arrive.<sup>3</sup> The house would also have the advantage of being close to the small but growing village of Sebec. There a large lake emptied between the ledges and powered several small mills, which had sawed the boards for Moses’ house and would grind his first grain.<sup>4</sup>

Bangor, the nearest commercial center, was a two-day trip on horseback. Occasionally Greenleaf went to the big town on business, or someone might be sent there to purchase something really vital such as salt, but the settlers north of the Piscataquis were very much on their own. They became partners of the seasons and fabricators of essentials. Greenleaf’s journal tells of making spouts and buckets for collecting maple sap (a major occupation in the spring), cutting ash

“timber” for the manufacture of snowshoes, garden rakes, and ax handles, rigging a grindstone (which took all day), making soap, constructing baskets, and just “cobbling” or patching up what was at hand. Not everything, of course, had to be made by members of the family. Greenleaf’s journal occasionally mentioned some craftsman staying at his house to make shoes or to patch kettles.

The first garden was planted early in the spring of 1812—an April act of faith: pease (peas), peppergrass, French turnips, cucumbers, potatoes, and cabbages. That was the beginning. Later, as more acreage was cleared, especially on the southern exposure of a high hill to the east of town, there were fields of corn and wheat.<sup>5</sup>

Looking to the future, Moses planted plums and quinces. Fruit trees were to become one of his passions. Through the years he kept on expanding his orchard, adding 114 apple trees in 1816.

In January 1814 the Moses Greenleafs made their last winter move. This time it was to that eastern hilltop already mentioned where the “household of faith” was finally established.<sup>6</sup>

Eben Greenleaf, in the quotation at the head of this chapter, urged his sister to join them in Williamsburg and to live “retired from the bustle . . . and turmoil of a vain, wicked world.” Such a world may have been left behind, but a new bustle had been created. Life on Greenleaf Hill, as we shall see, was a dance of risks and rewards—of joys and dark moments. Nothing was sure. Once, when the potato cellar was opened, half the store was found rotten, and there was always the threat of protracted sickness or sudden accident. In his journal for July 31, Greenleaf wrote, “At home. Lydia [his daughter] very sick. Sent for Dr. W[ilkins].”<sup>7</sup> Lydia recovered. She was fortunate, as were all the Greenleaf children in an era when childhood mortality rates were fearsome. But there were also freedom and hope, and evenings when the neighbors came to sing old hymns, debate issues, and cheer the children in a spelling bee. There were deeper joys and reasons to be thankful. On January 24, 1815, Moses wrote and underlined: “Early this morning a son was born to us under

circumstances of great mercy.” This was Moses Jr. (actually Moses Greenleaf III), who would carry on his father’s endeavor to provide the people of Maine with the best maps possible at that time.

Years later, when the new generation of Greenleafs had traveled far away from that Williamsburg hilltop, and memories of the hard times had faded, the children would recall the pleasant and funny moments—how each brother and sister had a personal apple tree, or how when they went “suckering” those silver-sided fish would slip through neighbor Asa Bumbs’ big fingers and splash away in the light of the flaring torch.

Little Moses joined a busy household. Relatives came to visit and acquaintances dropped by often, either going or coming from expeditions into those tracks of wilderness to the north. Greenleaf Hill is now set aside from traffic, but in Moses Greenleaf’s day, and as he had wisely anticipated, it was one of the principal routes into the north woods. More and more people who needed information sought Greenleaf’s advice. They came from all walks of life and with a wide variety of interests. Moses’ journal entry for September 23, 1815, reads: “At night Professor Abbot came.” This must have been John Abbot, a professor of ancient languages at Bowdoin College and a man who, according to one of his colleagues, was more interested in Bowdoin’s lands and in fruit trees than he was in his academic subject. Abbot and Greenleaf spent the next morning “engaged,” talking of mutual interests and concerns.

Greenleaf’s journal is filled with everyday responsibilities and events. The underscored announcement that he had finished his first great map of Maine (1815) was followed by the statement that Mr. Crommett had sent over a load of potatoes.<sup>8</sup> One has to look between the lines to see the larger concerns facing this man who had promised to settle a township, who had committed himself to making known Maine’s geography, and who was putting so much of himself into both ventures.

When the Greenleafs established themselves on

the eastern edge of Williamsburg, they were close to another growing hamlet, Brownville,<sup>9</sup> where, as in the case of Sebec Village, a river flowed with sufficient drop and there, like the cogged wheel in a clock, waterwheels were measuring the flow of time toward prosperity. There was no such source of power in Williamsburg. Small grist and sawmills with large waterwheels needed surprisingly little water. Moses early built a mill on Bear Brook, which flowed through the western part of Williamsburg, but the mill was only marginally successful and a constant source of problems, in both its efficiency and its management. It was settled farms, not industrialization, that Moses had in mind, but as the years went on he must have been keenly aware that Sebec and Brownville were serious competitors for a dwindling supply of settlers. In 1829 Moses traced the tide of immigration inland upon one of his Atlas maps (see appendix 2). Settlement had reached up the river valleys and flowed among the hills, pushed on by the need for land and independence. Before Greenleaf moved to Williamsburg, the first wavelets of this tide had crossed the forty-fifth parallel. They lapped halfheartedly at the base of what Moses called the “Ebeemee Hills,” just north of Williamsburg, and just when he began the settling of Dodd’s township, the tide began to ebb.

William Dodd and Samuel Parkman, along with seven other proprietors of lands in the district of Maine, petitioned the Massachusetts General Court for an extension of time in which to settle their townships.<sup>10</sup> An extension of four years was granted, which relieved them and Greenleaf of immediate pressure—but there was a price. A penalty of thirty dollars for every family deficient from the original quota was to be paid when the four years expired. Even with this breather, Moses was unable to meet his obligations. He performed a creditable task all the same, one that exhausted his resources and proved that his agreement with Samuel Parkman must be forgotten.

The fact that settlers no longer came was a real concern. Moses had no intention of living a life of

bare subsistence. Just as he needed a larger house, he was too big a person to be cramped into the ell of existence. He wanted a study—a place for his library, his easy chair, his microscope, and his maps. For his Persis there should be cotton sheets, a looking glass, and carpets (see appendix 7). These things the soil of Greenleaf Hill could not produce.

On October 17, 1812, Moses Greenleaf was made a justice of the peace for Hancock County, which then included the lands along and north of the Piscataquis River. The appointment was particularly important for Moses and his family. It meant much-needed income but also an opportunity to fill a vital role in the new settlement across the countryside. He became Judge Greenleaf, the respected (or at least well-known) man on the hill.

A justice of the peace brings to mind marriages and the witnessing of legal papers, but in Moses' day the position's purview was more extensive.<sup>11</sup> He was, in the full implication of his title, the keeper of the peace over a wide and far-flung realm of clearings and settlements. Criminal cases, of excessive nature, called for Circuit Judge Martin who rode horseback from Hampden, but deeds and writs, suits and disputes, summonses and settlements all came to and from the justice on Greenleaf Hill. At least once a week Moses held court at his home.

When Penobscot County was set off from Hancock in 1816, Greenleaf was made an associate justice of the court of common pleas and later, in 1819, when the legal system underwent reorganization, he was appointed a justice of the court of sessions. Certifying deeds netted him 25 cents, drawing up bonds brought in 75 cents apiece, and surveying, which was a fringe benefit as well as a necessity before many land cases could be equitably settled, paid \$2.50 per day. As a judge, Moses often had to travel to neighboring towns. He charged seventeen cents per mile to cover the wear and tear on both himself and his horse.

For a time there was a challenge in all this legal

business and a fascination in the due process of justice, but that passed. Moses began to wonder: If his cantankerous neighbors were representative of humankind, what hope was there for civil society? On an August day in 1819, Greenleaf noted: "W. Rogers and Howard came to see about settling the scandal about Shepard's wife—hindered me all forenoon." Many other cases also cast doubt over any hope for peaceful and rational cohabitation. After one particularly trying day, he wrote a brief epistle on this subject titled "Hints to Peace Societies." Peace Societies were popular and part of the emerging American tradition of congregating, electing a chairman, and otherwise organizing against iniquities and the inhumanity of men and women. It seemed to Moses that such efforts had much to learn.

He began by quoting Hobbes, "man is a fighting animal"—a dictum Moses suggested was nowhere so roundly demonstrated as in the courts of law. It was not just the inherent combativeness of humans that bothered him; it was the "recklessness of these fighting animals" and their apathy toward the injury and waste they inflicted. Two suits had just been concluded after four days of wrangling. Taking both cases, a sum of thirty dollars had been recovered at a cost to the individuals and the county of six hundred. What justice had been served that could not have been accomplished "by one hour's sober reflection"? Moses concluded that the whole affair had been an exercise in "license and indulgence," a demonstration of man's smallest and meanest traits.<sup>12</sup>

If Greenleaf was covetous of his days and energies, it is understandable; yet only once, to the author's knowledge, did he admit in his journal the wear and tear, when he wrote: "self sick and worn out." Where did he find the time to accomplish all he did during those first years in Williamsburg: his settling of a town, the farming, the work as a judge, the writing, and the mapmaking? One answer is that he had hired men. He spoke of these men by their first names as though they were part of his extended family.

Occasionally he took an afternoon off and went fishing with one of them, and he worked beside them on the road and in the fields. Most often mentioned among these hired men are Peter (perhaps Peter Morrill, who lived nearby) and Levi, who is entrusted with many errands. There is also Moses Smith Jewell, whom Greenleaf tantalizingly noted was formerly Moses Jewell Smith. He came to work a year for \$165 to be paid in land and keep. Greenleaf's neighbors joined in to help hoe potatoes, haul wood, or cut corn—all for a slip of paper addressed to the store in Brownville, reading: "Mr. Lake, please let Mr. Willard have ten pounds of nails on my account, M. Greenleaf," or, "Please pay James Gilman two dollars on your store account with Moses Greenleaf."<sup>13</sup> There was also the faithful assistance of his brother Eben, and, increasingly, the labor of their sons, but Greenleaf's life was still a juggling act of time and energy.

Amid all that was going on, Greenleaf found time to experiment, read, measure, and write letters in his minute script. He measured and kept a record of the weather and temperature variations of the water in his well; tried the latest suggestions from the Massachusetts Agricultural Society; took azimuth bearings of mountaintops; and tried to make sense of notes from explorers and surveyors. Perhaps his most unusual experiment was an attempt to make adipocere, a waxy substance produced from decomposing animals. For a number of months he experimented with a cow's carcass he had obtained from a neighbor, finally placing it in a box in a stream. In the end he found a "whitish substance resembling head matter of a whale," but nothing suitable for making soap, which seems to have been his original interest.

Meanwhile the Greenleafs' home grew. The first structure became an ell attached to the "big house." The latter had a center hall running from the front door, with its side windows, to the back door. Two rooms opened on each side of the hall, each with its own fireplace and each, in due time, wainscoted and plastered. It was not pretentious

by Portland standards, but it was suitable for a judge and the local squire.

Moses worked on the finish, while both his and Eben's children made wigs of the shavings that curled from the wooden throat of his jointer. With good, soft pine, especially saved for moldings and casings, he could run the full length of a board, trailing one long ribbon of golden wood, then he would turn and say, "Here's some nice long ones for Purry Poor," and little Persis would go running off to show the women her new curls. Such games were fun, but real excitement came when the honey cask split. Moses was lathing the living room, standing on the cask, when it let go. A great commotion followed, in which someone discovered the children licking the honey from Moses' carpet slippers.<sup>14</sup>

From Greenleaf Hill, Bangor was a long way off, and Portland was a weary journey. Yet Moses and his neighbors felt the effect of what transpired in those far-off places, as one feels the effect of the sea miles inland. They read the news, though it might be a few weeks old, and they knew that the settlers no longer came.

On a July day in 1812, a group of men met in James Lyford's barn to see if the new town of Sebec would purchase forty-five guns and sixty pounds of gunpowder. In Dover, Maine, a gathering of leading citizens from along the Piscataquis and northward met to discuss their mutual defense. During and following the Revolution many persons had moved inland to be out of range of British frigates and foraging parties, but now, in the meetings held in Sebec, in Dover, or around the kitchen table on Greenleaf Hill, few expressed feelings of security. It was one thing to talk of military roads to Canada during times of peace, but war brought quite another meaning to living on the route to Quebec. The descendants of many Indians who had once occupied the banks of the Piscataquis now lived in Canada. Presumably they would have no reluctance in returning to their ancestral home, and knowledge of what Indians could do to an outpost settlement was still vivid in the minds of the older citizens.

Greenleaf was involved in the common defense. He mentioned losing a morning in training, and in May 1814 he was passing out powder and ball to the five men in Williamsburg who had ready guns. The situation was getting tense. In August the British sent an expedition of ships and well-seasoned troops up the Penobscot. The result was the rout of the hastily assembled militia at Hampden and an equally rapid capitulation of Bangor. Word reached Williamsburg that the British were advancing up the Penobscot on Monday, August 5, two days after Bangor was occupied. Moses wrote:

The day was alarmed by account that the British were in Bangor and orders were for all hands to march and oppose them. [I] arranged my affairs and started. Reached Bangor Tuesday morning.<sup>15</sup>

Persis especially must have watched the southern horizon for the smoke that would tell of Bangor's end. There was none, and her sister Phoebe was safe enough. Her husband had taken her to the tavern where she would be out of the reach of pillagers and under the protection of an admiring brace of British officers. McGaw had done a good day's work. He had negotiated a parole of the entire town. Moses returned home on Saturday. He found that Eben had gone to Portland (perhaps to offer his services as a sea captain), leaving his whole family with Persis. These were trying times. Faithful Peter had followed directions and kept working on the barn.

No column of redcoats or band of marauding Indians threatened the peace of Greenleaf Hill, but there did come a threat with which neither Greenleaf nor McGaw could parley. It would be called "eighteen hundred and froze to death" — the year of no summer, 1816.

It had begun a year before with a frost that killed the corn. "Going to be hard to keep the wolf from the door," people said, but they had no idea how hard. The Farmer's Almanac for 1816 gave no warning, although it did say to watch out

for a storm during the first week in June. The storm came on the sixth, a normal enough rain until the early hours of the next morning when summer came to an end, hushed and ushered out by huge flakes of snow. On June 8 it snowed again. Birds that should have been singing were so cold that one could hold them in one's hand, while Mount Katahdin was white.

Amasa Loring described the devastation of the crops and hopes that followed. Here and there on some favored southern slope a thin crop was raised: potatoes, light and watery; rye; and the earliest wheat. But in the valley, the frost came each month, blackening each new sprouting hope, while in the perpetual shadows the surface of the ground actually froze. Prices for food rose to unheard-of figures—three dollars per bushel of wheat and two dollars for rye. The Bangor markets had only corn. It was golden and sold with no rounding of the measure. Afflicted families turned to milk and raspberries, which thrived. When there was nothing else, they ate clover and stewed roots.<sup>16</sup>

On the southern slope of their hillside farm, the Greenleafs fared better than many of their distressed neighbors. They shared what they could. Moses recorded the ground covered with snow on May 15 and freezing as late as June 9, but on June 10 it warmed and looked "more like summer."<sup>17</sup> The Greenleafs had planted their grain early, and, undeterred by the cold, cut their seed potatoes in early June. Moses reported that the weather in July was often dull but sometimes very warm. The hay came in and then, late, the all-important seed potatoes and some other crops. The life of the family appears to have gone on much as usual: running out a new road northward, Eben and a crew going off to lay out townships on Moosehead Lake, and Moses writing and gathering samples of limestone on a nearby farm.

But if the Greenleafs were fortunate in 1816, the effect of that year without a summer dashed any lingering hopes of making Williamsburg a success. While many stuck it out, other settlers did not. In the township just to the north of Williamsburg,<sup>18</sup> by



the meandering West Branch of the Pleasant River, two families had just made their clearing when the summer of frosts came. It was rich interval land that they cleared and promising, protectively ringed about by dark, spruce-covered mountains. The spot was far removed from the threat of fevers and the distemper, but not from the famine. Some way these two families survived and stayed, while others in more settled areas of Maine did not. Hopes and determination had been frozen out. People sold what little they could, and left behind what they could not carry. The feeling among those heading west was that Maine could not be trusted.

Those left behind must have dreaded the next winter, but when that winter came, it was as strangely out of season as had been the cold summer. During December there were April days,

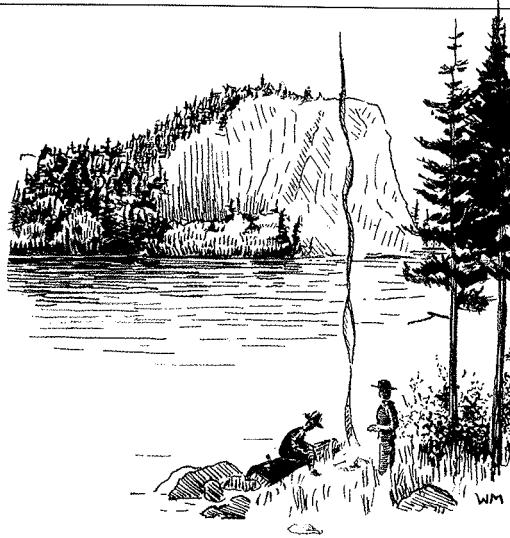
and in January the Penobscot still ran free of ice. Crops were better in 1817, and in the following summer they bountifully filled every chamber and cellar left empty by the hungry times.

On Greenleaf Hill the orchard behind the house was now a joy. Everyone passing by stopped to see how large the apples had grown. In fall the amber cider flowed, and the cellar smelled of sweet summer stored away. All this bounty was gratefully received, for Moses' family now had six to feed—not counting guests and hired men. Besides Moses and Persis there were two boys and two girls: Ebenezer Parsons, Clara Parsons, Lydia Griswold, and little Moses. Counting Captain Eben's "brood," there were twelve in the household of faith on Greenleaf Hill.

# Chapter Six

## A VOYAGE OF SURVEYING

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*How beautiful the morning breaks  
Upon the King of mountain lakes!  
The forests, far as eye can reach,  
Stretch green and still from either beach,  
And leagues away the water's gleam  
Resplendent in the sunrise beam;  
Yet feathery vapors, circling slow  
Wreath the dark brow of Kineo.*

FRANCES PARKER LAUGHTON MACE, "KINEO: THE LEGEND OF MOOSEHEAD LAKE" (1883)

While the Greenleaf family made a home in Williamsburg, a grand project was taking shape in Moses Greenleaf's mind—the writing of a geography and the drawing of a map of Maine. What he needed was solid data and the establishment of control points with which he could tie together scattered plans and surveys. The following account of a survey accomplished by his brother Eben adds to our appreciation of what it took to run lines through a wilderness and to gather accurate data.

Eben Greenleaf was a good set of legs for Moses, but he was much more. He was a pair of eyes and an experienced hand in taking the celestial observations essential to responsible mapmaking. He was also witty, congenial, and a person upon whom one could depend. If his appreciation for good rum was a fault, then he suffered the most for it.

Had there been an income tax, Eben would have provided Moses with another exemption, as old Brownville store records attest:

If you will furnish E. Greenleaf with stores for surveying, I will be responsible to cash in the spring. *M. Greenleaf*

Squire Jenks, Please pay the Captain two dollars and sixteen cents including a gallon of molasses which he has already received and charge it to me. *Moses G.*<sup>1</sup>

Between his times at sea, Eben had come to keep store with Moses in Bangor. He had moved to East Andover while his brother was still there, and in 1813 he had come to Williamsburg, settling in the western part of the town on the way to Sebec. Then he moved to Garland, Maine, perhaps

because his wife had connections there. Eben took an active part in Garland town affairs. He served as moderator at the town meetings during 1815 and again in 1816, when he was made one of the selectmen. When an issue arose concerning the division of Penobscot County from Hancock, Eben was one of those chosen to represent Garland.

Garland, had its name been derived from an actual garland, would have been well described. It was and is well watered, good in soil, and green in hills. In the town meeting of 1816, Garland voted fifteen dollars to buy powder and ball for common defense, three hundred dollars for schools, and an ambitious five hundred dollars for highways. All taxes to support these items, except what was budgeted for roads, could be paid in grain. There was nothing to indicate that the citizens of Garland would have difficulty paying their taxes. Even the weather seemed to be ameliorating. January 1816 was so mild that it seemed hardly worth the trouble of lighting a fire in the parlor. Then came the weather change, and a June in which seven inches of snow fell followed by a July in which ice the thickness of window glass covered the water in the pails at the wells. Whatever start Eben had made on his own was lost, and he returned to Williamsburg. Eben's second home in Williamsburg was close to Moses, and so was their cooperation: Moses the mapmaker and Eben the explorer and surveyor.

So Eben Greenleaf went voyaging, as he called it, through the wilderness of Maine, running by the needle of a compass and measuring with the chain (a surveyor's linked measure of sixty-six feet). He sketched with pen and ink the outline of mountains, noted the types of soil beneath his feet, and brought all this information back to Moses on Greenleaf Hill.<sup>2</sup>

Both Moses and Eben seem to have taken surveying and mapmaking as an honorable adventure. Bringing true north down from the polestar, finding distances between mountaintops by triangles whose imaginary lines reached across the intervening space, and mapping the secrets of

terra incognita were enjoyable work. To close a survey with respectable accuracy was to participate in the great endeavor of human exploration and achievement.

Eben and Moses ran their lines with a surveyor's compass crafted in engraved brass. It was as good an instrument as any then being used in the district of Maine. Moses owned two such compasses, a sextant, a quadrant, a barometer (used in preliminary surveys to find elevation), one set of leveling instruments, two chains, a spyglass, and a set of "mathematical instruments worth eight dollars." This is the equipment Eben probably used.

It would be interesting to know the total miles of lines that Eben "ran" over the years. He cut his mark—first an anchor and rope, later three circles touching—on the corner posts of many townships: Medford, Orneville, and Day's Academy Grant, to name three. He lotted or subdivided Williamsburg, Bowerbank, and part of Brownville. All this activity speaks well for Eben's ability, for it was a competitive business. There was no shortage of surveyors, good ones and those considered good enough in those days when land was fifty cents or less an acre.

In 1816 Moses Greenleaf was commissioned by the agent for the sale of eastern lands to locate and survey two townships that the commonwealth had granted to the Middlesex Canal and half a township that had been granted to Day's Academy in Wrentham, Massachusetts. Moses turned to Eben and Andrew Strong, a surveyor already associated with the Greenleafs. These two men were to do the fieldwork while Moses drew the maps.<sup>3</sup> So began Eben's "voyage of surveying to Moosehead Lake."<sup>4</sup>

Besides Eben and Strong, the crew consisted of six men: John Jackman of Garland and Captain Ezekiel Chase of Sebec were the chainmen; the other four would find labor enough, for besides the portage of barrels of bread and pork, there lay ahead miles of swamping and leagues of paddling.

With Moses waving from the shore, Eben's expedition set out from Sebec Village on August 14. They went up Sebec Lake to Buck's Cove,

where Ship Pond Stream drops over its last ledge and joins a pool between giant boulders. Carrying part of their supplies around the falls, they poled up the stream for two miles and camped.

The route they followed was an ancient way—the old Indian passage from the Penobscot River to Moosehead Lake.<sup>5</sup> This was the route Chadwick had followed fifty-two years earlier; it was then as it is now one long carry interspersed by a chain of ponds and short stretches of navigable stream.

At noon they “dined” at Jordan Brook (now Crocket Brook), two-thirds of the distance from Sebec Lake to Ship Pond.<sup>6</sup> By leaving half their supplies at the brook, they managed to reach the shore of the pond by sunset. They did catch a large number of “trouts” for supper before darkness and the rain set in.

The next day was spent in bringing all their baggage up to the south shore of Ship Pond. Eben measured the total carry along the stream as 1,067 rods (approximately 3.3 miles). By another sunset the task of portage was completed, and again they camped on the shore of the pond. The weather had cleared, with a fresh breeze sweeping down from Barren Mountain. The fine weather held and, on Saturday, August 17, they started up the swampy first mile of Long Pond Stream. Eben worked with part of the crew to clear a passage while the others brought the supplies across the pond. Even with the work of clearing the channel, they broke one of their two birch canoes in getting over a log. Sunday was spent repairing the canoe and ferrying their impedimenta up the twisting stream.

They left Long Pond Stream at a spot Eben called “the carrying place,” before they reached Slungundy Falls where Long Pond Stream comes plunging down to Bodfish Interval. Their route from this “carrying place” ran across Vaughan Stream, which Strong named “Lamoodinak,” to Indian Pond, to Rum Pond, and thence to the Wilson Ponds.<sup>7</sup> At Upper Wilson Pond they found a group of Indians occupying the best ground, so they carried on to Little Mud Pond before making camp. Eben wrote that they called that small body

of water “Jackass Pond”<sup>8</sup> and found it boggy, muddy, and filled with lilies. Its banks were thickly punched with the tracks of caribou and moose. All in all it was tough going, but on Sunday, August 24, ten days after leaving Sebec Village, they reached with “great joy” Beaver Cove on Moosehead Lake.

Their voyage thus far is summed up in the name they gave one of their campsites: Hard Grip. Eben had been “badly poisoned,” perhaps from peeling spruce bark for a shelter. But the long carries were now behind them, and their supplies for the survey were all on the shores of the Big Lake. Already Eben’s field book held many facts: the location of hardwood swells (ridges), the types of trees and the stands of pine, the bearings of mountains, and the estimated length of carries—all for his brother’s subsequent scrutiny.

For three days they camped on Sugar Island in Spencer Bay because, as Eben noted, “a heavy sea [was] running in the lake.” During this time they built a “log canoe” for their lake travels and christened her the Lady of the Lake. Eben’s Lady was the first craft given a proper name and the first to be sailed on the Big Lake by a deep-sea skipper.

On Thursday, August 27, they loaded their baggage upon the Lady and ran north, first into Spencer Bay, then on to the sheer rock of Kineo Mountain, where they camped below the cliff. A part of the crew paddled one of the “birches” to the Moose River but caught no fish. Eben had better luck; he picked four quarts of cranberries, which he discovered on a small hill of Norway pine.

The following day Eben sketched the expanse of Moosehead Lake from the top of Kineo and took bearings on Spencer, Chair, Boar (Boarstone Mountain, which lies west of Onawa Lake), and the far-off “Aroosteck” Range of Mountains. Leaving Kineo, when the wind again blew from south, they went on up the lake and made camp “at the head of the North East Bay.” Their provisions were wet and had to be dried, and they “laid up their pork to smoke.” Perhaps Eben had made too much cranberry sauce, for he noted that they had run out of sugar.

Having put their baggage in order, they began their work—the location and survey of two and one-half townships. While Strong with his part of the crew found the southeast corner of Seboomook Township<sup>9</sup> and established a baseline, Eben took his instruments down to Seboomook Point to observe the “sun’s meridian altitude.” They would be running their lines “by the needle” and needed to establish true north and thus the magnetic variation. Eben also established the latitude of Seboomook Point, thus providing his brother with the information needed to correct his 1815 map. Using a sextant, Eben figured the latitude of Seboomook Point as forty-one degrees, one minute north—not an accurate figure but a tolerable one, all things considered.<sup>10</sup>

Having finished these observations, Eben Greenleaf and Captain Chase went over the carry between Moosehead and the Penobscot River.<sup>11</sup> There is an interesting conclusion to be drawn from Eben’s journal this point. His descriptions of the carry, written for Moses’ benefit, indicated that his brother had not been over this passage from the waters of the Kennebec to those of the Penobscot. Eben made very accurate estimates that the total elevation separating the watersheds was only fifty feet—an important fact that would set Moses to contemplating a system of canals into the northern interior. They found the blazes marking the route to Canada that Dr. Isaac Wilkins and Captain Ezekiel Chase (see chapter 8) had left six years before.<sup>12</sup>

Eben was interested in just about everything, small or large. On the shore of Northeast Cove he found “perfectly square stones resembling brass,”<sup>13</sup> and some days later he discovered fossils with perfect impressions of shells. At Lobster Lake he noted the scars left upon the trees from the presence of ice, “at least twelve feet from the present water line.” He notes a “good mill seat” on a brook in Middlesex Township, Canadian blue-joint grass growing five feet high, and the “altogether broken down and rocky” top of a local mountain, probably Lobster Mountain, which is an accurate description of the glacier-scraped surface of Maine.

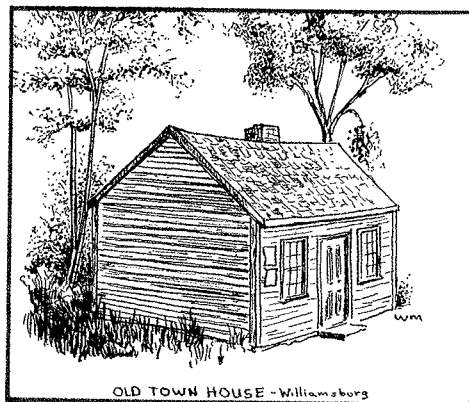
After a particularly hard day (September 12), Eben went “fishing.” He caught in Northwest Cove a trout two feet, four inches in length and twelve inches in girth. Two weeks before, part of the crew went fishing in the same cove and returned to camp with “a very large bear” that they had overtaken while it was swimming to an island. Eben wrote that there was a “smart combat” before the bear was killed. They cooked some of the meat for supper and found it “very good.”

By rough count the survey crews under Greenleaf and Strong ran 124 miles of lines. To this work must be added the survey along the shore of Moosehead Lake, the rechecking of the east line of Middlesex Township, and the exploration conducted in finding a suitable place to lay out the half township granted to Day’s Academy. Besides the town lines, the crews ran a number of lot ranges across the new townships. These were run one-half mile apart and simultaneously by the two crews. On one such occasion, when the crews were running ranges side by side, Eben mentioned that several times during the day he heard the other party “halloo.”

October 2, 1816, saw the corner posts in place. They beached the *Lady of the Lake* for the last time, shouldered their packs, and struck southeast through the woods. Two days of steady walking brought them to the deep gorge called Gulf Hags. They followed the gulf southward to the first place of habitation they had seen for over two months—the interval farm of “Esquire” Thomas upon the banks of the Pleasant River, two miles above what would become Katahdin Iron Works. They left Thomas’ hospitality the next morning and once more ventured through the wilderness toward Williamsburg. Snow and then fine, cold rain kept them company until just before sunset on October 5, when they reached Greenleaf Hill. It snowed two inches the following day and had not all melted when Eben sat before Moses’ fireplace writing the final entry in his journal.

# Chapter Seven

## WILLIAMSBURG AND HOME



*The sober comfort, all the peace which springs, From the large aggregate of little things;  
On these small cares of daughter, wife, or friend, The almost sacred joys of home depend:*

HANNAH MORE, "SENSIBILITY" (1801)

From his kitchen window Eben Greenleaf could see the smoke rising from his brother's chimney. One can imagine him standing by the window scraping a bit of frost from the pane and watching that smoke rising straight upward into the bald sky of a December morning, then turning to stand collecting his thoughts beside the warming fire.

There were reasons enough why his widowed sister, Clarina Jenks, would not be content in Williamsburg. After her last letter had arrived with word that she was thinking seriously of coming, he and Moses had decided on a lot of land for their sister—the corner lot between the road up Greenleaf Hill and the road to Sebec. It would be an ideal location, with Moses' house a short distance to the north and Eben's homestead just to the west. Still, Williamsburg was not Portland, and Clarina was accustomed to the society and the comforts of settled places.

Eben sat down to finish his letter to Clarina. For him, Williamsburg was a "wonderful opening," an opportunity to "retire from the bustling noise of a vain and wicked world," and so it might be for Clarina.

But I am frequently asked, can she who has so long moved in a large sphere, now in the

downhill of life, be content with the woods, a log house, mosquitoes, and the privations incident to a new country? I say yes—and altho' you cannot enjoy the society of all your friends, yet your roast potatoes will be sweet and you can reasonably calculate on an ample supply.<sup>1</sup>

When Clarina Jenks came to Williamsburg, she brought her mother, Lydia Parsons Greenleaf, seventy years old but still spry. Lydia was sufficient society in and of herself. Two of Clarina's children, Alley and Elizabeth, also came. As Eben had promised, Alley found the soil of Williamsburg worth the tilling, and Elizabeth was welcomed as a schoolteacher.

By 1824 life on Greenleaf Hill appears less driven. Moses and Mrs. G (as Moses referred to his wife in his journal) went off together to neighboring towns, stopping for meals or tea and spending nights with friends. Moses was often away to Bangor (which one could now reach in a day); occasionally he took his wife or the younger children with him. And now the Greenleafs could exchange books with other families such as the Hills and the Lees in Milo. Culture was no longer so lonely a business.

In the summer of 1824, when the Jenks family members were building their home on the corner lot, William Hammatt came to visit. Hammatt had married Moses' second cousin, Esther Parsons, so he was a relative on Moses' mother's side. Riding horseback from Bangor and staying overnight in Corinth, he had stopped to view Crosby's prosperous doings in Atkinson (see chapter 8), looked over the mills at Sebec, and then ridden the final six miles to Williamsburg over the worst road he had ever seen. He found himself welcome in Moses' already crowded home, which, according to Hammatt, was the "bright spot in the moral and intellectual darkness of this wilderness." Moses' wife appeared "very much the lady, tho' plain." Moses' mother was an extraordinary person in every way. Of course, she was of Parsons blood—the "noble family," as Hammatt called it. Hammatt also found Clarina pleasing. She seemed well educated and had the Parsons look. Moses' children behaved well enough and appeared well schooled. As for Moses, Hammatt wrote to his wife, he is "one of the best men in the world—pious, learned, friendly and affable to a great degree." Together the two men viewed the progress that had been made. The garden Hammatt thought was much better than any he had seen in Maine, and the orchard was a pride. They talked of mutual friends and of common purposes. Standing before the house and the wide view southward, Moses pointed out the various landmarks and traced the path of the Piscataquis as it flowed eastward toward Hammatt's township of Seboeis.<sup>2</sup>

Hammatt's account gives us one of the few extant glimpses of life on Greenleaf Hill during Moses' later life. Others come from Eben's chatty letters. In 1828 there had been a quilting bee at Eben's house. Even Clarina, who wasn't well, had been there. Grandmother Greenleaf, "the good old lady," was well and hearty and had done her share of the squares. Judge Greenleaf had not appeared, of course. He was "dennd up" in his study as usual, half buried in papers and the scattered manuscript of a new book. Unlike a normal bear, however, Moses would be out in the winter roaming and exploring.

Caught up in the bear analogy, Eben extended it to Persis, who had been lame in one of her "forepaws." He suspected that "she was caught in a trap last spring while out prowling for a livelihood and will not own to it." At any rate, she was now better. Alley Jenks, who had been courting "Brown maid under the hill," was almost normal again. It was rather pleasant to hear of some other subject from him. There had been another case of lovesickness. This time the schoolmarm had almost succumbed to a fatal attack, and the outcome was still pending.<sup>3</sup>

For several years Eben Greenleaf kept a daily journal, which gives more snapshots of the busy life on Greenleaf Hill.<sup>4</sup> This diary begins in mid-May 1825, when the planting was paramount: beans, corn, potatoes, and wheat, the last being sowed amid the stumps of newly cleared land. The boys from both families worked together hoeing, planting, and plowing with two yoke of oxen. The contest between weeds and crop and between hay and showers went on through June and July. There were other jobs: fencing, felling trees, burning brush, and working on the town's roads. Here and there Eben notes events of family importance: Moses' wife returns from a visit, someone has gone to Bangor, and Eben himself goes to Milo to "deliver an oration" on the Fourth of July. The ninth of August was spent digging clay and hauling rock, the twelfth in town meeting, and the thirteenth in felling trees and writing two deeds for Francis Brown, Esq.

Fall finished the harvest and brought a chance to do the odd jobs: the first of November, "finished Moses' and mother's chimneys and laid mother's hearth"; the second, "laid two hearths in my own house; November third, bottoming chairs and building lean-to for the cattle, evening at Moses' writing with Mr. Dodd; November fourth, chopping; [and on the] seventh, lathing mother's kitchen." One had to be versatile. During the winter of 1825-1826 Eben turned to teaching school, which he held in his own home. He closed his school on March 6, just in time to be sick with influenza, but he was up and hauling wood by the end of the month. On March 29 the extended family participated in that

rite of shelling seed corn while outside a snowstorm whitened the earth once more. Four days later Eben made this entry: "10 A.M., my wife was safely delivered of our 8th child, a daughter."

It was not all work. The family took off a day to go blueberrying up in the bog and brought back thirty-five quarts. They quit work early to go up to Moses' house and see Joseph Stinniford get married, and Eben went to a militia muster in Sebec and Garland, an event that was more rowdy country fair than military exercise.<sup>5</sup>

A glimpse of domestic life in Moses' own home comes from a letter written in 1829.<sup>6</sup> Lydia Parsons Greenleaf, now a great-grandmother, was living with Moses and was busy getting dinner over her own hearth. Moses had made the northwest room into her kitchen, fitting the closet as a pantry lined with shelves and little drawers for her spices and herbs. She kept her own standard time ticking away on the shelf clock and her own strict schedule. The family dinner would be ready at twelve, her time, and all present had taken due note. Persis and her daughter Clara were in the next room seated close to the window, where the light was best, sewing on a coat, and daughter Lydia was close by working lace. Eben P. had left to work in the woods, and young Moses was about to leave for the mill.

This momentary view does not indicate how hard the women worked. Mrs. G often ran what amounted to a restaurant and a boardinghouse. Greenleaf uses the term lodged when referring to the people who frequently spent the night. Some probably paid, but all increased the housekeeping and the meal making. In haying or reaping season half the neighborhood gathered around the dinner table. Besides cooking, washing, and cleaning, there was butter to be churned, flax and wool to be carded and spun, food to be preserved, ashes to be washed for lye, fat to be rendered, and soap to make. Even when resting and as Persis and her daughters laughed and chatted, their needles were busy. Thick stockings for Eben, a new coat for the judge, or lace to freshen up Lydia's Sunday dress, all were made stitch by stitch to Mother's memories of old

Andover, Clara's laughter over cousin Alley's latest pangs of love, and a detailed report of a visit to Aunt Phoebe in Bangor.

Over the years, the goings to and from Williamsburg had become easier.<sup>7</sup> In 1821 Moses placed a notice in the Bangor Register stating that he would receive proposals from anyone interested in carrying the mail once a fortnight through Corinth, Atkinson, Foxcroft, Guilford, Sebec, and Williamsburg. By 1825 a regular stage line had been established by David Dougherty and the following notice appeared in the Bangor Register:

Bangor and Piscataquis Mail Stage. Travelers are informed that this stage runs regularly every week between Bangor and Williamsburg. Arrive Bangor Wed. at 7 P.M. and leaves Thurs. at 8 A.M. Passes through Dutton, Levant, Corinth, New Charleston, Atkinson, Sebec to Williamsburg, at which place it arrives on Friday at 6 P.M. Fare 6 cents per mile.

Later, the Bangor-Brownville Stage Company was formed, giving the citizens of Williamsburg another route to the lumber capital on the Penobscot. Though Clarina's youngest son called this stage the "snail stage coacher," this company was quite meticulous in its attempt at regularity. When Moses' son Eben P. became a part owner of this stage line, he bought a brass eight-day clock that cost twenty dollars and was placed in a prominent position in the stage office.

When it was time for the stage from Bangor to arrive, the neighbors would congregate at Moses Greenleaf's house. Hamilton Jenks described how they arrived in Moses' front yard to find the usual group waiting—Mark Pitman, William Bunker, and Captain Eben—all "acting tidewater," as Jenks put it, for the "western mail." The horses, breathing hard after the long pull uphill from Brownville, needed no second "whoa" from Mr. Thomas perched high on the front seat.

Life was on the move. In 1819 Williamsburg was made a plantation, and the next year was incorporated as a town. Schools and roads were



principal concerns of the community, but for the womenfolk, particularly Persis and Lydia, the growing town needed a church.<sup>8</sup> That so many years passed before a church was organized in Williamsburg may reflect Moses' priorities. Over the years he rarely missed the Sunday meetings held at various homes or jointly with believers in Brownville, but when a new church was formed, he did not join. Amid a household of strong Congregationalists, Moses, it is reported, was an Episcopalian.<sup>9</sup> His choice must have seemed shaky on the grounds of salvation and another indication that the judge was different. Regardless, they all knew him as a pious man, and when the first meeting was held to organize the Williamsburg Congregational Church, Moses spoke and gave the closing prayer.

The parlor of Moses' home was hushed when the articles and confession of faith were read by William Greenleaf, a student at Bangor Theological Seminary.<sup>10</sup> Then Moses rose to give the address. He spoke on the solemn step that was about to be taken. The consummation took place nine days later in the crowded little schoolhouse on the corner close to the house of Clarina Jenks. "Letters missive" had gone out to the churches from Bangor north, and they had sent their pastors and their delegates. It was a day the Greenleaf women had waited to see. With a sense that a new presence of grace and civilization had come to Williamsburg, Persis, Lydia, and Clara Greenleaf placed their signatures upon the church rolls.

Schools and schooling were a priority from the start. In May 1811 Hanna Bradley was brought on horseback from Charleston to keep school for four to five months. There is no record of a schoolhouse, however, for some years. Even after one was built, classes were often held in a home during the hard winter term, just as Eben taught his fifteen scholars during the winter of 1825. In 1819 the citizens appointed Moses Greenleaf a committee of one to secure a loan of one thousand dollars from William Dodd with which to build two one-room schoolhouses, one in the southeast corner and the other in the southwest part of the town.

William Dodd had already expressed his willingness to aid the educational efforts of his people. In 1816 he pledged a total of fifteen thousand dollars as a trust fund for the support of a school in Williamsburg to be known as the Hancock Free School.<sup>11</sup> This pledge had been made to Moses as treasurer of the trustees for this institution. Any surplus from the fund could be put toward the support of a "regular, learned and pious minister of the gospel, a minor school as may be necessary for children in the early stages of education and a public library." The Hancock Free School—which would never be built—was to be what is now called a high school. At a time when academies were being formed across the country for those who could afford to attend, this concept of a free secondary school was an enterprise ahead of its time.<sup>12</sup>

Two small but respectable schoolhouses for elementary students were built at a cost of \$875.16.<sup>13</sup> The schools were heated with fireplaces equipped with a crane that, along with a pot, provided a hot lunch program. Each school was provided with a shovel (at a cost of two dollars) with which the teacher was expected to keep the path open. In 1821 the schoolhouse just below Moses' farm was equipped with the latest comfort, a stove, costing the town \$12.67.<sup>14</sup>

As the proposal for the Hancock School demonstrates, Moses was interested in educating beyond the simpler skills of ciphering and reading. A well-rounded education had been a concern since he and Jenks had wondered if those isolated in Williamsburg could transmit the treasures of culture to their young. Even without the high school, Greenleaf counted on a concept not unlike the Greek polis, the whole community serving as the school, and in this larger whole the two little schoolhouses served their immediate purpose and more, housing the town meetings and the church gatherings. The schoolhouse in which Adams H. Merrill first saw Eben's daughter, the golden-haired Persis, and determined right then and there to marry her, is gone; in its place stands the only monument ever erected to Moses Greenleaf.

Schools are important and controversial, but nothing can stir things up in Maine more than a dispute over roads. Road problems taxed Moses' patience, as one of his journal entries shows. On November 23, 1811, he wrote: "Road [sic] to Moultons with Drew to see if Sebec people were men enough to clear the road to our line." One can appreciate his concern. As most roads were built and maintained by individual towns, one had no control over the ease of access into one's township. Early on in Greenleaf's attempts to settle Williamsburg, this was obviously a serious problem.

In all small Maine towns, roads become a cause of battles. At town meetings the subject of a culvert could and still can lead to heated debates, and a few loads of gravel bring forth remarkable orations. The situation in Williamsburg was no exception. In three years the town spent \$12,698 for roads. Such an outlay meant that Dodd and Moses, being the principal landholders, had to come up with most of the money. Their expenditure pumped money into the meager economy. Travelers through Moses' Williamsburg between haying and harvest would have come upon work parties applying their plows, drags, pickaxes, and spades to the task of building and repairing the ways and byways. They might well have come upon Moses also, squinting through the crosshairs of his surveyor's compass, or Eben blazing a new route between the trees. Nearly every able-bodied man had his chance to work and to rent Moses' ox team. Besides the public roads, there were those privately owned, which had to be kept ditched and graded. In one entry in his diary Eben noted, "Worked on Towle's road long enough to pay him for having my shoes tapped." It all helped to make ends meet.

Despite a careful hold on the town's purse strings, the processes of "civilizing the wilderness" increasingly cost money. Some of this expenditure was out of the direct control of the citizens of Williamsburg. During the years from 1819 to 1831, the state and county tax apportionment to the town rose from thirty-four to eighty-five dollars. These state and county levies, along with what seemed an inescapable demand for town improvements, forced

the Williamsburg budget from \$80 to \$360 per year. At the same time the number of taxpayers had not increased concomitantly.

Williamsburg was struggling; then came the great forest fire. The spring of 1825 began with a freshet, but as the summer wore on the rains failed. Still the settlers burned their acres to clear the forest. There was always a fire burning somewhere, and, as long as it kept away from the fences and buildings, few persons were alarmed. No rain fell in August. Wells went dry, and in the woods the forest floor crackled underfoot. The Bangor Register commented:

We understand that fires are raging in several places in the country about the Piscataquis and the Passadumkeag; ...should the dry weather continue the loss of timber is almost incalculable.

September came and still no rain. Streams dried to bleached ribbons of stone, and even the forest bogs lost their hidden store of water. Again the Bangor Register remarked, "Never since the settlement ...were the fires in the woods so extensive." Now in towns surrounded about by forest, as were Williamsburg and Seboeis, the citizens were thoroughly alarmed. Fires could not be extinguished. They mulled away only to break out again, threatening all that the settlers had worked so hard to establish. Eben wrote in his diary, "Fighting fires all day—extremely dry and fires raging in every direction." And again, "Watching fires at the mill and [at the] Milliers; ...woods are on fire, watching at home." In Seboeis, William Hammatt faced the same problem. For him it had been a fall under relentless siege. Day after day he, and all the men he could muster, had fought to save his mill and the settlement. In his woods not only the trees but the very soil were being burned. Dead fish by the cartload floated in the stagnant pools of the Piscataquis; birds fell to the ground suffocated by the heat and smoke. It seemed after all this scorching that the fires must come to an end. Then came a great holocaust.

There was little dawn on the morning of October 7, 1825. The air was still, and the smoke was a

stationary pall over the whole country north of the Piscataquis. As evening came the air and smoke began to move, until a gale was blowing out of the northwest. For Hammatt the first warning of a new attack came in a trembling of the earth and a roaring that grew louder and more terrible.<sup>15</sup> A great wall of black smoke moved down upon Seboeis, engulfing and nearly suffocating the men who had assembled with Hammatt to fight off this new assault. There was nothing they could do. An hour after sunset's appointed time, the flames appeared in the smoke, flaring upward higher than the tallest trees. It was, as the Bangor Register described it, a "sea of fire," a night of red and black terror from the townships of Shirley and Kingsbury to the west, fifty miles to the banks of the Penobscot on the east, and from the range of townships north of Williamsburg south thirty miles and more. Wherever there was a house or a settlement, the struggle was being waged, often hopelessly. Wooden fences were pulled down, water was hauled if it could be found, and backfires were lighted. When all failed, the losers took refuge in the few remaining pools of the river.

By morning the wind had abated and the fires no longer raced across the countryside. The smoke spread southward over the whole state so thick that cattle were sick and boatmen on the Penobscot had to use a compass to find their way across the river. It is difficult to estimate the area that now lay black and lifeless. Some 832,000 acres is a probable estimate. The Bangor Register had been right. The loss in timber was incalculable. There was black ruin for many settlers.

In Maxfield, Maine, the Macintosh family were forced to flee to the river while their two-storied house, large barn, and outbuildings were swept away by the tidal wave of fire. In Guilford four houses were lost. In Parkman nine houses and five barns were ashes. In Milo the son of Winborn Sweat was overtaken by the fire while returning from school. The newspaper reported that he was not expected to live.

The homes on Greenleaf Hill escaped the

devastation only because it was already surrounded by a cordon of burned-over land.<sup>15</sup> For several summers the Greenleafs had lived in an atmosphere of smoke. As early as 1820 they were fighting a fire that burned close to the prized orchard. In 1824 Moses wrote during the month of May, "...fighting fires all about," and five days later, "...great fires in the woods."<sup>16</sup> When October 1825 came, the dingy yellow blanket that hung over the countryside thickened. On Sunday, October 9, Moses described the day as "extremely smoky" and added there was a "great alarm of fires."<sup>17</sup> Despite the threat, life appears to have gone on more or less normally. Persis Greenleaf, as was her practice, went to help the sick, and her husband went down the hill to attend "meeting" in Brownville.

Isolated in a world of acrid murk, they did not anticipate the catastrophe that was about to devour so many hopes for prosperity. Increasingly Moses' journals had contained references to lumbering, scaling logs, and carting timber. In a short time, a great swath of the countryside would be a dismal land of black and smoking stubs.<sup>18</sup>

On the tenth of October there was a shower; five days later it snowed. There are early snows that are welcome and times when to have survived, alone or with one's family and neighbors, is all the joy life seems willing to bestow. For Moses, Williamsburg had ceased to be a place where opportunity lay like the morning dew on every hillside. It had become simply home. It happens this way when a man has placed much of himself in the soil and the soul of a place; then he belongs to the land even before he is buried in it. In Williamsburg, Moses had watched the shoulders of his and Eben's sons take on manly dimensions until they could plow behind their oxen all day long and make trees tremble with the first blow of their ax. In those years his daughters became their mother young again, and now Moses saw admiration in young men's eyes when they looked upon them. As for himself, there was his book and map and much he must do, and do better than before.

# Chapter Eight

## FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS

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*Nor knowest thou what argument, Thy life to thy neighbor's creed has lent.  
All are needed by each one; Nothing is fair or good alone.*

RALPH WALDO EMERSON, "EACH AND ALL" (1839)

Meeting a few of Moses Greenleaf's neighbors is a way of better understanding the Maine in which he lived and, by extension, Greenleaf himself. Times were when the thrushes sang along the edges of a hundred fields and pastures that made a quilt of sunlit squares upon the hillsides north of the Piscataquis River. Now the woods are back; not the tall forests that Moses and his neighbors found, but second and third growth, smaller and more dense. One stands by a fallen wall, under an old apple tree grown tall in reaching for sunlight amid the crowding trees, and one wonders: What brought these people here?

The advertisements that men like Greenleaf and Joseph Foxcroft printed to lure settlers to their townships give us a clue. Here was good soil and water, a place where industrious people might make themselves independent. Against the old life of serfdom and the new life of industrial tenancy, this land offered a chance to be free if one had the courage. A man and woman might, when the morning fog was on the pasture, rise from their bed and see no world but that which they owned. One

could come in from the field when the last rays of the sun turned the edge of the woods to amber and shadow and know that it was one's own labor that had made a place of grass, corn, and cows.

The view from Moses' front door ranged from east to west and southward forty-five miles to where the Dixmont Hills broke the rim of the horizon. It became a view dotted with the farms of friends and neighbors. Here were the households of restless men and women looking for a simpler stability, a chance to get away, to establish respectability, and to start anew.

### Dwellers on Hilltops

Samuel Stickney lived near the top of a high ridge east of Brownville. He had been born in Rowley, Massachusetts, and at the age of sixteen joined Captain Moses Greenleaf's regiment as a fifer. Eight years later he was discharged from the Continental army with the rank of major.

Major Stickney was a powerful man with a ruddy complexion. His build ran to shoulders rather than to height, though he lacked but three inches of six feet. His legs were as strong as his shoulders and

served him well in delivering the mail from Bangor along with small freight, up to and including a hand loom that he lugged on his back the forty-five miles to Brownville. On one of his mail trips, he surprised a bear that had been napping beside a log. The bear jumped to its hind legs and for a startled second they faced each other; then Stickney clobbered the bear with a sack of potatoes he was toting. Major Stickney was not the type of man who allowed anything to deter him from his appointed rounds.

Oliver Crosby, Esquire, lived in Atkinson and put down his roots on a round hilltop above the Piscataquis. He was a graduate of Harvard, standing second in the class of 1795. He had practiced law in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, owned a cotton factory, and married the daughter of a Portsmouth ship owner. He had been part owner of a vessel, himself, until it was captured by the British.

In 1820 Crosby made up his mind to leave all this business and to move north where he could live as a gentleman farmer. He bought seven hundred acres of what proved to be excellent land. In their first season as farmers, Crosby and his sons raised 400 bushels of wheat and 150 bushels of Indian corn.

They lived in a log cabin, tending to first things first, which included building a barn twenty-two feet posted (from ground to eaves) and one hundred feet long. When the barn was raised, a neighbor climbed to the ridgepole and proposed a toast. Just at the dramatic moment, his bottle slipped from his upheld hand and plummeted to the ground. Bystanders gasped, but—bad omen or not—the barn stood and received a hundred harvests.

When Crosby built his house, it was a Portsmouth mansion once removed, as large and as solidly impressive but without the dado and the carved moldings. It was as fine a house as ever sat on hand-split Piscataquis granite: center hall and two stories, with a full attic large enough to sleep twenty extra men in haying season.

Crosby was probably living in his new house when Greenleaf and his wife visited him in the winter of 1824. Crosby lived in style. He had

servants he could call on a speaking tube, which ran from the cellar to the attic, and send them scurrying up or down their own narrow and twisting staircase, without bothering the rest of the household. There was special china for the guests who came on horseback from Sebec and by carryalls from Bangor; there was wine enough and cider aplenty stored in the cellar coolness under the brick arches that supported the fireplaces.

One entered the main hallway through a wide front door and immediately stood in the presence of pine paneling and a tall clock. One's eye followed the banister upward to where the stairway split to right and to left under a broad archway. Behind the arch were books filling the wall in rows of leather bindings and gilt lettering. Judge Atkinson, an absentee proprietor, had donated one hundred of these, to which Crosby had added many of his own. It was a considerable library and, on arrangement, open to the public.

Crosby lived as the squire of Atkinson, and when he died he was buried in an impressive grove of trees just north of his home. His family erected a slate stone, plain, but large enough to have engraved a brief chronicle of his life that ends with these lines:

He came to his grave in a full age as a shock of corn in its season, leaving to his children the noble heritage of a loved and honoured name. Mark the just and behold the upright for the end of that man is peace.

Judge Henry Orne was an aristocrat who had found the existing political power structure misguided and dishonest.<sup>1</sup> He was a nephew of Vice President Elbridge Gerry and had political ambitions of his own. He had hoped for a place on Jackson's cabinet and, when he failed to be appointed, soured on politics in general, and Jackson in particular. Orne married the niece of General Boyde, and it was as a manager of Boyde's township just south of the Piscataquis that he began a new life.<sup>2</sup>

He had been a traveler before his move to

Maine. Beginning his practice of the law in Kentucky, Orne had moved to Ohio and then back to a southern plantation. He arrived in Boyde's township with the experience necessary for running things, built a mill, straightened out a wrangle over taxes, and began the construction of his manor overlooking Boyde Lake. The plans of his estate included a deer park, which must have seemed odd to his neighbors. He spent a small fortune experimenting with orchards, gardens, and ornamental trees, which were tended by the former slaves he had brought with him. He had fine wines shipped from Boston and sent his team to meet guests who had come by boat to Bangor. He wrote poetry and cultivated his literary tastes. Before his death, Boyde's township had been named Orneville.

### Surveying Friends

Park Holland was the dean of Maine surveyors. He began surveying in the district in 1793, after he had fought his way through the Revolution and, with mixed emotions, aided in the suppression of Shay's Rebellion. Holland's life is a study in sheer perseverance under conditions that would have made a lesser man pack up his compass and go home. He did his work in Maine on foot and by birch canoe, rod by rod and responsibly, according to his word.

By the time he came to live in Eddington, Maine, in 1824, he knew more about the interior of the district than any other White man and more about the Indians than most. For a time he acted as Indian agent to the Penobscot. On St. John's Day, Holland and his Masonic brethren in Bangor hosted a parade and a dinner for twenty-seven tribal leaders and government officials. It is tragic that generations to come would know nothing of this brief promise of mutual respect.

Men such as Park Holland were weathered tough and ingrained with a sense of what was fair. Holland, like Moses, had tried the business of keeping store. When the chance came to shoulder a pack, Holland had gone exploring. Unlike Greenleaf, he became a man of the woods. Invited

once to a formal tea, he found he couldn't stomach his bread spread with butter and that he fidgeted the entire time until he was with his men around the campfire.

Captain Ezekiel Chase of Sebec was a man who could have kept up with Holland or would have died trying. He was not up to Holland when it came to the mathematics of surveying, but he could run lines and he did so when he wasn't trapping, hunting, or forced to work around his farm. At seventeen Chase had run away from his home in Hallowell, Maine, to join the Continental army. He was returning for a furlough when he was captured and placed aboard the prison ship Jersey. During his two years as a prisoner, Chase caught both yellow fever and smallpox. Released, recuperated, and married, he cut a clearing on the Kennebec at Bingham, Maine, where he started a farm and a family. In 1802 Captain Chase moved again. He built a new home in the wilderness of Sebec. Besides trapping, farming, and surveying, he also did some doctoring, for which he was much respected. When Moses or Eben went surveying, Chase was the man to have along.

It was not simply a matter of his abilities with an ax, a surveyor's chain, and herbs that made Chase a good companion. There was a spirit in such men—a creed that was more than civil etiquette yet not neatly theological. A man took no more of the fire or the food than was his share, and he packed more than was his part. A man finished what he started, did what he promised, and practiced what he preached. His courtesy was not schooled in high society but came from having lived with men who kept going when the going was all uphill.

As to the faith of such men, there was no catechism. They might swear, but they knew better than to curse their God. Such men believed beyond argument that the metes and bounds of life are fixed and all events move toward a rightful end. They knew because the stars said so and the pines and the river were always murmuring that it was thus.

These men with whom Moses and Eben surveyed

and explored lived one day at a time. Death they knew could strike anyplace and anytime. Alexander Greenwood had cut his surveyor's mark, a capital G with a diagonal slash, upon the corner posts of many townships. He was cutting timber in Fullerstown and bringing his drive down Wilson Stream. The falls at Willimantic were treacherous, and when the crew had cleared the last log, Greenwood called them ashore to rest in the shade, eat lunch, and have a drink. While they sat, relaxed, perhaps joking now the danger was past, a freak wind sprang up; Greenwood was killed by a falling tree.<sup>3</sup>

Clearers of hilltops, runners of lines, woodsmen and farmers, searchers for respectability, escapees from a crabbed society, and risk takers—with them all Greenleaf shared many aspects of character and accomplishment, but he was also involved in making a town.

### **Makers and Guardians of Towns and Communities**

There was a family connection between Major William Hammatt and Moses Greenleaf, but they shared a closer relationship in their mutual objective to settle a township and provide a new prosperity for their families. Hammatt was a year younger than Moses, and forty-six when they first met on a June evening in 1824. Hammatt had been invited to take tea in the Bangor home of Sheriff Bean, and Greenleaf was there. Hammatt wrote to his wife: "Mr. Bean introduced me to our cousin Judge Greenleaf, who is a very agreeable man, much like his brother Simon."<sup>4</sup> Moses had urged Hammatt to visit Greenleaf Hill, and he promised to do so as soon as he could find the opportunity.

Hammatt was much involved in settling the township known as Seboeis that he and William Emerson of Bangor had purchased.<sup>5</sup> According to the advertisement Hammatt placed in the Bangor Register, young men who wished "to make themselves independent with no other tool but an ax, no stock in trade but honesty, industry and sobriety" would find this land superior to "any in

the Old Colony." Seboeis was a township of interval, waterfalls, and timber. It had a natural site for a mill and was already a stopping place for rafts coming down its two rivers.

In the late summer of 1823 Hammatt had left his wife and family in Scituate, Massachusetts, and come north. Lumber was becoming the magic word along the Penobscot. Emerson assured Hammatt when he arrived in Bangor that in timber alone they were wealthy men. Traveling up the Penobscot by "Indian canoe," he received more confirmation of the value of his land. He was impatient to join the surveyors who were marking lots and anxious to take up his role as gentleman proprietor of Seboeis.

Hammatt's initiation began on the first day he traveled with his surveyors. The weather was sweating hot, and the ground that night was hard. He stoically decided it would become softer with use "as our best friends grow more agreeable with long acquaintance." The next day he inspected the falls on Seboeis Stream, upon which he decided to build a mill. That was pleasant, but the rest of the day wore on dimly. They traveled over and around a mass of blowdowns whose tangled branches and upturned roots reminded him of the steel spikes of a "cheval de frise" purposely placed to bark his shins and trip him headlong into the underbrush. As the days passed, the ground became no softer. Then came the day they ran lines through a swamp with no water to drink and only dry biscuits and salt pork to eat. Hammatt was stiff, sore, and tired since the "fleas" had given him no chance to sleep. His boots were slippery, and he was continually falling over a stump or catching his foot in a hidden nest of fallen tree limbs until his legs were "entirely black and blue." A pious Unitarian, Hammatt decided that all this unsteadiness and lameness was an indication of the encroaching years. He had better mind the admonition and look after his salvation. While doing so, he would wait for a better pair of boots before doing any more "bushwhacking."

His first official duty as the new proprietor was to attend the funeral of a little girl who had died "of a

worm complaint.” The neighbors followed the parents and their four remaining children to the little schoolhouse, where an older member of the settlement said the prayers, and then to what Hammatt called “a lonely hill” where the grave had been dug.

There were happier activities as well, or Hammatt might have gone back to Scituate. He took “sentimental” strolls through the woods along the river, studied where he would place his mills, and visited the settlers “to make them satisfied with their landlord and their bargains.” He found them respectful and eager to entertain—sometimes with very special things to eat such as pigeons freshly captured in a net.

Hammatt was away from his wife and family for much of three years. He was in Seboeis when his young son John Howland Hammatt died. His wife, Esther, had come to feel that her husband enjoyed his bachelor’s life. She wanted him back in Scituate, back to the old life they had known with a big house, friends, and a decent living. Her husband answered that her aversion to his township and her prejudice toward its people would certainly disappear the moment she came to know them firsthand. The soil, if given an opportunity, would become a “very garden of the world”; as for the people, he had heard but one profane word from those he had hired, and the man who had uttered it was to be discharged. These were honest folk. He could leave his house for a year without fear of theft. Esther came to join her husband in the days when he most needed her support. In 1826 he was again traversing his township, this time to survey the blackened cinders of what had been a fortune in pine and spruce.

Hammatt lived to the east of Moses, James Stuart Holmes to the west in the town of Foxcroft. Holmes was a graduate of Brown University and a classmate of Horace Mann. After college he studied law in the office of Enoch Lincoln in Paris, Maine, then in 1823 set up a practice of his own on the Piscataquis. Moses and Holmes were brother Masons, fellow keepers of the peace, and trustees of

the new Foxcroft Academy. In politics they also shared beliefs: Holmes supported Adams, greatly disliked Jackson, but unlike Moses became a Republican when the Federalist Party faded away. In 1878 he was carried to the polls to “cast his last vote for freedom.”

One incident will suffice to show the character of this man. In the town of Atkinson there was a small colony of Millerites who had too much of immediate cosmic concern upon their minds to bother anyone. However, they did make some commotion, and a group of proper citizens brought charges of vagrancy against them. Holmes offered to defend the Millerites without fee. The trial was a hectic one. The Millerites insisted on constant hymn singing and verbal prayer but, despite their help, he was able to win their case.

Holmes came to the land of the Piscataquis and stayed; so did Crosby and Stickney, Chase and Orne. But there was a constant movement among many of Moses’ neighbors and associates. Because transportation was so difficult and slow, we associate a certain homestead permanency with Moses’ era, but in fact there was considerable mobility.

Among Moses’ associates who came to live by the Piscataquis and then left was Colonel Joseph Lee. Like Moses, Lee was agent of a township—Milo, which shared a corner post with Williamsburg. Lee quickly became an important figure in “his” township. When a name for the town was being chosen, Leeville was considered. Like so many of the men who came to live along the Piscataquis, he had done an impressive number of things.

He first ran a mill in Orland, a town he had incorporated and named, co-founded the Penobscot Bank, commanded the local militia, was appointed commissioner of the Land Office by the commonwealth, and then was elected representative to the legislature during the years of the second war with Great Britain. As land commissioner he had been active in opening roads northward from Bangor and had negotiated a treaty with the tribal leaders that opened land on both



sides of the Penobscot. Later, when Moses Greenleaf proposed the Bangor and Piscataquis Canal and Railroad, Lee was one of the petitioners.

When the Lees first came to Milo, they joined the Congregational church in Brownville, which they regularly attended. Besides the colonel and his wife, Priscilla Spurhawk Lee, their two daughters took their places in the family pew. They were Mary Abigail and Martha Laurens. Moses' son Eben P. married Abigail while his other son, Moses Jr., married Martha.

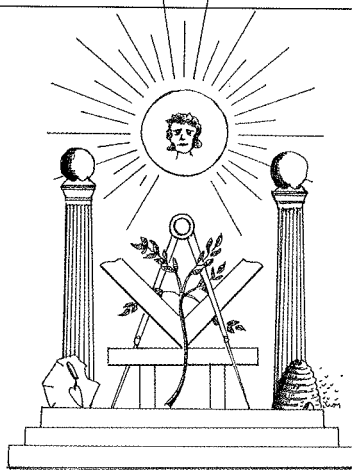
Greenleaf shared attributes with his neighbors, yet he was unique. The only figure in Maine who approached Greenleaf in his capacity for research

and the collection of data was a young man who, during Moses' Bangor days, had studied law in the office of Jacob McGaw. This was William D. Williamson who, in 1832, published his two-volume history of Maine—1,374 pages synthesized from material gathered in more than twenty-five years of research.<sup>6</sup>

Both Williamson and Greenleaf represented a passion for discovery and the capacity for accomplishment. But for Moses, more than for Williamson or any of his neighbors, the vision of a happier, wiser, and freer community would not let him rest.

# Chapter Nine

## THE CRAFT



*Toil as we've toiled in ages past, to carry out the plan –  
Tis this: The Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of man.*

LAWRENCE GREENLEAF, "THE TEMPLE" (1916)

The road from Williamsburg to Sebec Village runs westward; not the proper direction, symbolically, for a Masonic journey, but the way in which Moses and Eben Greenleaf traveled when the moon was full, and they and their brethren "met upon the level and parted on the square."

Perhaps they rode in silence, as brothers and close friends often do. Then there would have only been the measured cadence of the horses' hooves against the timeless song of the vireo and the white-crowned sparrow. Through their minds might well have run their brother Goethe's lines:

The Mason's ways are  
A type of Existence,  
And his persistence  
Is as the days are  
Of men in this world.

Moses and Eben Greenleaf were Freemasons – not casually but with deep devotion to principle. The purpose and responsibilities they carried in their hearts spread in a network uniting men of stature across vast distances and equally wide diversities. They shared in an old faith, which asserts that a prevailing and creative process grooves the universe

and creates a momentary expression in the life of every man. Call it God, express it as the Light, name it as best you can; it is the Architect of things eternal as men would be of things that come and go. It is this eternal spirit, this Master Builder of all worlds, that breathes in man the urge and the capacity to construct a better earthly home for humankind. This was the affirmation Moses and Eben shared as they rode toward Sebec.

Across the hills, other men would be traveling toward Sebec. John Thompson, who had received his Masonic degrees in far-off Greenock, Scotland, would be making his way over the footpath from his log cabin in Milo. Colonel William Morrison and Captain Ephraim Moulton, both veterans of the Revolutionary War, would be coming down from their hillside farms, and a score more men besides, all anxious to meet with their fellow Masons—the "dear brothers of the Mystic tie," as Robert Burns had characterized the fraternity. Eben Greenleaf spoke of this comradeship when he wrote to thank the brethren of Somerset Lodge in Skowhegan for the gift of batons used in Masonic rites:

I give to you the salutations of every Mason in this remote part of the country. We are

stimulated to exertion in the diffusion of light and knowledge when we remember that Brethren at a distance and personally unknown take so much interest in our welfare!

Wishing you all the happiness that can result from a strict adherence to the principles of our order, I am your friend and brother...<sup>1</sup>

We know from what Moses Greenleaf wrote that he saw in Freemasonry a philosophical expression of the earthly purpose for a man, a purpose that should become both a duty and a happiness. He loved the Craft of Masonry, and knowing this we find a deeper insight into the nature of his thoughts and beliefs.

What is the nature of this institution that drew men from farms and villages when hours were scarcely long enough in those days of pioneering and nights too short to heal all the strain? The fraternity in form and ritualistic language dates from the first half of the eighteenth century. From that point backward in time, the trail is at first distinct, but beyond the era of the great cathedral builders it becomes increasingly difficult to trace a direct lineage until, as when following a path long unused, one finds oneself losing and again finding the way. On an altar in Pompeii were found the symbols of level and plumb line; hidden in the base of Cleopatra's Needle were discovered a square, a trowel, and the word temple written in hieroglyphics; and, in the foundations of a very old bridge in Ireland, workmen found this inscription:

*Live ye life by love and care  
Upon the level and on the square.*

The farther back one searches, the more universal seem the sources. We find them in the West, the Near East, and in the Far East where Confucian philosopher Mencius wrote, "Ye who are engaged in the pursuit of wisdom must also make use of compass and square." Thus it is not a continuity of organization that one discovers in a search for the historical foundations of modern Masonry so much as a kinship of aspiration embodied in a particular symbolism. It is the story of builders whose trade was

the utilization of the arts and sciences and whose architectural aspirations early led them to speculate not only on the proportion of pillars, the grace of line, and the reach of arches, but also upon an eternal order forming a fabric over all.

To understand the genius of this fraternity, one must realize the coalescence that Freemasonry achieved. To the ancient affirmation of a Divine providence, creative purpose, and immortality, Freemasonry blended the tenets of the Enlightenment, which took delight in the arts and sciences, insisted on the rights of the individual, and sought a more perfect human expression.<sup>2</sup> As a result, hope of a better society arose within the ancient fraternity, enlivened by the new "fund of science and ingenuity" and supported by the old acclamation of morality and faith. This vision came to the hills of the Piscataquis in the spirits and minds of men who, each according to the Light within, considered it a privilege to be a brother and a builder.

The tenets by which modern Freemasons strive to live are compassion, the obligation of relief – which includes "restoring peace to troubled minds"<sup>3</sup> – and truth, by which is indicated the opposite of "hypocrisy and deceit." Reemphasized were the old cardinal virtues of temperance, fortitude, prudence, and justice—the latter being considered to be a "boundary of right" that enables one "to render unto each human being what is justly due without distinction." The Masonic memorial service honoring the memory of a departed brother reads: "Though perfection of character is not of this world, yet we are persuaded that he sought to live by these principles of Masonry and that by them his life was made fuller and more meaningful."<sup>4</sup> By all this, Moses Greenleaf did intend to live.

Frequently the beliefs and intentions of the Fraternity have been misunderstood by the public at large and, while Moses and Eben met with their brethren and labored in their lodge, the darkest period in the history of American Masonry was about to descend. Fed by political intrigue and religious bigotry, the Anti-Masonic movement spread across the nation, even to Williamsburg and

Sebec. But until that darkness came, Piscataquis Lodge, the lodge of the Greenleafs, existed in peace and harmony.

It was Eben Greenleaf and Josiah Towle, a storekeeper in Sebec, who first sent out a circular requesting Masons to gather for the purpose of establishing a lodge. That was in the year 1822. The call assembled nine men, and the result was the chartering of Piscataquis Lodge, number forty-four in the new jurisdiction of Maine. Moses was elected master and Eben chosen secretary. The lodge progressed, as Eben Greenleaf wrote in the lodge records, "as fast as the infant state of this country [would] allow."<sup>5</sup> Moses became district deputy grand master, following in this position his brother-in-law Jacob McGaw of Bangor, and Dr. David Shepard took Moses' place as master of Piscataquis Lodge.

No doubt it was Dr. Shepard who was called to tend Moses when his last illness came. If so, then two men, friends and brothers, parted with a mutual faith and hope that did not end when Shepard left Greenleaf Hill and rode back to Sebec. So the order of men changes and the eternal relationships remain.

Moses and Eben came by their interest in Masonry both by inclination and family tradition. The Greenleafs were a family of Masons. The Reverend Jonathan Greenleaf was the first chaplain of the Grand Lodge of Maine. Simon Greenleaf led the group that formed that Grand Lodge. It was a distinguished cadre and probably not the easiest from which to draw a unanimous opinion. Included were such figures as Governor William King, Samuel Fessenden, and Robert Dunlap.<sup>6</sup> Simon became the second grand master of Masons in Maine, following William King.

Though Moses Greenleaf's father died before Piscataquis Lodge was formed, he would have taken pride in that accomplishment. He had himself been made a Mason in Newburyport, served his lodge as master, and then during the Revolution acted as master of Washington Lodge in the field—a lodge composed of men from the Massachusetts Line, and one that General Washington often attended. Captain Moses liked to tell how the general came

and took his place without fanfare as though he were a private.<sup>7</sup> On moving to New Gloucester, Captain Moses had carried on his Masonic activities by assisting in the formation of Cumberland Lodge.

His own father had been a Mason also, taking an active part in the formation of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Massachusetts (an appendant Masonic body). So years later, in 1827, Moses and Eben Greenleaf were following the tradition of their father and grandfather when they helped form Mount Moriah Chapter in Bangor.

Moses Greenleaf began his Masonic career on October 1803 in Rising Virtue Lodge located at Bangor. The members of this lodge were a stimulating group. Dr. Elisha Skinner, who had been a surgeon during the Revolution, was master; Oliver Leonard, a lawyer and graduate of Brown, was senior warden; and General John Blake, another Revolutionary War veteran and then agent to the Penobscot Indians, was junior warden. Among the active members were Park Holland and Mark Trafton, both of whom have been mentioned in previous chapters.

All this took place under a high sun for Masonry, a time when men far from their original homes met with friends and brothers, old and new, swapped remembrances and the latest news in the anteroom, and renewed their convictions in the lodge hall. It may be true that "when it is darkest one can see the stars," for when the Anti-Masonic movement gained momentum, one quickly saw just who among the brethren would keep the faith.

In 1829 the Reverend Nathan Sheldon of Brownville, Maine, preached a sermon that placed Freemasonry beside intemperance, slavery, and infidelity as signs of the beast Sheldon thought now stalked the earth, ready to make its final slash at the throat of degenerate mankind. Sheldon's inclusion of political party spirit among his long list of present evils was particularly ludicrous considering the political hay he made by eliciting a fear and hatred of Masonry.

Still, Sheldon must have felt that he was doing God's work in denouncing Freemasonry. He appears

to have been a competent preacher, one of the first graduates of Bangor Theological Seminary and chosen to give an address at its first exhibition. He was elected clerk of the Penobscot Congregational Conference and was a prominent member of the ecclesiastical councils that were called for ordinations and matters of church discipline. He should have been better informed about Masonry, for he had received his Fellow Craft Degree in Piscataquis Lodge, being proposed by none other than Moses Greenleaf.

When Moses left the church that morning, he told Sheldon that if what had been said in the sermon were true, then he, Moses, would be “bound to renounce Masonry, and if not true, he was bound to vindicate” the institution. Moses’ rebuttal to Sheldon’s sermon filled twenty-eight pages—which, in his small script, means a lengthy epistle.<sup>8</sup> It was a thorough and clear statement following Sheldon’s sermon outline, point by point. What effect Moses’ retort had on Sheldon is not known, but the effort stood Moses and the Craft in good stead. The year following, he was appointed head of a Grand Lodge committee commissioned to consider “the peculiar duties of Masons at the present time.” Their report ends with the following admonition to the brethren:

that all true Masons should quietly let the tempest take its course, and fear not its consequences, while they endeavor to vindicate the sincerity of their profession by a well-ordered life and conversation, and by well doing to put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.

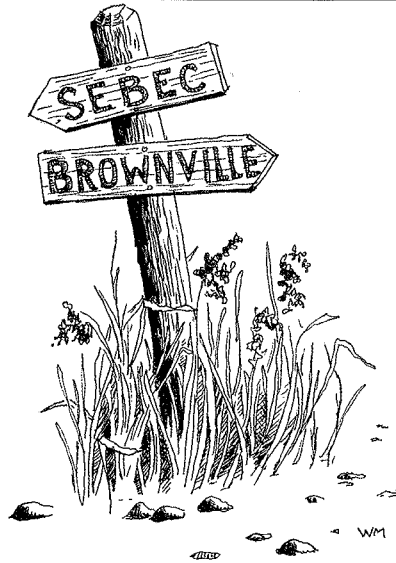
On December 10, 1829, Piscataquis Lodge decided to take just such a course. Moses was again elected master and Eben, secretary. They would wait with patience to hold their regular meetings until the storm of protest wasted itself. Moses was not to live to sound the gavel once more in Piscataquis Lodge, nor would Eben live to make another entry in his record book.<sup>9</sup>

On a Sunday afternoon in October 1947, three hundred Masons and their friends met on Greenleaf Hill where the road north parts with the road westward to Sebec. Before them was the memorial that Piscataquis Lodge, with the help of neighboring lodges, had just erected. It was a large, rough slab of granite with a plaque reading: TO MOSES GREENLEAF, PIONEER, SURVEYOR, AUTHOR, MAGISTRATE. FIRST MASTER OF PISCATAQUIS LODGE, NO. FORTY-FOUR.

# Chapter Ten

## TRANSPORTATION, SLATE, AND REALITY

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*I am a part of all that I have met; Yet all experience is an arch wherethro'  
Gleams that untravell'd world, whose margin fades  
For ever and for ever when I move.  
How dull it is to pause, to make an end, To rust unburnish'd, not to shine in use!*

ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON, "ULYSSES" (1842)

Slate and transportation were on Moses Greenleaf's mind in 1825. The two were intertwined and, as for reality, there was no escaping its present unpleasantness. There was ample reason for him to feel discouraged and along with Tennyson's Ulysses to sense a futility in life as it was. Yet in none of his letters is there a trace of capitulation or despair. True, he might have to abandon Williamsburg, but should this happen, Moses would again "stroke the gray sea with his oars."

William Dodd was dead.<sup>1</sup> The old alliance was broken and in its place a host of heirs now owned Williamsburg, only one of whom Moses knew personally. To that person, Benjamin Dodd, Moses wrote a series of multipaged letters explaining the situation. Typically, he faced the problem dispassionately and with his usual point-by-point analysis. In one of these letters he enumerated the debts and credits that might be expected for the owners of the town for the next eighty years if present conditions continued; in the end, if nothing worse

happened, they might expect to be out \$3,684. As Moses concluded, this was "not a very encouraging outlook." Something had to be done and quickly.

Greenleaf had formulated a solution. It would take faith and an outlay of capital—not much, but cash all the same. He had the former, but the new owners would have to furnish the money. It was a case of having to spend a little to make anything at all. If the owners did not help, then Moses saw no alternative but to leave Greenleaf Hill. In 1825 he wrote Benjamin:

But, if any of the owners should prefer to take the business into their own hands, then . . . you will want my place, . . . and if you will give me and my family the value of what we have in the town. . . . I will remove at any time on six or three months' notice, and part as we have ever been, good friends.

He added:

Because it is no object for me or my family to

live in this town merely for the sake of what we can get from farming, for we can do better in another place. . . . I hope it will not be understood as indicating any dissatisfaction. . . . I only wish to show you that I am ready to go or stay and desirous to do anything which shall promote your interest as well as my own.<sup>2</sup>

After all the labor Moses had put into Williamsburg, it is surprising to find him talking of moving. He had been able to discharge much of the debt he had brought with him when he moved to Williamsburg. Considering what he had owed, Moses had done well, but not well enough. In 1826 he was forced to use his beloved books as a security against what he still owed to the new owners of Williamsburg. The settlement of the town had been far from a success for reasons that neither Moses nor William Dodd could have foreseen. Moses thought that such a concatenation of events would never again force themselves in a united front against the settlers of a township.

When Greenleaf's father had moved to Maine, the population of the district was increasing at an annual rate of 9.5 percent. The rate was not that high when Moses first agreed to settle Williamsburg, but still the influx of settlers produced optimism. By 1820, however, the rate had dropped to an annual 2.75 percent (Greenleaf's figures), below what one would have expected from the natural increase due to births. The population of Maine was actually decreasing, in absolute terms, and perhaps a total of thirty thousand people had left the district. In Williamsburg the population had increased by only thirty-six people in the ten years between 1810 and 1820; the rate of settlement was less than one family per year.

Moses outlined the causes of this malady in his letters to Benjamin. The problem had begun with the paralyzing effects of the embargo and was intensified by the war that followed. The inhabitants of Maine were left poor and ill prepared for the events that came upon them. Among these troubles was the general attempt on the part of

conscientious landholders to put their own business in order, which meant straightening out the confusion over deeds and titles as well as the collection of money owed to them. This forced the settler to either pay for his land or face the loss of what he considered his own. Then came 1816, the year without a summer. It was no wonder that the people lost heart. Under such conditions, they were ripe for the propaganda that the developers of western lands showered upon them. So the exodus westward began, becoming the contagious "Ohio fever." In 1829, in his *Survey of Maine*, Moses would write, "The exit was extensive, deep, and to many alarming—but it was transient."<sup>3</sup>

By 1819 the *Bangor Register* was sounding an optimistic note:

Ohio, beat this if you can! Mr. Stilman Kent of Orrington sowed one peck of peas on the 10th of February. No frost in the ground.<sup>4</sup>

The elation continued:

All Hail Ohio! or a Cure for Ohio Fever—  
Received by Houlton Stage a 16 lb. turnip with  
47" girt. Grown by A. W. Huntress, Esq. at No.  
5, Range 2 east of the town of Lincoln.<sup>5</sup>

The Register also reprinted a letter from a Maine man in Columbus, Ohio, who reported that "when wet the whole country is a hog yard." Such information must have made those who had clung to their Maine hillsides feel better. Many who had left were now anxious to return. One woman who had "gone west" had "shed tears enough to grind a bushel of wet rye."<sup>6</sup> Moses supposed that a dozen years would see the trend out of Maine completely reversed; he was wrong. Those years of western fever were only the beginning of a long period when women from Maine would shed tears for home—an era when men would think with nostalgia of the old homestead "downeast." It would be 150 years before Maine's population growth would increase sufficiently to match the pernicious drain upon her numbers.

It had to be faced. Despite the *Bangor Register's* optimism and Moses' faith, those who stayed in

towns such as Williamsburg found it difficult to live. They were forced to ask for credit for those necessities they could not produce and were at the mercy of traders and merchants, many of whom were what Moses called “sharper”—men who carried no mercy on their shelves. Debts were followed by lawsuits and attachments upon belongings and crops until nothing was left with which the farmer might hope to earn his way. The effect was that of a debtors’ prison without the walls and bars.

Greenleaf was well acquainted with the settlers’ grief. They came to him for advice and help; often there was no recourse but for him to assume their debts. He wrote to Benjamin that such acts “kept him continually embarrassed, without any profit to countervail.” If it was hard to find cash for such items as salt and thread, certainly few could afford to pay two dollars per acre for land.

While few could pay, there were many who wanted land. The whole countryside was filled with a restless movement. Greenleaf wrote to Benjamin Dodd that there was a “multitude of all classes who are roving all over the country to seek good settlement.” People were continually coming, trying, and leaving for greener pastures. Of the seventeen families who moved to Williamsburg during the period from 1820 to 1830, only eight stayed. Joseph Berry and his family are a good example of the movers. They settled in Williamsburg in 1820, moved two years later to Brownville, then back to Williamsburg, then to Saco, and finally to Bangor. Such settlers were looking for a place to rest, but they had only goods or services to barter for land.

Another problem faced the proprietor—one just as serious as the lack of buyers who could pay cash or afford the 6 percent interest on a mortgage. There was a flood of public land upon the market, land that was of good quality, often better situated and costing but a fraction of what private landholders, such as Moses and Dodd, had paid for their acreage. On the Penobscot River sixty new townships were being opened, and there would be more. The new state of Maine was selling land at thirty to sixty

cents per acre, while Massachusetts was asking only ten to twenty-five cents per acre for her apportionment of the unsold lands in the state.

As Greenleaf pointed out to Dodd, they could be sure that the townships along the Penobscot would fill before Williamsburg, and at the rate of settlement it would be years before the demand for land raised the prices. There were in Williamsburg some twenty-four thousand acres as yet unsold. It was no wonder that he urged the new proprietors to consider some radical change in policy, and planned to move should they decline to do so.<sup>7</sup>

Industry was the answer. Moses advised the proprietors to lower the price of their land, take what the settler could offer as a down payment, provide the necessities, then develop a source of work through which the farmers, during the off-season, could pay for their supplies and land. Moses had discovered just such a source of work right under his own feet, the black slate that formed the arching backbone of Greenleaf Hill.

The first discovery was made not far from Moses’ home in an outcropping on Whetstone Brook.<sup>8</sup> By 1824 he had made a study of the subject and had done enough exploring to guess that the vein was extensive, running east-northeast to west-southwest for a distance of perhaps fifty miles. If this speculation was correct, towns to the east and west of Williamsburg were equally blessed with slate. Two years later there was no doubt. Slate had been found in Dover and in Monson.

Moses put Eben to work getting samples, and together they experimented with splitting and dressing the stone. While in Boston, Moses had an opportunity to compare his slate with domestic and foreign stone and found it to be as good or superior. A professional quarryman agreed that the Williamsburg slate could be worked.<sup>9</sup> Moses filled pages with figures, but no matter how he figured, transportation was the issue—not so much the transportation from Bangor to the Boston market as that from Williamsburg to Bangor.

For three months of the year the roads succumbed to mud. In winter one could count on good sledding



with an ox team, but such transportation would cost twelve dollars per ton, which—added to the six dollars per ton expended for quarrying and dressing, plus the two-dollar-a-ton fee for shipping from Bangor—left a very small margin of profit. A cheaper solution was to raft the slate to Bangor. If one were to make the rafts of logs, which could also be sold, that would help, but there was a problem here. Little pine was left in Williamsburg, and spruce or cedar brought only a small price in Bangor. One would also have to add something for insurance, for rafting was a risky business. Just as Moses had predicted from the very first, the prosperity of Maine's interior depended upon how cheaply one could move both oneself and one's commerce.

In 1813, when Greenleaf answered the questions addressed to him by a legislative committee appointed to look into the worth of Maine lands, he had ended his reply with the following:

From ten years of interested observation, and the concurrent opinion of all with whom I have had the opportunity to converse and on whose judgment I could rely, I am fully convinced that to fill the interior of the District rapidly with inhabitants, nothing is more necessary than good roads and liberal terms of sale—that on this subject parsimony is real waste, and an extensive, liberal and vigorous system of improvement the only true economy.<sup>10</sup>

At the time Moses wrote these words, he was thinking in terms of canals as well as roads. Three years later in his *Statistical View*, he gave the subject more attention, suggesting a possible canal system from Bangor to Moosehead Lake and beyond.<sup>11</sup> Moses seems to have continually lived and thought in advance of his own times. A group of men did petition the legislature for the right to build a canal from Bangor to Pushaw Pond,<sup>12</sup> the very first step in Moses' wider scheme; and some years after his death, lumbermen, seeing the need for the transportation of their own logs, came up with plans to divert the waters of the St. John to the Penobscot and the Penobscot into the

Kennebec watershed, plans that nearly precipitated a war of dynamite, fists, caulked boots, and even rifles.

There was in Greenleaf's insistence on a better means of transportation a wider aspect that might be more aptly termed communication. Without a flow of goods, ideas, and concerns, he was afraid that sectionalism would develop within the state. There was, as he saw, no "common center" but rather a number of isolated centers between which, instead of a healthy competition, there might develop parochial envy and shortsighted greed. To the north was another probability of danger. A vast section of the state was segregated from the rest by a roadless wilderness. Settlers of this area would naturally gravitate to Canada for their needs and trade. The area might well fall into foreign hands if something was not done. By 1829 Moses was wondering if the time was not running out in which the new Maine legislature might wisely act to provide both the funds and the guidance in developing "efficient systems for ulterior improvements."<sup>13</sup>

Among Moses' perennial plans was "a great state road" running from Bangor to the Canadian border. It was not the terminus of this road that seemed to him so important; it was the in-between, the great interior of Maine waiting development and settlement along with the forest, the soil beneath, and below that the mineral ores. In 1816 came his chance to participate in the construction of a part of this road. The General Court appointed Moses and Samuel Redington to complete a road "passable and convenient for carriages" from Bangor to the last range of townships before the unbounded wilderness began.<sup>14</sup> A man by the name of Bennock had contracted to establish a road from Orono some thirty miles northward;<sup>15</sup> Moses and Redington were to locate and traverse a road from where Bennock had left off, across the Piscataquis, northwest through the towns of Milo, Brownville, and Williamsburg, to connect with the route already blazed to the Canadian border. Once this road had been located, they were to see to its construction. Bennock had received for his part of the construction a grant of eighty-four hundred acres of

public lands. Where the road ran through townships already sold, the cost of building would fall upon the proprietors, who could offer land, as Moses did in Williamsburg, in payment to the contractors, or pay in cash, just as they chose.<sup>16</sup>

On May 1, 1816, Moses and Redington commenced their location and traverse. They completed the job in twenty-three days at a total cost to the commonwealth of \$173.20. Their road ended at the north line of Township Number Six in the Ninth Range (Katahdin Iron Works Township), which had particular interest for both men. Redington had just bought a large section of land in the northern half of this township, so his interest was both immediate and apparent. For Moses the township was a central location from which roads might radiate into a vast area of rivers, woods, and lakes, but there was another feature of even greater possibility. Near the center of this township was a mountain whose brook beds were stained red. As one followed the brooks upward, the color became brighter until one came to its source—a bed of vermilion iron ore. Moses made no special claim to the discovery of this deposit, but certainly he was the first White man to make a serious investigation. The Indians had long known of this iron ocher. They called the source *mun'olam'mon-ungun*, place where abundant, fine paint is found. It was this Indian name that first aroused Moses' curiosity and sent him in search of the ore.<sup>17</sup> He had melted a sample and forged from the iron a horseshoe as a positive proof for any doubting legislator who felt interior Maine held no treasures.

Now there was a road. It was not convenient for carriages in all seasons nor at any time of year in some places, but it was a road all the same from Bangor to the foot of Ore Mountain in Township Number Six and the wilderness beyond. By 1830, however, Moses' enthusiasm had moved to a more promising mode of conveyance—railroads.

Greenleaf had no problem in communicating his enthusiasm for a railroad to his neighbors in Williamsburg or to businessmen in Bangor. In November 1832 a petition signed by forty-eight

prominent men and not-so-prominent farmers, storekeepers, and citizens was sent to the legislature, which on February 8, 1833, acted to incorporate the Bangor and Piscataquis Canal and Railroad Company. Moses was elected president; Francis Brown of Brownville, vice president; Eben Greenleaf, secretary; and Joseph Lee of Milo, treasurer. In April the company held its first meeting, at Moses' house. The charter granted the new company extensive privileges to build either a continuous railway or an interconnected system of canals and rails from tidewater at Bangor to the "slate deposits in the town of Williamsburg" and beyond; to build locks, dams, and viaducts; and to establish side branches to any towns on the Piscataquis, Sebec, or Pleasant Rivers. If the funds could be raised, the transportation problems of Williamsburg and the countryside around would be solved either by canal barges or the puffing of one of those little English engines whistling and ringing its bell up and down the valleys.

Moses wrote to Benjamin Dodd with renewed excitement. He figured that the railroad could be built for fifteen hundred dollars per mile. Of course, a few miles would cost twice that much where special structures were required. The whole road would cost \$150,000. With the lumber and slate, the railroad should be a sound investment. He pointed out one additional fact. The charter gave the Bangor and Piscataquis Canal and Railroad the right to tap nearly half the state for revenues.

Thirty years later Adams H. Merrill, who had married Eben Greenleaf's daughter and who successfully operated a slate quarry just south of Moses' home, was still trying to get a railroad to Williamsburg and Brownville. Had Moses lived, his railroad company might have prospered with him, but as it was the Civil War had come and gone before steam could be heard working up and down the Piscataquis Valley.

Greenleaf's enthusiasm and foresight touched many, but none more than a young man studying law in the Bangor office of Jacob McGaw. He was John Poor, a nephew of Moses' wife and the man who was to push

the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad across the White Mountains. Poor's vision reverberated in the name he gave to another of his railroads, the European and North American. John Poor left us with no doubt about the debt he owed to Moses.

I became interested in the railway at a very early age, and I am glad of this opportunity of saying that I owe it largely to the influence of a distinguished citizen of this state, to whom the people—especially of the Penobscot Valley—are more indebted than any other man, ...Moses Greenleaf. He was my teacher and my most valued friend to the time of his lamented death. ...To great scientific attainments and large practical knowledge, Mr. Greenleaf united a sanguine temperament with enthusiasm which carried him far beyond his contemporaries in comprehending the natural advantages and resources of Maine.<sup>18</sup>

In the preface of his *Statistical View*, Moses admitted that his opinions of the district of Maine “were early enlisted on the side of the most sanguine.” This sanguine view had been tempered, but his enthusiasm had not been stifled. Those who knew him best found his zest contagious, and casual acquaintances considered it remarkable.

However, only a few of those who had become heirs to Williamsburg knew Greenleaf. They were spread from Albany to Charleston, South Carolina, and were busy with their own lives and trades. With so many part owners who were the product of at least two different wills, the settling and developing of Williamsburg had come to a standstill. While Moses' concern over Williamsburg and for the welfare of William Dodd's closer relatives continued, his interests were turning northward again, deeper into

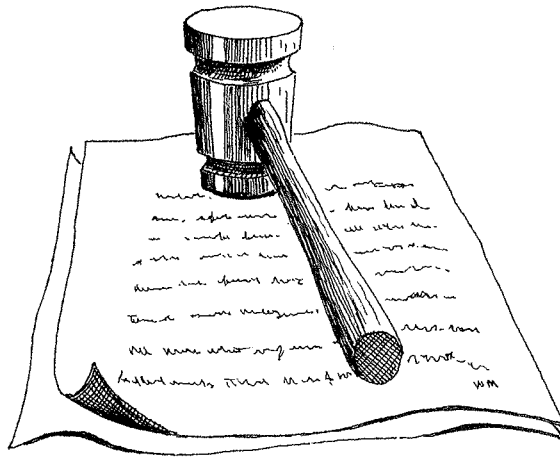
the interior of Maine, where his sons were lumbering. Many of his neighbors shared this new prospect.

One such neighbor was William Hammatt. With his hopes for his own township and mill in Seboeis burned out, William had brought several townships to the north and was an agent for Massachusetts, selling stumpage on several more towns still owned by the commonwealth. Just how involved Moses was with Hammatt's venture is impossible to say, but the two men were together in the wilderness, cruising and surveying, when Moses came down with typhoid. He was too sick to move that morning as Hammatt built a shelter over him and placed water and the little food they had within his reach. He was bathed in sweat and half conscious when Hammatt left to get help. It was a week before Hammatt could return with a doctor. The campsite was silent, but Moses was still alive. They carried him southward and finally home to Greenleaf Hill. He recovered, but his lameness was worse and his shoulders more stooped. He walked with a cane, and it was plain that he would never again explore new places for himself.<sup>19</sup>

The ordeal in the wilderness left Greenleaf prematurely old. Considering all he had experienced, he might have felt as did his fellow surveyor Andrew Strong when he grew old and blind. Strong had called in his friend Dr. McKeese, and, when told that there was no remedy, he had said, “I am glad of that. I have seen as much as I want to of this world.” But for Moses there was always something about to happen and time enough ahead to quit and make a will. He went on collecting material for another book, bought Redington's section of land in Township Six, Range Nine, and continued to promote his railroad scheme.

# Chapter Eleven

## POLITICS AND SOCIETIES



*Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom;  
and a great empire and little minds go ill together.*

EDMUND BURKE, *SECOND SPEECH ON CONCILIATION WITH AMERICA* (1775)

The title page of Moses Greenleaf's *Statistical View of the District of Maine* bears the phrase *Salus Publica Mea Merces*, the public welfare, my reward. It is fortunate that Moses felt this way, for there was little monetary reimbursement for his greatest efforts. There was no stipend whatsoever for his many other smaller services, such as his work for better education, for temperance, and for wiser methods of agriculture. Even his selling of subscriptions to the *Christian Mirror* brought little remuneration beyond the satisfaction of placing good reading in the homes of Williamsburg and Brownville. But then, no one expects to earn his bread and butter from such services, which is the reason they are done by relatively few people.

Many times he must have wondered if his services to the *Salus Publica* bore any lasting fruit. But if ever he was determined to sit back and let the public welfare go to blazes, he never was able to follow such a resolution. There were always those grand causes such as public education.

While Greenleaf led his neighbors in an effort to provide schools for the young people of Williamsburg, he also joined with those working to raise the

educational standards across the countryside. On January 4-5, 1831, the Association for Promoting Popular Education met in Bangor. The weather was at its midwinter worst but, despite this, a "respectable number" made their way through the drifts to the association's first convention. Oliver Crosby (see chapter 8) was elected president, supported by no less than three vice presidents: William D. Williamson, the historian and lawyer; Ephraim Goodal, a gentleman from Orrington; and Moses Greenleaf.

The assembly heard a number of lectures. The principal speaker on the first morning brought a familiar message. According to him there was a great waste of time and money in the current methods of education. This waste ranged from green wood and smoky flues to the false economy practiced by those who hired cheap schoolmasters. In the afternoon A. M. Quimby, one of Bangor's prominent teachers, spoke on the "Monitorial system, a method of peer instruction which he claimed was the only way one master could handle a school with one hundred scholars." Before adjournment, the conference defined its major and continuing purpose: to diffuse "such information as shall have favorable bearing . . . [on]

school houses, books, systems of instruction, and the qualification of teachers.” Moses was chairman of the committee on schoolbooks and of the committee on the expenses of education.

The first secondary school on the Piscataquis opened in 1822. The following year this school became Foxcroft Academy, the first academy chartered under the new state legislature. In the fall of 1832 Moses became a trustee of the new academy. His chief interest was in public education, but it was obvious that there was a limit to the scope of instruction that could be offered by smaller towns until the state should see fit to give aid.<sup>1</sup> At the time he became a trustee, Foxcroft Academy was considering the addition of a mechanic shop. It was a start.

Just as foundational was Moses’ interest in better methods of agriculture. Here was another potential area for increased productivity, which awaited but the proper tillage. Greenleaf had read British economist Thomas Malthus and was convinced that the growing of more and better food was the duty of both the tillers and the experimenters. As a member of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, he read each issue of their journal with his usual care, correcting typographical errors and making notes of comparison here and there upon the margins. Thus the latest, chemical investigations on soils, fertilizers, and mulches came to Greenleaf Hill, the last word on newer types of apples and pears, and the current advice on growing fatter hogs. It was this sharing of facts and theories that Moses found so hopeful and exciting—reports from Europe, from the forward-looking farmers around Boston, and even from East Andover, Maine, where Greenleaf’s in-law Ebenezer Poor had discovered that a native nettle could be harvested as a substitute for flax.

The society also ran an annual fair at Brighton, Massachusetts, where it offered prizes for the best produce, livestock, and farm machinery. Maine farming needed such an incentive. In 1821 Moses, along with a number of others, signed a petition seeking the incorporation of a Penobscot Agricultural Society. Those concerned held their first meeting at the Bangor courthouse on the third of January 1821. The dues, one dollar per year, were hardly enough to establish the

prizes that the society planned to offer, so members from the various communities were chosen to canvass for funds. These men were also to act as agents for the society, judging the local produce and disseminating agricultural information.

The society’s first cattle show and farmers’ fair was held that fall. Ephraim Goodal of Orrington displayed seventeen varieties of apples and seven kinds of choice pears; eight dollars was awarded to the best pair of oxen, twenty dollars to the best stud horse, and seven dollars for the greatest quantity of compost manure. No one collected the twenty-five-dollar prize for a cheap and certain method of controlling the wood lice found on fruit trees, but with such a prize available it was certain apple trees would be subjected to numerous concoctions during the next year. This fair was a forerunner of those state and county gatherings that still come in a swirl of dust, banners, and excitement.

There were those who claimed that whiskey and hard cider had built the frontier and made the bleak life bearable. Moses knew this was a myth. As the *Farmer’s Almanac* of 1817 warned:

Cider is a very good beverage if used with discretion, but to swill it down as some do, will keep one’s brain in a continual fog. Old Capt. Red-eyes takes his mug every morning . . . and toddy blossoms, it is said, are making their appearance on his nose and cheeks. Alas Captain look out! or I fear you will ere long find yourself sans eyes, sans nose, . . . sans reputation, sans everything.

On July 4, 1829, Greenleaf presided over a gathering at the Bangor courthouse and the formation of a county temperance society. Prominent figures had gathered: the Honorable R. K. Cushing of Bangor; Edward Kent, later governor of Maine; and many others. They met again on July 9 and elected Judge Perham president. By the time of Moses’ death, the movement had gained strength. New voices had taken up the cause—men such as John Appleton, who was one of Maine’s finest attorneys general, along with those who like Moses Greenleaf spoke their minds fearlessly and well.

Moses belonged to several other societies. He was one of the first members of the Maine Historical Society, an organization that over the years has stimulated scholarly study of Maine's heritage. He also belonged to the American Colonization Society, or more fully the American Society for the Colonization of Free People of Color of the United States.<sup>2</sup> Moses kept the society's journal, *The African Repository*, bound in leather on his bookshelves and died owing the society \$11.83.

When Greenleaf moved to Williamsburg, he had no intention of creating a totally new society. His plan was to select those aspects of society that seemed most worthwhile, and to nurture them in a fresh environment. Underlying his efforts was his grasp of a necessary interdependence and an inter-responsibility of humans building with other humans. What Moses wanted for his Williamsburg, he envisioned for the whole of Maine. As the district went, so went Williamsburg, perhaps not entirely or all at once, but eventually and substantially. It was inevitable that Moses would become involved in politics.

As the new century began, Maine's political battle lines formed upon the issue of separation from Massachusetts. This was not a new issue by the time Moses took an interest. He was eight when the first separation meeting was held in Portland. Five conventions had been held, and the first movement for separation had collapsed with another taking its place before Captain Moses Greenleaf moved his family north to New Gloucester. Coming from an arch-Federalist household, there can be little doubt that Greenleaf received an early anti-separationist influence. What remains to be explored is whether Moses' concerns rose above prejudice and party adherence.

Edgar Crosby Smith, Greenleaf's first biographer, assumed that Moses supported the separation movement. This assumption was repeated by Samuel Boardman, who wrote the introduction to Smith's biography. Boardman stated: "Mr. Greenleaf was the real state-maker of Maine" and stressed that Moses' writing and maps did "more than any other man to make known . . . the value and importance of Maine."

Smith and Boardman were indisputably correct in their estimation of Moses' role in bringing attention to Maine. However, evidence is lacking that he approved of the separation movement in 1819 or aided in the final success of that cause. After all available data are considered, we are left with Greenleaf's noncommittal statement of fact found in his journal entry for March 15, 1820:

Captain Hazly of Bangor called—brought intelligence that Maine is admitted into the union & therefore this day commences the existence of the District as a new state.<sup>3</sup>

When the citizens of Williamsburg voted on the issue of Maine's separation from Massachusetts in 1819, there were thirteen nays and two votes in favor. Of course we do not know who cast the two affirmative ballots, but it is unlikely that it was the Greenleaf brothers. If Moses had been in favor of separation, he certainly would have been more successful in winning his neighbors' support for the cause of statehood, especially in light of the fact that the neighboring towns overwhelmingly voted in favor of separation.<sup>4</sup> It is likely Moses assumed that in due time Maine would leave the commonwealth, as did many moderates. He no doubt agreed with such fine sentiments as those expressed in James Sullivan's *History of the District of Maine*:

This extensive country [Maine] is so large and populous and in its situation so peculiar, that it cannot remain long a part of the commonwealth of Massachusetts . . . we rejoice in the anticipation of that elevated prosperity, and high degree of importance, to which the District must, from its peculiar advantages, be finally raised.<sup>5</sup>

But the evidence indicates that at the time the final vote was taken, Greenleaf felt that the issues had become polemical, surcharged with emotion, and darkened by a rough-and-ready element he distrusted. It is probable that he would have subscribed to a statement made by John Adams:

But I can tell you how it will be when there arises in Maine a bold, daring, ardent genius with talents

capable of inspiring the people with his own enthusiasm and ambition; he will tear off Maine from old Massachusetts and leave her in a state below mediocrity in the Union.<sup>6</sup>

Edgar Crosby Smith cited, as proof of Moses' approval of the separation movement, a letter written by Moses to his brother-in-law Eleazer Alley Jenks. The date was 1807, and Moses was in Boston attending a session of the General Court; he planned to be present at a caucus held by the ardent separatists. He reported his impressions:

Massachusetts will be restored to correct principles, for the "Squatters" are about to manage their affairs in their own way. A caucus was held yesterday morning on the subject of separation, and adjourned to this evening at 6 o'clock. The Demo's are decided in favor and many of the Federalists—who knows amid the revolutions that are impending what may await us—Gov. King! Chief Justice Widgery!!! how do they look together?

Back from a later meeting, Greenleaf added this postscript:

10 o'clock, P.M. The Grand Caucus was held this evening in the Senate chamber, Old W [Widgery] in the chair! A resolve passed that the members then present exert their influence in the Legislature to produce an order directing the several towns in Maine to give in their vote, . . . for or against separation. . . . The cause of the debate did not allow much argument against the measure. Mr. Bradbury attempted to oppose it, but was borne down by "Mr. Chairman;" the principal speakers in its favor were King, Greenwood, Kinsley, Foxcroft and some others. 55 in favor, 10 against.<sup>7</sup>

What is the implication of the exclamation points for both these quotes? William King had recently left the Federalist Party to climb upward in the power structure of the Democratic Republicans. If, despite this, King rated one exclamation point of admiration,

it is extremely doubtful that, in Greenleaf's generous estimation, Widgery would have earned three exclamation points!

William Widgery was either much liked or greatly disliked. His friends thought him a man of tremendous energy who had pulled himself up from poverty to a position of property and prestige. To others he appeared crude and self-seeking. Leverett Saltonstall, a Federalist from Salem who met Widgery on a stage ride, thought him an uncouth bore and a disgrace to the commonwealth.

Tired out, Moses ended his postscript with a hurried reference to Aaron Burr's insurrection—"So we go," Moses closed, "good night." His letter to Jenks had the usual enthusiasm when he wrote of those projects relating to the lands north of the Piscataquis, but the rest of his letter revealed the tone of a man watching disturbing events. He mentioned an attempt to change the penal code and talk of impeaching the judges of Massachusetts' higher court. It is hard to escape the conclusion that he placed the separation movement in the same category with these indications that the old, responsible order was breaking down.

In such apprehensions Greenleaf was not alone. There were many who feared that the separation movement would fall into the hand of radicals—in fact, that it already had done so. Moreover, conservatives pointed to the armed insurrection that had occurred in western Massachusetts. It was not the time or the season for separation, a partition that would be a Brutus stab to the old commonwealth and a step for Maine toward anarchy. At the very least, Greenleaf was keenly aware of the issues that compounded the problems of separation. In retrospect we can see how involved the issues truly were and why many felt they were witnessing the making of a baleful legacy for Maine.

His experience with the seemingly endless litigation and charges that came before his parlor table served to acquaint him with reality. He was very familiar with a troublesome portion of Maine's population. In contrast with that dependable element that William Willis<sup>8</sup> had characterized as being of "steady habits and good principles," there was a restless group of misfits and

malcontents—the worst of whom had little sense of law or order.<sup>9</sup> Because such people existed in quantity, there were those who claimed that Maine could never muster a sufficient number of qualified persons to form and run a government. Moses certainly knew better than that, but what he did see was the need for much more education and economic stability. He had striven and he would continue to strive against the opinion that the district of Maine was an outpost of squalor and a place for despair, a barbaric fringe engulfed by a terrifying woods where, as one young Bostonian wrote, the people “lived in wigwams and ate pine knots.”<sup>10</sup> But at the same time, Greenleaf understood that the separatists were playing a dangerous game when they assured voters that “a government is a very simple, easy thing,”<sup>11</sup> or when they catered to those who cared little for civil order. (See appendix 4, opening paragraph, and Joseph Whipple’s observation in appendix 8, paragraph 5.)

A study of Greenleaf’s two books on Maine shows that he believed Maine did not need a revolution, but rather an infusion arising from a carefully considered plan for development based upon the facts. Instead of the consolidation of the public interests that one could expect from eventual statehood, the present drive for separation might increase sectionalism, encourage petty interest, and, perhaps worst of all, result in a greater monopoly over resources.

It would be especially interesting to know how Greenleaf and William King viewed each other. Apparently Greenleaf did not make King’s personal acquaintance until late in 1819, when he met him at a gathering of the Maine Agricultural Society held in Brunswick. In a letter written soon after this meeting, Greenleaf sought King’s opinion concerning a proposal “to encourage the immigration of foreigners” and asked if King would furnish him with information respecting lands for sale and settlement on the Kennebec River, along with the names of persons in that part of the state to whom immigrants might be referred. Moses wrote that he was persuaded of King’s dedication to pursue “any proper measure tending to increase the population or add to the advantages of the State.” His closing seems sincere: “with much respect, your obedient servant, Moses Greenleaf.”<sup>12</sup>

But King and Greenleaf had quite different capabilities and personalities. Both men had a special attachment to Maine—that place to which they devoted so much energy—but King was a politician in the contemporary sense. He remains a complex figure. He was a cunning manipulator, yet the man who had Jefferson contribute Article Six of Maine’s constitution, which deals with education. He was the populist hero of the squatter and the struggling poor, yet he was also appropriately dubbed the “Sultan of Bath.”

In contrast, Moses Greenleaf’s excursions into politics were dismal. Despite all his services to the people and his fear that landownership and development would become a matter of partisan government and insider privilege, Moses would himself suffer from the public image of a landed proprietor and aristocrat. If so, he was doubly damned, for he was impoverished. In a sense, Greenleaf was a genuine aristocrat—a member of what Jefferson called the “natural aristocracy,” which entailed a position of responsibility resulting from the consequence of assumed and consummated duty—but this seems to have been a distinction lost on many voters.

Five years after Maine gained her sovereignty, Greenleaf wrote the following to Benjamin Dodd:

During the high excitement of political parties, the subject of the management of the public lands, and the selling of them to large proprietors afford a very convenient argument in the hands of one party to array the multitude of Maine against all non-resident proprietors. When the question of separation was renewed and pressed with great force, and it has been so long maintained that the large majority of people of Maine and its government are wrought into the belief, which is supported by their pride, their prejudice, as well as (they suppose) by the judgment, that it is morally as well as politically wrong to sell land in any quantity larger than for the immediate improvement of one man and that it is morally and politically right to frame and execute the laws so as to compel every person who is so unfortunate as to own a township to sell it at any rate and at the lowest prices whether he can afford it or not.



And the sin of owning, or being agent for a township of land is (with many) one not to be forgotten. This manifests itself in our elections, our laws and our trials by jury. I say this in general, though there are instances in which it does not apply.<sup>13</sup>

Greenleaf was speaking from firsthand knowledge. Though he was a candidate for state representative several times, he was roundly defeated at the polls. At the local level, he was equally unsuccessful in winning an election to public office. As we shall see, this was due, in part, to party politics, but there were deeper reasons for Greenleaf's unpopularity among those in positions of growing influence.

Among the many aspects that worried Moses was the specter of an increasing anti-intellectualism that was creating a further separation of those equipped to bring a rational and scientific approach to the development of Maine from those having political sway. One need not look far for evidence. Typical was the advertisement that appeared in the *Bangor Register* calling for a candidate who had a "tolerable share of modest good sense and a good common school education. But none having a diploma of law, physics or divinity need apply." Here was a closing off of communication and resources. To make matters worse, such a reverse elitism exacerbated growing sectionalism and party politics.

With the demise of the Federalist Party, one would suppose that Moses would have become an active National Republican. Unlike his brother Eben, who did become a committeeman at the 1831 National Republican convention held at Bangor, Moses remained a determined Federalist.<sup>14</sup> Even if he had become a National Republican candidate, it would not have improved his chances of election. To make sure that the vote from such sparsely populated towns as Williamsburg could be controlled, the Democrats initiated a new apportionment in the voting districts. This was a purely partisan move, as every National Republican knew and even Democrats smilingly admitted.

Moses called this redistricting "the Penobscot dovetailed Gerrymander"; he went on to note that it was "begotten in darkness at Bangor in the year 1831 by the Bangor Inquisition. . . . Monstrum, horrendum, inferne ingens."<sup>15</sup> Moses wrote five articles, four of which outlined violations to the constitution committed by the Democrats in their plan for apportionment and which detailed the inequities fostered upon the voters in Penobscot County. Citizens had been deprived of representation. Unorganized townships, which by the constitution had no right to representation—but could be counted upon to return a vote in favor of the Democrats—had been given the franchise, and National Republican towns such as Williamsburg had been grouped not only inconveniently, but also in such a fashion as to make it impossible for them to ever elect a candidate of their own party. The fifth article demanded that the designers of the redistricting plead either ignorance or malice toward the citizens they were sworn to represent.<sup>16</sup>

I come before you boldly and fearlessly, in the cause of what I believe to be our violated and insulted rights. I have no personal resentment to gratify, nor private ends to obtain by prosecution of this subject. I am not a candidate for your suffrages, and probably never shall be—have no interest in this or any other political question but the great interest of our common country—for the sake of that interest—for the sake of the equal rights and liberties bequeathed to us by our fathers, it is what I appeal to you. Will you be indifferent to this appeal?<sup>17</sup>

There were no more articles. Greenleaf's health was poor, his own financial problems and the troubles of Williamsburg were serious, and he evidently concluded that what strength and time he had should be applied to a third book on Maine. One is left to conjecture what he would have said in that book, or what he would say now, if he were to comment on how—outside of medicine—the great changes since his day have amounted to so little difference in the human condition.

# Chapter Twelve

## OF HEIRS AND IRONIES

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*The great business of life is to be, to do, to do without, and to depart.*

VISCOUNT MORLEY, *ADDRESS ON APHORISMS* (1887)

Forty years after Moses Greenleaf arrived in Williamsburg, twenty years after he lay buried within its soil, there was no one with the Greenleaf name left to see his orchard bloom. And now there is no orchard. The homestead sits staunchly still, though it has lost its barn. As for those other houses that clustered at the crossroads and sheltered their portion of the household of faith, they are gone. Williamsburg has regressed to the status of an unorganized territory. Somewhere close to the center of the original township is a cemetery in which sleep many of Moses' neighbors. It has long since grown up to trees, and, as we say in Maine, has been "cut over" and thus eradicated as completely as ever the hooves of the barbarian hordes could have managed.

One must ask to what Moses' aspirations and sound advice amounted. Was all the labor just so the ground hemlock and the alders might creep across the walls and into the fields, or so the state of things should continue no better than they were?

To dwell upon irony would be an injustice to the memory of Moses Greenleaf, for his spirit was not one of dim views. It was his way to grasp the facts, such as they were, search out a meaning, and devise a better plan. So it behooves us to state simply what

transpired in the last few years of Moses' life and to give an account of what happened to his Williamsburg and to his heirs.

In the fall of 1833 the citizens of Williamsburg petitioned the legislature for the right to divide the township in half, the western portion to be incorporated as a separate town called Barnard. The petition, written by Moses, gave a major reason for the division:

said town [Williamsburg] is intersected centrally in nearly its whole extent, by a large tract of waste land, on which no inhabitants will probably ever be settled and from this circumstance, as well as from the general direction of roads and the natural features of the country in the vicinity, the inhabitants of said town must always form two distinct communities, each tending in different directions; and can never be accommodated at any one common center.<sup>1</sup>

More than topography lay behind the division of the township, however. As early as 1826, Moses advised Benjamin Dodd (the only one of William Dodd's devisees whom Moses knew) to obtain a

partition of William Dodd's estate, and thus disencumber them both from the large number of uninspired heirs. Under the existing conditions Moses' own position was especially insecure. He had never been in a financial position to take advantage of his original agreement with Dodd, which would have given him title to 6,240 acres. In actuality, he did not own the two lots that made up his own farm.<sup>2</sup>

When a partition was arranged, Moses was able to acquire title from the heirs to 1,075 acres, at the rather stiff price of ninety cents per acre. He appears to have been still paying for this land when he died.<sup>3</sup> Moses guessed that the other heirs, left to themselves, would soon lose their holdings through default and the nonpayment of taxes. He advised Benjamin, should this take place, to pick up their share of the township when it was put up for auction. His guess was correct, but Benjamin failed to take the opportunity. The commonwealth of Massachusetts sold to Charles Coffin of Bangor the entire western half of what had been Williamsburg (now Barnard), and the chance to reunite the Greenleaf-Dodd interest in the development of the complete township was lost.

Greenleaf's purposes in Williamsburg were at a standstill. For Moses' two sons, their future seemed to lie in the woods. By 1830 they were seeking success in the lumber townships west of what now is Millinocket.<sup>4</sup> Such employment had nothing to do with the settlement of the land that Greenleaf had always maintained was paramount for the well-being of Maine, but some sort of prosperity was necessary if the funds for a railroad were to be forthcoming. There was, however, for Moses no time remaining for a third beginning. On March 20, 1834, he died, at the age of fifty-seven, of erysipelas—an acute inflammation caused by a variety of streptococcus.

A partial inventory of the worldly goods Moses left behind is given in appendix 7. This list speaks in its own way of the household on Greenleaf Hill. A study of his accounts and debts display how many deals were carried by means of loans and mortgages—each precariously depending upon future contingencies. When his accounts were balanced and the probate court had set aside eight hundred dollars for Persis, his widow, there was little left but the chattels. In fact, it would have been necessary to sell even these to pay

the bills outstanding had not an unexpected boon come to the Greenleafs. Interest in a railway north from Bangor had revived, and Moses' stocks in the Bangor and Piscataquis Canal and Railroad were suddenly worth fourteen hundred dollars. This windfall squared the accounts.<sup>5</sup>

When Moses Greenleaf died, Captain Eben Greenleaf, forever as poor as he was amiable and alert to the good things in life, lost not only the "best of brothers" but also his principal benefactor. He was soon forced to mortgage his property to his younger brother Simon, who in turn deeded the mortgage to one of Eben's sons in a bond of support that read in part:

in consideration of the love I bear toward my brother, Ebenezer Greenleaf, grant and transfer to his son Marshfield F. Greenleaf of Williamsburg [the land mortgaged by said Ebenezer] on condition that he [Marshfield] comfortably supports [and] provides for, and maintains his father . . . with food and raiment.<sup>6</sup>

Thus provided for, Captain Eben Greenleaf, who was by this time a widower, left his farm and moved up the hill to live in the homestead. He was still active in local affairs. He served on the county committee appointed to lot off the public lands in the undivided townships to the north, thus occasionally following his profession as a surveyor. In 1846 he married a widow by the name of Elizabeth Morrill. By family tradition this was an "unhappy marriage," but there is no hint of this in a letter written to his daughter six months later.<sup>7</sup> He had a good garden, "where the current bushes were," had trimmed Moses' orchard, made a new gate for the front yard, fixed the fences, and built new steps for the piazza. In short he had been busy making "the old place shine."

Their social calendar had been a full one. "We are all in our high-heeled shoes this summer," Captain Eben wrote to his daughter. There had been a big Fourth of July celebration in the grove at Sebec Center with five hundred assembled to hear the speeches and make the most of a picnic "got-up" by the wife of Dr. Shepard, "who was the presiding goddess." Then there had been what Eben calls their "upper crust" party, given in honor of one of the Williamsburg girls who was home for a visit. Her

man, evidently a student minister, had also come to visit and had preached all day at the schoolhouse, and then at five o'clock to Persis Greenleaf, Moses' wife, who was confined to her parlor. Persis had kindly invited the family and neighbors to share in this command performance, and Eben wrote that "of course we went." The party was a grand affair. Lydia, Moses' daughter, and Eben had launched into the arrangements "hammer & tongs."

Cards of invitation were sent far and near, but not indiscriminately, no, certainly not, for the nobility to assemble at our house at 7 o'clock precisely. This to be sure was rather early for a fashionable hour, but we were afraid if we had named a later one, they would have stayed all night! We, Lydia, Mother & I, went to work about 6 o'clock to arrange the table, secundum artem, and I assure you it was a glorious sight to behold! In the center of the table (which was in our sitting room) rose a very superb bucket of indigenous flowers—on the outside were alternate red and white roses—then came the gaudy Ladies' delight, with the splendid dandelion and golden buttercup, withered and white clover heads, the whole crowned with a princess feather, a sweet William & a gorgeous Amaranthus, that is to say, a great sun flower! O! it was a sight to behold! I will not attempt a description of the choice viands displayed to view on this memorial occasion—bread and butter, both grown and "boughten," elegant doughnuts, strawberry pies, custard (baked in saucers), salt fish, cut in square chunks, cold boiled pork & pickled cabbage. . . . For drinks as we had no lemons, we found an excellent substitute in vinegar & water well sweetened with molasses; . . . o! it was a splendid party & nothing else. When we are invited away, I'll inform you of the results.

With this account of the grand party at the Greenleaf homestead, we lose sight of Captain Eben, good traveler and Moses' right hand. His death came five years later, on November 29, 1851.

Of Moses Greenleaf's children, Clara, the second oldest, was the first to move west. By 1847 she was living in Illinois with her minister husband, "tilling a rock patch for the Lord." An attempt was made to get

Clara's husband to return to the flock in Williamsburg, but he was then fifty and did not dare "to buffet the storms of a Maine winter."<sup>8</sup>

The mantle of mapmaker fell upon the shoulders of Moses Greenleaf III (we will refer to him as Moses Jr. in this text). While hard times and the need to get out of debt<sup>9</sup> may have pushed him to publish a new edition of his father's map, Moses Jr.'s map publishing was probably quite genuine, and he may have been long involved in his father's endeavors. Regardless, Moses Jr.'s efforts brought the Greenleaf map to its fruition in what became the famous Third Edition of 1844. As in the case of his father before him, publication of the map seems only to have placed him in debt. In 1842 he mortgaged all his holdings in Williamsburg and in Piscataquis County to the firm of S. Parsons and Company, merchants in Bangor, Maine, and probably relatives on his grandmother's side. That same year he sold his interest in homestead to his sister Lydia. He returned to lumbering but without success.<sup>10</sup> By 1851 he had left Maine and was living in Springfield, Illinois. His wife evidently had stayed behind with her folks, waiting for him to make a new start. She died at her folks' Bucksport home in 1855, and Moses Jr. died thirteen years later in Iowa at age fifty-three.

Ebenezer Parsons Greenleaf, Moses' first son, had taken the northwest quarter of the homestead farm and lived there until 1847. He died at the age of forty-eight in Alton, Illinois.<sup>11</sup>

Why did all the young folk leave? For the sons, perhaps their fathers' quest for independence became the sons' prolonged backache. The girls married men who were looking for greater possibilities. Later would come the nostalgia—the elm-shaded homestead with the coolest well in town. Then descendants would write back for news—any news, even of "Asa Bumps or old pine stumps," as one expatriated Greenleaf would write.

As the Greenleafs were leaving Williamsburg, the first development of the slate industry, in which Moses had placed so much hope, was taking place. The developers were Welshmen, a race of slaters, who knew not only their stone but how to quarry it as well. Among them were two brothers, Benjamin and William Williams. These two men, along with William Hughes, began operating a quarry in sight of

the Greenleaf homestead but just over the Brownville town line. Benjamin Williams bought Moses Greenleaf's place in 1848. In the spring of 1852 Adams H. Merrill, who had married Captain Eben's golden-haired daughter Persis, moved his family back to Williamsburg, retrieved the homestead, and bought out the slating business on the west side of the Pleasant River.

Once again there was a man of many plans and untiring drive on Greenleaf Hill. Both Adams H. Merrill and Moses Greenleaf were self-made men, but the personalities they had forged were quite different. Merrill was an autocrat who kept his many sons in debt to the company store. He commanded respect but not always love—even from the members of his own family. Yet stern as he appears to have been, the letters he wrote when away from home show tenderness and the concern of a father. It took such a man as Adams H. Merrill to make a go of the slating business. He left to his sons a small dominion: two thousand acres of timberland, nine dwelling houses, and two quarries, the largest of which employed eighty men, shipped up to thirty thousand squares of slate annually, and in 1876 took the medal for the finest quality of roofing stone at the Philadelphia Exhibition.

Merrill saw the consummation of another of Moses' schemes. Seven years before Merrill's death, the railroad reached Brownville, skirted the high hill in which the Merrill Quarry was located, and ran north to Katahdin Iron Works.<sup>12</sup>

In their turn, the offspring of Adams H. Merrill drifted away from Williamsburg, until Elizabeth Merrill was living alone at the homestead, the care of which she trusted to a hired man. Wishing to drive under the barn in order to cart away manure, this ingenious fellow removed part of the stone underpinning and replaced it with posts. The barn sagged a little more each year till its final collapse. The little graveyard north of the homestead where Moses Greenleaf was buried was in the way of his plowing, so the hired man removed the stones and stored them in the sheep barn.

Thus in one short morning's work the exact location of the Greenleaf graves was lost. Later,

during Williamsburg's centennial, when dignitaries assembled on Greenleaf Hill to honor Moses' memory, his stone was brought out and set up conveniently beside the road. It was there when the Reverend Alfred Hempstead saw it and decided that a more lasting memorial should be established. But while Hempstead was rallying his brother Freemasons, another person took a hand in moving the stones. This time it was Susan Merrill Lewis, granddaughter of Adams H., who hired a team of horses and had all the stones hauled to the Brownville cemetery.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Lillian Fredin, to whom this book is dedicated, a great-granddaughter of Adams H. Merrill and Persis Poor Greenleaf, returned to the Greenleaf place. Again the old house shone white while inside there was laughter and the sound of violin music in the parlor. In remembrance of the man who had cleared the land and had loved Maine, Lillian placed a tablet to Moses Greenleaf, as close to the graves of him, his wife, and mother as could be determined. Lillian's occupancy of the old homestead was a happy interlude in the sad dispersal of a household of faith, yet now and again from distant parts of the country comes word from a descendant.

In 1974 the Maine State Museum received a letter from a Lee M. Greenleaf who was living in Pauma Valley, California. He had a copy of the 1820 Greenleaf map in excellent condition, which he had received from his father and which, the letter said, had been published by an ancestor. He wanted to give it to the museum. At this writing, that map, along with Moses Greenleaf's surveyor's chain, are on display, commemorating Maine's mapmaker and a man who felt the promise of Maine. Twenty-nine years later came a truly astonishing discovery—Moses Greenleaf's daily journals for 1811 through 1821 and 1824 through 1825. These pages, stitched together between homemade covers, must have gone west with Greenleaf's sons. In 2003 Betty Holland, a great-granddaughter of Moses Greenleaf, found them in the attic of her home in Indianola, Iowa, and gave them to the safekeeping of the Maine Historical Society. Wonderfully, a personal chronicle of Greenleaf's life had returned to his home state.

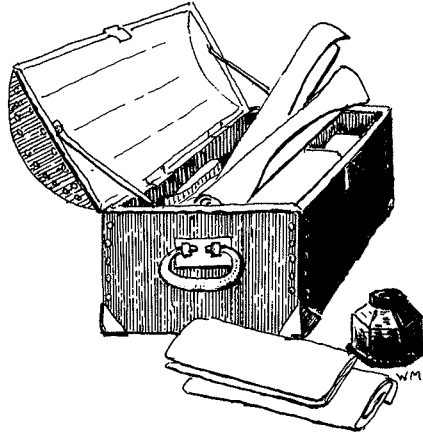
# Part Two

MOSES GREENLEAF'S WORK

# Chapter Thirteen

## THE WRITINGS OF MOSES GREENLEAF

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*Not in vain the distance beacons. Forward, forward let us range  
Let the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change.*

ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON, "LOCKSLEY HALL" (1842)

The accomplishments of Moses Greenleaf are astonishing. He had no secretary, and all copies of letters sent, all notes made, and every manuscript page had to be created by hand. By his own estimate he spent 1,150 full days of labor in preparing his *Survey of Maine* and its accompanying map and atlas, all published in 1829. His previous map and the *Statistical View* must have required a similar amount of time. It would not be surprising if, apart from his books, the few extant monographs represent the greater part of his literary output. His political articles, the unfinished paper on the peaceful coexistence of man, and his rather lengthy defense of Freemasonry have been mentioned in previous chapters. Two other manuscripts, however, deserve particular notice.

In 1823 Greenleaf sent Jedidiah Morse a brief monograph on Indian place-names along the Penobscot and St. John Rivers. He apparently did so at the request of the Reverend Morse, founder of the American Society for Promoting the Civilization and General Improvement of the Indian Tribes of the United States.<sup>1</sup> Greenleaf was aware that Old Testament place-names had proved

of significance to geographers, treasure seekers, and students of natural history. He was certain that a similar scrutiny of Indian place-names might prove beneficial to settlers in Maine. He had, himself, been led to discover a rich deposit of iron ore by the Indian name for a river north of Williamsburg. Therefore he put considerable energy into compiling a list of eighty-three entries, to which he added an additional fifteen root words. In making this list available to Morse he stressed that he was, by no stretch of imagination, an expert. Interestingly, in stating this caveat, he may have provided a possible clue in the mystery of that nebulous term *Norumbega*. Moses wrote:

I have no knowledge of the language of the Penobscots (or Pennomskeooks, as they would more properly be called, or "Numbugs" as I have heard it said they call themselves, perhaps *Norumbegas*), except occasionally a word or two, and the explanations are chiefly second hand, as are in some cases the names themselves.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the reservations that Moses places on his scholarship, years later his list was praised by

Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, a creditable critic indeed. While pointing out several errors, Mrs. Eckstorm went on to write that “on account of its early date and its local character, it [the list] is one of our most valuable sources.”<sup>3</sup>

Another document is Greenleaf’s response to the Committee for the Sale of Eastern Lands. In 1813 Charles Hammond, on behalf of this committee, sent him a series of questions.<sup>4</sup> The first – “What is the quantity of unsold lands in the District of Maine?” – seems an astonishing inquiry considering its source until we remember how little was known before Greenleaf began his careful work. Other questions were: Where is the “largest body of good land”; how far is this land from navigable waters; what proportion of this area would “find its nearest market in Bangor, Passamaquoddy, Hallowell, Fredricton [and] Quebec”; and how could the current of trade be diverted from foreign centers and markets?

In his answers, Greenleaf calculated that the district of Maine contained some eleven million unsold acres. Most of this area lay north of the forty-fifth parallel. It was a tremendous area, two-thirds of which, if settled, would find its most convenient market in the trading centers of Canada. That much of the committee’s inquiries could be answered quickly. The only means of diverting this otherwise inevitable flow of commerce would be the creation of convenient transportation southward. Moses thought the “central point of communication” should be located about one hundred miles north of Bangor. This hub for settlement and transportation could be reached by a road running north through Brownville and Williamsburg, skirting the “Ebeemee Mountains” by passing between the Spencers on the east side of Moosehead Lake, and from these mountains running first east, then north to the general area of Chesuncook Lake.<sup>5</sup> From the reports he had received, Moses thought the “central point” to be at the foot of the best unsold land, estimated to be some six and a half million acres, “on the waters of the Saint John and the northwestern branches of the Penobscot.” (This is essentially present-day Aroostook County.) Greenleaf also estimated the amount of good land in other portions of northern Maine, ranging from one-fourth of the

mountainous area north and west of Moosehead Lake to one-half of the area between the Penobscot, Schoodic,<sup>6</sup> and Mattawamkeag Rivers. The northeast corner of the district he gives as a mountainous tract, “quality unknown”<sup>7</sup>

The inquiry from the Committee for the Sale of Eastern Lands encouraged Greenleaf to pursue his geographical endeavors and to hope for financial help in making his findings known. He prefaced his answer to the committee by saying that his information had been “prepared from the papers in my possession.” Already he had amassed information on the interior of Maine and was working on a map of Maine. Three years later his map was sufficiently completed for Greenleaf to seek publication funds from the legislature.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, he had begun a descriptive book on Maine. In the introduction to his *Statistical View*, published in 1816, Moses described how his original map project developed into a full-scale geographical endeavor:

The following work was originally designed to have been merely a general geographical description of that part of the District of Maine, which is as yet but little known to the public, and as an explanatory appendage to the Map, which accompanies it. Long and attentive inquiry and observation had convinced the writer, that the real nature and character of the extensive wilderness in the interior was very imperfectly understood, even by those to whom a correct knowledge of it was most important.<sup>9</sup>

In his own day and in the years to follow, Greenleaf was and has been seen as a mapmaker. In retrospect, his greatest contribution is as a geographer whose maps supplement his statistical findings and analysis. As important and as needed as his maps were, it was his books that depicted the situation in Maine and laid the foundation for a realistic evaluation of her character.

As his awareness of what needed to be accomplished grew, so did his realization of the need to finance the project. Maps might pay for themselves, but it was problematic that a statistical study would find a sufficient audience to warrant publication. Patronage and reimbursement for



scientific and technological services had never been common in the New World and became very rare indeed following the Revolution. Private funds to nourish a thriving scientific community did not become generally available until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and the government, whether state or federal, was slow to appropriate money for research or publication. Patronage or not, however, Moses forged ahead, learning his way with ingenuity and tenacity.<sup>10</sup>

When Moses Greenleaf's first map and book appeared, the reviewers hailed his efforts. Out of Maine and from the very edge of the wilderness had appeared a pioneer in the new way of thinking. Here was an example of how the new scientific enterprise tackled problems. Here was a statist at work. Moses, himself, defined the province of a statist thus:

it is the province of the statist to look forward to, and act for, the future, as well as the present; and in his calculations on the resource of his country, it is his duty to anticipate all possible events.<sup>11</sup>

He shared this quest with many men across the new nation. Outside the district of Maine there was a growing community of exploration and scientific inquiry. Under President George Washington a beginning was made in systematic surveying and land division; John Adams was instrumental in founding the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, while Thomas Jefferson's prolific mind ranged from agriculture to paleontology, and his quest for understanding and expansion sent Lewis and Clark across the continent. While university research programs were unheard of, capable scientists were appearing in the principal college chairs. Closer to home, Parker Cleveland, a professor of natural philosophy, was busy at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, writing a treatise on mineralogy and geology; Charles T. Jackson, who was later to be the state geologist, was exploring in that field, and George Keely was conducting scientific investigations at Waterville College (later Colby College). Moses drew from these and as many other geographical, botanical, geological, and meteorological sources as he could

find, but he was isolated even from men working in the district of Maine, and so he labored on, remote from the centers of national activity.

In Greenleaf's day Maine was already becoming an appendix, not actually detached from the anatomy of a growing United States but removed from the predominant westward flow and impetus. Simply put, Maine had been left behind—due first to Massachusetts' indecision and later to indecisions of her own. Men working to develop and understand the state found little to back up their endeavors. When Jackson began his second geological *Survey of Maine* in 1838, his funds did not provide for an artist. He could not afford a theodolite but instead made alterations on a cheaper instrument, used his own pocket sextant, and, incidentally, did a tremendous piece of work. Greenleaf, working on his own, had even less support with which to accomplish his fieldwork and research. He continually lamented the lack of firm data and indicated at several points the difficulty of bringing together sufficient and valid information.

Illustrative of these problems is his attempt to display the proper importance of Maine's agriculture. The principal sources of information were the valuation reports submitted for the purposes of taxation. Such returns tended to underrate the productiveness of the land, for, as Moses noted, "people are not apt to overrate the value of their property, when it is to be taxed." It was necessary for Moses to compare the official valuations against what he himself had witnessed or had been able to gather from individual reports. In his *Statistical View*, Moses noted:

It is to be regretted, that there are no more means of exhibiting an accurate view of the whole of the District in this particular [the soil and its products]. Agriculture has not heretofore been made so much the subject of primary attention throughout the District, as to have produced a record and publication of facts sufficient to exhibit its progress generally, of its relative state on the whole at any one time.<sup>12</sup>

What was true of agriculture held for the other major considerations in Greenleaf's inquiry. His work was continually plagued with frustration. In treating

the subject of manufactures, Moses commented:

No authentic data are known to exist for estimating, with any degree of correctness, the progress of manufactures in Maine; and the only guide we have to knowledge of their amount, at any time, is the return made at the census of 1810; yet even this, though professedly complete falls short of the actual amount; and the enumeration of articles is far less full in Maine, than in Massachusetts proper, and the United States.<sup>13</sup>

The difficulties in obtaining an accurate picture remained throughout his writing career.<sup>14</sup> He had no research staff, the significant centers of information that existed were far away from Greenleaf Hill, and there was no luxury of easy travel. In January 1814 Greenleaf was in Boston. It had taken him eight hard days to get there and, once there, he stayed a month.<sup>15</sup> His journal does not say that he spent much of his time collecting data, making notes, and creating interest in his writing and mapping endeavors, but this seems the only time he would have had ready access to state records and high government officials. It would be another year before he wrote in his journal: “National Thanksgiving—finished view of Maine.”<sup>16</sup> It now remained to pay for this venture.

In January 1816 Greenleaf petitioned the General Court, “praying aid” in publishing his map and *Statistical View*. He stated his position clearly enough using the third person singular:

In doing this [the preparation of his map and book] he was originally actuated solely by the desire of contributing as far as in his power to the public interest in that section of the country; without any view or expectation of pecuniary reward. Contrary to his hopes however, the undertaking involved much greater labor than he was aware of, and subjected him to an expense of time and money much beyond his ability to afford. He was therefore led to seek remuneration from a liberal public, by extending his researches to a more general view of the District at large, and publishing the result of his labors in such a form as to put it into the hands of all who

might choose to purchase. But the exertions which he has already been obliged to make for this purpose have been such as to preclude the possibility of proceeding with the intended publication without assurance of speedy indemnification from the sales of the work, or otherwise.<sup>17</sup>

Greenleaf already knew that private sales would not cover the cost of printing. Subscriptions had been open since June 1815 with discouraging results,<sup>18</sup> so it must have been a great relief when a committee appointed by the legislature to inspect Greenleaf’s labors reported favorably and proposed that the secretary of the commonwealth be authorized to subscribe to one thousand copies of the *Statistical View* and the map—“providing he can obtain the same at a price not exceeding \$3 per map and \$.75 for each book.”<sup>19</sup> The resolve was passed on January 27, 1816. There is no record of the number of copies printed, nor of the total numbers sold of either the book or the map, but the subscription by the legislature must have accounted for the largest part. It is very doubtful that Moses received enough compensation to fully cover the time spent in producing his map, to say nothing of his book.

If he was discouraged, the predominance of public opinion regarding his *Statistical View* must have helped his spirits. It ranged from restrained approval to outright acclaim, the reviews from casual remarks to responsible critiques. Typical of the former was a review published in the *Essex Register*. While the writer began by saying he had examined “Greenleaf’s Map and View” with great pleasure, one is left to wonder how closely he had looked at either. Most puzzling is his opening comment, in which he stated that it was a transcript of Sullivan, “or an extract from his work on law titles.” Overall it was not a very friendly review. The author did not share Greenleaf’s optimism for a moderating trend in the climate, the productivity of Maine soils, or the virtues of her people, but he admitted that Maine’s geographical position had commercial advantages. The review ended as enigmatically as it began, not with an appraisal of Greenleaf’s map, but in praise of coastal charts derived from Samuel

Holland's surveys and those directed by the Board of Trade before the Revolution.

In contrast, the criticism published in the *North American Review* was enthusiastic and detailed. The writer recommended "Mr. Greenleaf's little work to the reader." It is as good an account "as we could at present expect," coming not only from a man who lived near the center of the district but displayed a mind "well accustomed to mathematical exactness" as well as to "speculation and reflection." Greenleaf showed "considerable knowledge of political economy" and "his calculations and reasonings respecting the settlement and future value of the interior . . . are to say the least of them, ingenious." There follows so lengthily a review that one might feel it unnecessary to buy the book.<sup>20</sup>

The advent of Maine's statehood created and increased needs for a good geographical and economic study of Maine; still, Moses expected that it would be necessary for him to foot the cost of the project on his own. All this changed under the administration of Enoch Lincoln, one of Maine's most perceptive governors. In his speech to both houses of the legislature in 1828, Lincoln made the following statement:

Amidst the train of objects following those before noticed, we see Agriculture, Commerce, and the Arts applying a power, which although not primary and creative, is doing much to produce new and embellish old establishments. It would have been considered proper to have produced a *Statistical View* of the results, except that it is known that an abler hand has grasped the subject, and will present a map, calculations, and reasonings, which cannot but meet the wishes and encouragement of the Legislature, as such objects have received encouraging in several of the other States, and as they must receive encouragement or fail.<sup>21</sup>

In his message delivered the preceding year, Governor Lincoln had called for "a good Map and Gazetteer with correct statistical accounts," affirming that such a work would be "indispensable for our guidance in many particulars as legislative or executive officers, and would be exceedingly

valuable to the people at large." The matter was placed in the hands of the Committee on Literature and Literary Institutions, which in turn strongly encouraged Moses to expand and complete his manuscript.

Although Greenleaf later categorized this new interest in his work as an imperative from the legislature—a request that placed upon him the necessity to finish his work in a far shorter period than he had anticipated, an "intense effort" accompanied by anxiety and even hazard—this official endorsement must have come like a second breath tingling with the excitement of challenge. The legislature voted to grant him one thousand dollars to continue his project, for which Moses took a bond, agreeing to press forward in his undertaking without unreasonable neglect or delay.

In January 1830 he submitted a memorial to the Maine legislature that indicated the prodigious nature of the undertaking. The memorial also detailed his financial position due to his work's publication. (See appendix 5.)

Despite the encouragement of the legislature and Governor Lincoln and an apparent interest on the part of the public, advance sales of the *Survey of Maine* were not encouraging. On February 4, 1829, a circular advertising Moses' new work was printed in which the following statement is of special interest:

The expense which has been incurred in the completion and execution of this work in the best manner, having been greater than was contemplated, a necessity exists for an immediate sale. An opportunity has been offered for those citizens of this state who wish to supply themselves with copies, and this opportunity will be open until the whole are ready for delivery, when all copies not then subscribed for must be sent to other states without delay. Gentlemen therefore who intend to procure the set, are requested to give their names.

The whole number of sets for sale will not exceed 520. It is expected that a part of the maps will be ready for delivery in about 10 to 12 days, and the remainder as fast as they can be furnished.<sup>22</sup>

The following month the *Bangor Register* carried

a long column describing the map, book, and atlas and offering to subscribers the full set for sixteen dollars.<sup>23</sup> This was an exceptional deal since the actual cost of printing was closer to nineteen dollars. Still there was no rush to the bookstores. In 1830, when the joint committee appointed by the legislature to review Moses' work made its report, there were apparently 448 sets left of the original 565 printed. The whole enterprise was ostensibly saved from becoming a financial fiasco by the legislature's resolve on March 10, 1830, to purchase four hundred sets at sixteen dollars each, the money to be raised by the sale of public lands.<sup>24</sup> It seemed that the state had at last come through with support, but Moses' feeling of relief was to be short lived.

Charles Jarvis, an esteemed legislator and member of the Committee on Public Lands, speaking before the House in March 1844, stated that Moses Greenleaf "died with out receiving . . . any pecuniary remuneration."<sup>25</sup> His statement went unchallenged, and there is no evidence in existing records that leads one to doubt it. State records do reveal that the resolve of March 10, 1830, in favor of Greenleaf, called for the payment of sixty-four hundred dollars to be made to him from the sale of public lands. The state treasurer was directed to issue a "state note for that amount bearing an annual interest of five percent." In addition the resolution provided that "in consideration of the extraordinary expenses and exertions of Moses Greenleaf, Esquire, . . . there be granted and paid to him out of the proceeds of the sales of public land a sum of five hundred dollars."<sup>26</sup> (It is interesting, in considering the state's largesse, that the original bill presented to the legislature had named the figure of two thousand dollars as remuneration.)

Greenleaf was in Portland when the resolution was passed and doubtless observed the proceeding. On that same day he received the two state notes and signed the larger over to his publisher, Shirley and Hyde, who signed a bond agreeing to deliver the four hundred sets of book, map, and atlas.<sup>27</sup> We know that subsequently, on December 8, 1830, a warrant was approved by the Executive Council to pay the interest on both notes.<sup>28</sup>

What is extraordinary about these notes is that they were "redeemable at any period within fifteen years, at the **pleasure of the State**" (emphasis

added). There may not have been sufficient funds from the sale of public lands, or this meager revenue may have been seen as more urgently needed elsewhere; whatever the situation, it appears that Moses was unable to redeem his note. The same may have been true for Shirley and Hyde. The firm went out of business around 1831.

As in the case of his first book, the *Survey of Maine* was received with praise. Although not a review as such, the report of the legislative committee appointed to inspect the book was typical of the verbal reception given to his work:

Thus it appears, that a work, containing an immense fund of highly useful information, tending to increase the value and sale of our public lands, and being the result of indefatigable care, research and industry and many years' labor in the procuring of material and preparing the same, a work in its extent and execution highly creditable and honorable to the state has been completed by one of our fellow citizens; . . . your committee believes [it] will not suffer in comparison with any other work of this kind.<sup>29</sup>

In Portland the *Christian Mirror* reprinted a long column review and added the following note:

We are glad to see the following very favorable opinions of Mr. Greenleaf's Map and *Survey of Maine*, expressed by one so eminently qualified to judge correctly of its merits, as the Editor of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*.<sup>30</sup>

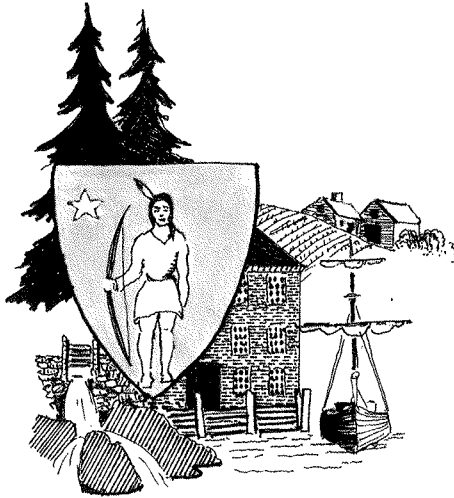
In 1844, some years after Greenleaf's death, the *Mirror* made an additional comment:

We can testify that he [Greenleaf] shrank from no toil and spared no pains to be accurate, to give statistical facts and geographical lines and positions which might be depended upon . . . under these labors his pecuniary interests suffered, and his life wasted away.<sup>31</sup>

There can be no doubt that Moses Greenleaf's great effort left him exhausted and financially embarrassed. Despite this, in 1831 he was again collecting material for a more extensive work.

# Chapter Fourteen

## THE *Statistical View*



*And if it should tend in any considerable degree to exhibit the character, the resources, or the relative importance to those who are acquainted with, or interested in, the subject... [and to encourage them] to exert their talents with more effect for the development of its yet latent advantages, ...[then] the primary objective of the writer will have been obtained, and he will not regret this attempt, however imperfect its execution.*

MOSES GREENLEAF, *Statistical View OF THE DISTRICT OF MAINE* (1816)

As Moses Greenleaf noted in his introduction to the *Statistical View of the District of Maine*, his opinions of the district “were early enlisted on the side of the most sanguine in its favor.” Subsequent experience proved that neither those who considered Maine a garden of the gods nor those who thought it barren and not worth the legislature’s attention knew what they were talking about. Greenleaf’s *Statistical View* was intended as a firm foundation upon which those who were really interested, or those who should have been, could make significant decisions. It was time such decisions were made.

Against those who felt it too great a hazard to expend money in the development of Maine, Greenleaf countered that had steps been taken earlier, the negative popular sentiment and trend westward would never have stood in the way of Maine’s prosperity. It was not too late. Massachusetts’ great experiment of settling Maine could still be tried. The results were bound to be gratifying or, if not, at least

more satisfying than the inevitable decline should the situation be allowed to dawdle on as it had in the past.

Unlike Greenleaf’s second book, *Survey of Maine*, which has been reprinted by the Maine State Museum, his first work is now rare. The *Statistical View* has its own special merit. It not only reads more easily than does Moses’ second book but also achieves a greater unity of purpose and charm. More important, the *Statistical View* presents the district of Maine sitting, as it were, in the balance pan, poised between Moses’ early enthusiasm and a reality of stubborn fact.

Moses began his first book with a general statement on the geographical position of the district of Maine, and then turned to its soils and climate. Climate was the primary controversial issue. The early reports on Maine’s climate had been negative. Either these reports were mistaken or the situation had moderated, for, as Moses wrote: “succeeding years . . . have proved that the seasons are favorable to the cultivation of all the necessaries and many of the luxuries of life.”<sup>1</sup>

Despite this encouraging observation, there was a persistent question. Why were the winters so long and the average temperatures so low in New England? Olives grew at the same latitudes in Europe. As Samuel de Champlain had warned many years before, one couldn't expect too much in the way of analogies based upon latitudes when anticipating the climates of the New World. But why not? No one knew exactly.

Explanations abounded, including Dr. Holyoke's evergreen theory, which, as Greenleaf stated it, proposed that the conifers were to blame. It was thought that they absorbed a greater portion of the "caloric" (the supposed gaseous substance responsible for the phenomenon of heat) from the atmosphere than did the deciduous trees, while shielding the earth from the warmth of the sun. Though this theory had been used by respected figures such as James Sullivan and the Jedidiah Morse, Moses demonstrated its failure to explain the situation in Maine. For one thing, the warmest place in the state was also the area where conifers grew abundantly in the sandy soil. Then, too, it was a mistake to think of the district as covered by a canopy of evergreens; deciduous trees abounded. To be sure, the northwestern sector with its cold and even severe climate had a conifer cover, but there were the important factors of elevation and prevailing northwest winds to be considered.

The problem extended to the cold ocean off the Maine coast. Apparently Greenleaf did not know of Franklin's discovery of the "Gulf Stream." This information would have assisted him greatly in understanding the climate of Maine.<sup>2</sup> Still, his use of data to demonstrate the importance of mountain ranges, of comparative elevations, and of prevailing winds was sound. So, too, were the distinctions he made between those factors responsible for the mean temperatures and those that caused the extremes.

While he dismissed the effect of the evergreens absorbing the "caloric," he did think that clearing and cultivation produced a warmer environment. It had been so in Europe according to "ancient descriptions."<sup>3</sup> Southern France once had deep snows, and the Tiber River froze. These conditions changed, Moses maintained, with the clearing of the land, and the same would be true in Maine. The faster the settlement, the quicker "the inhabitants of Maine [would] enjoy all that mild temperatures of climate

and rich variety of the bounties of nature, which [were] in the possession of the most favored countries under the sun."<sup>4</sup> To support this argument, he pointed to a large tract north of Williamsburg (he suggested that this area may comprise four hundred thousand acres) naturally cleared by the great hurricane of 1798 and subsequently burned over. Here the trees budded earlier and the killing frosts came later than in areas much farther south.

Having considered the general description and livability of the district of Maine, Greenleaf turned to his principal thesis. If the mood of the *Statistical View* is guarded optimism, then its theme is increased settlement of the district before it is too late—before, as Moses said, the impulse toward the "west shall have grown into a habit." His appeal was to the legislators and the proprietors, "the present actors on the stage of life," as he called them. And his call to them was urgent. Through liberal and efficient plans, through systematic actions, not promises, and through permanent improvements, not accidental or scattered efforts, these people could cause the level of prosperity to rise; alternatively, through neglect and procrastination, they could "virtually close the door against it [settlement], perhaps forever."<sup>5</sup>

Moses' message did not depend upon rhetoric. It acquired its strength through clear alternatives drawn from facts and figures that generated the underlying concepts Greenleaf developed throughout the text. The movement of settlers, he told us, is governed by forces that derive their impetus from the need for new living space and the relentless search for personal improvement. The flow of people resulting from such needs and pressures is affected by the equilibrium of population densities between adjacent areas, by the paths of easiest migration, by the potential for commerce, and by the availability of markets. Such factors that sweep settlement forward might be termed environmental, but others were psychologically contrived—contrived by mass excitement and the designs of promoters. Yet whether engendered by the surrounding realities or by the public excitement, the fundamental motive was the same. It was the search for a more propitious beginning.

The reviewer of the *Statistical View* in the *North American Review* was aware of these wider conceptual implications in Greenleaf's first book and

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

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

On the contrary, the longer it is to remain in his hands the less its present worth to him or to anyone. The flux of immigration has never, in the best of times, been so great, nor the price increasing so fast, in any average township, as that the proceeds of the sales, with compound interest, would eventually amount to a sum the present worth of which, or rather the worth at the time of commencing the settlement, exceeds

two dollars per acre on the whole township and in most cases would fall much short of it.<sup>9</sup>

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

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

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

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

natural increase,<sup>13</sup> along with a tabulation of settlement rates in Maine over the preceding years, Moses commenced his analysis of the situation in the district and developed his prognostications.

Having dealt with the possible effects of neighboring land markets and having established the abundance of people in motion and immigrating from more populous states to the south,<sup>14</sup> he ingeniously built his projection upon the analogy of a fixed-term annuity. (See appendix 3 for a sample of Greenleaf's calculations.) If the settlement rate were no higher than that experienced in the period from 1800 to 1810, the relative value of land in proximity to the filling townships would not be more than eighty-six cents per acre and the purchasing price of land within the untouched interior could not be higher than twelve cents per acre. If settlement, however, were maintained at the rate equal to that before 1800, then these figures would be increased to ninety-seven cents and seventeen and a half cents, respectively. There was no reason, as far as Moses could discern, that this latter rate could not be sustained—nor why it might not be greatly increased.

Having extrapolated the returns from the sale of land on the basis of several rates of settlement, all which were within the realm of possibility, Greenleaf concluded:

The least possible difference therefore between the present worth of the proceeds of future sales, under the different supposed cases, cannot be less than EIGHT MILLION NINE HUNDRED AND THIRTY THOUSAND DOLLARS.<sup>15</sup>

Taking into account the advantages he had substantiated in his book, it did not seem unreasonable to suppose that half of the annual pilgrimage out of New England could be turned to the district of Maine. If this occurred, the annual settlement would amount to twenty-four hundred families per year, at which rate the district would be entirely settled to a population density of forty persons per square mile in only twenty-two years, which by Moses' computations increased the value of land to sixty-seven and a half cents per acre. It all depended upon proper action and "essential encouragement," as he reasserted toward the end of the *Statistical View*:

If then a further consideration of the subject

should produce more liberal and extended views, and these should result in systematically and efficient measures of improvement and encouragement among all those whose interest ought long ago to have stimulated them to vigorous exertion, it might rationally be presumed, that a very few years would direct to Maine, a respectable proportion of that part of the population of New England, which is now flowing like a torrent to other quarters.<sup>16</sup>

Like Jefferson and the French Physiocrats, Greenleaf believed that the foundation of any society ought to be its land and its agriculture, with their inherent stability for producing not only food but also a sense of being in touch with something real. Agriculture was fundamental because it tended to be self-regulating. While it was true that the first to benefit in economic good times were the commercial areas, the result was only an increased inequity in the distribution of wealth. It seemed to Moses that one had to weigh the advantages of an economy based on commerce and manufacturing with the fact that the last to feel the full effect of financial calamity were the areas made self-sufficient by agriculture.

Greenleaf's view is not simplistic. He did not believe that one could call up a full life or an ample society from a hill of beans. There were no paeans of glory to the self-sufficient farmer in his writings. He stated his position plainly enough: "though Maine can SUPPORT herself by its agriculture, it FLOURISHES only with its commerce."<sup>17</sup> The difference between subsistence and enjoying the advantages of one's labor were evident in the contrast of the coastal towns of Maine and the backcountry. The elevating effects of commerce were reflected in the tables of comparative wealth that Moses presented—both those that showed the differences between the counties of Maine and those that displayed the tremendous variation between the district and Massachusetts proper.

Critics of the *Statistical View* lamented that its author had not given more place to commerce and manufacture.<sup>18</sup> There were in Moses' book only eleven pages, including tables, strictly dedicated to this subject (or nineteen pages if one counts the chapter on relative worth). Greenleaf understood that



commerce and appropriate manufacturing enterprises were necessary for the creation of prosperity to Maine. His point was that one does not “bring prosperity” to a state or a district. Prosperity springs from the people living under the proper conditions. Prosperity will follow sound settlement. People, industrious people, are the first concern. Next in importance is a good government that assures the means for interaction, transactions, and transportation. Quickly Greenleaf demonstrated that already the people in the district of Maine produced, per capita, more than the national average of essential goods. There was no worry about the commercial spirit in Maine.

This explains why, in his treatment of domestic exports, Moses did not expound on Maine’s potential position as the lumber producer of the world. He certainly recognized the importance of this commodity, yet he seemed to see lumber as a by-product of clearing the land, and its export but a market for what might otherwise be wasted. It was a means to create extra money for the pocket of the settler.

Greenleaf was seeking a society built upon a foundation that will last, not the exploitation of a single crop or manufacture—which, as he saw it, would almost certainly put the benefits into the hands of those who originally had the capital to invest and who would remove the largest proportion of the proceeds of their investments beyond the reach of the general population. He sought a self-sustaining balance:

Peace, commerce, agriculture, population and individual wealth are (at least in this country) more intimately connected with and dependent on each other, than many people seem to have imagined.<sup>19</sup>

He ended his chapter on manufacturing thus having shown evidence that the people of the district of Maine were producing what the “situation requires” and were in a position to increase their output as required:

and should these advantages be properly cherished, and all classes of inhabitants be duly encouraged in availing themselves freely of the opportunities which nature affords, and which their situation is most favorable, and their respective habits fit them; the reciprocally beneficial action of these different pursuits on each

other will render the clearing and improvement of its wild lands, and the exporting of their surplus products, and [be] more conducive to the prosperity and independence of the District, and to the real wealth and efficient resources of the nation at large, than can possibly be experienced from the employment of the same labor in manufacturing articles of mere convenience and luxury.<sup>20</sup>

This sounds a bit visionary, like a painting of a perfect age in which the proprietor is seen eating lunch with the settler or the timber baron bunking in with the tree cutter. Did Moses foresee a society so well adjusted that equity reigned, so balanced that the man wading waist-deep in snow toward the next tall pine would gain a share equal to one who sold the lumber on the Boston market, or the man who plowed his furrow as much profit as one who invested in a whole township?

Greenleaf answered this question: “equalization of property has never been experienced, and is not to be expected, except in times of general distress and calamity.”<sup>21</sup> However, capital, so often blamed for the injustices of society, was not an evil ipso facto; it was an integral part of commerce and industry, whether that be lumbering, fishing, or settling the land. Moses represented the “high Federalist” point of view—a view perhaps too high to compete against the avarice of man (including that of the average Federalist)—but a worthy consideration all the same. It disagreed with Adam Smith’s dictum that the laborer was necessarily at the disadvantage and forever to be used. For Moses, the laborer, the capitalist, and the landowner must all be a team sharing their rightful part of loss and profit, if any venture was to produce maximum results. It was the duty of government and those in positions of property and means to see that the team functioned.

The problem with capital in the district lay in its origin and in the intentions, or lack of intentions, of the investors. Too much of the capital circulating in Maine came from outside the district. As long as an unrestricted and prosperous trade prevailed, all classes of people had benefited, however unequally, but when commerce had collapsed as it had during the embargo and the War of 1812, the entire financial system in Maine collapsed. The title of “nonresident”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

other vacant territory which affords so many advantages of communication with different markets already established and flourishing.”<sup>27</sup>

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

The better class of [settlers] will not generally be tempted by the difference of a dollar or two in the price of the acre of land, to settle themselves in a part of the country where there are no roads, the settlement progressing slowly, and under many hardships and privations; when in another part of the country equally fertile, . . . they may in a short time enjoy the comforts of society, the means of educating their children, and the many advantages, pecuniary, civil, moral, and religious, which flow from a residence in a well-settled country, and among a well-informed and independent community.<sup>29</sup>

Those who were likely to settle were of another sort entirely. They were those who . . . will overlook these advantages for the sake of a paltry difference in the price of land; or, pressed by necessities, will settle only where they can get land cheapest; or else, wholly regardless of every

circumstance in their future prospects, save that of mere subsistence, or prompted by an illusory hope of freedom from some of the temporary inconveniences to which they may have been subjected in society, will retreat to the wilderness, where they become useless to the community, and very little better to themselves.<sup>30</sup>

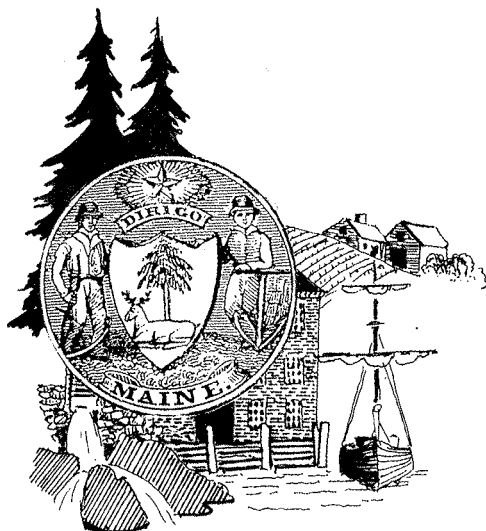
Unless some action was taken, the character of the people within the district of Maine would suffer and that which might have been a joy to the commonwealth would become a liability. Greenleaf pictured the results thus:

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

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

# Chapter Fifteen

## THE Survey of Maine



*It may however, without impropriety, be remarked in this place, that the facts and conclusions here exhibited, approaching, as must be admitted to some degree of probability, ought to be sufficient to awaken, in the minds of the people of Maine, an attractive consideration to the results which may flow from them; and perhaps it may not be too early, even at the present day, to admit these possible results to a share in those deliberations which have for their object, the future interests and happiness of the state.*

MOSES GREENLEAF, *Survey of Maine* (1829)

**A**s in the case of the *Statistical View*, Greenleaf's *Survey of Maine, In Reference to Its Geographical Features and Political Economy* was published in a time of controversy and excitement. Two major events had transpired during those thirteen years in which Moses Greenleaf was gathering material for his new book: Maine had become master of her own fate, or at least fully intended to be so, and Great Britain had discovered that she had made, quite literally, a monumental blunder.

By 1828 the issue over the northeastern boundary seemed fast approaching a crisis. The federal government was considering an arbitration over a matter in which there seemed, to the people of Maine, no room for question, and there were more and more encounters between the outposts of the new state and the authorities of New Brunswick.<sup>1</sup> This issue, along with the natural

interest engendered by new statehood in the geography, history, and the factual knowledge of Maine, created a need for an authoritative work on the state's geographic resources, historic boundaries and her people.

Hurried by the exigencies and urged by the legislature, Greenleaf produced his new book. Compared with the *Statistical View*, it had three times the pages and almost three times the number of tables—not counting the appendix. It was to prove a Maine classic.

Because the *Survey of Maine* is once more available to the public through a facsimile edition published by the Maine State Museum during the state's sesquicentennial, there is no need to present a detailed outline. Instead we will focus on those topics that best illustrate the scope of Greenleaf's contribution.

The *Statistical View* had presented a plea to the

General Court of Massachusetts to act on behalf of its eastern lands before it was too late. The *Survey of Maine* reiterated this same charge to the legislature of Maine, bidding them to formulate a program of improvements and a framework upon which the people of Maine might deal not only with the current issues but also with the future.

And it is a question of vast importance in the political economy of the State, when the time will arrive at which it will be expedient to commence a course of examinations . . . and to adopt an extensive, liberal, and efficient system of measures for ulterior improvements to the utmost practicable extent. Considering some of the peculiar circumstances of the State . . . it may be questioned whether the best time is not near at hand, or has not already arrived—indeed whether it is not already, in some respect, rapidly passing away.<sup>2</sup>

Just as the *Statistical View* had been intended as a reference book for the members of the Massachusetts legislature, so the *Survey of Maine* was to be a textbook for the leaders of the new state—a sourcebook with an emphasis on priorities.

Quite appropriately, the *Survey of Maine* begins with a chapter on the boundary, which is followed by a description of the mountains and highlands, those demarcations upon which the whole argument over the line between Maine and Canada rested. Aided by the documents of state supplied to Maine by the federal government, Moses presented the boundary issue from the standpoint of history and his own grasp of the involved geography. No person before or after the Webster-Ashburton Treaty has described the situation more clearly. It is further to Greenleaf's credit that he relegated the controversy to its proper place, and, having done so, moved on to those wider factors of economy and geography that would influence the future of the area, no matter where the monuments were finally erected.

As has been pointed out, it is Greenleaf's awareness of the interrelationships among the physical aspects of Maine, her climate, her demography, and her economy that gives significance to his work.

The various configurations of mountains, plains, hills and vallies, lakes, and streams, which diversify the face of a country, have so important an influence on its climate, agriculture, nature and value of its productions, and the occasions and facilities for internal improvements, especially with respect to the intercourse between its different parts, by means of rivers, lakes, canals, roads, railways, etc., that an accurate knowledge of its exterior forms, is one of the first objects to be sought in determining the degree of attention which it is necessary or useful to bestow on some of the most important branches of its political economy.<sup>3</sup>

Climate is again an important consideration, but there is a significant difference in Greenleaf's treatment of climate in the *Survey of Maine* as compared with the generalized presentation of the *Statistical View*. In the meteorological tables of his second book and in the temperature graphs found in the accompanying atlas, one finds him minding his own call for increased scientific inquiry. His data on weather and climate were only a beginning, for, as he commented, all these factors have "some bearing on the pursuits of practical science." The annual precipitation, variations of temperature, "fluctuations of atmospheric density and humidity, as well as the length and character of the different seasons," were important not only to agriculture, which marked its calendar by the seasons, but also to transportation and the occupations of all the people. The decisions of the legislature and every public-minded citizen were as bound to the climate as were the farmers. Winter, which froze fast for at least four months of Maine's year, was a mixed blessing; it provided the deep snows that allowed the sledding of timber, but it also brought those frost gnomes that played such a destructive game with roads. Winter put a force of men into the woods, and at the same time disrupted the work of many more whose livelihood was commerce and the husbandry of the land. There was a season for every undertaking in Maine, but hardly time enough, so that things had to be done in a rush. The result was a constant alternation between a

great demand for labor and no work at all—a disruption of wages and labor and the creation of enforced leisure time that might either be turned to the advantage of the people or, if left undirected, contribute to deterioration of spirit and enterprise. Thus the climate could “indirectly affect even the moral character of a community.” It was, Moses concluded, “within the power of intelligence and foresight to improve the advantages, and surmount or mitigate the disadvantages of the climate, and turn them both to good account.” It all depended on those who had “influence in regulating or directing public opinion.”<sup>4</sup>

Like climate, the natural divisions that resulted from the state’s geography offered both advantages and the potential for a social malady. These “natural channels of intercourse,” as Greenleaf called them, could stimulate an “honorable competition” within the state and a wise development of harbors, waterways, turnpikes, railways, and commercial centers. But the very size of the state and her widely separated centers of settlement could produce a narrow provincialism embittered by contentions of rivalry and privilege to the detriment of society as a whole. As Moses warned:

The State of Maine has no common center, to which the wants or convenience of its inhabitants would induce them naturally to resort, or with which to form connections which should combine the whole in one general interest.<sup>5</sup>

Already the southwestern counties with their greater population and affluence had become a commercial entity unto themselves, while the northern section was, for all practical purposes of market, in a foreign country. Moses delineated four major divisions within the state, each with its own natural system of communication, its own interests and habits. Each of these could be further subdivided. In addition, there were those increasingly artificial separations due to the political jockeying of civil districts—which, through the manipulation of votes, was exacerbating the natural divisions within the new state.

Greenleaf’s concern was based upon a primal element in the foundation of any vital society or civilization. Loyalty to the local unit—tribe or narrow region—must give way to a wider allegiance to the community as a whole. Communities large enough to pool their resources must enter into a program of betterment, which, in turn, would give birth to that spontaneous spirit of pride and accomplishment that has always been the progenitor of an advance in civilization. The converse was as plainly demonstrated in the history of man—an internecine contest that strangles all growth.

In lieu of a common center that would, by its very nature, combine the interest of the people, there must be the wisdom of the legislature and the will of the people. Moses continued:

Such connections and combinations [between the natural and artificial divisions] therefore, if formed at all, must result only from the general principles of patriotism, virtue, and liberality, sustaining themselves against the counteracting influence of local attachments, and sectional and exclusive interests. Of course, it is evident, that besides, and in aid of, the force of physical enterprise, a high degree of moral culture in the mass of the people, is necessary in order to overcome whatever disadvantages may exist, and to elicit, in the best manner, the natural advantages which the state affords, and to bring them to their proper bearing on the wealth, strength, and happiness of the community.<sup>6</sup>

Some contemporaries charged Greenleaf with being too visionary, but he was correct that the well-being of the citizens of Maine depended upon the awareness of what we might now phrase the big picture. The state’s property depended upon her willingness to find long-range solutions amid that flow of events and physical conditions both within and without her borders. Vision was indispensable—a vision that embraced civic unity, transportation, commerce, manufacture, the development of such physical resources as hydropower, and the lifestyle that the people of Maine wished to maintain. A century and a half later this list seems surprisingly up to date.

Chapter 8, on commerce, with its fifty-four pages and extensive tables, is a good example of the extended perspective provided by the *Survey of Maine*. As Greenleaf had indicated in his first book, commerce would be the natural development of settlement and a necessity as the population enlarged. Now he stated,

a time must arrive when the surplus population must look for its support, not to the cultivation of vacant lands, for there will be none, but to a superior degree of industry, economy, and frugality in themselves and others.<sup>7</sup>

According to his data, five-sixths of Maine's population was then employed in agriculture, but such a situation, however desirable, could not last. By natural increase alone the population should have risen to over a million and a half by the year 1870, giving a mean density equal to what was then current in the counties of York and Cumberland. It was obvious from the facts at hand that such a density could be supported only by the correct juxtaposition of agriculture, commerce, and manufacture.

Greenleaf had not foreseen the continuation of a stagnated settlement. Despite his understanding of markets and transportation, it still seemed to him incredible that, with Maine's advantages, people would continue to stream westward rather than take advantage of what was much nearer at hand. If nothing else, the congestion of neighboring areas to the south would produce sufficient pressure to finally settle the state. When this took place, the timberlands that furnished a major source of commerce would have given way to pastures and manufactories.

But a time must arrive, when manufactures will form a more extensive branch of the employment of the inhabitants of the State. The vast quantity of its lumber must diminish before the increasing population, and finally cease, as an article of exportation. Its place will be occupied with fields and pastures, and the products of agriculture must sustain the manufactures which the necessities of the population will require, and both of these must continue the commerce which the lumber, trade, and the fisheries, have created.<sup>8</sup>

With or without settlement the final depletion of timber had to be expected. Bangor alone was exporting almost twenty-seven million feet of boards, plank, and joists each year, and even in Greenleaf's day the search for good timberlands was reaching farther and farther north. Moses appeared to accept the inevitable end of the tall timber with more than simple resignation. The lumbering industry represented a tremendous expense of physical energy crammed into its seasonal employment, which might be more wisely expended on the development of occupations more beneficial in the long run to both Maine and her people. Greenleaf posed the question of what effect lumbering, as it was being carried on, had on the "moral character of the community."<sup>9</sup> What Moses meant by "moral character" will be considered at the close of this chapter.

According to Greenleaf's data, Maine ranked second in commerce when compared with the other states. Geographically she was blessed by being importantly placed both in respect to the Union and especially to Canada. Along her coast, with its innumerable fine harbors, lived a race of fishermen, seafarers, and shipbuilders. By population Maine ships carried "nearly four times its numerical proportion of the foreign tonnage of the United States, and more than four times its proportion of the whole tonnage."<sup>10</sup>

As a producer of manufactures, however, Maine was inferior to all states north of Virginia.<sup>11</sup> Her industries were small, often contained within single homes except in the more prosperous southwestern counties, where the availability of capital and ease of transportation allowed business to compete against the established and flourishing industry of Massachusetts. This situation was not the fault of physical potential:

The immense quantity of water power, distributed over every part of the State, will suffice for the most extended system of manufactures which may require its aid. The raw products of its soil and its commerce will furnish abundant materials for every manufacture which can be necessary or useful.<sup>12</sup>

Nor was there any lack in productive ability or

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

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

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

Accountability is the keynote of Greenleaf’s tenth chapter on public burdens. His assertion that the proper objective of all governmental spending should be “the ultimate end to which the

desires and labors of all mankind are directed—convenience and happiness...” strikes a perennial note.<sup>15</sup> There is, however, little common ground between Moses’ era and our present burgeoning bureaucracy with its proliferation of agencies, controls, and socialized paternalism.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

Only in cases of undeniably productive expenditures could there be any cause for the

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

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

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

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

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

founders of New England, was, that the children of each individual member of the community were, in a highly interesting sense, the children of the whole.<sup>21</sup>

Thus it was the function, the duty, and the happiness of the community as a whole to provide an adequate education to all its young. Moses demonstrated that this objective was far from consummation, despite the provisions of the Maine constitution and the liberal grants to academies within the state. Of each 625 students attending the common (elementary) schools, perhaps 6 could afford to go on to higher studies at the academies, and of these 6, only 1 went on to college.<sup>22</sup> The public schools continued to provide meager opportunities to learn even the basic skills, restrained by a paucity of funds (an average of three dollars per pupil per term, as compared with the fifty dollars expended at the academy level) and restricted by the brief and interrupted school sessions, an average of three months of schooling per year. For those fortunate enough to attend such a school as the Gardiner Lyceum, there were practical courses in surveying, mensuration (measuring), and agriculture, but for the mass of young people, boys and girls alike, there was no such opportunity.

Greenleaf charged the legislature to decide whether the state could afford to equalize and raise the standards of public education for the sake of those who would be “not only its ‘bone and muscle,’ but its heart and intellect.”<sup>23</sup> More than this, he asked if the community could afford not to do so.

Numerous times throughout the *Survey of Maine*, Moses used the term moral—the “moral culture” and “the moral character of the community.” All of these references, taken as a whole, indicate a wider meaning than a categorical listing of ethical dos and don’ts. For Moses moral seemed to embrace a disposition and a spirit of the people—a disposition habituated toward honesty, charity, and justice that exists because of a united commitment for informed action and responsibility, without which the cultivated “goodness” of a people withers away despite all of a people’s efforts for cohesion.

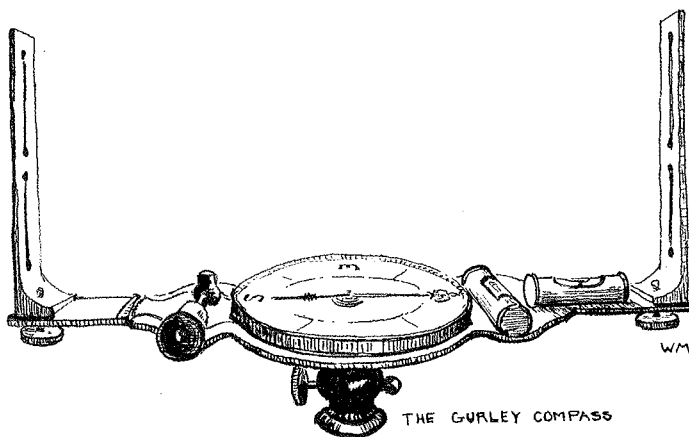
In this latter sense, Greenleaf’s whole message centered on the moral spirit of a people. It is not too extravagant to say that his personal “household of faith”—his venture on Greenleaf Hill—was extended through his *Survey* to embrace an entire state.

To create a household of good faith is the mantle of responsibility Moses Greenleaf placed upon the shoulders of leadership in a new state. The charge was to act with a just conscience, to assume an informed stewardship for all the resources of the state, and to build for the well-being of future generations so that the whole community may be inspired to create a happy, prosperous, and orderly place called Maine.

For his part, Greenleaf tried to live what he preached. He sat at his parlor table, surrounded by piles of notes that represented his Herculean research, and dedicated himself to writing his guiding work, *A Survey of Maine*.

# Chapter Sixteen

## GREENLEAF, THE MAPMAKER



*But thou at home without a tyde or gale,  
Canst in thy Map securely saile:  
Seeing those painted Countries; and so guesse  
By those fine Shades, their Substances:*

ROBERT HERRICK, "A COUNTY LIFE: TO HIS BROTHER MASTER THOMAS HERRICK" (1648)

On their way to climb Katahdin in the fall of 1864, Henry David Thoreau and a friend took lodging at Mattawamkeag. There they discovered hanging on a wall the "last" edition of Moses Greenleaf's map of Maine. Not having a pocket map of their own, they oiled a sheet of paper and made a tracing—outlining what Thoreau said he "afterwards ascertained to be a labyrinth of errors, carefully following the outline of imaginary lakes." Coming from a summer sojourner, this is a rather arrogant indictment. Thoreau, himself, described the wilderness south and west of Katahdin as an "archipelago of lakes." To emphasize that profusion of coves, islands, and streams, he recounted how once a party of experienced woodsmen searched a week among those lakes for the inflowing and elusive West Branch of the Penobscot. No one in Greenleaf's day, nor for many years after, knew the exact confines of Pemadumcook or of the many other lakes that feed the Penobscot and Allagash Rivers.<sup>1</sup>

Greenleaf frankly admitted the limitations of his maps:

With respect to the map, it may be proper to observe, that when it was first undertaken, it was with the expectation that the materials from which it is drawn would furnish an accurate map, as far as actual surveys have been made, and beyond that, an outline which, in its general features, would be a tolerable guide to a knowledge of the extensive interior, which has hitherto been but little explored, except occasionally by individuals, the results of whose observations have never before been made public. . . . The seacoast has in many places been laid down from celestial observations and may therefore in general be presumed tolerably correct. The interior has been surveyed in detached parcels, at different times, and by different persons, some of whom were competent to the task, others very incompetent. The courses of lines are generally (indeed

universally) run by the needle, without ascertaining, or paying any regard to the variation which differs at different times and places. . . . The surveys have been chiefly made while the land was covered with forest, and the distances frequently measured without proper care and accuracy. . . . To unite these discordant materials it is necessary in some cases to retrench, and in others to extend their dimensions; and, as it is not always possible to determine which is most accurate, the consequence will be . . . some degree of inaccuracy. Instances of this kind perhaps are numerous; and almost every person, much acquainted with the District, may perhaps be able to detect some one or other of them [inaccuracies]. It is believed however that few if any important errors will be found; and that in general it [the 1815 map] is as correct as can be expected, until a new survey of the whole, corrected by celestial observations, under the immediate inspection of persons properly qualified for the purpose, shall furnish better materials than are now existing. And until this is done, a perfect map of Maine cannot be obtained.<sup>2</sup>

While Greenleaf was commenting on his 1815 map, his words apply to his future cartographic endeavors as well. His mapmaking represents a relentless quest for a better representation. For him good maps were charts of human as well as physical topography and an integral part of civilization. Their making was a story of science and art wedded in a union that, down through the years, had provided a meeting place for two admirable human propensities—the reach of exploration and the closure of understanding. Communication, transportation, development of natural resources, the understanding of environmental deterrents, and even the anticipation of future conditions depended upon maps. For some twenty years or more Moses labored on maps of increasing beauty and accuracy.

Thoreau aside, the Greenleaf maps were highly praised in their day by people who had knowledge of the land. In 1823 his first map of Maine was used for

the assignment of townships to Maine and to Massachusetts as Maine implemented her statehood.<sup>3</sup> There are numerous references to the official use of Greenleaf's maps during the settlement of the U.S.-Canadian boundary. In 1828 William Sewall and Frederick Mellen were hired by the state to update and color two Greenleaf maps for use of "officers" dealing with the border dispute.<sup>4</sup> In 1832 the agent appointed to Washington on the northeast boundary controversy and each Maine representative to Congress was provided with a Greenleaf map,<sup>5</sup> while John Gilmore Deane, who did important work in settling the boundary dispute, based his maps on Moses' work.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile, on the home front, Greenleaf's maps were, as Fannie Hardy Eckstorm commented, "almost a household necessity."<sup>7</sup> General acclaim was voiced by the Maine senatorial committee, which in 1830 was appointed to inspect Moses' latest work. Unanimously the members found that his map, Atlas, and Statistical Survey would "not suffer in comparison with any other work of this kind."<sup>8</sup> A more conservative yet positive appraisal came from Greenleaf's contemporary Charles Jackson in his Second Report on the Geology of Maine. Jackson noted that the details of Greenleaf's 1829 map are "not sufficiently correct for laying down accurate geological and topographical observations," but, having said this, he called it a "good general map of the state." Quite simply, the Greenleaf maps were the best Maine maps of their day.

There were many besides Greenleaf who saw the need for a dependable and comprehensive map of Maine. For many the need was primarily and immediately economic. The Revolution had left Massachusetts in debt and with few sources of revenue. No wonder the selling of her wilderness acres in Maine seemed an attractive source of revenue. More than that, the granting of homesteads to veterans in lieu of the cash owed them was a welcome respite for the hard-pressed legislature. The General Court quickly realized that little was known about the land it hoped either to sell or grant. Often even the location of what had already been conveyed was in question. A dependable map became a practical concern.

In response, the first action by Massachusetts was

taken in 1783, when the Honorable James Sullivan was appointed “to procure an accurate plan of that part of [the] state which lies eastward of New Hampshire.” There was no such map to acquire. Nine years later the General Court appointed three men to look into the “expediencies” of having the commonwealth surveyed and mapped.<sup>9</sup> Such a project must have appeared overwhelming, and perhaps nothing would have been accomplished for some years to come had not an unusually talented man by the name of Osgood Carleton been anxious to assist.

Because Moses Greenleaf was greatly indebted to Carleton, the work of this mapmaker deserves consideration in some detail. There were similarities in their backgrounds. Neither belonged to the college elite. Carleton got his start in practical engineering in the army,<sup>10</sup> while Moses received his education in a shipbuilding family concerned with naval architecture and navigation. Both became surveyors and both acquired a competency in mathematics, draftsmanship, navigation, and, finally, map construction and projections.<sup>11</sup> Both men were praised for their contributions and, in the end, both died nearly penniless.

In 1794, twenty years before Greenleaf commenced his serious mapmaking, Carleton had proposed that the members of the legislature be required to furnish plans of the various towns they represented. Carleton had already published a small map of Maine,<sup>12</sup> and he realized that nothing better could be accomplished without additional information. From these town plans he would draw a map of Massachusetts and its district of Maine. The General Court could fix whatever compensation it deemed fair for his services.

His suggestion was accepted. The return of town plans, however, was slow, particularly from the district of Maine. In the meantime Carleton accumulated further knowledge by copying and drawing plans for the Committee for the Sale of Eastern Lands. By 1795, when James Sullivan published his *History of the District of Maine*, Carleton was able to provide a new map to accompany this book. This map represents the first exclusively “Maine” map drawn from the “latest data at hand.” It was vastly superior to Carleton’s first

attempt, and, indeed, far superior to previous attempts to depict the southern half of the district.<sup>13</sup>

Carleton’s 1795 map stimulated the interest of a group of gentlemen belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society. This group included historian and statesman James Sullivan and Jedidiah Morse, who has been called the father of American geography. They proposed to use the material gathered by order of the legislature to produce a map. The profits were to go to the historical society. In return it would maintain the collection of data for the use of the governor and legislature, and print five hundred copies for the legislature to do with as it saw fit.

Evidently the legislature was open for propositions and advertised for bids on the technical execution. Among those who immediately sent in a proposal were Carleton and his associate John Norman, who was to be the engraver. Apparently the historical society was glad to have the execution placed in qualified hands, and the legislature commissioned Carleton to submit his map and, if approved, for Norman to print four hundred copies. The plates were ready for inspection by the summer of 1798. The committee appointed to review the work found the map acceptable, but rejected Norman’s engraving.<sup>14</sup> A new committee was appointed to find another engraver, and Carleton redoubled his efforts to perfect his map. The charts of Samuel Holland and J. F. W. Des Barres were used, along with the celestial coordinates taken by Holland to improve the coastal configuration. Much work had to be done in fitting the various town plans together, for while the angles of the lines recorded were generally dependable (though magnetic variation was seldom recorded), the linear dimensions were often far from accurate. By January 1801 the new plates were being engraved by Joseph Callender and Samuel Hill of Boston.<sup>15</sup> In 1802, B. and J. Loring printed a beautiful map enhanced with a drawing by George Graham of Boston.<sup>16</sup> It was a beautiful production enhanced by a drawing done by George Graham of Boston. The cost of four hundred copies, including the eight copper plates, paper, printing, and coloring, came to \$2,340. Carleton received a total compensation of \$1,236, which was intended to cover all the expenditures he had incurred as well as

reimbursement for the time spent producing the map. The plates and copyright were given jointly to the Massachusetts Historical Society and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. This map was Carleton's last effort to portray Maine and was the precursor of Greenleaf's first edition.

We do not know just when Moses Greenleaf began to work on a map of Maine. By his own account, he began collecting data in 1803.<sup>17</sup> By 1806 he owned—and had probably made—an outstanding map of the townships lying to the north and south of the Piscataquis River.<sup>18</sup> Not only did this map correct several major errors found in Samuel Weston's range map<sup>19</sup> of the same area, but it also added a wealth of details that could only have been derived from personal observation or the patient comparison of a number of actual surveys and descriptions. We do not know whether this plan of townships on the Piscataquis was intended as part of a project to map the whole interior of the district of Maine or just as a tool to be used in the development of those townships in which Moses was keenly concerned. We do know that Greenleaf was soon to draw the plans for several newly purchased townships in this area, including the township he was to occupy.<sup>20</sup> It is certain that his mapmaking became a serious endeavor shortly after his move to Williamsburg. His first intention was to produce a map of the interior, feeling, no doubt, that Carleton's map had sufficiently described the lower half of the district. Later he decided that there was a need for a new map covering all of Maine.

Such a daunting task could only be accomplished by much correspondence (unfortunately little of this seems to have survived) and a great deal of travel involving long and difficult miles. Often the sources he needed did not yet exist. For instance, the same year that Moses published his *Statistical View* (1816), the infant U.S. Coast Survey began its triangulations not in Maine but far south along the margins of New York and New Jersey. Moses had been dead eight years when the first geodetic controls were established by the U.S.G.S. in southern Maine. Had Greenleaf been making maps of the territory around the Great Lakes rather than of Maine, his job would have been easier.

Edgar Crosby Smith, Greenleaf's first biographer,

felt that a great deal of Moses' knowledge of the interior came from his own exploration and surveying. There is an extant letter (not quoted by Smith) in which Eben Greenleaf described his brother as emerging from his den "to roam and prowl about all winter."<sup>21</sup> We know that he was on an exploratory trip of some sort when he was stricken with typhoid fever, and there is ample evidence that he was personally familiar with the topography of townships in several tracts north of Williamsburg, and especially just east of Moosehead. His own sons were involved in lumber operations near Chesuncook, and through them Moses may have gained useful information. Apparently Moses was also involved in measuring the elevations of a number of principal mountains.<sup>22</sup> However, there is no direct evidence that Greenleaf climbed Katahdin, which would have given him a grandstand view,<sup>23</sup> or that he had firsthand knowledge of the area around Mars Hill, which was so important in the boundary dispute. When one looks at the immensity of unsurveyed or even untraveled territory reaching north from Moses' home in Williamsburg to the St. Lawrence River, one realizes how impossible it would have been for him to have carefully explored but a small part of this territory.

What becomes apparent as one studies the advancing editions of Greenleaf's maps is the importance of data gathered by a number of men employed in surveying the contended borders of Maine and in running out township lines—track after track advancing north from the fringes of settlement. Moses' major cartographic contribution lay in his responsible choice of data, in his understanding that the making of good maps requires more than the stitching together of disparate plans, in his establishment and use of coordinates for key points across his map, and finally in his draftsmanship, evidenced in the remarkable remaining manuscript map draft of his first published map.<sup>24</sup> Greenleaf's achievement is amazing enough by itself without crediting him with the impossible.

Before considering the various Greenleaf maps and their respective contributions, it should be emphasized that his mapmaking was a serious

cartographic endeavor. It has not been determined what map projection Greenleaf utilized, but it is certain that he was employing a systematic means of displaying a curved earth on a flat chart. Many mapmakers immediately preceding Greenleaf used a trapezoidal projection (this includes, for instance, several atlas maps of Maine as late as 1822). In this projection the meridians converge while the parallels are straight. Certainly the meridians on the Greenleaf maps do converge, but the general conformation of his maps suggests that he is employing a more sophisticated conic grid system in which meridians converge and parallels are curved.<sup>25</sup>

Besides employing a map projection, Greenleaf paid particular attention to the astronomically established coordinates for key locations, such as the confluences of rivers and boundary monuments. A comparison of many important locations on his maps to present-day positioning shows a remarkable agreement.

The 1815 and 1829 Greenleaf maps were published as companions to books that explored Maine's physical resources, and the contemporary social, political, and economic conditions (see appendix 2). In between these two maps and responding to new excitement over statehood, two additional versions (states) were published (1820 and 1822) using the 1815 plates. Smith, probably working from family tradition, reported that Moses labored on improving his map until his death in 1834.<sup>26</sup> This being the case, Greenleaf himself doubtless made the corrections found on the 1832 version of the 1829 map. After Moses died, improvements to the 1829 plates continued to be made, carried out by his son Moses and others, resulting in the Second Edition of 1843 and the Third Edition of 1844, of which at least two different versions exist.

What follows is a cursory comparison of these various editions of the Greenleaf maps with particular attention to their representation of the mid- and upper interior of Maine.

### **Map of the District of Maine from the Latest and Best Authorities, 1815 [1816]**

In Greenleaf's day the best engravers were located in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, and

it was one of these, William B. Annin of Boston,<sup>27</sup> who was to engrave on copper plates the first Greenleaf map of Maine. Its size is 40.25 by 26.5 inches (102.5 cm x 74.5 cm) with a scale of approximately 8.5 miles to the inch. The map's central meridian is sixty-nine degrees west of London; however, the longitude east from Washington, D.C., is also given. Appropriately the map was inscribed to "the Honorable, the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts," which would subscribe for one thousand copies.<sup>28</sup> It was published by Cummings and Hilliard of No. 1 Cornhill, Boston, with hand-colored county boundaries and mounted on a roller.

Although this map was intended as a necessary companion to Greenleaf's *Statistical View of the District of Maine*, it could be bought separately and was ready for sale before the book appeared on the market. In March 1816 the *Bangor Register* carried the following:

Particular Notice: All persons holding papers for GREENLEAF'S MAP AND *Statistical View OF THE DISTRICT OF MAINE*, issued on June last, are requested to return them without delay to Cumming and Hilliard . . . as the price for subscription is now raised to \$4 for the map and \$1.25 for the *Statistical View*. . . . The Work will be ready for delivery by the first of June next.

There seems to have been a need to promote this new map and book, for in September the following letter appeared in the Register:

Mr. Edes: Having for several years paid particular attention to the geographical department of the District of Maine, I was gratified a few days since in examining Greenleaf's superb map. The proportions and directions of most of the waters of the interior are entirely different from Carleton's Map. Quebec and the St. Lawrence, which were totally inaccurate on Carleton's, are probably very near correct on the new map.

The typographical department is probably more elegantly executed than any other work of the kind that has been executed in the New England States. All the latest alterations of the country and town lines, new locations and

other alterations are noticed, and the shades and coloring are very elegant.

Those who wish for particular information respecting the geography of Maine may be amply satisfied by possession of this valuable guide. D'Anville<sup>29</sup>

This statement is straightforward, and its accuracy can be quickly established by a comparison of Carleton's (1802) and Greenleaf's (1815) maps. Although Greenleaf did not copy his coastline directly from Carleton, there is an obvious similarity.<sup>30</sup> Both mapmakers appear to be using the same sources in delineating the internationally contested area around Passamaquoddy Bay.<sup>31</sup> The similarity between the two maps continues northward until about the forty-fifth parallel, but from that line northward Greenleaf's map represents a tremendous advance in the knowledge of the interior.

In comparison, the southern portion of Carleton's map is as rich in details as the northern half is void of information. On this map the laying out of townships, with a few exceptions, had progressed only to the foot of Moosehead Lake, of which only the south end is partially suggested. Northward, the important West Branch of the Penobscot is suggested by a dotted line. As on the Greenleaf map of 1815, the St. John River fails to arch downward, ending instead in a bold range of mountains represented as running closely parallel to the St. Lawrence and labeled the boundary between the United States and the province of Quebec. However, in contrast with the Greenleaf 1815 map, Carleton portrays the Aroostook flowing northward to join the St. John at a point close to the actual confluence of the Allagash with the St. John, while the Allagash system with its great lakes as well as Chesuncook Lake on the Penobscot watershed are missing.<sup>32</sup>

Before continuing a discussion and comparison of Greenleaf's maps, it should again be emphasized that the wilderness interior of Maine was and is a complex of waterways and great lakes. Five major and lesser rivers rise in this area, their sources close enough to make men such as Greenleaf dream of interconnecting canal systems. They are the St.

John, the Kennebec, the Penobscot with its two branches, the Allagash, and the Aroostook. The Kennebec flows out of Moosehead Lake, whose forty miles of inland sea were to carry the saga of the timber and pulp industries northward across the carry to the Penobscot River system. The great St. John rises a few miles from the headwaters of the West Branch of the Penobscot, which flows into Chesuncook Lake from which, by way of the famous Mud Pond Carry, one can reach Chamberlain Lake and Allagash waters. Just to the east of the lakes that feed the Allagash rises the Aroostook River, and below it are the headwaters of the Penobscot's East Branch.

While the Greenleaf maps continually corrected and updated the representation of the southern half of the state—adding counties as they were set off, correcting small details, and depicting the increasing network of roads—it is their display of the uncharted upper interior that draws one's attention.

Moosehead Lake began to take realistic shape on Greenleaf's 1815 map. Two miles above the northern tip of Moosehead<sup>33</sup> and flowing east into Chesuncook Lake, Moses showed the great West Branch of the Penobscot. The configuration of Chesuncook, along with Greenleaf's presentation of the great lakes to its north, leaves much to be desired, but what he does present must have been based on a careful if preliminary exploration. The portage between Chesuncook and Chamberlain Lake (*Greenleaf's Ahpmoojeene Gamook*) is indicated; then comes Eagle Lake (*Wahlahgis-Squirgamook*), connected to a much too large Churchill Lake (*Bungah-Quoham*), which, in turn, feeds the Allagash River.<sup>34</sup>

The Aroostook River is clearly delineated, especially at its eastern end where a township and a grant have been surveyed.<sup>35</sup> Moses showed this river branching and ending in what we can assume is Munsungun and Millinocket Lakes. The closeness of these waters to the beginnings of the East Branch of the Penobscot is clearly shown. Conspicuously missing, however, are Telos Lake and Webster Stream, which later lumber barons would use to unite the Penobscot and Allagash waters, thereby initiating the so-called Telos War.



## Map of the State of Maine from Latest and Best Authorities, 1820 and 1822

Maine's elevation to statehood presented Moses an opportunity for publishing an updated map. It would be his salute to the occasion. Then, too, from a personal standpoint, he needed income. He owed a number of people, including Cummings and Hilliard, the publishers of his 1815 map. Among these creditors was a Dan Hastings of Boston who in 1819 helped Greenleaf establish an agreement with a Lucius Quintas and a Curtis Bowles, evidently both of Boston, to publish and sell a new edition of his map.<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately, neither the 1820 nor the 1822 Greenleaf maps bear the printer's name, so we do not know if this deal came to fruition.

It is clear that Greenleaf was still in debt. In 1820 he was again seeking the wherewithal to settle his accounts and to publish a revised map. He wrote:

carried in Boston for rest of month—settled with Mr. Dodd, D. Hastings, C [Cummings] and Hilliard, R P & C Williams, Gen. Boyd—agreed with T. Swan about publishing map of Maine & Des Barres charts—agreed with L & C Bowles to sell maps of Maine for one year.<sup>37</sup>

We are left with the tantalizing information that Greenleaf hoped to sell copies of Des Barres' famous nautical charts. Future research may disclose whether he succeeded or if Swan was the publisher of the 1820 Greenleaf map. What we do know is that a revision of the 1815 plates was used for printing the 1820 and 1822 maps. These maps were produced unmounted and mounted on linen and, at least in the case of the 1820 edition, were available with counties depicted in color. Annin is still given as the engraver of the maps' plates.<sup>38</sup> The imprint, however, reads "Published According to Act of Congress." While the changes on the 1820 edition are not numerous or momentous, several deserve mention. Due to the surveying of surrounding townships by Eben Greenleaf and others, the outline of Moosehead Lake has taken on additional realism. Chesuncook and the chain of great lakes feeding the Allagash remain as shown on Greenleaf's first map.<sup>39</sup> A road from Passamaquoddy Bay to St. Ann's across the river from Fredericton, New Brunswick, has been added. Also added to the upper right-hand

corner of the map are a number of streams falling into the St. Lawrence. Townships marked as reserved for Indians have been added on what Greenleaf labeled "Millenocket Stream," but, interestingly, this new information did not give Moses knowledge of Millinocket Lake, which lies just north of the present town of that name. There are corrections improving the depiction of the Penobscot's course at its confluence with Mattawamkeag. Again this may be due to the surveying of a block of land set aside for the Indians at the junction of these two important waterways. New townships have been added; others untitled on the 1815 map have been named, and county lines have been adjusted. It would be interesting to know how many copies of the 1820 map were printed. A second edition (1822) following so closely indicates that sales were encouraging. It was an important map coming as it did with the birth of the state and in an era of rapid transitions. It has already been mentioned that it was used in dividing lands between Maine and Massachusetts. Its influence on other maps seems apparent in the case of an atlas map titled *Geographical, Historical and Statistical Map of Maine* (1825)<sup>40</sup> as well as the Vandermaelen Map of New England and New York (1826).

Hopefully future research will help us understand more about Moses Greenleaf's business deals during this particular period of his life. We do know they were complex. In October 1821 he was in Bangor meeting with his creditors. It may be significant that his brother Simon, the then famous lawyer, was also present. At the same time he was meeting with a Daniel Pike and others who represented the new Maine Charity School (Bangor Theological Seminary) and who sought a lease of Greenleaf's plates along with the right to sell his maps on commission.<sup>41</sup> Although corroborating records of the Maine Charity School have not been found, negotiations may have been successful. In December 1821 the following notice appeared in the *Bangor Register*:

### GREENLEAF'S MAP OF MAINE

The subscriber will publish in a few months an edition of this valuable Map, with counties and towns as they are now. On fine paper, the price will be \$2.00—on ordinary paper \$1.25.

Subscription papers are sent to most towns in the state—and an agent will deliver the maps as early as possible. Daniel Pike.

By the following July dealers were receiving copies for sale. One would assume that these maps bore the date of 1822.

### **Map of the State of Maine with the Province of New Brunswick, 1829**

In 1827 Governor Enoch Lincoln's annual address to the Maine legislature was charged with crucial considerations: the worth of public lands, the fundamental importance of the spirit of Maine people, and the security of the state's boundaries.<sup>42</sup> It was high season for taking stock, and Governor Lincoln saw the necessity of solid data on such concerns as "Agriculture, Commerce and the Arts":

It would have been considered proper [at this point in the address] to have produced a *Statistical View* of the results, except that it is known that an abler hand has grasped the subject, and will present a map, calculations and reasonings which cannot but meet the wishes and encouragement of the Legislature, as such objects have received encouragement in several of the other States, and as they must receive encouragement or fail.<sup>43</sup>

Such were the expectations placed upon Moses Greenleaf's endeavors as he labored to produce his 1829 map. In conjunction with his *Survey of Maine* and the accompanying Atlas, the map presented a major tool for understanding Maine, her topography, her people, and her promise.

For engravers of the new map, Greenleaf chose James H. Young and F. Dankworth, both of Philadelphia. Young was considered a "general engraver,"<sup>44</sup> and Dankworth was already well known for his work on the maps of Tanner and Mitchell. The publishing firm was closer to home: Arthur Shirley and William Hyde, whose bookstore was opposite Cumberland Bank at the head of Exchange Street in Portland. The result was a fine piece of mapmaking—hand colored and roller mounted.<sup>45</sup>

The expense of creating the map and the Atlas

plates with their fine engraving and hand coloring was far beyond Moses' means or the expected income from projected sales. In a circular printed in February 1829, Greenleaf stated:

The expense which has been incurred in the completion and execution of this work in the best manner, having been greater than was contemplated, a necessity exists for an immediate sale. An opportunity has been offered for those citizens of this state who wish to supply themselves with copies, and this opportunity will be open until the whole are ready for delivery, when all copies not subscribed for must be sent to other States for sale without delay. . . . The whole number of sets will not exceed 520.

Nothing was easy. As the project neared completion, time became crucial. In February 1828 the legislature had voted a thousand dollars toward helping Moses with the publishing expenses.<sup>46</sup> Greenleaf signed a bond, with an attached "penal sum of \$1,500," that he would pursue his endeavor without "unreasonable neglect or delay." The following month the legislature voted to subscribe to forty sets of the Survey, the map, and the Atlas. This time Moses was given ninety days to deliver.<sup>47</sup> A year later, a very worried Moses was in Portland anxiously awaiting the arrival of the maps from Philadelphia. He wrote to the council and governor, "part of the maps have been shipped from that place more than ten days since but owing to obstructions by recent storms and bad roads they have not arrived." He "prays" that he will be granted "the necessary certificates to exonerate him from liabilities."<sup>48</sup> On July 10, 1829, the secretary of state received the forty sets, but Moses was kept dangling until January 1830 before the state decided that it had not been "inconvenienced" by the late arrival of the books and maps, and that Greenleaf had done all within his power to discharge the obligations of his bonds.<sup>49</sup>

By April 1829 copies of the map were on sale in Bangor at the bookstore of Benjamin Nourse, though it was a year before the copies ordered by the state to be delivered to the towns and plantations were ready for distribution.<sup>50</sup> In the same month that

the maps went on sale, the following note appeared in the *Bangor Register*:

Greenleaf Maps: The *Portland Courier* states that the town of Prospect has voted to purchase for each of its school districts [one of Greenleaf's maps]. By the prospectus recently issued by Messieurs Shirley and Hyde & Co., it appears that "the whole number ever to be taken from the plates . . . will not exceed one copy for each school district in this state[,] one additional copy for each town and plantation in this state and 25 copies for each state in the Union." After this number, the plates will be destroyed so that no more impressions can ever be taken from them. To this the publishers and the proprietors are mutually bound and pledge themselves that it will positively be carried into effect. We trust and believe that our public and private schools will be furnished with this valuable and important map—that our children may understand the geography of their own state. Subscription papers at B. Nourse's Bookstore.<sup>51</sup>

If sales were not immediately encouraging, at least the opinion of the critics must have been gratifying. George Smith, a distinguished Boston engraver, was quoted as saying he had "no hesitation in saying that no better specimen of map engraving, of its class, has been executed in this or any other country."<sup>52</sup> The editor of the *Bangor Register* stated, "We feel pride and pleasure in seeing our state so fairly and, so far as our knowledge extends, so accurately delineated."<sup>53</sup> And the *Christian Mirror*, quoting the editor of the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, applauded the "great care and laborious research" with which Greenleaf had collected and arranged his material. It was hoped that sales might "indemnify the author for his expenditure . . . [and] afford encouragement to others who may be inclined to undertake similar works in relation to any other state in the Union."<sup>54</sup>

On first looking at this map, Maine seems elongated. Closer inspection shows the reason. Greenleaf displayed Maine as he considered her boundaries to be—reaching to the St. Lawrence watershed. One senses how important the boundary is. Greenleaf shows us Maine surrounded by New

Brunswick, Quebec, and New Hampshire. The new state seems thrust into Canada like a lance point.

Greenleaf places the northwest boundary of Maine—"The True Boundary According to the Treaty of 1783"—along what he labeled an "Elevated Tableland." Substantially this was the position taken by the United States in the boundary dispute.<sup>55</sup> A reading of the first chapter of Greenleaf's *Survey of Maine*, or a perusal of plates two and three of the accompanying Atlas, will convince one that Moses had made himself an authority on this issue, which dominated the political and diplomatic scene during Maine's first twenty years as a state.

According to the Treaty of Paris (1783), the border between Canada and the United States that involved Maine should run along the "height of land" between the rivers flowing into the St. Lawrence and those rivers draining south and southeast into the Atlantic. Following the second war with England, it became apparent to Great Britain that she had made a serious mistake in allowing the United States to establish a territory that effectually cut off the natural flow of commerce between Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and the Atlantic. As a result, Britain maintained that the original treaty had called for the border to be run along a "range of mountains" running diagonally through the center of the district of Maine.

By 1827 the international debate had reached a stalemate, and the citizens of Maine, fearing compromise, were alarmed when it was proposed that the question be settled by arbitration. Spokesmen for Maine maintained that the federal government had no right to bargain with land that clearly came under the jurisdiction of a state. Under these conditions, the governor of Maine wrote to the president of the United States requesting that he be furnished with a copy of all maps, plans, and papers pertaining to the dispute. In May 1827 the secretary of state responded that the president was willing to supply the governor with all documents upon "that subject which can, in his opinion be communicated without danger of public detriment."<sup>56</sup> In November of that year the maps and papers were delivered. While these diplomatic records did little but confirm the previous opinion

held by Maine that her position was entirely justified, the appended maps, especially those of Joseph Bouchette, Anthony Lockwood, John Johnson, Thomas Carlisle, and, probably, Samuel Holland, along with the appended topological information, were a boon to Greenleaf.<sup>57</sup>

Greenleaf noted in his *Survey of Maine* that it was the boundary surveys that found the close relationship between the headwaters of the Penobscot and the St. John, and it was doubtless from these same sources that Greenleaf learned the true course of the St. John. His 1829 map displays this river arching southward from the point where it receives the waters of the Allagash. Baker Lake, from which the St. John flows, is placed within a few miles of its actual coordinates.

Another border survey, Hunter's and Carlisle's 1819 map of the Allagash,<sup>58</sup> appears to be the source for Greenleaf's 1829 rendition of that river. Indeed, from Upper Umsaskus Lake to the St. John, that same depiction was used on all the later Greenleaf maps.

As helpful as the boundary surveys were, it is the laying out of townships, driven by the search for timber and the necessity of dividing unsold land between Maine and Massachusetts, that provided Greenleaf with much of his topographical data. By 1829 townships had been surveyed to the foot of Chesuncook and up the west line of Penobscot County, five ranges wide to the Eagle Lakes in what is now Aroostook County.<sup>59</sup> A majority of these townships would never boast a permanent village, but for a mapmaker their surveyed lines provided a needed grid system oriented true north and south and a regularity that stood in marked contrast to the piecemeal jumble of town lines in the southern half of the state.

While each new group of townships brought additional data, the information was not always sufficient or accurate. The Aroostook River is still brought too far south to the area of Townships Ten through Twelve in Range Five WELS as it was on the 1815 map, so that it terminates south of Chamberlain Lake. Moreover, Portage Lake is missing, and there are major errors in the depiction of the Eagle Lakes.

The lack of township surveys around and to the

east of Chamberlain Lake must explain the continued omission of the Telos Lake—Webster Stream—East Branch of the Penobscot connection. This vital feature would have to wait until the Third Edition (1844) for correction.

A combination of interests—military, commercial, and settlement—focused Greenleaf's attention on the roads that web the southern part of his map, here and there threading into the north and across the border. The line marked on the 1815 map north from Bangor indicating a possible way to Houlton has become an important military road. New Brunswick also had an interest in settlement and military security. A new road along the west bank of the St. John flanks the entire eastern border. In Maine another route to Canada runs up the west side of the Kennebec past the Forks and on to the border. On the 1815 map this road is only a blazed line "marked . . . by the Davis Brothers" from the Forks northward. Another road has come into existence along the east side of the river above Bingham. Along the western border a number of new roads are shown in the Fryeburg area leading to New Hampshire.

### Greenleaf's Atlas of 1829

The Atlas was intended as an important supplement to the 1829 map and the *Survey of Maine*. Some of its maps, and certainly plate six, showing the spread of settlement in Maine between 1778 and 1820, were also sold separately. Containing seven copper-engraved plates, of varying sizes, the Atlas embraced several of the pressing concerns faced by Moses and his fellow Mainers: the border issue, settlement, and climate.

The first three maps display the hills of northern Maine and especially focus on the "imaginary" line of hills that the British asserted constituted the proper border between Maine and Canada. These maps are supported by the large fourth plate, which displays ten different cross sections of the topography of Maine, New Brunswick, and Quebec, together demonstrating that there is no single ridge of hills that forms the watershed between the rivers flowing into the St. Lawrence River and those flowing into the Atlantic Ocean. The fifth and sixth maps present the history of the settlement of Maine.

The fifth plate outlines the history of the grants and townships that made up the district, then state; the remarkable sixth plate traces the “progress” of Anglo-American settlement across the state, from the eve of the Revolution to the 1820 census. Both maps depict northern Maine as a large white space, suggesting the inevitability of future settlement and development of the interior. The final plate provides meteorological diagrams that both summarize the Maine climate and compare it with the climate of points farther south in Massachusetts and Connecticut and also of England. (See appendix 2 for a full listing of its contents.)

### Map of Maine and the Province of New Brunswick, 1832

Greenleaf’s 1832 map represents an important improvement in the presentation of the upper reaches of the St. John River (Greenleaf’s “Walloostook River”), which is shown rising, as it does, in the waters of Baker Lake and close to the headwaters of the West Branch of the Penobscot. The great lakes of the Allagash system are depicted with far greater success, while Chesuncook Lake, both in position and conformation, is represented with some degree of accuracy. In contrast, the faulty representations of the East Branch of the Penobscot and of the location of the headwaters of the Aroostook as presented on the 1829 persist. The portrayal of the great lakes feeding the Allagash remains unchanged.

### The Second Edition (1843) and Third Edition (1844)

On the fourteenth of September 1843, the *Bangor Daily Whig* and *Courier* carried the following advertisement announcing the results of Moses Greenleaf Jr.’s labors:<sup>60</sup>

#### NEW MAP OF MAINE

Greenleaf’s map, second edition, revised and corrected to the present date by Moses Greenleaf, Williamsburg, Me. for sale by Sept. 14. E. F. Duren

Directly below this announcement there was a similar advertisement by the Bangor booksellers Smith and Fenno, but with additional information:

The border as shown on this map was in accordance with the “new treaty of 1843.” This map according to Smith and Fenno was “the most correct map of our state yet published.” The price was five dollars.

The day before these two advertisements appeared, the *Whig and Courier’s* editor had announced the new map:

We notice with pleasure that Mr. Moses Greenleaf, son of the great Map maker of Maine, has got up a new, correct and beautiful Map of Maine; . . . alterations are so numerous and important that such a map was much needed. . . . The engraving and printing . . . were performed in the best style at Philadelphia, under the immediate direction of Mr. Greenleaf, and he is now engaged at his country residence in hanging and finishing them for market, thus introducing in our vicinity a new branch of home labor.<sup>61</sup>

This praise of the 1843 edition with its rendition of the international boundary was well deserved, but the review repeated a prominent error that appeared on the map. The new border was labeled BOUNDARY AS FIXED BY THE TREATY OF 1843, rather than 1842. Perhaps the engraver got the treaty date confused with the date of the map. Such mistakes happen easily. The need for a correction must be one reason for a new edition within a year.

Moses Greenleaf Jr. deserves much more attention and credit than he has received. At the age of twenty-nine he was acting on behalf of the Greenleaf heirs, attempting to pay off debts, and hopeful of leaving something for his mother and the family. The broadside *To the Citizens of Maine*, which he wrote to announce the 1843 map and encourage sales, left no doubt that he was his father’s son (to use the old phrase). He understood the importance of maps, and he quoted Napoleon’s observation: “the civilization of the country may be determined by the maps of her territory.” He went on to cite Horace Mann’s recent report, which emphasized how much attention other countries were giving to what might be called a national cartography. Probably no one in the state was against having an improved map; the problem, as

always in the story of the Greenleaf maps, was money. For Moses Jr. that problem was acute. He was five hundred dollars in debt before he even started—the five hundred dollars that Moses Greenleaf owed at the time of his death for the map plates upon which the new corrections would be made.<sup>62</sup>

The good news was the quantity of new data available. By the early 1840s timber of first quality on the Penobscot was becoming hard to find, and attention was turning to the wilderness of the upper lakes and the Allagash waters.<sup>63</sup> As a result, there was a great increase in township plans and detailed explorations of that vast area of lakes, rivers, and forest from Chesuncook northward. It is likely that Moses Greenleaf Sr. was working with some of the resulting data in the brief time between 1832 and his death, and that his son had been helping him.

A good example of the valuable information becoming available is the John Webber and Zebeulon Bradley survey of Townships Four through Eight in Ranges Nine and Ten WELS. Their map, with a scale of 160 chains (two miles) to the inch, provides details on the East Branch of the Penobscot, along with Munsungan, Melanocyte, and Second Lake Matagamon.<sup>64</sup> An attachment to this survey shows new townships laid out on the east shore of Chesuncook, including the area of the Nesourdnahunk.<sup>65</sup> Three surveyors, Small, Bernard, and Leavitt, did a timber survey that shows Webster Stream and its confluence with the Penobscot's West Branch.<sup>66</sup> Again, as in the case of the details furnished by Webber and Bradley, there are close affinities between this survey and the details portrayed on the Greenleaf map of 1843. William Parrott's plan of Townships Five through Eight in Ranges Fourteen through Sixteen WELS, which includes the area around Caucomgomoc Lake and beyond, has details that appear on the Greenleaf 1843 map but are missing on the 1832 map.<sup>67</sup> Most important of all of these possible sources is the map titled *Undivided Lands, 1840*, done by Parrott and Bradley,<sup>68</sup> which shows Mud Pond Carry more accurately than is found on Greenleaf's 1832 map, and much as depicted on the Greenleaf 1843 map. On Parrott's and Bradley's map, Chesuncook, Chamberlain, and Eagle Lakes, along with the

close proximity of its eastward tributaries to the headwaters of the Aroostook, are all similar to the rendition provided on the third and last edition of Greenleaf's map, and, as it turns out, there was a direct connection between Captain William P. Parrott and the preparation of this map. It was to this accomplished surveyor and draftsman that Moses Greenleaf Jr. turned for technical help.<sup>69</sup> There was no more competent consultant. Not only had Parrott drawn extensive plans of the lands around Chesuncook and northward, but he had also made the detailed plans and surveys necessary for constructing the Telos canal and the dams involved.<sup>70</sup>

Publication of this lost map was delayed in order to include the latest alterations in county and town lines. In particular, the date of the treaty that had defined the border with Canada was corrected (to read "1842") and the map's imprint was changed to read "Third Edition." Then on May 18, 1844, an announcement that the map was ready appeared in the *Whig and Courier*. This advertisement was to run a number of times during the ensuing summer and fall and then again one last time on January 17, 1845.

Greenleaf's Map of Maine

THE subscriber has finally succeeded in bringing out the new Map of Maine. No possible effort or expense has been spared to render it accurate and worthy of public patronage. The number of copies issued will be limited as nearly as possible to actual sales. Agents will visit different parts of the State for the purpose of giving our citizens an opportunity of purchasing; . . . the map will not be deposited at Bookstores or sold by local agents.<sup>71</sup>

What was being offered was the culmination of the Greenleaf maps. The area around Caucomgomoc and Baker Lakes had taken on new reality, the lakes feeding the Allagash were presented with increased accuracy, the close association of Chamberlain, Telos, Webster Stream, and the East Branch of the Penobscot was clearly displayed, Portage Lake appeared, and the true arrangement of the individually named Eagle Lakes was disclosed. The northern half of the state was

now delineated in detail to match the portrayal of the southern half on the 1829 map. The third and last edition was superior to John Deane's Map of the State of Maine, which was the Greenleaf map's first serious competitor.<sup>72</sup>

There seems to have been no dispute concerning the excellence of the newly proposed Greenleaf map. As has been already indicated, the opposition to state assistance centered on money. A legislative resolve had been submitted to purchase five hundred copies of the Third Edition. Those opposed to this resolve claimed that the state was in no position to fund anything short of a dire necessity. Those in favor of the resolve argued that the map was just that. Other states had seen the need and were producing maps; certainly Maine with all her concerns for unsold lands, the development of resources, and the need for greater settlement should be no exception. Massachusetts, for instance, had spent \$177,000 for a map. The legislators in that state understood that the present rates of demographic and industrial change called for new maps, and that such updated instruments paid for themselves many times over in increased state revenues. Supporters of the resolve were quick to point out that state leaders were habitually confusing economy with parsimony. Other legislators argued that if education were declining in Maine, as some feared, then this excellent map would represent a needed educational tool for making children aware of their state's potential. As the debate went on, Mr. Paine of Bangor, a member of the Library Committee, rose to urge that Maine should join in the interchange of maps now taking place between states. He reported that there was a proposal abroad to exchange maps between countries. Certainly Maine should participate now that she had a map "worthy to compare with that of any other state in the union."<sup>73</sup>

In March 1845 the resolve to purchase the Greenleaf map finally passed.<sup>74</sup> The state would purchase five hundred copies of the 1844 map, the money to be taken from the sales of public lands. As amended, the resolve carried several instructions: one dollar from the four paid for each map was to go to Moses' widow; copies of the map were to be placed in each public hall and office in the statehouse "now not furnished with the same," and one in the land office at Bangor; one copy was to go to each town and organized plantation, one copy to each house of Congress, the secretary of war, and the postmaster general at Washington.

There is still much to be learned concerning the publications of the Third Edition. We do know that it had at least two states, marked by the addition of some details to the plates (see appendix 2). Thus, Moses Greenleaf's determination to produce a better map of Maine continued in the work of his son.<sup>75</sup>

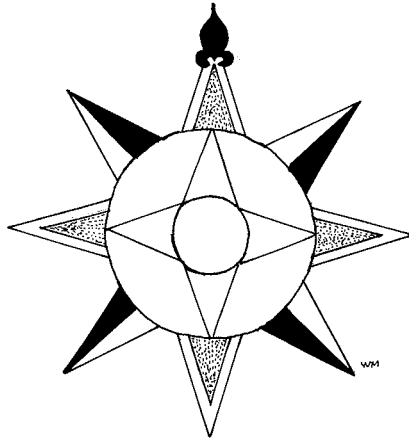
In 1844 Charles Jarvis, state representative from Surry, in speaking before the Maine legislature and in favor of granting support for the last edition of the Greenleaf map, expressed the sentiments of the majority present and of Mainers across the state:

But, Mr. Speaker, there is a further and stronger reason to my mind why this resolve should pass. I want it to pass as an act of justice to the memory of Moses Greenleaf. Maine is more indebted to him than to any other man. He devoted his life to the promotion of her welfare. Through trials and embarrassment, through poverty and neglect, he labored to advance her interests. Free of selfish motive or hope of gain, he devoted himself to the production of works of incalculable value to our State of which he alone was capable.<sup>76</sup>

# Chapter Seventeen

## INVENTORY: 170 YEARS LATER

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*Or must Fate act the same gray farce again,  
And wait, till one, amid Time's wrecks and scars,  
Speaks to a ruin here, "What poet-race  
Shot such cyclopean arches at the stars?"*

G. K. CHESTERSON, "KING'S CROSS STATION" (MID-1890s)

**M**aine, to be or not to be, was Moses Greenleaf's concern and the source of the pervasive urgency one finds in his writings. It was a time of decisions—decisions that had to be made before Maine's window of opportunity vanished. The state would either flourish through the well-informed opinion of her own citizens and their wise development of her potential, or she would languish in the hands of outside interests and in the bedevilment of nearsightedness and sectionalism.

Greenleaf made no claims to be prophet. He was a man of the Enlightenment and held its confidence in science. For him, our futures lay in today's facts utilized by the ingenuity, rationality, and capacity for compassion implanted within each of us. By and large, he was concerned with fundamental issues. Thus, while he would be astonished by the technological developments of the past 170-plus years, he would be equally familiar with the basic concerns with which we wrestle.

In 1972 Richard Barringer began his *A Maine Manifest* with a statement that might well have

come from Greenleaf's *Survey of Maine*: "Maine is at the crossroads." To amplify his assertion, Barringer quoted from Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. "Would you tell me, please, which way I ought to go from here?" Alice asked the Cheshire cat. "That," responded the cat, "depends a good deal on where you want to go."<sup>1</sup> This is the point for us as it was for Greenleaf, and it is in the framework of desired lifestyles and destinations that we must judge what Moses Greenleaf had to say.

The big issues have not changed. Thirty years after Barringer scrutinized the Maine situation and 180 years after *The Survey of Maine* was published, Governor Angus King in his 2002 "State of the State Address" expounded in present terms what is essentially the Greenleaf message:

I honestly believe that we are at an historic tipping point and that we have it within our power to build one of the strongest economies in the country—given our natural and human resources—but doing so will require that [we] think long and hard. . . . It is not north vs. south, labor vs. management, rural vs. urban.



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

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

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

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

### Population

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

Obviously Greenleaf's extrapolations on population increases proved far too optimistic. Data from the years following 1850 show a persistent emigration from the state. This trend, coupled with the loss of many of the state's promising youth to the lure of

greater prosperity, has long resulted in a pernicious loss of human resources.<sup>4</sup> Thus Greenleaf's insistence upon the importance of a wise and timely development of the physical and cultural opportunities in Maine as a basis for maintaining a growing, healthy community was very much on target.

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

### Land Use and Ownership

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Transportation**

Transportation links Maine to the prosperity of the nation. This was as clear to Governor King

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

### **Industry and Commerce**

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

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

But while he agreed that manufactures could be the servant of society, he knew they could be the users of men. Moreover, they tended to concentrate population at the expense of developing areas. They restricted resources to the use of a few whose aims were often narrowly focused. To be truly a contribution to the state, industry must be generated by the needs of the community. In Greenleaf's view, manufactures should never be allowed to become a generator of their own needs and aggrandizement. For these and other reasons peculiar to Maine's position, he doubted if it was wise for Maine to compete with the southern New England states, which were already taking the lead in industry.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, there was the danger that Maine manufactures, when established, would be controlled by out-of-state capital and interests—as was already the case with landownership with often an attendant denial of wise and independent development for the state.

Years later, Richard Barringer would express some of these same worries. For instance, according to Barringer, Maine has become a "hinterland," tied to the tail of national economic and industrial development and, in comparison with national averages, benefiting little.<sup>12</sup> Even the pulp and paper industry, long one of Maine's most visible manufactures, was becoming largely controlled by international corporations. In 1971 it employed 16,700 persons; in 2002, an estimated 12,100. The textile industry, which had held so much promise in Greenleaf's day and which was to create cities in Maine, dropped 32 percent between 1966 and 1970, and by 2002 employed only an estimated twenty-nine hundred people.<sup>13</sup> Shipbuilding, fisheries, leather products, and many occupations have become increasingly harassed, often by forces beyond the control of anyone in Maine. The overall condition in the state can be realized when one considers that Maine places next to last in per-capita income among the New England states and thirtieth in the nation.<sup>14</sup> But these facts do not present the most serious issue. In an economically poor state, many people in Maine are much poorer than others. Four counties, all located in the far south of Maine, contribute more than half of the state's product

value. Moses had worried about the long-term effects of such inequalities.

Psychologist Edward L. Thorndike once commented that if a subject could not be reduced to numbers, then it was not worth talking about. For all his efforts to gather data and to find the "numbers," Moses Greenleaf would not have agreed. There were for him deeper, qualitative human considerations. He worried about the effect that manufactures would have upon the "moral spirit of a stout yeomanry" he hoped would form the basis for Maine's society and economy. One example will suffice. While he did not speak as strongly as did one early visitor to Maine, who observed that the logger's life alternated between "hardship and debauch," Greenleaf wondered what contribution people so employed could make to the strength, significance, and good habits of the community.

By her deep-sea ports and by her geographical location, Maine was wed to commerce. In the Survey forty-six pages, including twenty-four full pages of tables, consider the possibilities of commerce. These opportunities were to find fulfillment in the great days of Maine's maritime achievement, which lay ahead. To become the all-season port for Canada was the vision of commercial leaders in Portland, Wiscasset, Searsport, Calais, and other towns with deep harbors. It was a vision that would spawn railroads, great expectations, and even success. Greenleaf apparently assumed that, in time, a thriving commerce would materialize if the state government acted wisely to support private and public enterprise. The dream persists within growth strategies that call for the opening of port facilities and the stimulation of Maine-Canadian markets.<sup>15</sup>

Today's social economy may be totally at odds with Greenleaf's agrarian biases, but we cannot escape the fundamental questions he sought to answer. What can be said about the bases of the good life and what do we know about the conditions for long-term happiness?

### **Agriculture**

Although Greenleaf's expectations and hopes for settlement and the clearing of land never materialized, there did come a time when a widespread agriculture formed the backbone of

Maine's society and economy. Smaller farms continued to be the basic unit of an agricultural society for years after his death, reaching an apex in the 1880s. Rapid decline followed the Second World War: Small farms decreased 54 percent in just ten years, beginning in 1959.

Clarence Day, in his study of Maine agriculture,<sup>16</sup> described the constant change in Maine farming following the Civil War. It appears that problems causing decline lay not so much in the farms as in the farmers, and even more in a shift in markets, the development of strong competition, and the tendency toward specialization in crops, which favored large operations. Exacerbating these emerging conditions was the enlargement of material expectations and an increase in community expenditures that required a level of taxes the self-contained farm could not afford.

Among the negative behaviors of farmers was their common failure to put enough back into the soil. This exhausting of the soil was deplored by many men, including Greenleaf.<sup>17</sup> Admittedly, another factor retarding progress was the narrow, stubborn, and even suspicious attitude that too often surfaces in the Yankee. This attitude tended to slow the adaptation of newer practices and to block attempts to form cooperative ventures.

Greenleaf thought that new modes of transportation would bring prosperity to Maine farmers. For a time in the twentieth century, the success of the Bangor and Aroostook Railroad, which connected Aroostook farmers to distant markets, seemed to fulfill his expectation; however, the development of national transportation networks finally brought farmers into stiff, even fatal, competition. More detrimental still was the change in farming itself. Rather than a basis for society, farming became seen as a necessary anachronism in the midst of an economy based largely on the production of luxuries. Growth became imperative, and with increased size came the need for mechanization, greater capitalization, and so greater indebtedness. Maine's brand of farming, even on its largest scale in Aroostook County, became increasingly unprofitable. Only recently has agribusiness returned a part of Aroostook's prosperity. Interestingly, much of this

new mode of mega-operations has been led by Canadian corporations.

However disturbed Greenleaf might be with the present scene, he would certainly insist that we have not necessarily finished the story of Maine's essential productivity. In all events, it is reassuring to know that Maine can still feed herself and have, as Moses observed, a good deal to spare.

## Government

Greenleaf would be dumfounded by the mammoth size of our present state and federal governments.<sup>18</sup> The great increase in bureaucracy followed the Second World War. In the period from 1965 to 1971, the number employed in governmental jobs rose 57 percent. With this proliferation of personnel and of social agencies has grown a governmental structure that touches nearly every facet of our community life.

Greenleaf's views of government were simple in comparison. The question is whether they are also simplistic. Has our present governmental system merely assumed a role necessitated by the complexities of a society undreamed of by men and women in Greenleaf's era, or is it a self-building and self-sustaining creature in its own right that is herding us into a different mode of handling human affairs than was originally intended?

Moses Greenleaf would consider puerile the adage that the best government is one that governs least. Government for him approached the status of a sacred calling. Its operative level was the municipality, with the state government, through the representation of the legislature, fulfilling the function of the municipality at large. State government should be concerned with the following: public lands, statewide roads, currency, dissemination of information, the establishment of the means to free enterprise, the discouragement of selfish and regional ends, and the common defense.

In Greenleaf's view, governmental institutions designed for such a purpose need not be large. In fact, he warned that there was a point where its size contributed to a loss of function. A good government was one that paid for itself through the prosperity it engendered. Thus the only justifiable expenditures of public funds were those that ensured the

development of resources, the means of transportation, the increase of knowledge, and the maintenance of justice and the peace. He recognized that there would always be expenses that he labeled “consumptive” (social and welfare services, for example), but these expenditures were largely a measure of the failure of good government. Costs of administration, welfare, and justice were to be restricted to the local level, whenever possible, to assure direct feedback and accountability, to use more contemporary terms. Such a concept of governmental structure presupposes an active and informed citizenry, willing to run its own affairs, and to some degree aware of the interdependence and united needs of the human community as a whole. As we have seen, Greenleaf, like Horace Mann, placed the responsibility for the development of such a citizenry on the home and the common schools.

The limited role Greenleaf gave to the federal echelon is striking. The federal government, he felt, should be limited to promoting and regulating international and coastal trade, the protection and determination of national boundaries, and matters of interstate relations, including the sharing of information and communications. Here the difference between his era and our own truly widens, and it is in this space that we, as citizens of this “new world,” need to consider our future with care.

### Education

Nowhere else than in his concern for education does Moses Greenleaf sound more contemporary or more persuasive. He evoked what he termed “one of the most important principles adopted in the practice of the first founders of New England”<sup>19</sup>—namely, that every child is a child of the whole community. That was the foundation of his position on public education and the source of his vision of adequate education for all.

While he extolled the intentions behind public education and rejoiced that many communities had exceeded their legal requirements in providing educational opportunities, his examination of the facts quickly showed inadequacies. Overall, school funds, which were raised only on the local level, amounted to \$119,332, giving an approximate annual budget of \$47.75 per school or about \$1.35 per

student during the average school year of less than four months.<sup>20</sup> Exacerbating the ineffectualness of these educational efforts were the large inequalities that existed not only between various parts of the state, but also within school districts. Moses expressed his concern in the following passage:

Whether the State collectively can afford to appropriate any greater sum, . . . or devise any more equal provision for the expense of the education of those, who are continually advancing from the condition of pupillage to that of manhood, in that they are to constitute not only its “bone and muscle,” but the heart and intellect, and in which they will direct its energies, and frame and execute its laws, are questions for the people themselves, and their Legislators, to solve.<sup>21</sup>

On the surface there seems little similarity between Greenleaf’s concerns and our present situation. The dozen or so students still residing in Williamsburg now attend schools in a consolidated school administrative district whose annual budget exceeds six million dollars. The magnitude of change in physical plant and the scope of services and extracurricular programs (all made possible by the input of state and federal money) mask the fact that we share fundamental issues with the citizens of Greenleaf’s day. Again, we are confronted with the question of price and the quality of the learning achieved. Is public education, amid all the proliferation of programs, regulations, and expectations, fulfilling the high calling Greenleaf had in mind? Do we clearly see the essential calling of a public education?<sup>22</sup>

### The Spirit of the People

A community is an entity insofar as it represents the mutual expression of the individuals who compose it and who draw their identity from its constructs. It is a complex dynamic, and, like an individual, it can exude a spirit of purpose or a despondency that, once established, permeates the whole. It can surround the most exuberant citizen with a pall or crown the most lethargic with a sense of hope. Especially important is the community’s effect upon the young, either to inspire or to perpetrate the negative.

Moses Greenleaf believed that what he called the “moral spirit of the people” was vital to the proper interaction between the community and its members. Thus he placed the focus not on “mores” but upon primary moral issues stemming from human involvement with the life and happiness of fellow human beings. It was his thesis that the spirit of the people could become enlivened and virtuous through unselfish leadership, wise legislation, and a public espousal of causes that were both believable and possible. In such a community of belief and effort, the individual might find his or her best self expressed and reinforced.

In an age when the vital issues of public and individual welfare were ensnared in acrimonious dispute and personal attack, and in a time when conflicting views produced polemics rather than seedbeds for wise decisions, Greenleaf went about

his business of collecting evidence and presenting his data. The two salient characteristics that measure the caliber of this man are his abiding interest in the well-being of the community as a whole and his consistent practice as a responsible investigator into human well-being.

This is his message. We are at a place where we must determine whether Maine—the Maine we want—is to be or not to be. Maine is not just a place to live, but a place where hope can exist. It is a place where a responsible people may live not as gleaners of economic and spiritual refuse but as full participants in a life of their own. Moses Greenleaf joins factual background with a foreground of optimism to the end that understanding, achievement, and the spirit of the people might not only survive, but also move forward in a good and pleasant land.



# FIGURES





MOSES GREENLEAF

FIGURE 1: Profile of Moses Greenleaf, reproduced from Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, frontispiece.



FIGURE 2: Osgood Carleton, 1802 Map of Maine, reproduced from the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine.



FIGURE 3: Moses Greenleaf, Map of the District of Maine, 1815, reproduced from the Bangor Public Library.

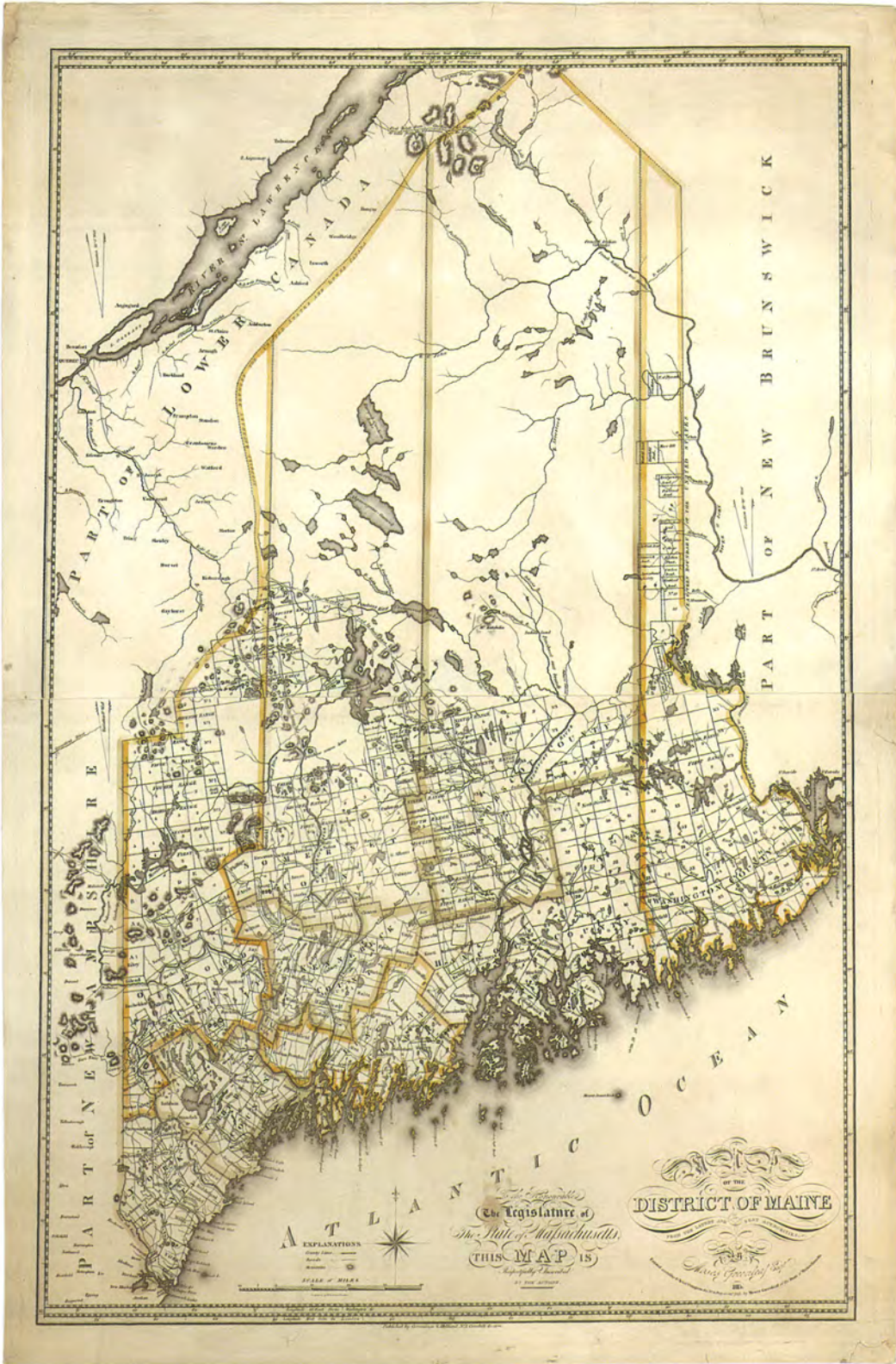


FIGURE 4: Moses Greenleaf, *Map of the District of Maine from the Latest and Best Authorities* (Boston: Cummings and Hilliard, 1815), reproduced from the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine.



FIGURE 5: Moses Greenleaf, *Map of the State of Maine with the Province of New Brunswick* ([Portland], 1843), reproduced from the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine.



FIGURE 6: Moses Greenleaf, Map of the principal Rivers, Mountains and Highland Ranges of the State of Maine, plate 1 of *Atlas Accompanying Greenleaf's Map and Statistical Survey of Maine* (Portland: Shirley & Hyde, 1829), reproduced from the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine.



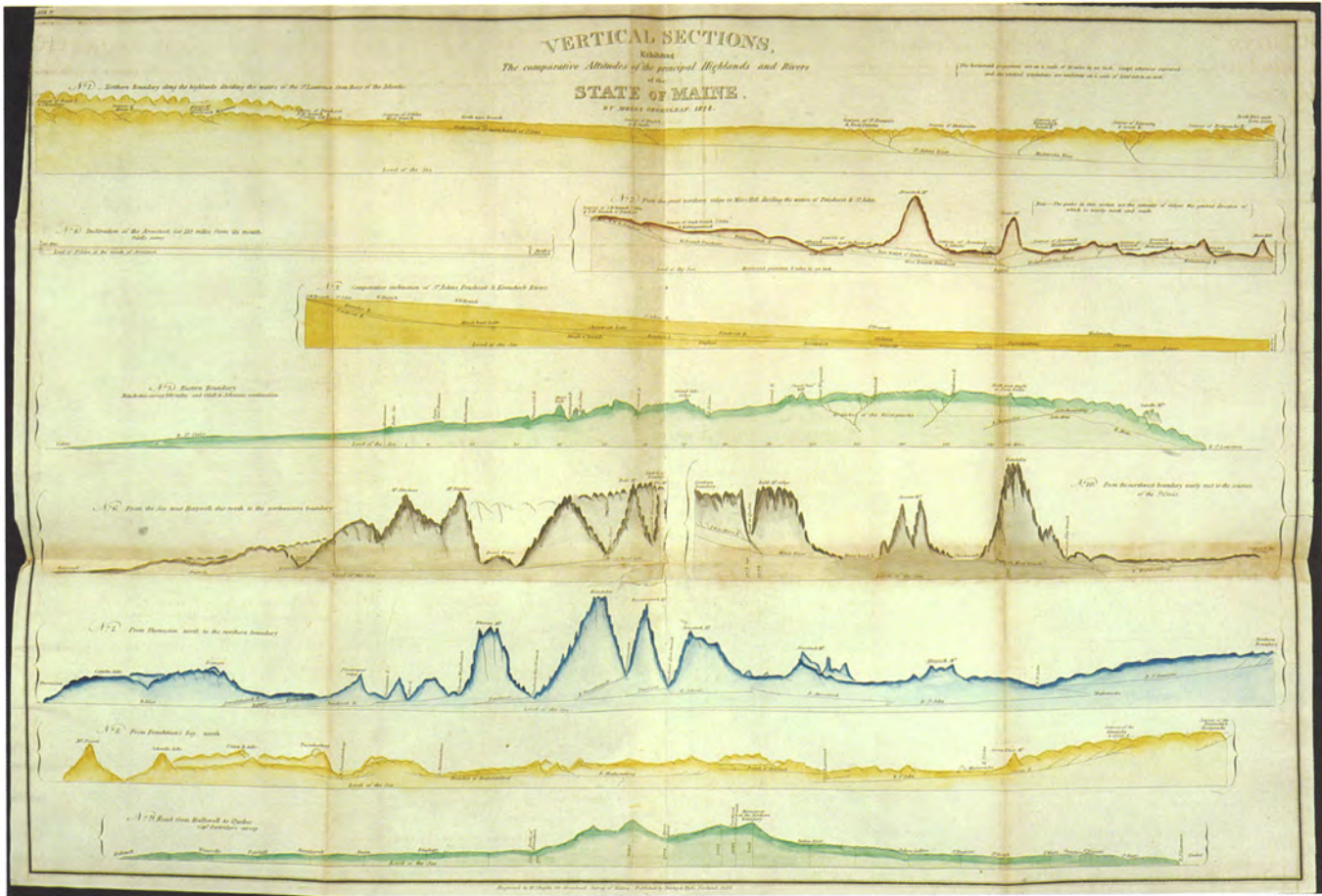


FIGURE 8: Moses Greenleaf, Vertical Sections, Exhibiting The comparative Altitudes of the principal Highlands and Rivers of the State of Maine, plate 4 of *Atlas Accompanying Greenleaf's Map and Statistical Survey of Maine* (Portland: Shirley & Hyde, 1829), reproduced from the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine.



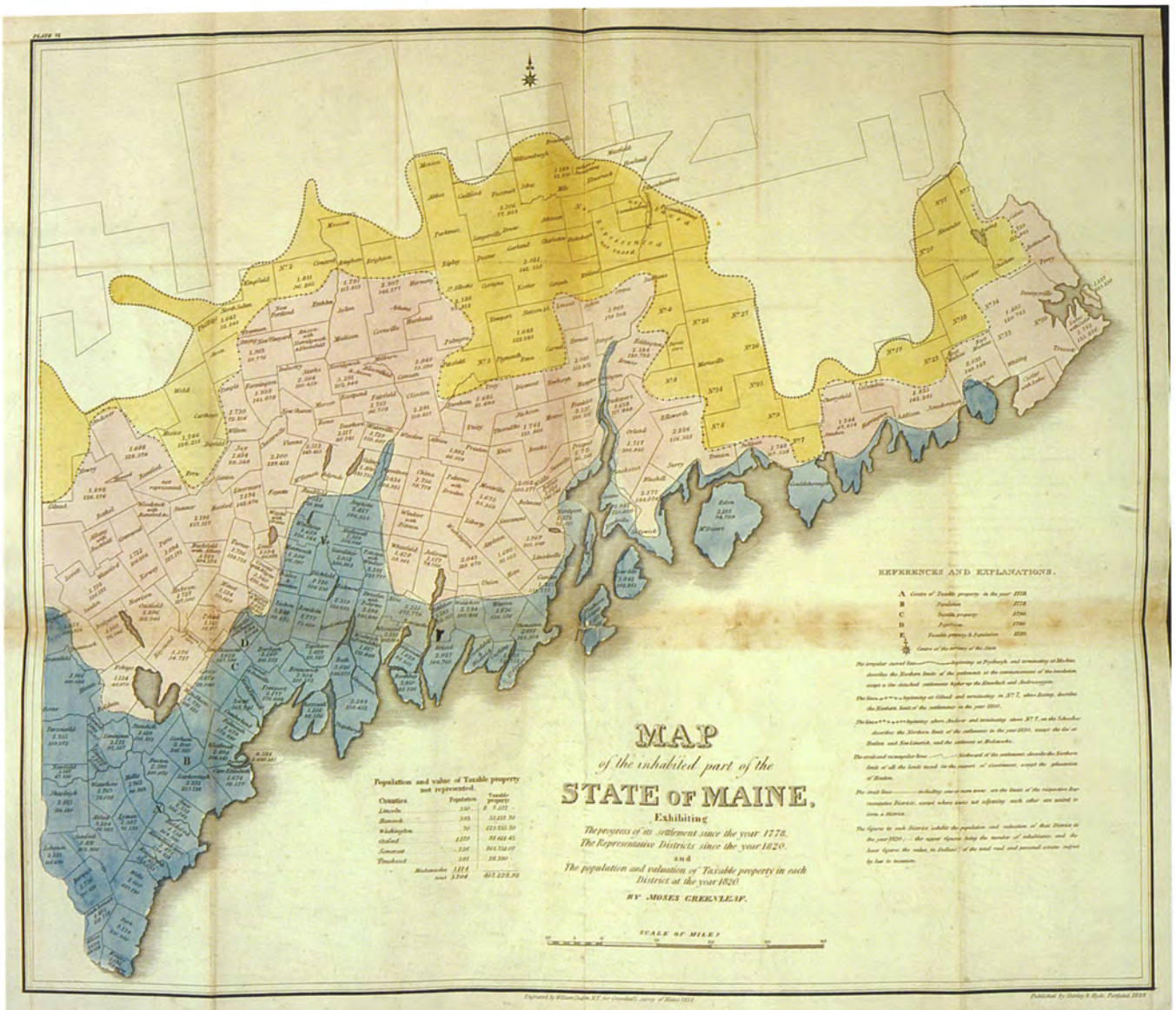


FIGURE 9: Moses Greenleaf, Map of the inhabited part of the State of Maine, plate 6 of *Atlas Accompanying Greenleaf's Map and Statistical Survey of Maine* (Portland: Shirley & Hyde, 1829), reproduced from the Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine.

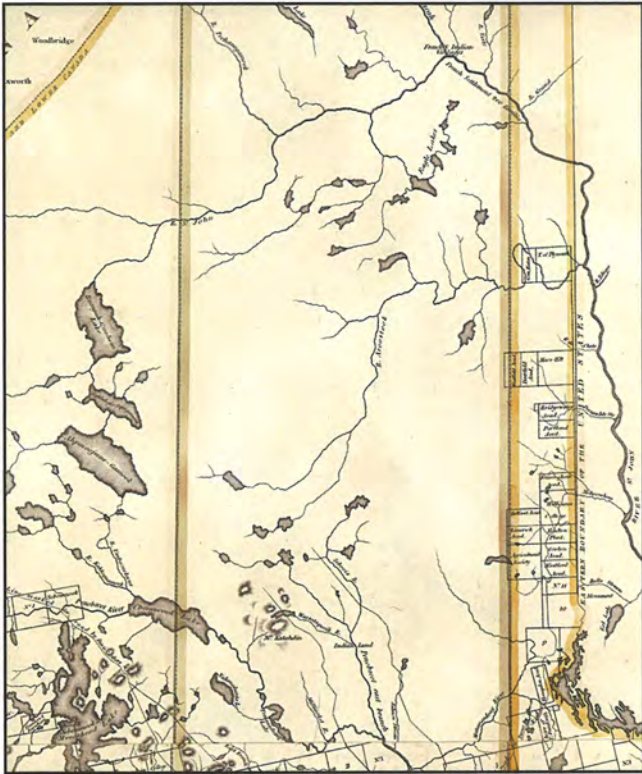


FIGURE 10: Details of the northeastern quadrants of (a) Moses Greenleaf's map of 1815 (see figures 3 and 4), (b) his map of 1829, (c) his map of 1844 (see figure 5), and (d) a modern map (GIS map was produced by Rosemary Mosher, Orbis L.L.C.).

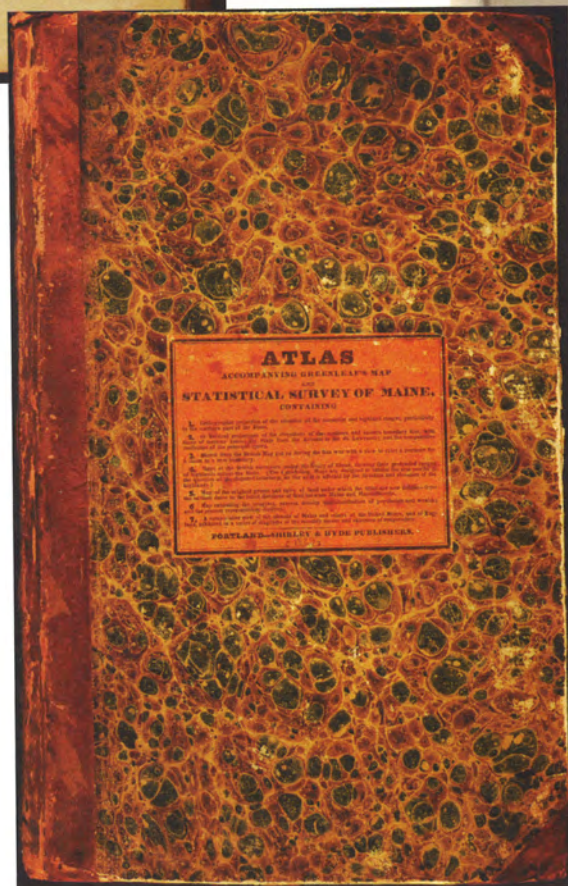
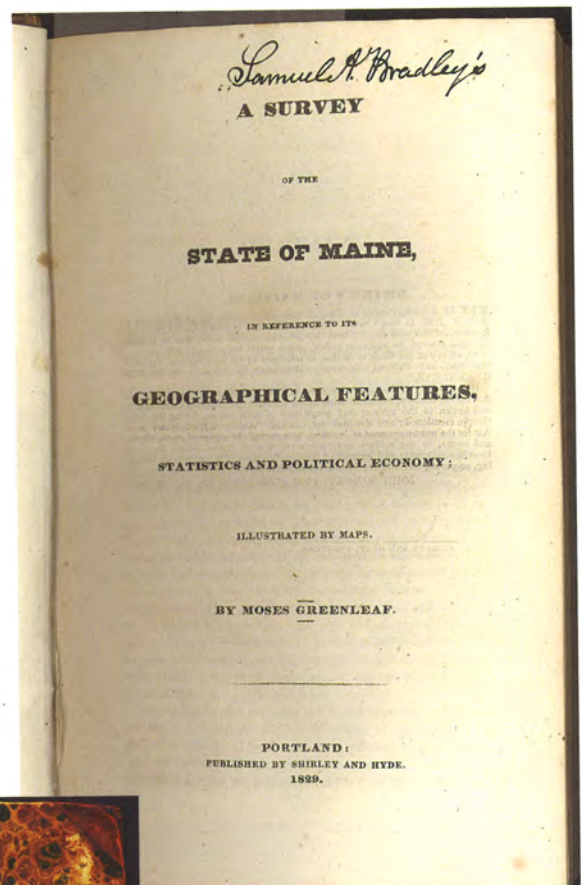
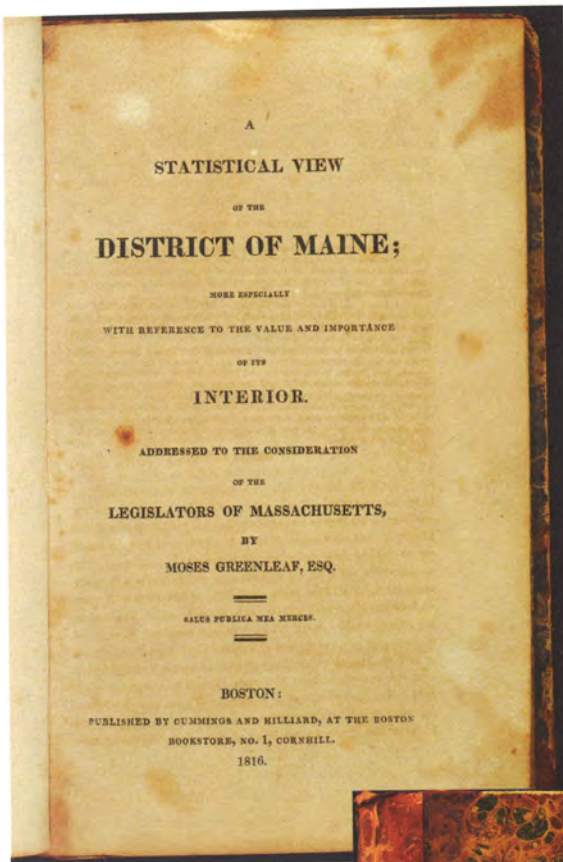


FIGURE 11: Title pages of Moses Greenleaf's books: (a) *Statistical View* (1816); (b) *Survey of Maine* (1829); (c) *Atlas Accompanying Greenleaf's Map and Statistical Survey of Maine* (1829).

**THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,**

*To all Persons to whom these Presents shall come ;*

GREETING :

**W**HEREAS, in and by a Law, passed on the twentieth day of February, 1819, entitled, "An Act to establish Courts of Sessions," it is enacted, that from and after the first day of June, A. D. 1819, the Court of Sessions, in the several Counties in this Commonwealth, shall be holden by one Chief Justice and two Associate Justices, or any two of them; to be appointed and commissioned by the Governor, with advice and consent of the Council, who shall have all the powers, rights and privileges, and be subject to all the duties, which, at the time of passing the act aforesaid, were vested in the Circuit Courts of Common Pleas, relative to the erection and repair of gaols, and other county buildings, the allowance and settlement of county accounts, the estimate, apportionment and issuing warrants for assessing county taxes, granting licenses, laying out, altering and discontinuing high ways, appointing committees, and ordering juries for that purpose :

*J. Brooks*

**Now therefore, Know Ye, That we have named, and do, by these Presents, with the advice and consent of the Council, appoint**

*Moses Greenleaf* of *Williamsburg* in the County of *Penobscot* Esquire, to be *an* Associate JUSTICE of our said Court of Sessions within and for the said County of *Penobscot* during his good behavior in said office ; and, with the other Justices appointed for holding said Court, or any one of them, in pursuance of the act aforesaid, to have and execute all the powers, and do and perform all the duties given and prescribed in the said act, according to the Constitution and Laws of this Commonwealth.

**WITNESS, His Excellency** *John Brooks* our Governor, and our Seal hereto affixed, at Boston, the *sixteenth* day of *June* A. D. 1819 ; and in the *forty third* year of the Independence of the United States of America.

By his Excellency the Governor, with the  
advice and consent of the Council.

*Alden Bradford*  
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

FIGURE 12: Certificate of appointment of Moses Greenleaf as an associate justice of the court of sessions, reproduced from Maine State Library, Moses Greenleaf Papers: 1919, 091Gb14, Folder J.

To His Excellency, the Governor, and the Honorable the Council of the State  
of Maine.

The undersigned respectfully represents that, by a resolve to encourage &  
aid the publication of a Statistical View & Map of the State, passed 12<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup>  
1828, he was made liable to refund to the State the sum of one thousand  
Dollars, granted by said resolve, in case he should unreasonably neglect or  
delay to complete said work according to the specification, filed with  
said resolve; of which the Governor & Council were constituted the judges;

that he has published the book which constitutes a part of the work  
aforesaid; - that he has caused plates to be engraved for the said Maps,  
& to be printed from them about six hundred copies of each; - that they are  
executed in Philadelphia, and a part of them were finished & shipped from  
that place more than ten days since, but owing to obstructions by the recent  
storms, & bad roads, they have not yet arrived; & he does not learn where they  
are; - that he has been detained at this place, at a great inconvenience  
& expense, more than four months to complete said work & expedite its  
publication; - that his presence here any longer will be of no service to  
hasten the delivery of the work, he having already done all in that respect  
in his power; & that it is important to him to be released & enabled to  
return to his family. He therefore prays that the Governor & Council  
will examine such evidence as he may be able to adduce concerning  
the premises, & if they shall ~~be~~ satisfied that the evidence is sufficient,  
then that will grant him the necessary certificate to exonerate him from  
the liability aforesaid. -

That he a resolve passed the present

FIGURE 13: Moses Greenleaf, Memorial to the Governor and Council, 1829, Box 27-3, Doc. #93, reproduced from the Maine State Archives.

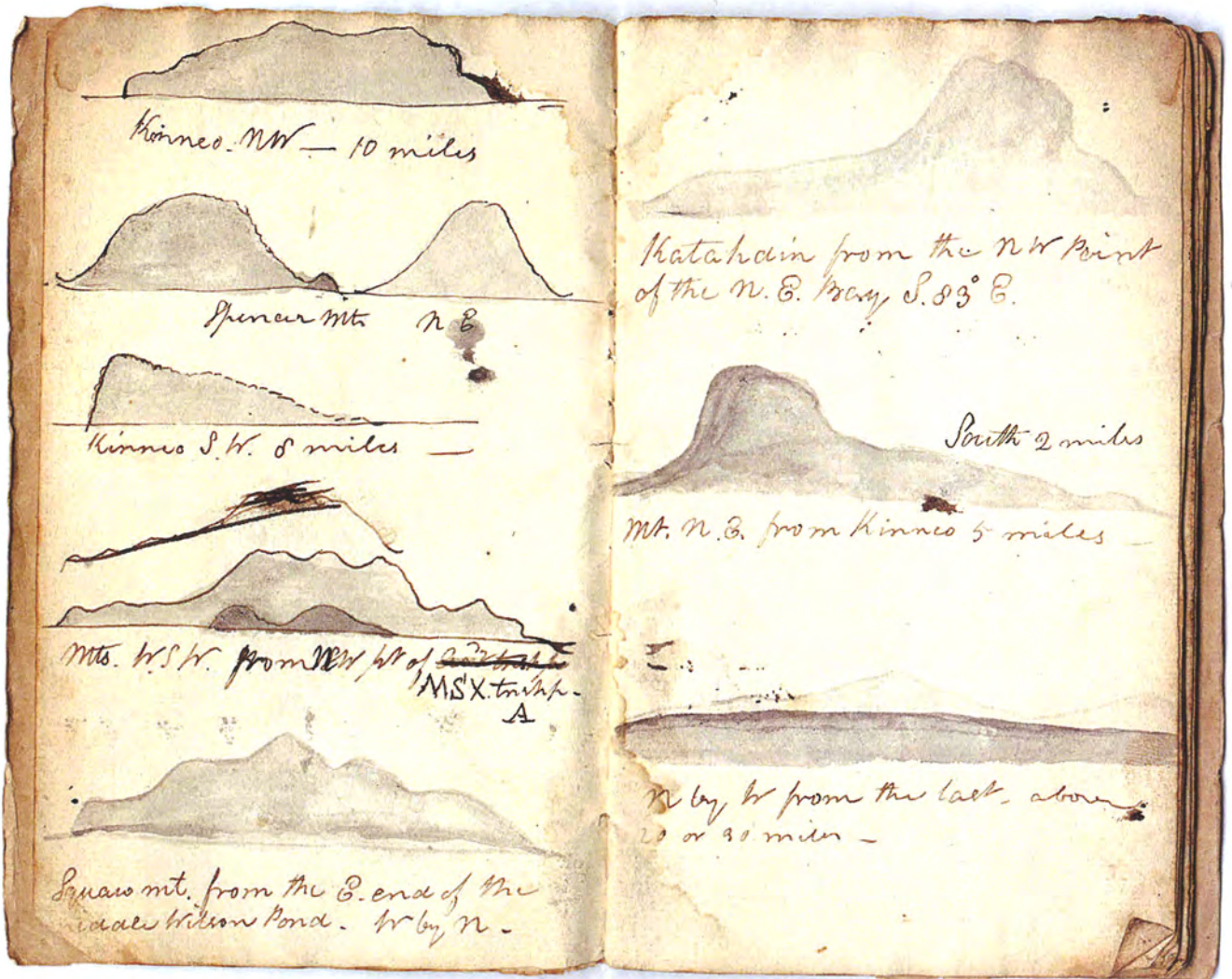


FIGURE 14: Ebenezer Greenleaf, Field Book, 1819, reproduced from the Maine State Library.

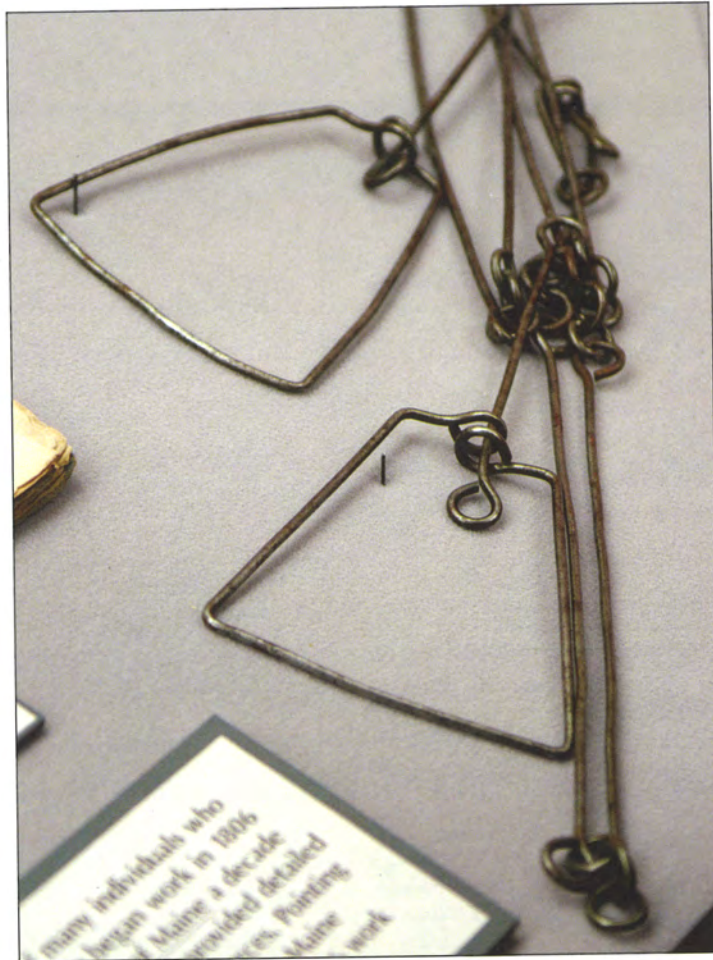
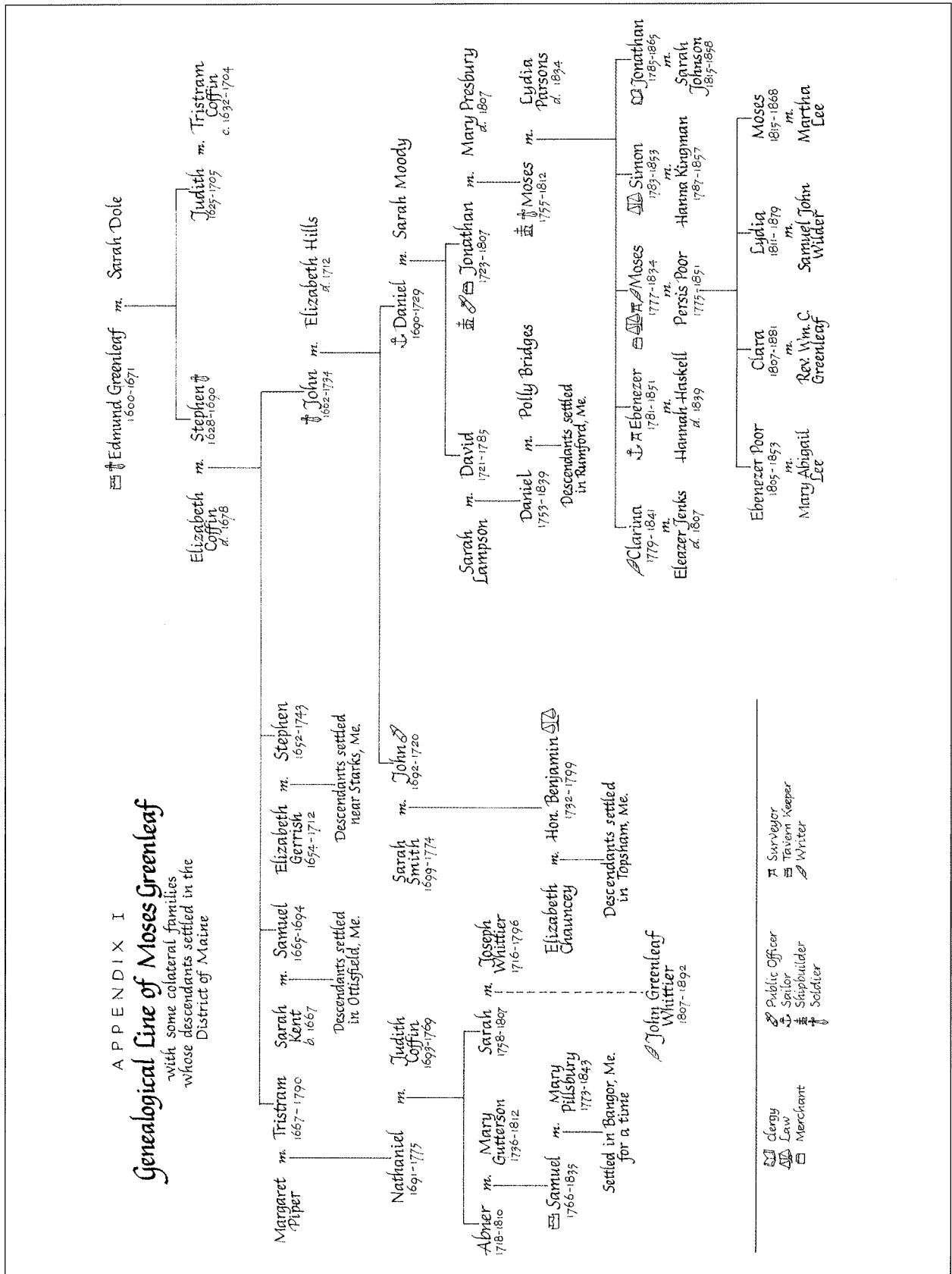


FIGURE 15: Surveyor's compass of the type used by Moses Greenleaf and surveyor's chain that belonged to Moses Greenleaf, reproduced from the Maine State Museum.

# APPENDICES



# APPENDIX I: GENEALOGICAL TABLE



## APPENDIX II: BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORKS OF MOSES GREENLEAF

compiled by Matthew H. Edney, Jack Lamb, and George S. Carhart

Note. Impressions of all of these works are available in the Osher Map Library, University of Southern Maine, as well as in other many other libraries in Maine.

### (A) *The Statistical View and Map of Maine*

#### 1. Greenleaf, *Statistical View* (1816)

A *Statistical View* of the District of Maine; More Especially with Reference to the Value and Importance of its Interior. Addressed to the Consideration of the Legislators of Massachusetts, by Moses Greenleaf, Esq. salus publica mea merces. Boston: Published by Cummings and Hilliard, at the Boston Bookstore, No.1, Cornhill. 1816. 21.0cm x 14.0cm. viii + 154 pp.

#### 2. Greenleaf, *Map of Maine*

##### State 1 (1815)

Map of the District of Maine from the Latest and Best Authorities. By Moses Greenleaf Esqr., 1815. Entered according to Act of Congress, the 30th Day of Octr. 1815. by Moses Greenleaf of the State of Massachusetts. To the Honorable The Legislature of The State of Massachusetts, this Map is Respectfully Inscribed by the Author. Engraved by W. B. Annin Boston. Published by Cummings & Hilliard No. 1. Cornhill Boston.

Copper engraving in four sheets. 102.5cm x 74.5cm. 1: ca. 545,000 (from scale bar)

##### State 2 (1820), title, dedication, and imprint altered:

Map of the State of Maine from the Latest and Best Authorities. By Moses Greenleaf Esqr., 1820. Engraved by W. B. Annin Boston. Published according to Act of Congress

Note. The line delineating the northeastern border of the state has been removed; the land designated as "Indian land" in Penobscot County has been removed, and two other areas in the county have been designated as "Reserved for Indians"; T2 R6 NWP is now labeled as Atkinson.

##### State 3 (1822), changes in title:

Map of the State of Maine from the Latest and Best Authorities. By Moses Greenleaf Esqr., 1822. Engraved by W. B. Annin Boston. Published according to Act of Congress

Note. T3 R6 NWP is now labeled as Dover.

### (B) *The Survey of Maine, the Atlas, and the Map of Maine and New Brunswick*

#### 3. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*

A Survey of the State of Maine in Reference to its Geographical Features, Statistical and Political Economy; Illustrated by Maps. By Moses Greenleaf. Portland: Published by Shirley and Hyde. 1829.

22.0cm x 13.5cm. viii + [9]-468 + [ii] pp.

#### 4. Greenleaf, *Atlas*

Atlas Accompanying Greenleaf's Map and Statistical *Survey of Maine*, Containing 1. Orthographic projection of the situation of the mountain and highland ranges, particularly in the northern part of the State. 2. 10 Vertical projections of the elevations of the northern and eastern boundary line, with those sections across the State from the Atlantic to the St. Lawrence; and the comparative declivities of the principle rivers. 3. Sketch from the British Map got up during the late war with a view to raise a pretence for a claim to a new boundary. 4. Maps of the British surveyors under the treaty of Ghent, shewing their pretended ranges of highlands across the State.

(The 4 preceding Maps are designed to exhibit the true merits of the question of the disputed boundary, as far as it is affected by the direction and elevation of the highlands.) 5. Map of the original grants and sales of land under which the titles are now holden—from the earliest dates to the latest divisions of land between Maine and

Massachusetts. 6. Map exhibiting the progress, present density and distribution of population and wealth; and the present representative districts. 7. A comparative view of the climate of Maine and others of the United States, and of England, exhibited in a series of diagrams of the monthly means and extremes of temperatures. Portland-Shirley & Hyde Publishers.

[There is no title page, but instead a pre-printed letterpress slip pasted onto the front cover]

33.0cm x 21.0cm.

**Plate 1**

Plate I. Map of the principal Rivers, Mountains and Highland Ranges of the State of Maine. By Moses Greenleaf. 1828. Engraved by Wm. Chapin, N. York, for Greenleaf's *Survey of Maine*. Published by Shirley & Hyde, Portland, 1829

Copper engraving. 53.5cm x 32.5cm. 1: ca. 1,100,000 (from scale bar)

**Plate 2**

Plate II. Sketch from Bouchette's Maps of Upper & Lower Canada and the District of Gaspé Exhibiting the true range of Highlands dividing the waters of the St. Lawrence & the Atlantic, and the Imaginary Ranges claimed by the British for the boundary of the State of Maine W. Chapin Sc. N. York. Portland, Published by Shirley & Hyde. 1829.

Copper engraving. 40.0cm x 41.0cm. 1: ca. 1,100,000 (from scale bar)

**Plate 3**

Plate III. Sketch of the Imaginary Ranges of Highlands Reported by the British Surveyors under the Treaty of Ghent, as extending across the State of Maine. W. Chapin Sculpt. N. York.

Copper engraving. 29.0cm x 27.5cm. 1: ca. 1,110,000 (from scale bar)

**Plate 4**

Plate IV. Vertical Sections, Exhibiting The comparative Altitudes of the principal Highlands and Rivers of the State of Maine. By Moses Greenleaf. 1828. No. 1. Northern Boundary along the highlands dividing the waters of the St. Lawrence from those of the Atlantic. No. 2. From the great northern ridge to Mars Hill dividing the waters of Penobscot & St. John. No. 3. Comparative inclination of St. Johns, Penobscot & Kennebec Rivers. No. 4. Inclination of the Aroostook for 110 miles from its mouth. Odells survey. No. 5. Eastern Boundary. Bouchette's survey 100 miles and Odell & Johnsons continuation. No. 6. From the Sea near Harpwell, due north to the northwestern boundary No. 7. From Thomaston north to the northern boundary No. 8. From Frenchman's Bay, north No. 9. Road from Hallowell to Quebec Capt. Partridge's survey No. 10. From the northwest boundary nearly east to the sources of the St. Croix. Engraved by W. Chapin for Greenleaf's *Survey of Maine*. Published by Shirley & Hyde, Portland, 1829.

Copper engraving. 50.0cm x 72.0cm.

**Plate 5**

Plate V. Map Exhibiting the Principal Original Grants & Sales of Lands in the State of Maine. By Moses Greenleaf. Engraved by W. Chapin N.Y. for Greenleaf's *Survey of Maine* Published by Shirley & Hyde, Portland, 1829.

Copper engraving. 88.5cm x 69.0cm. 1: ca. 560,000 (from scale bar)

**Plate 6**

Plate VI. Map of the inhabited part of the State of Maine, Exhibiting The progress of its settlement since the year 1778, The Representative Districts since the year 1820, And The population and valuation of Taxable property in each District at the year 1820. By Moses Greenleaf. Engraved by William Chapin, N.Y. for Greenleaf's *Survey of Maine* 1828. Published by Shirley & Hyde, Portland, 1829.

Copper engraving. 49.5cm x 58.0cm. 1: ca. 565,000 (from scale bar)

**Plate 7**

Plate VII. Meteorological Diagrams. Monthly means & extremes of temperature at Brunswick & Williamsburgh in the State of Maine. No.1 From April, 1820 to March, 1821 No.2. Year 1826 No.3 Year 1827 Monthly means & extremes of temperature observed at Bowdoin College Brunswick Maine & Yale College New Haven Connecticut. No.4 Year 1827 Williams College Williamstown Massachusetts and Williamsburgh Maine. No.5 Year 1827 Bowdoin College Brunswick Maine and the Royal Observatory Gosport England. No. 6 Year 1827 Portland, Published by Shirley & Hyde 1829  
Copper engraving. 38.0cm x 28.5cm.

5. Greenleaf, *Map of Maine and New Brunswick*

**State 1 (1829)**

Map of the State of Maine with the Province of New Brunswick by Moses Greenleaf. Engraved by J. H. Young & F. Dankforth, Philadelphia. Published by Shirley & Hyde Portland 1829 Entered according to Act of Congress, 29th. day of February 1828 by Moses Greenleaf, of the State of Maine.

Copper engraving in four sheets, 128.0cm x 103.5cm. 1: ca. 580,000 (from scale bar)

Note. Ten counties are shown: York, Cumberland, Lincoln, Kennebeck, Waldo, Hancock, Washington, Oxford, Somerset, Penobscot.

**State 2 (1832)**, title altered:

Map of the State of Maine with the Province of New Brunswick by Moses Greenleaf. Engraved by J. H. Young & F. Dankforth, Philadelphia. Published by Shirley & Hyde Portland 1832 Entered according to Act of Congress, 29th. day of February 1828 by Moses Greenleaf, of the State of Maine.

**State 3 (1843)**, the so-called Second Edition. Title, imprint, and content altered:

Map of the State of Maine with the Province of New Brunswick by Moses Greenleaf. Engraved by J. H. Young & F. Dankforth, Philadelphia. Second Edition Corrected from the best authorities and Published by Moses Greenleaf—Williamsburg Me. 1843. Entered according to Act of Congress, 29th. day of February 1828 by Moses Greenleaf, of the State of Maine.

Note. Twelve counties are shown: York, Cumberland, Lincoln, Kennebeck, Waldo, Hancock, Washington, Oxford, Franklin, Somerset, Piscataquis, Penobscot, Aroostook. The northern boundary of the state is now set, although the northwest boundary of the state bears the incorrect label, "Boundary as fixed by the Treaty of 1843." Extensive additions and corrections have been made, especially to the top-left sheet. Notably, "Mt. Ktaadn" has been redrawn and renamed "Mt. Katadin."

**State 4 (1844)**, the so-called Third Edition. Imprint and content altered:

Map of the State of Maine with the Province of New Brunswick by Moses Greenleaf. Engraved by J. H. Young & F. Dankforth, Philadelphia. Third Edition Carefully revised and corrected from the latest official authorities. Jany. 1844. Entered according to Act of Congress, 29th. day of February 1828 by Moses Greenleaf, of the State of Maine.

Note. Some small changes have been made in the northern townships of the NBKP series, particularly to the lakes in T4R5 NBKP. Only one road is shown passing from the valley of "R. du Loup" in Quebec across to the valley of the Kennebec River. Also, Mt. Katadin has been further enlarged.

Note. The one impression of this state examined is in the Osher Map Library, University of Southern Maine, Portland, Maine (OS-1844-12). This copy also bears extensive manuscript annotations.

**State 5 (1844)**, no change to title or imprint, but content altered:

Map of the State of Maine with the Province of New Brunswick by Moses Greenleaf. Engraved by J. H. Young & F. Dankforth, Philadelphia. Third Edition Carefully revised and corrected from the latest official authorities. Jany. 1844. Entered according to Act of Congress, 29th. day of February 1828 by Moses Greenleaf, of the State of Maine.

Note. Some small changes have been made in the northern townships of the NBKP series: The lakes in T4R5 NBKP have again been modified; a second road is shown, running from the valley of "R. du Loup" in Quebec across the Fourth Range of NBKP to the Northwest Cove of Moosehead Lake. Also, two streams have been added around the B of New Brunswick.

## APPENDIX III: OUTLINE OF MOSES GREENLEAF'S ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIVE VALUE OF MAINE LANDS AS AN INVESTMENT, FROM HIS STATISTICAL VIEW

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Assumptions Made by Greenleaf

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

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

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

## APPENDIX IV: THE CLOSING PARAGRAPHS OF GREENLEAF, STATISTICAL VIEW, 149-152

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

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

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

Without a considerable change in the circumstances which have heretofore existed, and more especially which now discourages farther

adventures into new places, the settlement of the interior must hereafter be expected to proceed very slowly, and principally with persons of the latter description. The inhabitants, for a long time, will of course be scattered; too few and poor to provide for the instruction of their children; and unable, careless, or indifferent in instructing them themselves. The first generation at least must grow up in ignorance, habituated to disorder, and unaccustomed to restraints, or the influence and advantages of a well regulated society. What must be the character of the future population springing from such a source; and what its effect on the general good of the community at large, when its numbers shall have become sufficient to make its influence felt, cannot be difficult to conceive. With a reverse of circumstances, effects, different almost to an extreme, may be reasonably expected.

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

APPENDIX V: MEMORIAL OF MOSES GREENLEAF TO THE  
LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF MAINE, JANUARY 1830  
(MAINE LEGISLATIVE RECORDS: RESOLVES 1830, BOX 38,  
FOLDER 20, MSA)

To the Honorable, the Senate and House of  
Representatives in the Legislature assembled—

The memorial of Moses Greenleaf respectfully shows: That since the publication of his *Map and Statistical View* of the District of Maine, in 1816, and prior to the year 1827, your memorialist had been, a large portion of the time, engaged in collecting and preparing material for a more perfect work of the same kind with the view of completing and publishing it when there should be reasonable ground to believe that its sales would indemnify him for the expense, and, that this might more certainly be the case, he intended so to limit the extent of the work, that it might be afforded at a moderate price, which should place it within the reach of all classes of citizens of this state.

As, however, the exterior limits of the State were yet unsettled, and as his means would not allow him to devote his whole time to the undertaking, and as he had not the remotest idea of casting himself upon the Legislature for its aid, he did not intend or expect to complete his work for some years to come. But, totally unexpected and unlooked for by your memorialist, the Legislature, by report of its Committee accepted February 2, 1827, expressed indirectly to your memorialist its favorable estimation of his former labors, and gave him the strongest encouragement which honorable man could be desired to give, that such a work as that [in] which he was engaged, should on [its] publication, receive a liberal patronage; and with this encouragement it intimated the importance of its early completion, and suggested some of the principle subjects which it was desirable it should contain.

Nearly simultaneously with this intelligence your memorialist also received [information from] other persons of high standing and character in the legislature and among the people at large, that the increasing interest growing out of the dispute respecting the northeastern boundary; and also the increasing necessity for a more extended knowledge of the political and physical geography and of the statistics of the State, demand that whatever information he might be able to communicate to the public on these subjects, it should be done as early as possible; and he was strongly urged that it was

expected of him to suffer no considerations of a private nature to interfere with the immediate completion and publication of his intended work but to hasten it without delay, and trust to the honor and liberality of the State for his indemnity.

Such an intention from the legislature itself, and considerations of this nature in relation to the public interest and feeling could not be disregarded without manifest and gross disrespect to the constituted authorities of the State and an indecent indifference to public sentiment,. Your memorialist therefore in obedience to those motives, immediately laid aside all other business and devoted himself assiduously to the completion of his work, extending his original design so as to include, so far as he was able, all the subjects suggested by the Legislature.

At the beginning of the session of the legislature in 1828, your memorialist had nearly completed a *Map of the State and adjoining territories*; with sketches and specimens of lesser maps, illustrating as far [as] the nature and circumstances of the case would admit, its physical and political geography, the original grants, sales and division of the lands, all of the most important facts which could be ascertained in relation to its disputed boundary, and specimens [of] statistical accounts of the State—all of which he submitted to the inspection of the Legislature.

After the most deliberate examination, the Legislature, as appears by the report of its committee, accepted January 15, 1828, expressed its entire satisfaction with the work thus far; and subsequently by resolve passed February 12 of the same year, expressed still more substantially and unequivocally, its intention honorably to fulfill the expectation it had raised; and accordingly it made a grant of \$1,000 to aid the undertaking in its Commencement; and a subscription for forty copies of the work when it should be published; at the same time leaving it to be understood that this was no more than a deserved consideration for his past labors, even if he should be prevented from prosecuting the work farther; and that should he succeed in his final completion and publication of his work, according to his intentions, he would the receive such farther patronage as, in the event, the nature of the case should appear to require for his indemnity. And it was stated, and strongly urged upon him that the work should be completed

as early, and made as extensive and comp [comprehensive] as his uttermost means and ability could admit.

Your memorialist was thus placed in a situation in which no honorable mind could hesitate to devote every moment of time, exert every talent, and hazard every expense, necessary to render the work as extensive and perfect, in its design and execution, as could be attained with in the time when it was expected and desired that it should be completed. And he did not hesitate to do so.

The work was substantially completed, and detached specimens of all its parts were exhibited to the legislature at its last session, and was admitted to realize its anticipations, as far as could be judged; but from unavoidable causes, the whole work, in its finished state, was not received until a few days after the session. The legislature could not judge with perfect certainty of its final execution. Your memorialist also, at that time, was unable to estimate the expense he had incurred in its prosecution. It, therefore, could not be certainly known what further patronage from the legislature would be necessary to indemnify him for his labor, expense and hazard of the undertaking.

But your memorialist is now able to state that, upon the most accurate estimate which the existing circumstances of the case will admit, the time during which he has been exclusively engaged in procuring and preparing the materials, and producing the work to its final completion, has amounted, in aggregate, to more than six years; that the actual expenses which has necessarily and unavoidably incurred in the time and for this object, is now more than Seventeen hundred dollars, besides much of which no estimate can now be made and also without taking into account a single cent for all or any part of his time and labor; that the money already actually advanced by the publishers, for engravings, printing, paper, etc. is \$6,976.69 besides a sum, still unpaid, for agencies, commission[s], etc. amounting, as near as he can now ascertain to \$1,375.12—making the actual cash expense of the work more than Ten thousand dollars, exclusive of any consideration for any part of the time and labor of your memorialist employed in its preparation and execution.

This expense, apportioned upon the several copies

of the work, makes the actual cash cost of each single copy not less than nineteen dollars and sixteen cents. Yet it is offered for sale at Sixteen dollars; and even at this diminished price places it beyond the convenient reach of so large proportion of the citizens of the sate that its sales have been extremely limited and slow, and now appear wholly to have ceased—having produced in the whole but the sum of twelve hundred and thirty-two dollars—which leaves your memorialist and his publishers to suffer a loss of more than eight thousand dollars, except to so far as it has been, in a small degree prevented by the former grant of one thousand dollars; and, though some proportion of this may, and probably will fall on the publishers, yet that part which must accrue to your memorialist alone, is much greater than his ability to sustain; And such was the unavoidable circumstances of the case, that by this loss he must be forever precluded from availing himself of any future proceeds of the work; and must sustain the additional loss of the whole of this time, employed in severe labor, anxiety, and hazard for more than six years.

This extraordinary expense and hazard was incurred solely in consequence of the encouragement of the Legislature—and from an intense effort to meet and fulfill its ex [expectations], and to render the work, as extensively as in his power, useful and creditable to the State. And from this severe and to him ruinous loss, your memorialist knows no way of escape, but by an appeal to the just and honorable feelings of the representatives of that people in whose service it has been incurred.

To these he does appeal—he trusts not in vain. And he respectfully solicits your honorable body to extend to him that relief which the necessity of his situation demands; and in that manner which in your wisdom shall appear best to comport with the honor and dignity of the State.

*January, 1830 Moses Greenleaf*



## APPENDIX VI: A POLITICAL ARTICLE BY MOSES GREENLEAF, 1831 (FOLDER D1, MOSES GREENLEAF PAPERS, MSL)

*[Manuscript written to be printed in the Somerset Journal. The manuscript, in Moses Greenleaf's handwriting, is filled with annotations and with sections crossed out.]*

Mr. Printer—

I am a plain farmer, and do not understand much about Law and Constitutions, but I suppose I have as much interest in these things as my neighbors and being a voter should know all about them. I hear a great deal about the appointment of representative districts, and some say one thing and some another. Some say the constitution allows every plantation to be classed and vote for reps. whether they pay taxes or are duly organized or not, and every township or wildland also whether it has any inhabitant in it or not. Others say that the constitution allows no such thing, but only allows towns and plantations which at the time of appointment are "duly organized" to be classed and vote for reps. and that the plantations not duly organized, and townships with no inhabitants are what in the old Countries they call Rotten boroughs and classing them is like what they call Borough-mongering, Gerrymandering, and I do not know what other hard names. . . . Now will you be so kind as to inform me and others of my neighbors who read your paper, how it is and all about it?

If unorganized plantations have the right to be classed, what is the reason Keen's Pl. and Boia's Pl. were not admitted with the other "rotten boroughs" into the district with Kingfield? If town ships without any inhabitants have a right, what is the reason we of this county were denied the privilege of having the whole north part of the county classed, as they were in Penobscot and Hancock and Washington? If plantations not duly organized have not a right to be classed, what is the reason that so many were classed? Was it to bear down and "nullify" the legal votes in those to which they were annexed? Or was it some other reason? If the townships without any inhabitants have not the right to be classed, what is the reason that they have been classed in Penobscot and not classed in this county? And if they have the right to make out and correct their list of voters? . . .

Another thing—how are the inhabitants of these unorganized plantations to vote? Are they to go to the nearest town, or any town in the district? And how are the votes of the townships without any

inhabitants to be returned? I should like to know this for particular reasons. They say that there is over in Penobscot, a queer kind of "rotten Borough" called Passadumkeag, but nobody can tell where it is, or where it is not; and when it came to election time, everybody that did not live any where used to go to Howland and give in their votes for representative, calling themselves inhabitants of Passadumkeag. And when some of the proprietors of some of the townships without inhabitants had a mind to it, they say they would have whole lots of men, lumbering on their townships just before election and then when the day came, they would all clear out of the woods and go to Howland to vote for the representative. And this is not all, but they say too, that the representative and some of the proprietors and some of the voters had a good understanding together and know how to play into one another's hands in leasing land and timber in the State. . . . Now Mr. Printer, if all this is law and constitution, I will just let you know some of the reasons why I want to know it.

In the first place, you see, I am a farmer, and get my living by the sweat of my brow, but I have a right, as well as my neighbors, to make an honest penny by a little speculation. . . . Well, I now and then buy a lot of timber standing in a nearby township and hire the men and oxen to cut and haul it, and as I pay and treat my men well, they are . . . willing to do me a good turn. Now one of my sons is settled in one of the unorganized plantations, and we carry on a logging business together and employ a large number of hands hired from New Hampshire and some Irishmen from the British Provinces. If the law allows us to manage a township as they say it does in Penobscot, why then my son will have all his hired men ready to go in to the nearest town next September and vote for a man that I know of (and he knows me too) for representative—and then I know how to get a chance to buy a good lot of timber in the State. Besides this, a particular friend of mine, is a large timber trader and supplies a great many logging teams and simple working gangs, and as they owe him and he is very clever to them while they are doing well for him, they will all turn out too and get into the nearest town and vote just as he recommends, for they know he will not recommend anybody but such as will treat him well—and though a good many of these men come from new Hampshire and from the British Provinces, yet that

will make no difference, for the selectmen of the town where they go to vote will not know and as they will at the time be actually living in the district, that will be enough, and no questions asked—or if they do ask, the men will answer as they see fit and the selectmen cannot help themselves.

Do not forget, Sir, to answer all my inquires and as many more as you can think of, for if it is as some folks say—why then there are some of us that know a thing or two and will see if we cannot make the best of it yet, and work as many Passadumkeag districts here in Somerset<sup>1</sup> as they have in Penobscot . . . and get ourselves elected too as representatives and

senators and councilors and so work our way . . . into some good fat office, and fill our pockets too . . . with some good timber purchases—no matter if it be burnt a little—and get some good agencies too for making roads and other fine things.

By the way—I have a brother who would like to be appointed Collector of the Port of Kineo on Moosehead Lake—a fine place to catch smugglers and pick up a few rotten borough votes.

Yours,  
Nathan Screwauger  
July 23, 1831

## APPENDIX VII: A PARTIAL LIST OF THE EFFECTS OF MOSES GREENLEAF

<b>Tools:</b>		shaving equipment	1.00
1 adz	\$1.75	1 barometer	5.00
1 wood saw	.35	1 set of leveling inst.	60.00
5 old axes	1.50	1 microscope	
4 scythes	2.50	1 set mathematical inst.	8.00
7 hoes		1 watch	5.00
2 shovels, 1 spade	14.14	1 sextent	3.00
2 pitch forks		1 quadrant	1.50
25 lbs. nails	1.50	1 spy glass	5.00
64 lbs. ox chain	6.40		
1 vise (broken)	2.00	<b>Household Goods:</b>	
2 grind stones	.50	18 glass lamps	\$16.00
<b>Farm equipment:</b>		3 brass bowls	.72
4 plows	16.00	17 candle sticks	1.75
1 harrows	3.75	2 wash bowls	.50
1 horse wagon	15.00	1 wine flask	6.00
1 set of wagon wheels	20.00	7 bed steads	7.75
1 set of cart wheels	5.00	7 feather beds	44.00
1 broken sled	.50	1 straw bed	34.00
1 wagon top	.50	1 easy chair	2.00
2 staves	6.50	6 fancy chairs	5.00
4 yokes	6.75	7 looking glasses	6.42
1 harness	30.00	2 carpets	10.00
		30 cotton sheets	11.15
<b>Stock:</b>		1 counterpane	.93
1 mare (11 years)	50.00	3 brass kettles	2.00
1 mare (nine years)	60.00	2 tubs	.34
1 colt (4 years)	45.00	3 iron pans	1.00
1 yoke of oxen (9 years)	55.00	2 iron kettles	1.50
4 yearlings	14.00	1 iron boiler	.75
1 bull	16.00	2 gridirons	.50
6 cows @ 15.00	90.00	1 frying pan	.35
2 pigs	6.00	12 dishes	.50
59 sheep	118.00	1 churn	6.00
		2 sieves	.25
<b>Transportation:</b>		1 skimmer	.08
3 sleighs	24.00	2 jugs	.40
1 saddle and bridle	4.50	1 set of glass	1.00
1 side saddle	1.00	3 spinning wheels	
1 chase & harness	25.00	1 spindle	.33
2 buffalo robes	6.00	1 steelyard	2.00
2 horse blankets	1.00	1 set of weights	1.00
		123 pint jars	23.00
<b>Moses' Personal Items:</b>		1 bureau	2.00
1 map of U.S. (old)	.20	2 stands	1.00
2 maps of U.S. & Me.	4.00	Patent Right for a Spinning	
3 book cases	7.00	Jenny for County of Penobscot	.75
3 small levels			
3 surveying compasses	15.00		
2 surveying chains	2.25		

## APPENDIX VIII: JOSEPH WHIPPLE, WRITER ON MAINE

Joseph Whipple appears in Bangor, Maine, takes part in community life, writes an informative book on Maine, and then slips into historical oblivion. From where Joseph came is as much a mystery as his lineage. Whatever his background, he was a man of obvious talents. He deserves a better fate.<sup>1</sup>

Whipple arrived in Bangor the year Greenleaf opened his store beside the Kenduskeag River. Neither man mentioned the other in his writings, but they could not have escaped knowing each other, considering their shared interests within a closely knit community. In March 1816 Whipple's series titled "History of Penobscot Bay and River" began in the Bangor Register. It was well received and expanded into a book later that year. Reception was good, with subscriptions for three hundred copies being received before the book came off the press in the fall of 1816.<sup>2</sup>

The book began with a brief history of Maine and then went on to discuss the geography of the district with equal brevity. Probably drawing from Jedidiah Morse, Whipple gave the total area of Maine as 29,080 square miles, a figure considerably smaller than Greenleaf's. Whipple gave more attention to weather than Greenleaf did in his first book and held to the optimistic view that clearing the land would moderate the climate. More interestingly, in describing the "face of the country," he made use of a journal kept by a party that had climbed Katahdin.<sup>3</sup> His opinion on Maine soils was guarded. He thought the land generally inferior to that of Kentucky and Ohio. More discouragingly, he told the reader that the best soil was already cornered by private proprietors and being sold for "exorbitant prices." Despite his lack of Greenleaf's optimism on the potential of the district's agriculture, Whipple reported that during the winter of 1813-1814, fifteen thousand bushels of wheat, corn, and rye were

marketed in Bangor while the crops of English hay were unequaled by any other location on earth.

His observations on Maine fauna make interesting reading. Caribou and the wolf were fast disappearing, while only here and there was to be found the "ferocious" catamount. He mentioned the wolverine and the lucerverve—animals not now associated with the Maine woods. Wild pigeons were abundant, as was the eagle. The "red deer" he listed as numerous. Sturgeon weighing up to two hundred pounds were netted in the rivers, while in the lakes of the interior "a large species of trout," weighing from twenty to thirty pounds, could be caught. As for insects, the blackflies were "exceedingly troublesome."

Though more a narrative description, Whipple's book is a fascinating companion to Greenleaf's *Statistical View*. There was a brief section on minerals, manufactures, exports, and imports, on the tonnage of ships, and a description of rivers, harbors, and lakes. He was interested in settlement as well, and made notice of a "shameful neglect" on the part of certain proprietors that had led to the abandonment of settlement. His reports have an unmistakable honesty about them. In contrast with the settlers who were "industrious and enterprising farmers," there were many who eked out an existence by part-time logging, shingle splitting, and fishing. These latter men Whipple described as "miserable and wretched [in] appearance." It bothered him, as it did Greenleaf, that many who came to the district of Maine did so driven by "misfortune, misconduct, or idleness." But Whipple's chief worry was the exodus from Maine by those whom he labeled "the birds of passage—birds who have often expended all their worldly goods in their migration."<sup>4</sup> Joseph Whipple ended his small book with an account of the British occupation of Bangor during the second war with Britain.

## Appendix IX: THE OSGOOD CARLETON MAP

The first features that command one's attention as one looks at this map are the blocks of townships laid out between the coastline and the upper half of the district of Maine. These include the block in the southeastern corner of the district, which contains those townships Massachusetts first hoped to sell by public lottery and subsequently sold to William Bingham in one giant block. Both sides of the Piscataquis River had been set off in tracts and ranges, with the three ranges to the north of this river shown according to the survey of Samuel Weston.<sup>1</sup> A huge square of undivided land lying east and west of the Kennebec represents quite accurately William Bingham's "million acre purchase." The second notable feature is a bold range of mountains, running true north by some seventeen degrees east in a straight line from a point approximately five miles east of Megantic Lake<sup>2</sup> to within about thirteen miles east of the St. Lawrence River before turning more easterly. This range separates the headwaters of the St. John River from the St. Lawrence and is labeled "Boundary Line between United States and the British Province of Quebec." Carleton's mountain range crowds the St. Lawrence and restricts the Chaudiere River, leaving no room for its headwaters to rise in their actual relationship to the head of the West Branch of the Kennebec River. The reason for this crowding is quickly discernible. Carleton displaced the position of the St. Lawrence by depicting it too far east.

Carleton's map of 1795 had shown the district of Maine's eastern boundary line running true due north, beginning on the headwaters of the Digidewash River, which he labeled the "Saint Croix," thus illustrating the first American position taken in the boundary compromise. The river upon which the final boundary was actually established, the present St. Croix, is labeled "Schoodic" on this map. On Carleton's 1802 map the configuration of the

"Schoodic Lakes" (West Grand Lakes), as well as that of the entire area, shows a considerable improvement, due, no doubt, to the use of the surveys of Samuel Titcomb and Park Holland.<sup>3</sup> His location of the boundary was substantially the same as that on Greenleaf's 1815 map. The straight portion of the boundary line running true north begins at the head of a short stream flowing into the north end of Chiputenticook or Grand Lake—both names being given on Carleton's map.<sup>4</sup>

The lower Penobscot River is well drawn, as it had been on previous maps. The Piscataquis and its tributaries take on a degree of realism for the first time. In drawing the upper Penobscot, Carleton was probably indebted to a plan drawn by Jonathan Manard and Park Holland in 1793. The East Branch of the Penobscot is shown flowing from several lakes. The West Branch of the Penobscot is connected to its supposed headwaters by a dotted line. Northward, the Aroostook River is properly represented as rising close to the headwaters of the Penobscot's East Branch, but its subsequent course is shown quite erroneously as flowing north to join the St. John after that river has turned to its westward course.

Carleton's northern interior is as devoid of detail as his portrayal of the southern half is filled. Moosehead Lake is only partly outlined, and there is no trace of the Allagash system. In the void above Moosehead Lake and in the area of Chesuncook is a notation that reads, "Here has been discovered a very extensive lake, but it has not been survey'd."

In the southwest sector, the Androscoggin's main course is shown flowing from Umbagog Lake. Three of the four major tributaries flowing in from the north are shown: the Webb, Swift, and Ellis Rivers. Farther to the south the Saco, Mousam, and Salmon Rivers are depicted, but strangely that great body of water, Sebago, is omitted

# FOOTNOTES

## FOOTNOTES

### CHAPTER 1

1. Gerald E. Morris, ed., *The Maine Bicentennial Atlas: An Historical Survey* (Portland: Maine Historical Society, 1976), 20.
2. See Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, "The History of the Chadwick Survey from Fort Pownal in the District of Maine to the Province of Quebec in Canada in 1764," *Sprague's Journal of Maine History* 14 (1926): 6-89.
3. *Charte/ de lar riviere St Jean/ et des Missions parmy/ les ABENAQUIS/ 1699/ Paris Par Guillaume de Rozier*. Reprinted in William Ganong's *Monograph on the Cartography of the Province of New Brunswick*, (1897) 7:60
4. As on most early maps of Maine, the Allagash with its three great lakes appears as the principal course of the Saint John. The Saint John's source, the Saint John Ponds, is omitted as is the case in the early Greenleaf maps.
5. Park Holland, *Journal*, BPL.
6. Norumbega, whose ruler supposedly rode in a golden chair and whose treasury was filled with gems, was commonly placed between the St. Croix and Kennebec rivers. See Richard D'Abate, "On the Meaning of a Name: 'Norembega' and the Representation of North America," in *American Beginnings: Exploration, Culture, and Cartography in the Land of Norumbega*, edited by Emerson W. Baker et al. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 61-88.
7. Narragansett, Township Number One, is now Buxton, Maine. It was one of the townships granted to veterans of the attack on the Indian town of Narragansett and of Sir William Phipp's Canadian Campaign.
8. "Whiscasett Petition, Oct. 17, 1754," in volume 7 of *Baxter Manuscripts*, volume 12 of *Documentary History of the State of Maine, second series of Collections of the Maine Historical Society* (Portland: Lefavor-Tower, 1908), 317-320.
6. Greenleaf's grandniece, Elizabeth Merrill, wrote that none around him were more competent in mathematics.: Elizabeth Merrill to Edgar Crosby Smith, December 3, 1901. Folder R, Moses Greenleaf Papers, MSL.
7. Whitefield died in the Parsons' home and was buried in a crypt underneath Parsons' pulpit.
8. In 1839, Clarina Greenleaf Jenks wrote the dedicatory hymn for the Congregational Church in Brownville, Maine, one stanza of which was, "Here may the Gospel's joyful sound / Be heard, to set the sinner free; / And broken, contrite hearts be found / A favored dwelling place for thee."
9. *Down East: The Magazine of Maine* 3, no. 6 (April 1957): 20-23 and 36-37, reprinted an edition of Arthur Bradman, *Narrative of the Sufferings of Robert Forbes and Family* (first published in Portland, 1791), supposedly prepared by Ebenezer Greenleaf and published in Portland in 1823. Neither a copy nor a bibliographical record for this later edition have been found.
10. Interestingly, the *Dictionary of American Biography* 7 (1931): 582-583, describes Moses Greenleaf as "a map-maker, author and brother of Simon Greenleaf." The balance between the brothers is more equal in the *American National Biography* 9 (1999): 541-543.
11. George Herbert to Daniel Webster, March 13, 1809: "the vile policy of our enemies [meaning the Jeffersonian administration] which has as I have before told you made *our poor people at the best* so poor that I can not have of them what they ought to pay me. . . . Many of our people are pinched even for food and are suffering all the horrors of famine. One man in Sullivan has had some provisions for sale of late and people have brought their plate . . . for some little food to keep from starving." *The Papers of Daniel Webster*, 16 volumes in 4 series (Hanover, NH: University of Press of New England for Dartmouth College, 1974-1987), 1s 1: 107-108.

### CHAPTER 2

1. This chapter is based on Jonathan Greenleaf, *A Genealogy of the Greenleaf Family* (New York: Edward O. Jenkins, 1859), revised, corrected, and expanded by James Edward Greenleaf, *Genealogy of the Greenleaf Family* (Boston: Frank Wood, 1896). See appendix 1.
2. Jonathan Greenleaf lost two of his eldest sons at this time, probably from smallpox.
3. Another patriot in the Greenleaf family was Joseph Greenleaf, who authored the so-called "Noble Resolutions." He was an outspoken proponent of separation from the Crown both in his writings in the *Massachusetts Spy* and through his own press.
4. Captain Moses Greenleaf was born on May 19, 1755, in Newburyport. He first served as a private in the company of Moses Nowell. He saw service from the first outbreak of the Revolution.
5. Prominent in this parade were the shipbuilders and merchants, and last the school master and his students, each carrying a quill pen. Moses Jr. was no doubt among them.
12. See John P. Marquand, *Timothy Dexter Revisited* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1960), for descriptions of life in old Newburyport.
13. Quoted by Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America*, 9 volumes (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898-1891; reprinted New York: Algonquin Press, 1962), 8: 291-292.
14. Colonel Isaac Parsons had arrived in New Gloucester in 1761. When he died in 1825, he had enough progeny and neighbors to make a funeral procession a quarter of a mile long. See T. H. Haskell, *The New Gloucester Centennial*, September 7, 1874 (Portland: Hoyt, Fogg & Donham, 1875).
15. Merrill to Smith, December 3, 1901.
16. Williamson, "Moses Greenleaf."
17. Moses Greenleaf, *Journal*, January 8, 1819, Greenleaf Papers, MHS.

### CHAPTER 3

1. Moses Greenleaf to Eleazer Alley Jenks, September 14, 1806, Folder C, Moses Greenleaf Papers, MSL, printed in Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, 83-87.

2. Moses obtained his drug supplies from John Coe of 4 Fish Street in Portland. Coe advertised that his drugs and medicines were of genuine quality and were "kept constantly for sale on the most reasonable terms for cash or credit." Moses' account contained such items as flowers of sulfur, calomel, Batim Drops, Whitman's Ointment, paregoric elixir, and nutmegs. Moses Greenleaf, Store Accounts, BPL.
3. Joseph Ellery Foxcroft was born in 1773, the son of a minister. In January, 1801, he bought Township Five, Range Seven (T5 R7) NWP, now part of the combined towns of Dover-Foxcroft, Maine. He was an active promoter of his town in both physical and cultural aspects.
4. A deed dated April 11, 1803, gives Moses Greenleaf's residence as Poland, Maine. Moses' father had bought thirty-seven acres of land in that town on a tax sale for 2s 2d. It is possible that Moses lived upon this land while in Poland. Registry of Deeds, Androscoggin County, Auburn, Me.
5. A. W. Paine, "The Streets of Bangor," *Bangor Historical Magazine* 3 (1888): 213-216.
6. Dr. Elisha Skinner (1742-1827), who lived in Bucksport, Maine, called Bangor "Sodom," but he did admit that the village had at least one "Lot" in the person of Deacon William Boyd: "Doctor and Deacon Elisha Skinner, of Orrington, now Brewer," *Bangor Historical Magazine* 2 (1887): 156-157.
7. Another neighbor and a distant relative was Samuel Greenleaf, who had come to Bangor four years before Moses. Samuel had built the tavern on Newbury Street, above the river and overlooking the valley. The first town meeting in Bangor was held at Greenleaf's tavern, and Samuel, himself, was active in town affairs. His favorite hymn was "The Lord Will Provide," and he often entertained his guests by singing the Indian prisoner's song, "The Son of Alhnomac Shall Never Complain." Whether Samuel ever complained is not recorded, but he was a man with twelve children and a contender against bad luck. Moses provided something in the way of aid to Samuel through loans and an account at his store, which Samuel did not pay.
8. Luke Wilder had been a close friend and neighbor of Daniel Webster during the latter's stay in Salisbury. In 1804, Daniel and his brother Ezekiel took turns walking and riding to Bangor to visit Wilder. While there, Webster asked McGaw to have Wilder's portrait painted by artist Jeremiah Hardy. The painting stayed in the McGaw family, as Webster failed to pay for the work.
9. This description of Greenleaf's character and disposition is taken from Williamson, "Moses Greenleaf."
10. Eleazer Alley Jenks to Moses Greenleaf, May 1, 1805, Folder C, Moses Greenleaf Papers, MSL.
11. Moses Greenleaf gave William Hammatt this figure. See letter: William Hammatt to his wife, Esther, July 18, 1824, Hammatt Diary and Letters, BPL. The old New England characteristic of "pay as you go," the deep distrust of credit, and the determination never to live

beyond one's means do not appear to be as old as has been supposed; nor do these characteristics seem as closely associated with religious scruples as with the thin soil of hillsides and the experience of small towns where industry never quite took hold. The New England caution was engendered through bitter experience, and once learned was drummed into the children of newer generations. The fact that people in Maine learned and that has remained hidden from other more prosperous parts of the nation is that in terms of wealth, both of the earth and of human beings, there is just so much on which to come and go; sooner or later, someone must pay for any extravagance.

#### CHAPTER 4

1. Moses Greenleaf to Eleazer Alley Jenks, September 14, 1806, Folder C, Moses Greenleaf Papers, MSL, printed in Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, 83-87.
2. Agreement between Moses Greenleaf and William Dodd, February 28, 1806, written in Greenleaf's hand, Folder G, Moses Greenleaf Papers, MSL, printed in Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, 125-134.
3. Letters written by Greenleaf during the fall and summer of 1806 indicate that he soon intended to be in Williamsburg. Moses Greenleaf Papers, MSL.
4. These and following quotations are from Greenleaf to Jenks, September 14, 1806.
5. The reader will find Moses' closing remarks in his *Statistical View*, 149-152, interesting at this point (see appendix 4). They bear witness to the continuation of his vision, even after the discouragement of Williamsburg, and to the maturing of his scope and wisdom engendered by experience.
6. Moses had this road in mind for some time. In 1806, he bought property in Milo where the road would cross the Piscataquis River. It would be a natural spot for a tavern. As usual he lost the property on a mortgage to John Crosby of Boston, probably in connection with an account for store goods. Deed of Foreclosure, A93, A31, and A245, Piscataquis County Registry of Deeds, Dover-Foxcroft, Me.
7. Moses Greenleaf to Eleazer Alley Jenks, February 10, 1807, Folder C, Moses Greenleaf Papers, MSL, printed in Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, 87-89.
8. This township, once called Howard, is now Willimantic (T7 R8 NWP). It was bought in 1804 by Samuel Parkman, who at the same time bought the eponymous town of Parkman (T9 R6 NWP).
9. Among the descendants of Samuel Parkman were Francis Parkman, the historian, who studied law under Simon Greenleaf, and George Parkman, who was murdered under circumstances that drew great public attention. George Parkman organized an annual cattle drive, collecting cattle in his township of Parkman and having them driven south to market. He could be both generous and vindictive.
10. He was given one hundred dollars with which to finance a survey of the township. The surveying crew was to be



provisioned from Bangor, but Parkman warned that he would expect all expenses to conform with Boston prices. Moses was also empowered to build no more than ten miles of roads limited in cost to twenty-five dollars per mile. Parkman agreed to share the cost of a road between his town and Williamsburg, though it is difficult to see why such a road would have been of interest to anyone but Parkman.

11. The land in East Andover, Maine, which Moses used as security in his dealings with Parkman, had been bought from his father-in-law, Ebenezer Poor. It was a sizable piece of property consisting of two sixty-fourths of Andover Township, plus additional lots on both sides of the Ellis River. Presumably, Moses had bought this property as an investment, and perhaps, a second string for his bow should his intended move to Williamsburg never materialize. The price had been twelve hundred dollars; it is doubtful that he paid outright for this land or that he had anything of equal value to put up as collateral. Persis may have intervened in his behalf, and it is possible that she did so hoping that if things went badly, her husband would settle in Andover. As it turned out, the land served Moses well as a security not only to Parkman but also to William Dodd.
12. *History of Penobscot County, Maine* (Cleveland: Williams, Chase & Co., 1882), 553.
13. However short a time Moses Greenleaf was in East Andover, it was long enough for him to become involved in land speculation and local government. In 1808, he bought an additional two hundred acres of interval land for fifteen hundred dollars. He had five years in which to pay for this land, but before the time was up, he sold the property to Nathaniel Frye for eighteen hundred dollars, and thus, for once, made money on the transaction. Record of Deeds, Oxford County, South Paris, Me. During the spring and summer of 1808, Greenleaf was on the committee appointed by the town of Andover to settle accounts and deeds with its proprietors. In December of that year, the proprietors requested that some person be appointed to "fill the vacancy occasioned by the removal of Moses Greenleaf." Town Records, Andover, Me.
14. Carleton's map of the district of Maine (1802; see chapter 16 and appendix 9) shows a road from Vassalboro to the Kennebec River to Hampden on the Penobscot River. In 1807, the road from Augusta to Bangor, probably the same route as indicated on Carleton's map, was reported to be "very bad in places." The route followed by many pioneers who took part in the influx of settlers from New Hampshire and southern Maine to lands along the Piscataquis was through Canaan (now Skowhegan), Athens, Harmony, Ripley, and Dexter. In 1812, a shorter route was opened between Canaan and Parkman. See Amasa Loring, *History of Piscataquis County, Maine. From its Earliest Settlement to 1880* (Portland: Hoyt, Fogg & Donham, 1880).

## CHAPTER 5

1. Moses Greenleaf, Journal, 1811-1815, Greenleaf Papers, MHS.
2. The 1910 census shows seventy-one people in Williamsburg, perhaps twelve families. Smith, *Moses Greenleaf, 25*, suggests that Moses brought several families to Williamsburg as early as 1810, and that he settled twelve or thirteen families during his first year of residency. A man named Crommett is recorded as settling in 1800: Eben Greenleaf, "Record of Births, Marriages, & Deaths in the Township of Williamsburg," 1819-1872, MSL. If this is correct, then Crommett was a squatter who settled before Dodd had bought the township, and before any other settler had made a permanent home in the surrounding towns.
3. Many of the settlers who moved into the Piscataquis region came in from the west, passing through Canaan (now Skowhegan) like some Biblical sojourners, and then through Harmony and Dexter. If they hailed from Massachusetts or New Hampshire, they often came by boat to Bangor, and then headed north to Foxcroft or Sebec. See Amasa Loring, *History of Piscataquis County, Maine. From its Earliest Settlement to 1880* (Portland: Hoyt, Fogg & Donham, 1880), 28.
4. Greenleaf held shares in this Sebec power site but, characteristically, was forced to sell them to meet expenses. Sebec was to become the first real town north of the Piscataquis River, eventually boasting a fulling mill and a weaving factory.
5. Wheat grew well: Loring, *History of Piscataquis County*, 22.
6. Subsequent journal entries speak of boards being hauled from the "old house" to the new location. Greenleaf Journal, 1814.
7. Dr. Wilkins settled in Brownville before 1810. He may have known as much about surveying as medicine, since he had served as a chainman on the famous Chadwick survey.
8. Crommett is probably paying for the land upon which he had "squatted" before Dodd bought Williamsburg. Greenleaf was continually settling accounts and making adjustments on land within the township.
9. In 1806, under Francis Brown's direction, a dam had been built across the Pleasant River at what would become Brownville (T5 R8 NWP). The constructor was Major Josiah Hills, who, like Greenleaf, had come from Newburyport, Massachusetts. When the Greenleafs arrived in Williamsburg, there were perhaps eight settlers in Brownville.
10. A copy of this 1809 legislation in Moses Greenleaf's handwriting can be found in BHS.
11. All civil actions not exceeding twenty dollars came under the jurisdiction of a justice of the peace. He could issue summonses, subpoenas, executions, and attachments. He could try cases of trespass, settle suits, and assault and battery cases, and "if not of a high and aggravated nature, examine all cases of homicide, treason and felonies, and commit to prison all persons

guilty or suspected of being guilty . . . and bind over to . . . higher court." Two justices of the peace in *quorum unis* could decide if a lunatic was "so furiously mad as to render it dangerous to the peace and safety." The justice of the peace could also try cases of larceny and robbery where amounts did not exceed five dollars, which in Moses's territory covered most cases. From Jeremiah Perley, *The Maine Justice; Containing the Laws Relative to the Powers and Duties of the Peace, with the Necessary Forms* (Hallowell, Me.: Goodale, Glazier & Co. and C. Spaulding, 1823), 56, 71, and 142.

12. Moses Greenleaf, "Hints to Peace Societies," Folder D2, Moses Greenleaf Papers, MSL and printed in Smith's *Moses Greenleaf*, 108-110.
13. Taken from the store account of Jefferson Lake, Applebee Collection, BHS.
14. These glimpses of life on Greenleaf Hill were taken from a letter by Elizabeth Merrill to Edgar Crosby Smith, December 3, 1901, Folder R, Moses Greenleaf Papers, MSL.
15. Greenleaf Journal, 1811-1816. In this emergency, a company of militia was marshaled in Foxcroft, elected officers, and signed articles of war. They marched south and camped north of Bangor for about a week before returning. Greenleaf may have joined with these troops.
16. Loring, *History of Piscataquis County*, 228-230.
17. Greenleaf Journal, 1811-1816.
18. Township Six, Range Nine (T6 R9) NWP, presently known as "K.I" derived from the Katahdin Iron Works, which was once located in this township.

#### CHAPTER 6

1. Store records, Applebee Collection, BHS.
2. The term "voyage" seems especially appropriate for Eben's travels. When he stood on the "prow" of Kineo Mountain, he still boxed the compass. His field notes are sprinkled with nautical-sounding bearings: "the head of the lake bears northeast one half north" and "a large sea running."
3. See Maine Land Office Records, Map Book, Number One, MSA.
4. Ebenezer Greenleaf, field book, MS 917.412 G 814j, MSL. The quotations following are also from this source.
5. Fannie Hardy Eckstorm gives this old route as up Long Pond Stream to Long Pond, then cross-country "by carries to Trout Pond, Hedgehog Pond, Brown Pond and Big Wilson and from there into Moosehead near the foot of the Lake." See her "History of Chadwick's Survey from Fort Pownall in the District of Maine to the Province of Quebec in Canada in 1764," *Sprague's Journal of Maine History* 14 (1926): 62-89, esp. 80n. Both Greenleaf and Chadwick departed somewhat from this route.
6. Now Onawa Lake. The name "Ship Pond" arose from the presence of "Schooner Island, whose tall pines resembled the masts of a ship." Samuel Weston's plan of 1798 gives the name "Irregular Pond" to this body of water: State Plan Book, No. 1 (Piscataquis County), MSA.
7. Eben Greenleaf apparently gives the name "Little Wilson"

to what is now called Rum Pond. The distances traveled as well as the descriptions support this conclusion. He calls the present Lower Wilson Pond, "Middle Wilson," and the presently named Upper Wilson, "West Wilson Pond." To help prevent confusion, the author has used the current names as shown on U.S.G.S. maps.

8. Eben's crew seemed to have enjoyed naming ponds and streams. Their name for Prong Pond was "Sligo," which sounds Irish but may be as near as these surveyors could come to an Indian place-name. Of the many names given, only Lobster Mountain made it onto a modern map.
9. The boundary of Seboomook Township had been established by the time of Eben Greenleaf's survey, and the township was owned by the proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase.
10. Taken from a current U.S.G.S. quadrangle, the position is closer to 45°50'.
11. This was Northeast Carry. Eben and Chase also went over Northwest Carry and took notes on their findings.
12. As they stood on the banks of the West Branch of the Penobscot, Chase no doubt recalled accounts he had heard from Dr. Isaac Wilkins, who had been a chainman on Chadwick's exploration for a route to Quebec.
13. Iron pyrite crystals.

#### CHAPTER 7

1. Eben Greenleaf to Clarina Jenks, December 13, 1822, Greenleaf Family Correspondence, MSL.
2. William Hammatt to Esther Hammatt, July 18, 1824, Hammatt Diary and Letters, BPL.
3. Eben Greenleaf to Elizabeth Jenks, August 30, 1828, Greenleaf Family Correspondence, MSL. The "Brown maid" was Eliza Brown, the daughter of Deacon Francis Brown of Brownville, Maine; the deacon lived in a large house above the village and on the road to Williamsburg. Jenks married Eliza and moved to Brownville along with his mother, becoming a store keeper and the postmaster.
4. Eben Greenleaf Diary, Merrill Collection, MHS.
5. Eben would have belonged to the Sebec militia company under Major John Wells. General musters were held in Garland, where the regiment drilled under Colonel Isaac Hodsdon. They were colorful events—music, tents, men formed in hollow squares and company fronts, and, of course, plenty to drink. In the end, these musters became more colorful recreation than military training.
6. The following paragraphs are based on Alexander Hamilton Jenks to Moses Greenleaf, January 23, 1829, Merrill Collection, MHS.
7. "Easier" is a relative term. Greenleaf speaks of having to send a hired hand to clear the windfalls after a storm and before visitors could leave. And again, when they took a sleigh to retrieve a son who had been recuperating in Bangor from a broken leg, they ran out of snow and had to wait for a wheeled conveyance.

8. A church, by wielding the power of grace and social sanction, was very powerful. Meeting in ecclesiastical council, the church could shake the mightiest in the village. Some years after Moses' death, Adams H. Merrill, who, as a business man, ruled Brownville and Williamsburg, was called before the congregation and forced to make a public apology.
9. Jonathan Greenleaf, *A Genealogy of the Greenleaf Family* (New York: Edward O. Jenks, 1854), note 86, mentions that Moses had been "rather skeptical in religion" during his early days. Later he became an Episcopalian, perhaps during his stay in Bangor. It is tempting to see some link between this persuasion and Moses' assumed role as a hilltop aristocrat, but such a suggestion would be only speculation. William D. Williamson, who knew Greenleaf well, wrote: "Some years before his death he made a profession of faith and died as he had ever lived in hope of salvation. Bangor Historical Magazine, 4: 75
10. William Coombs Greenleaf was a distant relative of Moses. He married Moses' daughter Clara. They moved to Andover, Maine, and left because the salary was so small he could not meet his bills. Clara and William moved to Illinois.
11. A copy of the original agreement, in Moses' own handwriting, is dated January 25, 1816, Applebee Collection, BHS. At that time Williamsburg was in Hancock County.
12. Dodd's grant to the cause of education in Williamsburg, as generous as it was, had conditions. The first three thousand dollars would be given when forty families had settled in the town or when four thousand acres had been sold to settlers. An additional five thousand dollars would be donated on the arrival of forty more families and the balance when 120 homes had been established in Williamsburg. There were only eighteen families in the town when Moses was commissioned to build the two school houses, and he must have realized by this time that the Hancock Free School would never materialize.
13. Lumber for the project cost twenty-one dollars per thousand board feet, dimension stuff a little more. The cost for framing one of the buildings was nineteen dollars, while the joiner's fee for inside finishing, which probably included the desks, was twenty-six dollars.
14. The entire cost of instruction, by present comparisons, seems astonishingly low. For four months of school, the expense per pupil figured about \$5, but this was a major educational effort, for the average cost per pupil in Maine was \$1.35. Schoolmaster Eben Gilman received thirty dollars for two months of school teaching, which included three dollars for boarding himself for two weeks and one dollar for "finding wood." Clara Greenleaf was paid twenty-one dollars for ten and a half weeks of instruction. Various citizens took turns acting as superintendent. Adams H. Merrill, who was to become a major force in Williamsburg and Brownville, filled this post in 1828. He was paid \$3.13 to cover his expenses. Eleazer Alley Jenks served the following year and did the job for one-half cent less.
15. Many reports of the great fire of October 1825 mention the rumbling noise that could be heard for as much as fifteen miles. The trembling of the ground, along with this noise, may have been caused by fire burning up the "chimneys" of great hollow pines. Such a blast furnace effect will cause a tree to tremble to its foundations.
16. Greenleaf Papers, Journal 1824, May 24th and 25th, MHS.
17. Greenleaf Papers, Journal 1825, October 9th, MHS.
18. Greenleaf Papers, Journal 1824, July 7th, MHS

#### CHAPTER 8

1. Orne did not begin his active life in Orneville until after Moses Greenleaf had been dead for several years. He had served as secretary of the Boundary Commission in 1815, and would have been known to Greenleaf. They had mutual associates in Oliver Crosby of Atkinson and John Appleton, a young lawyer in Sebec.
2. General Boyde is a prime example of the colorful men who held lands north of Bangor. Besides Orneville, Boyde owned half of what is now Medford, where he operated a saw mill that was for some time the largest on the Penobscot. He was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts. He had gone to India where he commanded a corps of mercenaries. He fought in the Battle of Tippecanoe and in 1811 commanded a full brigade.
3. Greenwood was from Hebron, Massachusetts, where he had been representative to the General Court. He moved to Monson, Maine, and was a delegate to the Maine Constitutional Convention. He was killed in 1827.
4. William Hammatt to Esther Hammatt, June 25, 1824, Hammatt Diary and Letters, BPL.
5. This land was in a favored situation lying on the "V" between the joining Penobscot and Piscataquis. The township was variously known as Seboeis and Broad Cove and finally became Howland, named after the last surviving member of the *Mayflower's* company, John Howland. Both Hammatt and his wife were very proud to have this man as part of their ancestry.
6. Williamson went to Deerfield Academy, then to Williams College, and graduated from Brown with highest honors. He therefore had the formal educational opportunity with which Greenleaf had not been favored. See William D. Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine*, 2 volumes (Hallowell, Me.: Galzier, Masters & Co., 1832).

#### CHAPTER 9

1. Eben Greenleaf to the brethren of Somerset Lodge in Skowhegan, June 30, 1825, Records of Piscataquis Lodge, Number 44, Milo, Me.
2. See, Margaret C. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
3. Josiah H. Drummond, comp., *The Maine Masonic Textbook, for the Use of the Lodges* (Portland, Me.:

Dresser, McLelland & Co., 1877), 28: "To relieve the distressed is a duty incumbent on all men, but more particularly on Masons, who, profess to be linked together by an indissoluble chain of sincere affection, To soothe the unhappy, sympathize with their misfortunes, compassionate their miseries, and restore peace to their troubled minds is the great aim we have in view. On this basis we make our friendships and establish our connections."

4. Grand Lodge of Maine, "The Evening Memorial Service," in *Maine Masonic Textbook*, 16th ed. (Portland: Maine Printing Co., 1997).
5. Records of Piscataquis Lodge, Number 44, Milo, Me.
6. William King, Maine's first governor, served as the Grand Lodge's first grand master, though much of the actual presiding was done by Simon Greenleaf. Fessenden, a lawyer and graduate of Dartmouth, served as the fifth grand master. He was a devoted abolitionist. Robert Dunlap was a graduate of Bowdoin College and for many years served as overseer of that institution. He was governor of the state during the time of the boundary dispute. Dunlap followed Fessenden as grand master of the Freemasons in Maine. It is characteristic of the Masonic Fraternity that so many men important in the early history of Grand Lodge of Maine held sharp political differences and yet maintained close Masonic relationships.
7. General Samuel Parsons, Captain Moses Greenleaf's brother-in-law, was master of another military lodge, American Union, and without doubt they met together when this lodge and that of Captain Greenleaf held a joint communication at West Point.
8. Moses Greenleaf, rebuttal to Nathan Sheldon, April 20, 1829, Merrill Collection, MHS.
9. Piscataquis Lodge did not surrender its charter and resumed its regular meetings in 1855, at which date it moved from Sebec to Milo, Maine.

#### CHAPTER 10

1. William Dodd died May 11, 1824. His three-fourths of Williamsburg passed to a number of heirs: Henry and George Barnard of Hartford; Horace Barnard of Charleston, South Carolina; William Barnard of New York; Harvey Barnard of Utica; Samuel Steel of Albany; John Grumby of New York; and, John Claghorn of Philadelphia.
2. Moses Greenleaf to Benjamin Dodd, March 31, 1825, Folder B, Moses Greenleaf Papers, MSL, printed in Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, 89-93.
3. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 139.
4. *Bangor Register*, February 8, 1819.
5. *Bangor Register*, November 23, 1830. These two quotes demonstrate the length of time over which the western migration was news worthy.
6. *Bangor Register*, June 24, 1819.
7. Other than enacting the new plan he had conceived, there was little else that Moses could do to make Williamsburg more attractive to settlers. Schools and

roads were as good as the taxes would bear, and he had built two mills. The mills, situated as they were on two brooks, were purely for the convenience of the settlers; personally, Moses wished he had nothing to do with them. If they paid for their cost, \$146.09, he would be satisfied. The mill on Bear Brook had a flowage, but much smaller than Moses had hoped. It was certain that Williamsburg would never be a mill town.

8. Greenleaf was aware of the slate by 1815. He wrote in his journal for May 25, 1815 (Greenleaf Papers, MHS): "Hemmingway proposes trying the slate on Whetstone Brook." It is interesting that he made no mention of this resource in Greenleaf, *Statistical View*. See also Charles T. Jackson, *First Report on the Geology of the State of Maine* (Augusta, Me.: Smith & Robinson, 1837), 76-77. Jackson visited Williamsburg and talked with Greenleaf sometime previous to being appointed state geologist.
9. In 1826, on Greenleaf's invitation, a Mr. Tilson came to Williamsburg to give his appraisal of the slating possibilities. In the mean time, Eben Greenleaf had found an outcropping in Bowerbank while surveying, and another on Whetstone Brook.
10. Moses Greenleaf, "Answer to Questions of the Legislative Committee," printed in Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, 110-114.
11. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 133-137. Greenleaf's proposed route began at Pushaw Stream, thence to Pushaw Pond, up Dead Stream to the Piscataquis, up the Sebec River, and by either Wilson Pond or Onawa Lake to Moosehead Lake.
12. The Pushaw Canal Corporation was petitioned in 1817 by a number of Bangor men including Jacob McGaw, Joseph Treat, and Joseph Carr.
13. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 84-85.
14. "The subscribers, appointed pursuant to a resolve of Legislature, to open and make a road passable and convenient for carriages, being part of the great State Road, leading from Bangor . . . through the Townships of Brownville and Williamsburg, to the Commonwealth's lands in the central part of the District of Maine, hereby give notice, that they will receive proposals, until May next, for making so much of the same, as is not already made or provided for, being about sixteen miles, and will contract for payment in land, at reasonable price, through which the road passes. . . . Application may be made to Samuel Redington or Moses Greenleaf." *Bangor Register*, March 1816.
15. Map of the portion of the "great State Road," built by Bennock, along with the land he received along this road as payment for the construction of this section. Maine State Plan Book, Number One, MSA. The Bennock Road opened a grant made to the Maine Literary and Theological Institution (Colby College), which became the towns of Argyle and Alton. Occasionally, natives still speak of Route 16 between Orono and Milo as the "Bennock Road."
16. "Notice: Wanted to contract with suitable persons to make a good Chaise Road, about six miles through the

township of Williamsburg . . . for which payment will be made in land in any part of the township, or money at the option of the contractor. This road will form a part of the great road ordered by the Legislature at their last session, to be opened from Bangor to the great body of the Commonwealth's land in the center of the District of Maine; and which is to be continued to Quebec.

Enterprising and Industrious Young Men who are disposed to take lots for their own settlement . . . will find in this township advantages not to be found in any other township in Maine; and will do well to apply in June next to William Dodd, Hancock Wharf, Boston, or Moses Greenleaf, Williamsburg." *Bangor Register*, March 9, 1816.

17. Moses Greenleaf to Jedidiah Morse, November 28, 1823, printed in Smith's *Moses Greenleaf*, 116-125.
18. Quoted from a speech given by John Poor during the celebration of Bangor's centennial, printed in Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, xvi.
19. There is no record of exactly when this incident in Greenleaf's life took place. It was probably in 1829.

#### CHAPTER 11

1. The first state aid to education was made in 1833 when the funds from the Saving Bank Tax were allotted to schools. The state assisted academies through the granting of public land as in the case of Foxcroft Academy which received a part of Springvale Township.
2. This society began auspiciously with a nephew of George Washington as its first president and with a wide spectrum of prominent clergymen and statesmen among its members including, in its later years, Abraham Lincoln. The society's objective was to transport free African-Americans, with their consent, back to Africa, where the society intended to establish colonies from which would spread Christianity and technology to civilize the dark continent. Despite the dedication and the effort, the society was a failure. Up to 1835, it had managed to send 2,886 African-Americans back to Africa against a natural increase of perhaps 50,000 free-born Americans of African descent. The society was increasingly criticized by the abolitionists, who viewed its activities as a diversion of energy that should be focused upon the more holy cause of abolition.
3. Moses Greenleaf, Journal, 1820, Greenleaf Papers, MHS.
4. Sebec, Maine, voted forty-eight to two in favor of separation and Foxcroft twenty to one in favor.
5. James Sullivan, *History of the District of Maine* (Boston: I. Thomas and E. T. Andrews, 1795; reprinted Augusta: Maine State Museum, 1970), 396.
6. John Adams to Daniel Coney, February 1, 1819, reprinted in *Sprague's Journal of Maine History* 12 (1924): 91-92.
7. Moses Greenleaf to Eleazer Alley Jenks, February 10, 1807, Folder C, Moses Greenleaf Papers, MSL and printed in Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, 87-89.
8. William Willis wrote the *History of the Law Courts and Lawyers in Maine*. Published in Portland, Me, 1863.
9. The presence of the persistent and less than dependable

element in the Maine population has been often overlooked by writers on the Maine character. They were early residents. Sullivan, *History of the District of Maine*, 307, described the despair of royal commissioners attempting to enforce the law within the district. They had encountered a breed of perverse spirits whom Sullivan described as "vagabonds, lewd and disorderly." These were not simply independent citizens, of which Maine is justly proud.

10. From a letter reprinted in the *Bangor Register*, September 7, 1818.
11. The makers of this statement also asserted that the "mysteries in politicks are mere absurdities—intended entirely to gratify the ambitions of princes and designing men." Daniel Davis, ed., "The Proceedings of the Two Conventions, Held at Portland, to Consider the Expediency of a Separate Government for the District of Maine," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 4 (1795): 25-40, esp. 39.
12. Moses Greenleaf to William King, October 8, 1819, Merrill Collection, MHS.
13. Moses Greenleaf to Benjamin Dodd, March 31, 1825, Folder B, Moses Greenleaf Papers, MSL and printed in Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, 89-93.
14. Williamson, "Moses Greenleaf," wrote of his friend: "He is always a Federalist and some times rendered himself unpopular by the zeal and severity of expression in conversation upon politics." *Bangor Historical Magazine* 4:75, BPL.
15. Moses Greenleaf, "Penobscot dovetailed Gerrymander," ca. 1831, Folder S, Moses Greenleaf Papers, MSL. A draft of the letter by Greenleaf to the editor of the *Penobscot Journal*, written at about the same time, is in Folder D1 in the same collection.
16. These papers are signed "G" and are in Folder D1, Moses Greenleaf Papers, MSL. One article among these papers is dated and signed with a pseudonym: Nathan Screwauger, July 23, 1831 (printed here as appendix 6). An article in the *Bangor Register*, May 3, 1831, signed "Scrutator," used many of the phrases found in Greenleaf's manuscripts.
17. Moses Greenleaf, manuscript 5 on the "Penobscot Gerrymander," July 23, 1831, Folder D1, Moses Greenleaf Papers, MSL.

#### CHAPTER 12

1. From a collection of Williamsburg town papers owned by Jane Thomas, Williamsburg, Me.
2. See Piscataquis Registry of Deeds M-12. On November 4, 1823, William Dodd deeded lots nine and ten (the Greenleaf homestead farm) to Moses' four children in "consideration of the good will and regard" that Dodd held for them. On their maturity they were to pay Dodd two hundred dollars or otherwise render some equal service to his interests in Williamsburg.
3. Probably the \$875.95 owed to Dodd's heirs at the time of Greenleaf's death was the unpaid balance on this transaction.

4. Store account and letters indicate that Greenleaf's two sons were lumbering in townships west of what is now Millinocket. Moses was interested in timber areas owned by William Hammatt. He purchased a large track in T6 R9 NWP, later known as "K.I." His plan for a railroad involved timber, iron from K.I., and Williamsburg slate. There is one account page in the Moses Greenleaf Papers, MSL, in which Moses noted that his brother Eben had been employed for "P" thirteen days hauling brick with three pair of oxen. The page is dated 1830, and the name *I. Pierce* appears on the top of the next page. There is no record of development of the iron ore deposits in K.I. at such an early date, yet the destination of such a quantity of brick was not for any known structure in Williamsburg.
5. Moses Greenleaf's children were not left destitute victims of their father's dalliance in the writing of books and the drawing of maps. They had the lots in Williamsburg that had been left them by William Dodd, plus the 3,320 acres their father had purchased the year before he died. In addition, each of the children received another parcel of land, one undivided forty-eighth part of Township B Range Eleven (TB R11) WELS, bequeathed to them in appreciation for their father's contribution by Colonel Samuel Ayre Bradley.
6. Piscataquis County Registry of Deeds, 7:47, Dover-Foxcroft, Me.
7. The following paragraphs and quotations are from Ebenezer Greenleaf to Phoebe G. Greenleaf, July 13, 1846, Greenleaf Family Correspondence, MSL.
8. The Reverend William C. Greenleaf to Mark Pitman, February 18, 1847, Greenleaf Family Correspondence, MSL.
9. *History of Penobscot County, Maine* (Cleveland: Williams Chase & Co, 1882), 698, stated that in the late 1830s there were between three and five thousand bankruptcy cases pending, many of which were due to wider financial collapse. Land, money, and ownership were rapidly becoming concentrated in a relatively few families, who had founded a new class of landed barons at the cost of many who had tried and lost or who never could get started at all. It was as Moses Greenleaf had feared.
10. In 1846, A. A. Boardman, a lumberman, wrote to Jefferson Lake of Brownville, "where is Mr. Greenleaf's drive?" Such questions suggest the risks in cutting and driving logs. Perhaps Moses Jr.'s drive was "hung" (left stranded without water).
11. As in the case of Moses' children, the sons of Captain Eben left Williamsburg and headed west. Eleazer Alley became an Episcopal clergyman, spending his last years in Stillwater, Minnesota. Marshfield, who may have been the last Greenleaf to leave Williamsburg, was living in Scott County, Minnesota, in 1855. Shortly after his death, his brother Simon wrote to their sister back home in Maine, that brother Marsh had been so well in the spring that he had rented a farm, worked too hard, and contracted pneumonia. "Poor fellow," Simon wrote, "Ill luck seemed to be his fate, if he ever got \$100 ahead, he was sure to lend it to some deadbeat." Frederick William went to Worcester, Massachusetts. He died when only thirty, but had already built an insurance business. He was a close friend of Edward Everett Hale, and the inspiration for Hale's protagonist, the epitome of a good man, in his story "Ten Times One Is Ten." Simon, Captain Eben's youngest son, went west in 1851 and there became the most successful, from a business standpoint, of all the Williamsburg Greenleafs. He was a contractor of wood ties for the Racine & Mississippi Railroad, was in charge of the quarter master's office in Davenport, Iowa, during the Civil War, and then moved to Savanna, Illinois, where he established a lucrative insurance business and the profitable *Savanna Times*.
12. Merrill Quarry continued operation under the sons of Adams H., but with diminishing success due to a slide of rock into the quarry, increased expenses necessitated by removing the overburden of useless rock, and the deterioration of the roofing slate market. In 1911, the quarry was abandoned.

#### CHAPTER 13

1. Moses Greenleaf to Jedidiah Morse, November 28, 1823. Morse published this letter in the first report of the society (1824); it was reprinted by Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, 116-125.
2. Greenleaf to Morse, November 28, 1823; Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, 118.
3. Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, *Indian Place-Names of the Penobscot Valley and the Maine Coast*, University of Maine Studies, 2s 55 (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1941); 244.
4. Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, 110-115.
5. By "Ebeemee Mountains," Greenleaf referred to the group of mountains east of Moosehead and north of Brownville Junction. Presumably, Moses would have expected the Committee for the Sale of Eastern Lands to use Carleton's map of 1802 in interpreting the data he had sent them. Using this map, the "central point" lies close to Chesuncook Lake.
6. By "Schoodic," Moses referred to the present St. Croix River on Maine's eastern boundary. The same terminology is used on his 1815 and 1822 maps.
7. Moses considered the height of land between the St. Lawrence and St. John Rivers as the boundary between the district of Maine and Canada.
8. "The Subscriber respectfully shows that he has for a number of years past been engaged in preparing a more correct Map of the District of Maine than has heretofore been published and in collecting facts which should serve to exhibit the progressive state and resources of the District in more clear and connected point of view than has yet been open to the public." Moses Greenleaf, petition to the Senate and House of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, January 1816, MaSA.
9. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, iii.
10. Ingenuity was not an unusual characteristic in the outposts of Maine. In Brownville, Francis Brown devised

the means to turn a fireplace into a hot-air furnace, and in Milo a farmer by the name of Silley devised a stump-puller that allowed one man to clear a field.

11. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 136.
12. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 30.
13. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 61.
14. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, often qualified the statistics he reported as being the best available, but not necessarily very revealing! For instance: "It is far from probable that the preceding account . . . is very accurate," (page 252).
15. Moses Greenleaf, Journal, January 25, 1812, and following, Greenleaf Papers, MHS.
16. Greenleaf Journal, April 13, 1815. We know from his journals that Greenleaf wrote and worked on his research on rainy days and often on mornings before spending his afternoons laboring on the farm, his house, and town. Anyone who has tried to work under such conditions knows the difficulties.
17. Moses Greenleaf, petition to the Senate and House of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, January 1816.
18. "Particular Notice—All persons holding subscription papers for Greenleaf's MAP AND *Statistical View OF THE DISTRICT OF MAINE* (issued in June last) are requested to return them without delay to Cummings & Hilliard, No. 1, Cornhill, Boston, as the price of subscriptions is now raised to \$4 for the Map, \$1.25 for the *Statistical View*; and no further subscriptions can be received at the former prices. The work will be ready for delivery by the first of June next." *Bangor Register*, June 1815.
19. The committee also reported "that the petitioner has with much labor and expense prepared a Map of Maine, which contains many great improvements and corrections upon former maps; . . . they [the committee] further find the *Statistical View* of Maine contains much valuable information relative to that section of the country, which it is important that the citizens of this Commonwealth should generally possess." *Massachusetts Resolves*, 1816, chap. CXI, 112.
20. Benjamin Rand, review of Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, in *North American Review*, 3 (September 1816): 362-425.
21. Enoch Lincoln, "Speech of the Governor of the State of Maine," *Resolves of the Eighth Legislature of the State of Maine* (Portland, Me.: Thomas Todd, 1828), 619-629, esp. 619.
22. Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, 29.
23. "The price of the whole set to subscribers will be SIXTEEN DOLLARS, payable on delivery. The great expense necessary to complete the work, will prevent the publication of a greater number of copies than sufficient to supply the immediate demand; no more, therefore, than five hundred copies will be published, unless a greater number shall be subscribed for previous to the publication of the work, and no more in any event, than to supply such additional subscribers. This condition will be strictly observed. Gentlemen holding subscription papers are requested to return them by the

first of September next to Shirley & Hyde, Portland." *Bangor Register*, March, 1828.

24. The state would furnish sets to "each town and organized plantation," each "organized academy," and the Maine Wesleyan Seminary. Chapter 20, "Resolve in favor of Moses Greenleaf," March 10, 1830, *Resolves of the Tenth Legislature of the State of Maine* (Portland, Me.: Day & Fraser, 1830), 112.
25. Report of the House of Representatives' debate on the purchase of the 1844 edition of Greenleaf's map, *Bangor Register*, May 8, 1844.
26. "Resolve in favor of Moses Greenleaf," March 10, 1830.
27. File of assorted papers on the state's 1830 dealings with Moses Greenleaf, Box 211220808 (Treasury Records), MSA.
28. Executive Council Records, Box 35-15, MSA.
29. Report addressed to the Senate, February, 23, 1830, MSA.
30. *Christian Mirror*, June 1829. It should be noted that Shirley and Hyde were both founders of the *Christian Mirror*.
31. *Christian Mirror*, May 10, 1844.

#### CHAPTER 14

1. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 19.
2. As early as 1769, Benjamin Franklin had published an engraving that showed the Gulf Stream. His data was drawn from the report of Nantucket whalers. Later he made observations of his own.
3. Greenleaf did not identify these "ancient descriptions." It is important, however, to note how Moses tried to fit the pieces together and that this same attitude within the scientific community was soon to revolutionize our understanding of the world both past and present. For instance, Dr. Charles T. Jackson, *First Report on the Geology of the State of Maine* (Portland, Me.: Smith & Robinson, 1837), makes use of the "diluvial theory" in explaining topographical features of the state. It was, however, the data gathered by such men that would shortly give birth to the theories of glaciation.
4. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 29.
5. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 54-55.
6. Benjamin Rand in *North American Review* 3 (September 1816): 362-425.
7. Address of Governor Brooks in 1820, as quoted in William D. Williamson, *The History of the State of Maine*, 2 volumes (Hallowell, Me.: Glazier, Masters & Co., 1832; reprint: Freeport, Me., 1966), 2: 675.
8. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 71.
9. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 77.
10. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 104.
11. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 74.
12. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 45.
13. Greenleaf used the figure of 3 percent as representative of the national, natural increase and gave the length of time for doubling the population due to birth rate alone as twenty-three years. The latter figure is close to that proposed by Malthus. He also noted that the natural

increase in Maine appeared to be higher than the national average.

14. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 80-81, demonstrated that the emigration from Massachusetts alone was three times the immigration into Maine and that of New England as a whole eight times the influx into Maine. Greenleaf did not make mention of the shift in population already taking place from the farms of western Massachusetts eastward to the growing mill towns.
15. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 143.
16. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 139.
17. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 88.
18. The major critic in this regard was Benjamin Rand writing in the *North American Review*. He represented the then growing enthusiasm for manufacturing among Federalists in Massachusetts. Only in the areas of wool and timber did the district of Maine exceed the rest of the commonwealth.
19. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 60.
20. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 65-66.
21. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 88.
22. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 91.
23. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 93-94.
24. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 99.
25. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 92.
26. Greenleaf's interest in water transportation is demonstrated in the section of his book headed "Rivers and Facilities for Inland Navigation": Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 128-137. Though few canals suggested by him were actually built, water transportation was to become crucial for the logging and pulp industries.
27. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 128.
28. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 148.
29. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 150.
30. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 149-150.
31. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, 151.
12. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 286. In assessing the mineral deposits within the state, Greenleaf overrated the presence of iron ore. His appraisal was influenced by several deposits that subsequently proved either less extensive than thought or difficult to refine due to sulfur contents.
13. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 162. In considering the availability of work force and productive ability, Greenleaf commented on the apparent result of slavery in the southern states.
14. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 285.
15. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 326-327.
16. Report to Legislature by the Committee Appointed to Negotiate the Lands Owned by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts with the State of Maine, 1821, Maine Legislative Records: Resolves 1821, Box 2, Folder 4, MSA.
17. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 302.
18. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 289, felt the amount accrued from litigation was inversely proportional to the "diffusion of virtue and intelligence [and] prudence . . . and the general prosperity . . . of the community. It can not be desirable that its product to the public coffers would ever be very great." The actual amounts expended in lawsuits, etc., represented a truly consumptive drain upon the community.
19. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 290.
20. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 326.
21. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 342.
22. Though the legislatures of both states had made extensive grants to various Maine academies, four-fifths of the operating costs for these institutions came from tuition. Few families could afford the resulting fees, as small as they now appear to have been. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 371.
23. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 366.

#### Chapter 15

1. It is clear from the various Maine state documents written by Moses' contemporaries that the boundary situation was well understood and the claims of both Maine and Massachusetts well substantiated. Moses' contribution was in the area of cartography and geography, upon which he was seen an authority.
2. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 84-85.
3. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 37-38.
4. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 37-38.
5. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 122.
6. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 122.
7. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 139-140.
8. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 286.
9. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 108. Many of us have grown up with the colorful saga of red-shirted loggers and heroic, caulk-booted river men. In reality, labor in the woods and on the log drives was a matter of low wages, long hours, and often abominable working conditions.
10. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 219.
11. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 164.

#### CHAPTER 16

1. Henry David Thoreau, *The Maine Woods*, edited by Joseph J. Moldenhauer (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), 15. Taking Thoreau's statement at face value, one must assume that he was looking at the 1844 map in one of its variations. Thoreau recommended George W. Coffin, *A Plan of the Public Lands in the State of Maine Surveyed under Instructions From the Commissioners and Agents of the States of Massachusetts and Maine* (Boston, 1835). Refer Kent Ryden, *Landscape with Figures: Nature and Culture in New England* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2001), 96-134.
2. Greenleaf, *Statistical View*, vi-vii.
3. "Further Division of the Public Lands, By Commissioners under the Act of Separation. May 21, 18[2]3," in volume 2 of the *Farnham Papers*, volume 8 of the *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, second series of *Collections of the Maine Historical Society* (Portland, Me.: Lefavor-Tower, 1902), 239-248, esp. 241. MAS Folder A21R20 holds an 1822 Greenleaf map,



- folded on canvas, hardbound, and marked, "Board of Commissioners under the Act of Separation-E."
4. Executive Council Records, Boxes 27-28, MSA. This must have been the 1822 edition. Mellan was often involved in copying journals and plans during the border dispute.
  5. Executive Council Records, Boxes 71-3, MSA.
  6. Edgar Crosby Smith, "John Gilmore Deane," *Sprague's Journal of Maine History* 6 (1918): 2-9.
  7. Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, "Maine Maps of Historical Interest," in *A Reference List of Manuscripts Relating to the History of Maine*, 3 volumes, edited by Elizabeth Ring, University of Maine Studies, 2s 45 (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1938-1941), 2: ixx-xvi, esp. xxvi.
  8. Committee report to the Maine Senate, February 23, 1830, MSA.
  9. *Journal of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, 4 (June 14, 1783), quoted by Robert E. Moody, "The First Official Map of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," unpublished paper, 1926, consulted at the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University. *Idem* 13: 148 (June 28, 1792), also quoted by Susan L. Danforth, "The First Official Maps of Maine and Massachusetts," *Imago Mundi* 35 (1983): 37-57.
  10. David Bosse, "Osgood Carleton, Mathematical Practitioner of Boston," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 107 (1995): 141-164, esp. 143-145.
  11. Bosse, "Osgood Carleton," 159, gives an account of Carleton's proficiencies. Carleton became a recognized authority on coastal charts, and for years published ephemerides.
  12. This map was published in Jedidah Morse, *American Universal Geography* (Boston, 1793), and was reproduced with Edgar Crosby Smith, "Osgood Carleton," in *Sprague's Journal of Maine History* 2 (1914): 2-9, esp. 2. Longitude is based on Washington and Philadelphia meridians, and the map has a rectangular grid.
  13. Osgood Carleton, *A Map of the District of Maine, Drawn from the latest Surveys and Other Best Authorities*, in James Sullivan, *The History of the District of Maine* (Boston: I. Thomas & E. T. Andrews, 1795; reprinted Augusta: Maine State Museum, 1970).
  14. Copies of this rejected Carleton and Norman map were sold as genuinely approved charts: Bosse, "Osgood Carleton," 155-156.
  15. Callender, in association with Paul Revere, had engraved plates for the *Royal American Magazine*. In 1794, Hill had an engraving shop at No. 2 Cornhill, Boston.
  16. Osgood Carleton, *Map of the District of Maine Massachusetts: Compiled from Actual Surveys made by Order of the General Court, and the under the Inspection of Agents of their appointment* (Boston, [1801]; revised state, Boston: B. and J. Loring, 1802). Full details are provided by Danforth, "First Official Maps." See appendix 9.
  17. Moses Greenleaf to the Massachusetts Legislature, 1803, MaSA.
  18. "Plan of that part of the County of Hancock lying on the Piscataquis & its branches," with verso annotation, "Property of Moses Greenleaf 1806," 1: ca. 76,000, Map F401, MHS. There is no reason to doubt the family tradition that Greenleaf had made this map.
  19. Plan by Samuel Weston of Ranges 7-9 (NWP), 1798, State Plan Book, no. 1 (Piscataquis County), MSA.
  20. Among the extant township maps drawn by Moses Greenleaf and in MSL are a "Plan of Howard Township" (T8 R8 NWP), three maps of Williamsburg, plans of Middlesex Canal Grant and Day's Academy Grant, and a "Plan of Townships in Penobscot County."
  21. Eben Greenleaf to Elizabeth Jenks, August 30, 1820, Greenleaf Family Correspondence, MSL.
  22. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 47.
  23. Greenleaf possessed several accounts of those who had climbed Katahdin and made observations from this summit, including the early description by Charles Turner, "A Description of Natardin or Catardin Mountain, Being an Extract from a Letter, Written by Charles Turner, Jun. Esq in the Summer of 1804," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 2s 8 (1819): 112-116, and Joseph C. Norris's 1825 account, in Folder "T", Moses Greenleaf Papers, MSL.
  24. Moses Greenleaf, "Map of the District of Maine," 1815, BPL.
  25. Unfortunately, Greenleaf did not carry his lines of latitude across the map. However, if the parallels on the 1829 map are considered to be straight, then Moses' location of his own hill top (which is close to the map's central meridian, and which he must have known with considerable accuracy) is more than two minutes below the position recorded by Moses. While this is hardly proof that Greenleaf curved the parallel on his maps, it is suggestive.
  26. Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, 79.
  27. Annin was probably a student of Abel Bowen and was working with this master engraver when the 1815 map was published, for he was noted for his map engraving and credited with engraving the Loring Globes. See David M. Stauffer, Mantle Fielding, and Thomas H. Gage, *American Engravers Upon Copper and Steel*, 3 volumes (New York: Grolier Club, reprinted Newcastle, Del.: Oak Knoll Books, 1994), 1: 11.
  28. *Massachusetts Resolves*, 1816, chap. CXI, 112.
  29. *Bangor Register*, September 28, 1816. The name J. B. B. D'Anville is famous in the annals of cartography, but this map maker was long dead by the time this notice was printed. One suspects that Greenleaf is having a bit of fun and covering embarrassment for self-praise.
  30. Carleton's depiction of the coast was a major source for Greenleaf. Carleton and Norman produced the *American Pilot* (1781) and were involved in making coastal charts for many years. Both cartographers were indebted to J. F. W. Des Barres' monumental *Atlantic Neptune* charts; Des Barres took his work from the surveys of Samuel Holland. See Grace S. Macheiner, "Headquartered at Piscataquis: Samuel Holland's Coastal and Island Surveys, 1770-1776," *Historical New Hampshire* 57, no. 182 (2002): 4-25. Greenleaf seems to

- have combined information and utilized the township plans adjacent to the coast. The parallel of 44°10'N crosses Deer Island on the *Atlantic Neptune* chart (Penobscot), and this compares fairly closely to Greenleaf's map of 1815.
31. Quoddy Head on Greenleaf's map was given the longitude of 66°49'W of London, while Carleton's map places this headland nearer to 67°8', giving Greenleaf the closer positioning of 66°52'W. However, Carleton more correctly showed the forty-fifth parallel running through the north end of Deer Island, while Greenleaf placed this line between that island and the mainland of New Brunswick. William Ganong's "A Monograph of the Evolution of the Boundaries of the Province of New Brunswick," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 7 (1901): sec. 2, 139-449, esp. 276, argued that Carleton used the results of Samuel Titcomb's survey of 1794.
  32. The Aroostook River as shown by Carleton does branch and rise in two large lakes (presumably Munsungan and Millinoket). The close approximation of these headwaters to those of the East Branch of the Penobscot is indicated, but there are serious errors in location.
  33. Crossing between the East Branch of the Penobscot and Moosehead is a dotted line that Moses identified as "Line marked for road by Davis Brothers." This line connects with the road running north from Williamsburg and leads toward the border near River de Lop. Evidently hopes for this route to Canada withered, for the line does not show on the 1822 map. However, Greenleaf kept in mind the close connection between the East Branch of the Penobscot and Moosehead Lake when he developed his scheme for a canal north from Bangor and into the vast interior.
  34. On Greenleaf's 1829 map two names are given: *Baamenungamook* and *Ahpmoojeenagamook*. Thoreau gave Apmoojenaquamook as the spelling and was told that it means "lake-to-be-crossed." Eagle Lake (*Wahlahgis-Squingamook* on the 1815 map) has been changed on the 1829 map to *Pongokwhen*. Churchill has been changed to *Wallahgas quegamook* on the 1829 map. Greenleaf appears to have been the first map maker to label Chesuncook by that name. In his letter to Jedidiah Morse of November 28, 1823, printed in Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, 116-125, Moses wrote that *Chesuncook* means "great water." He adds that the suffix "mook" generally means water—"I think it indicates a large quantity." Eckstorn, "Maine Maps of Historical Interest," *Kersisanger* as being synonymous with *Chesuncook*. The attempt to reproduce the Indian names of these great lakes persisted on all the Greenleaf maps and can be found on other maps into the 1860s. Note that the head of Churchill Lake is some fifteen miles north of its actual location and the Allagash is much shortened.
  35. It should be noted that the eastern portion of the Aroostook River is well shown in early plans made during border surveys, such as Partridge's "Survey of the Aroostook," BOATL81709, Boundary Maps, Plan Book 1, MSL.
  36. Moses Greenleaf, Journal, August 19, 1819, Greenleaf Papers, MHS.
  37. Greenleaf, Journal, January 21, 1820. When Greenleaf used the term "settled," it does not necessarily indicate that he paid all that he owed rather he arranged new terms.
  38. Evidently Hanson Morse made the changes on the plates. Moses had difficulties over the fees allegedly owed to this engraver, and as late as 1832 he was defending himself against a suit.
  39. The configuration of these lakes and waterway upon Tanner's 1820 map as found in *The American Atlas and upon VADERMAEL'S Parie des Etats Unis* (1825) provide an interesting comparison to Greenleaf's early versions.
  40. Map file number 21, MSL
  41. Greenleaf Papers, Journal, October 2nd, MHS. Daniel Pike was treasurer of the Bangor Seminary. The names of Adams and Dutton are mentioned as taking part in this negotiation. See Clavin Clark's *History of Bangor Theological Seminary*, p. 69
  42. Enoch Lincoln, "Speech of the Governor of the State of Maine," *Resolves of the Eighth Legislature of the State of Maine* (Portland, Me.: Thomas Todd, 1828), 618-629, esp. 619.
  43. *Ibid.*, 619
  44. Stauffer, Fielding, and Gage, *American Engravers*, 299.
  45. The 1829 map is 49.75 by 40.25 inches (128.0cm x 103.5cm) and covers from 42°37' to 48°59'N and from 74°23' to 71°37'W of London, at a scale of about nine miles to the inch. It was printed from four copper plates. The map was published before the *Survey of Maine* and could be bought separately. An item in the *Bangor Register*, February 4, 1828, relating to Greenleaf's efforts, reads: "topographical map to be published as soon as possible; . . . the other part of the work is not fully prepared." Evidently single sheets (each quarter map) could be bought printed on unmounted paper. Several of these sections are in the BPL collection.
  46. Executive Council Records, Report 912, February 29, 1829, MSA.
  47. Executive Council Records, Boxes 27-33, MSA. The resolve was passed March 5, 1828. Note: This resolve should not be confused with a later resolve of the legislature to subscribe to four hundred sets.
  48. Executive Council Records, Boxes 27-33, MSA.
  49. Executive Council Records, Boxes 30-42, MSA.
  50. *Bangor Register*, April 13, 1830: Sets of the "map, book and Atlas belonging to the several towns and plantations are received and will be delivered on application to Benjamin Nourse's book store."
  51. *Bangor Register*, November 9, 1830. The "solemn" agreement to destroy the plates after the first printing was never consummated. The 1832 edition as well as the second and third editions were printed from these plates.
  52. Smith, *Moses Greenleaf*, 77-78.
  53. *Bangor Register*, April 7, 1829.
  54. *Christian Mirror*, June, 1829.
  55. Ganong, the best authority on the maps of New

Brunswick and surrounding areas, confirmed that the claims as presented by the United States were soundly based on the Treaty of Paris. See his "Evolution of the Boundaries of . . . New Brunswick."

56. *Documents Relating to the North Eastern Boundary of the State of Maine* (Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, 1828), 182.
57. The work of Joseph Bouchette is mentioned repeatedly in Greenleaf's treatment of the boundary issue: *Survey of Maine*, 12-37. Lockwood was surveyor general of New Brunswick: Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 20n. The St. John from Tobique Rock in Woodstock, New Brunswick, to Grand Falls as represented on Greenleaf's 1829 map closely resembles the rendition given by Colonel Bouchette (1817). To a lesser degree, there are similarities between Greenleaf's depiction of the St. John and its tributaries and Johnson's 1817 map of the Northeast Boundary.
58. BOATL811711, Boundary Maps, Plan Book One, MSL.
59. On the 1829 map, Somerset, Penobscot, and Washington Counties in their distinctive colors reach north to the Maine-Canadian border.
60. I have been using *Moses, Jr.* to identify Moses Greenleaf's son. In actuality his son was Moses Greenleaf III.
61. *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, September 16, 1843. Note that the map credited Shirley and Hyde as the map's publisher, although Shirley and Hyde had ceased their partnership around 1831.
62. "To the People of Maine," Folder XX, Greenleaf Papers, MHS. This broadside sheds light on the disposition of the 1829 plates that had been used to produce the subsequent editions: "No individual attempt of the sort [publishing a new map] would have been made had we not a claim on the plates and copy right of the previous editions." Moses Greenleaf had retained the plates; however, as the broadside discloses, he died still owing \$500 on the plates themselves. Moses, Jr. evidently had to pay this back before using the plates or the publishers had agreed to take the amount out of the sales of the new map.
63. See *Land Agent's Report*, 1844, reprinted in *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, January 26, 1844.
64. Second Lake Matagammon appears as Matagamonsis Lake on Greenleaf's 1844 map.
65. AVTOW 83201, MSL.
66. AVTOW83401, MSL.
67. AVUND84001, MSL.
68. AVUND84001, MSL.
69. *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, May 8, 1844.
70. Parrott was responsible for the surveying and engineering that made possible the Telos Canal which brought Allagash timber down the Penobscot.
71. *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, May 18, 1844.
72. John Dean, *Map of the State of Maine* (Portland, 1842), North East Boundary Maps, part II, BOATL81739, MSL.
73. Account of debate in the House of Representatives, March 19, 1814, as recorded in the *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, May 8, 1844.

74. Chap. 344, "Resolves for the purchase of Greenleaf's Map," *Acts and Resolves of the Twenty-Fifth Legislature of the State of Maine* (Augusta, Me.: Wm. T. Johnson, 1845), 394.
75. Examples of these two states of the third edition of Greenleaf map are in the possession of the Osher Map Library at the University of Southern Maine, Portland, Me.
76. "Sketch of the Debate," *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, May 8, 1844.

#### CHAPTER 17

1. Richard Barringer, *A Maine Manifest* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Allagash Group, 1972), 5 and 4.
2. Angus King, *State of the State Address*, January 22, 2002.
3. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 141. Greenleaf's estimate of a population growth of 2.75 percent was based on the lowest annual rate experienced by Maine prior to the publication of the *Survey of Maine*. Extrapolating beyond his tables, Maine's population should have been about 2,450,000 by 1900.
4. Not only are there higher-paying jobs outside the state, but there are fewer jobs of any sort in Maine—a fact certainly reflected in the 0.7 percent increase in unemployment from 2001 to 2002.
5. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 132 and 150-155.
6. The state remains 89 percent "woods." Nearly half of Maine is classified as wild lands—townships with no municipal structure and in most cases without a settled population.
7. A recent acquisition by the state comprises 4,200 acres on Big Spencer Mountain, part of an envisioned 650,000 acre tract of ecological reserve. For general background, see: *Report on Public Reserved Lots* (Augusta: Maine State Forestry Department, 1963), which contains a Greenleaf map.
8. Edgar E. Ring, *History of the Wild Lands of Maine* (Waterville, Me.: Sentinel Publishing, 1908), bound with his *Seventh Report of the Forest Commissioner of the State of Maine* (Waterville, Me.: Sentinel Publishing, 1908); Philip Tripp Coolidge, *History of the Maine Woods* (Bangor, Me.: Furbush-Roberts Print Co., 1963).
9. Maine has 22,612 miles of public roads. Massachusetts has 1.5 times that number but its population is 4.8 times larger and had in 2000 a median income of \$46,947 versus Maine's \$41,597. *Mainebiz: Fact Book 2002* (Portland: Mainebiz Publications, 2002).
10. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 140, 268, 271 (quotation), 285.
11. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 278.
12. Barringer, *Maine Manifest*, 25-35.
13. Present-day figures furnished by the Maine Department of Labor.
14. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 2001.
15. The present plans and efforts to update the port facilities at Searsport, Maine, are an example of the continued possibilities for all-season Maine ports.
16. Clarence A. Day, *Farming in Maine, 1860-1940*,

University of Maine Studies, 2s 78 (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1963).

17. Day, *Farming in Maine*, 22.
18. Presently Maine's total work force is about 576,000. The combined state and municipal employees (excluding educators), number some 37,100. Maine Department of Labor.
19. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 342.
20. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 363, 365.
21. Greenleaf, *Survey of Maine*, 365-366.
22. Recent figures suggest that six thousand students within the state are being home-schooled, while many more are attending private, primarily parochial schools.

#### APPENDIX VI

1. Moses Greenleaf actually lived in Penobscot County.

#### APPENDIX VIII

1. *History of Penobscot County, Maine* (Cleveland: Williams, Chase & Co., 1882), 573, spoke of Whipple as a gentleman of "taste and literary ability," and noted that he was "instrumental in founding" the Bangor Athenaeum.
2. Joseph Whipple, *The History of Acadia, Penobscot Bay and River, With a More Particular Geographical and Statistical View of The District of Maine than Has Ever before Been Published* (Bangor Me., 1816). The book cost seventy-five cents and was "printed with fair type [and] on good paper."
3. This must be one of the earliest, if not the earliest, journal of a Katahdin climb.
4. Whipple, in writing of the poverty with which the immigrants arrived at their new destination, recounted that one governor of a "western state" had written to the governor of Massachusetts, asking if the latter intended to "establish a colony of the poor" in the new western territory.

#### APPENDIX IX

1. Samuel Weston, plan of Ranges 7-9 NWP, State Plan Book, No. One (Piscataquis County), MSL. Weston's plan shows several curious inaccuracies, one of which is the depiction of the outlet from Schoodic Lake (Piscataquis County) flowing into the Pleasant River rather than the Piscataquis. Just how this error could have been made is difficult to explain, as one of Weston's range lines crossed this stream. This mistake is reproduced in the Carleton map but was corrected by Greenleaf.
2. Greenleaf's 1815 map gives a distance of seven miles from the Lake Megantic to the Maine-Canadian boundary, so in this respect the two maps are much alike.
3. William F. Ganong, in his study of New Brunswick maps, gave Samuel Titcomb's "Plan of the Length of the River Schoodic" (1794) as the probable source for Carleton's depiction of this region; see chapter 16. Another source would have been Park Holland's heroic survey in 1794 of the so-called "Bingham Option," a huge tract of land reaching northward to the St. John from the north line of Bingham's million-acre purchase in the southeastern sector of Maine.
4. Greenleaf's 1822 map gives the position of the monument north of Grand Lake as approximately 45°50'N and 67°41'W of London. Carleton's 1802 location is approximately 45°55'N and 68°5'W of London.

# INDEX

- Abbot, John 24  
Adams, John 57, 68  
Agricultural societies: Massachusetts 56, Penobscot 56  
Agriculture 56, 68, 75, 82, decline 103, large scale 103  
American Academy of Arts and Sciences 68, 89  
American Colonization Society 57  
Anti-Masonic Movement 47-48  
Aristocrats 11, 39  
Arnold, Benedict 8  
Atkinson, ME 40, 43  
Atlantic Neptune charts 88, 92, n16:30  
Atlas: maps 92, Greenleaf's 95-96, fig. (boundary maps) 113-114, fig. (elevations) 115, fig. (immigration) 116, fig. (cover) 118  
Balance, self-sustaining 76  
Bangor & Piscataquis Railroad 53, 64  
Bangor 13, 14, 22, 23, 27  
Barringer, Richard 99, 102  
Bibliography of Greenleaf's works see appendix. 125-127  
Bingham, William 5  
Boardman, Samuel 57  
Bouchette, Joseph n16:57  
Boundary issue: 79, 80, debate 94-95, maps 87, 94  
Boyde, George 40  
Bradley, Zebeulon 97  
Brown, Frances 34, 53, n13:10  
Brownville 24, n5:9  
Callender, Joseph 88  
Canada, trade with 52, 102  
Canals 32, 52  
Carleton's map of Maine: 88, 91, fig. (map) 109, for discussion of map see appendix 136  
Cartography, importance of 87  
Celestial observations n16:30 (see also under coordinates)  
Chadwick, Joseph 4, 31  
Character: of the people 59 105, moral 59. 85, 102, needed 78  
Chase: Ezekiel 30, 32, 41, Roger 15  
Christian Mirror 55, 71, 94  
Churches (see religion)  
Cleveland, Parker 68  
Climate: 72, 80, atlas plates 96, cold summer (1816) 27, 30, effect on communication 80  
Coffin, Charles 62  
Commerce 75, 82, 101  
Committee on Eastern Lands 67, 74  
Communication, need for 81, 101  
Community 36, 81, 85, 100, 104  
Compass: use of 87, bearings 32  
Consumptive spending 84, 104  
Coordinates: 32, 86, 89, 90, key importance 89, accuracy on Greenleaf maps 90, 95, n16:31  
Crosby, Oliver 34, 39, 55  
Crown, William 5  
Culture: 36, Greenleaf's view on 19, opportunities 100  
Dankworth, F 93  
De Rozier map 4  
Dean, John Gilmore 87, map 98  
Des Barres, J.F.W. 88, 92, n16:30  
Dodd: Benjamin 49, William 15, 16, 24, 48, 70, agreement with Greenleaf 17, heirs 54, 61  
Dover, ME 22  
Dunlop, Robert 47  
East Andover 14, 20, 21, n4:11  
Eastern Lands: 11, 67, importance of 74 (see committee on Eastern Lands)  
Eckstrom, Fannie Hardy 67, 87, n6:5  
Economics: state 83, consumptive spending 84  
Education: 20, 36, 84, 85, 104, equality in 104, role of state in 104  
Elevations 32, see appendix. 115  
Embargo Act 10  
Emigration from Maine: 50, 61, 63, of Greenleafs n12:11  
Engravers of maps 90  
Enlightenment 46, 99  
Equality and Equity 76, 83, 84, 101-102, 104, of education 85  
Exports, domestic 76  
Federalists 8, 76, 19, 57  
Fessenden, Samuel 47  
Financial aid to Greenleaf 69, 71, 98  
Fire, forest 37-39  
Forests (see lumbering)  
Foxcroft Academy 56  
Foxcroft, Joseph 12, 13, 58  
Fredin, Lillian 64  
Freemasons 41, 43, 45-48, 64  
French maps 4-5  
Garland, ME 24  
General Court (Massachusetts) 7, 8, 69, 87, 88  
Government: Greenleaf views on 103, roll of 83, 103, town level 83, federal 104  
Graham George 88  
Greenleaf coat of arms 6  
Greenleaf Hill, 23 (see also social life on Greenleaf Hill)  
Greenleaf, Benjamin 8, Clara Parsons (daughter of Moses) 28, 35, 63, Daniel 7, Ebenezer 10, 14, 28, 29-32, 34, 53, 62, Ebenezer Poor (son of Moses) 28, 35, 44, Edmund 6, Jonathan 7, 17, Jonathan (brother of Moses) 10, 18, 47, Joseph 5, Lydia 23, 35, 63, Moses (Captain) 10, 47, 89, Moses (son of Moses) 28, 44, 96-98, Persis (Poor) 20, 21, 34, 36, 63, 64, Richard 5, Samuel 5, Simon 10, 92, Stephen 7, see genealogical chart appendix 124  
Greenleaf, Moses: accomplishments 66, character 3, 7, 12, 18, 59, cartographer 89, concern for Maine 59, 72 78, death 62, debts 62, 97, explorer 89, education of 9, 20, as geographer 3, 67, 80, illness 11, 54, 89, interest in Maine lands 12, justice of the peace 25, judge 25, fig. (certificate) 119, knowledge of Maine's interior 89, looks 11, marriage 14, recognition of 55, 71, 98, religion 36, n7:9, school teaching 12, as statist 68, store keeping 12, task of 68, 89, vision 16, 18, 57, 81, 99, work day 25, 34  
Greenwood, Alexander 42  
Griswold, Phoebe 9  
Gulf Hagus 32  
Hammett, William 34, 37, 42 54  
Handcock Free School 36  
Haskell Hannah 10

Hebron, ME 11, 12  
 Hempstead, Alfred Rev. 64  
 Hill, Samuel 88  
 Historical Societies: Maine 57, Massachusetts, 88  
 Hodsdon, Moses 13  
 Holland: Park 5, 14, 41, Samuel 70, 88  
 Holmes, James Stuart 36  
 Holyoke's evergreen theory 73  
 Huguenots 6  
 Hyde, William 93  
 Immigration: 24, factors 73, quality of people 78, fig. 116, for influencing factors appendix 129  
 Industry 51, 101-102  
 Instrument, surveying 30, fig. (compass and chain) 122  
 Iron ore 82  
 Jackman, John 30  
 Jackson Charles T. 68, 87  
 Jarvis, Charles 71, 98  
 Jefferson, Thomas 8, 11, 63, 68, 75  
 Jenks: Eleazer Alley 18, 19, Clarina 33, 34  
 Journals, Greenleaf's 64  
 Katahdin Iron Works 32, 53  
 Kenduskeag, ME 13  
 King: Angus 99, William 47, 58, 59  
 Kingsbury, ME 38  
 Keely, George 68  
 Lakes and Ponds: Baker 95, 97, Caucomgomoc 97, Chamberlain 91, 93, 95, Chesuncook 67, 89, 91, 93, 97, n16:34, Churchill 91, Eagle 91, 95, 97, Matagamon 97, Moosehead 31-32, 89, 91, 93, Munsungan 97, Portage 95, 97, Pushaw 52, Sebec 15, 30-31, Ship Pond (Onawa Lake) 30-31, Telos 91, 95, 97, Upper Umsaskus 95  
 Land: grants 96, importance of 74, public 83, 84, outside ownership 100, use of 100, value of 50, 74, 75, 77, 78, relative value appendix. 128  
 Latitude (on Greenleaf maps) 32, n16:25  
 Law (Greenleaf views on its misuse) 25  
 Lee, Joseph 43-44, 53  
 Legislature: Greenleaf's exhortation to 80, 83, 84, support from 70, 71, 93, 98, fig. (letter) 120, memorial to appendix. 130-131  
 Lincoln, Enoch 70, 101  
 Longitude (on Greenleaf maps) n16:31  
 Loring: Amasa 27, B&J 88  
 Lumber (as resource) 76, 82, 84, 101  
 Mail 35, 40  
 Maine: Greenleaf's description of 67, Greenleaf's assessment and concern for 3, 11, condition of 68, 57, 59, 72, 78, 99, 100, early interest in 11, 12, 16, 52, 67, interior of 77, Greenleaf's knowledge of 89, people of 58-59, 78, 104-105, survey needed 93  
 Mann, Horace 96  
 Manufactory 75, 76, 82-83, 101-102  
 Mapping difficulties 69  
 Maps, general: French 4-5, making 86, need for 87, 96, sources 91, state maps 98, U.S. Geodetic Survey maps 89, 90  
 Maps, Greenleaf: 64, early 67, 89, assessment of Greenleaf's maps 87, 96, Greenleaf's assessment of his own maps 86, 87, sources 88, 91, 94-95, 97, 1815 costs 69, 90, description 90-91, Publishing 90, grants 69, reviews 68, promotion 90, uses of 87; fig. (map) 110, 111, 1820 description 92, publishing 92, improvements 92 uses of 92-93; 1822 cost 92-93, promotion 92-93, publication 92, 1829 cost 77, description 94, 95, n16:45, publishing 95, grants 70-71, 93, improvements 95, reviews 94, promotion 94, uses of 87; 1832 improvements 96, 1843 cost 96-97, improvements 97-98, reviews 96, promotion 96, 97; plates n16:62, fig.(map) 112, 1844 description 97, grants 98, improvements 95, promotion 96, 97  
 Mars Hill, ME 89  
 Mattawamkeag, ME 86, 92  
 Maxfield, ME 38  
 McGaw, Jacob 14, 21 47, 53  
 Memorial for Moses Greenleaf 48, 64  
 Merrill, Adams H. 36, 53, 64  
 Meteorological data 96  
 Militia 26, 35  
 Milo, ME 44  
 Montessor, John 4  
 Moose River 31  
 Moosehead lake 31, 39, 91, 92  
 Mountains: Agamenticus 4, Aroostook Range 31, Bald 31, Boarstone 31, Chairback 31, Dixmont Hills 39, Ebeemee Mountains n13:5, Katahdin 5, 86, 89, n16:23, Kineo 31, Mars Hill 89, Spencers 31, 67  
 Mud Pond Carry 97  
 Moral spirit of the people 105  
 Museum, Maine State 79  
 Nesourdnahunk 97  
 New Gloucester, ME 10  
 Newbury, MA 6, 7  
 Newburyport, MA 4, 7, 10  
 Norman, John 88  
 North American Review 73  
 Northeast Carry 32  
 Ohio fever (westward migration) 50  
 Orne, Henry 40  
 Orneville, ME 41  
 Outside interests 76, 102, outside ownership 100  
 Parkman, Samuel 20, 21, 24  
 Parrott, William 97  
 Parsons: Jonathan 9, Lydia 9, 11  
 Passamaquoddy Bay 92  
 Peace Societies 25  
 People, character of 78  
 Petitions to legislature 19, n13:8  
 Phips William 7  
 Pike, Daniel 92  
 Piscataquis Lodge, A.F.& A.M.48  
 Pitman: Mark 23, Sally 23  
 Place names: 66, Indian 53, n16:34  
 Political economy 80  
 Politics, Greenleaf's involvement 59-60, for quote from Greenleaf article see appendix 132-133  
 Polland, ME 12  
 Poor: Ebenezer 14, John 53, Persis 14 (see also under Greenleaf), Phoebe 14, 27, Susannah 14  
 Population 50, 82, 100, and value of land 74  
 Presbury, Edward 7  
 Projection (map) 90  
 Property, equalization of 76  
 Proprietors: 77, problems of 51, 59

Prosperity, Greenleaf's views on 76, 83  
 Quimby, A. M. 55  
 Rafting (lumber) 52  
 Redington, Samuel 52, 54  
 Revolutionary War 7-8, 45  
 Ring, Edgar 101  
 Rivers and Streams: Allagash 86, 91, 97, Aroostook 91, 95, Kennebec 91, Millinocket 92, Penobscot 5, 30, 91, East Branch 95, 97, West Branch 6, 91, 97, Piscataquis 4, 13 15, 16, Saint John 91, Seboeis 42, Webster 91, 95,  
 Roads: 19, 23, 52, 84, 92, 95, Bennock Road 52, importance of 84, in Willimasburgh 37, to Canada 95, early roads to Williamsburgh 23, Greenleaf and Redington traverse 52, Kennebec to Penobscot n4:14, great state road n10:15  
 Routes 4, 22, 31, 52, n5:3, n10:11  
 Schools (see under education)  
 Sebec, ME 15, n 5:3  
 Seboeis, ME 37, 42  
 Sectionalism 52, 81  
 Separation, Maine from Massachusetts 57  
 Settlement: 39, 50, 67, 73, 82, types of people 78, 96, expectations 100, fig.116  
 Shay's rebellion 8  
 Sheldon, Nathan Rev, 41  
 Shepard, David Dr. 47  
 Ship building 7  
 Shirley, Arthur 93  
 Slate 51, 63-64  
 Smith Edgar Crosby 57, 58, 89  
 Social life in Greenleaf home 26, 33, 34-35, 62-63  
 Spirit of the people 104-105  
 Stage lines 35  
 Statistical View: costs 69, intent 72, climate 73, settlement and prosperity 73-74, 76, land values 71, 74-75, manufacturing and commerce 76, property, capital and vision 76-78, reviews 73, fig. (cover) 118, closing paragraphs appendix 129  
 Stickney, Samuel 39  
 Strong, Andrew 12, 30, 32, 54  
 Sullivan, James 57, 88  
 Survey of Maine: review of book 79-85, 102, costs 70, financial aid 70, price 71, reprinting 72, reviews 71  
 Surveying: 29-32, data gained from 89, fig. (page from E. Greenleaf's journal) 121  
 Taxes 37, state and federal 84  
 Telos Canal 88, 95, 97  
 Temperance Society 56  
 Thoreau, Henry David 86  
 Timber 52, 82  
 Towne, Eli 22  
 Townships: data from surveying 87, 89, 95, 97, Days' Academy Grant 32, maps drawn by Greenleaf 89, n16:20, Middlesex 32  
 Trafton, Mark 15  
 Transportation 52-54, 84, 101, 103 (see also under canals and roads)  
 Treaty of Paris 94  
 Veterans 45  
 War of 1812 26-27  
 Washington George 8, 47  
 Waterpower 23, 24, 82  
 Watersheds 32, 94  
 Webber, John 97  
 Webster Sream 91, 95  
 Welfare services 104  
 Weston, Samuel range map 89  
 Whittier John Greenleaf 6  
 Widgey, William 58, 59  
 Whipple, Joseph for description of his writing on Maine see appendix. 135  
 Wilder Luke 14, 21  
 Wilkens, Isaac 32  
 Williamsburgh, ME: 12, 21, 35 49, division of town 61, Greenleaf's view 38, 61-62 problems 70, settlement 23  
 Williamson, William D. 44, 55, 57  
 Wiscasset, ME 5  
 Women, labor of 35  
 Young, James 93

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