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“THE ACQUISITION OF WEALTH, OR OF A
COMFORTABLE SUBSISTENCE”:
THE CENSUS OF 1800 AND THE
YANKEE MIGRATION TO MAINE, 1760-1825

In 1800 census-takers George Haliburton of Penobscot and Samuel Cony of Hallowell exceeded their official instructions and appended to their reports information about residents' places of origin. This unusual addition to the rather limited census of 1800 offers insight into early migrations to the Penobscot, Kennebec, and Androscoggin valleys. Using this as a base, Jamie Eves takes a new look at New England's internal migration patterns and reevaluates the motives and meaning of the pioneering process in this formative period in Maine's history.

In June of 1800 about a dozen men from a dozen different Maine towns saddled their horses, placed a few items of equipment in their saddlebags, and rode out to canvass the scattered rural communities of the District for the second census of the United States.¹ It was early summer, and from Kittery to Eastport farmers' crops ripened in the fields. The thick woods that mantled the District lay heavy with the warm, sweet scent of hemlock, fir, and spruce. Throughout the United States enumerators went forth that summer to determine the population of each state for two reasons: first, to allot the number of representatives the state would send to Congress; and second, to determine the states' share of any head tax Congress might levy



Migrants flooding into the District of Maine after the American Revolution saw themselves as harbingers of a new republican age. Reshaping the landscape had moral, as well as practical significance. For the most part, historians have ignored this northeastward thrust into the Maine wilderness, but there is much to gain from understanding the extent, the direction, and the motives behind this facet of the American frontier.

Inset illustration from Joseph Whipple, *District of Maine: History of Acadie, Penobscot Bay and River* (Bangor, 1816), Frank C. Deering Collection, Fogler Library, University of Maine.

in the future. Although it would not achieve statehood until 1820, Maine in 1800 nevertheless constituted the northern six counties of Massachusetts, and so was included in the census.²

The census of 1800 was a pretty simple affair. Each enumerator carried only a notebook with blank pages, pen and ink, and a set of instructions. The federal Constitution, approved only a dozen years previously, required Congress to conduct an "actual Enumeration...within every...Term of ten Years" of "the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and, excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons."³ In keeping with prevailing notions about limiting the scope of government,

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Congress required its enumerators to gather only minimal information: the name of each incorporated town and unincorporated settlement located within their assigned territory, and under each community, the name of every head of household, as well as the number of other persons, free or slave. The census divided household members into several age, gender, and race categories, but except for the head no one was recorded by name.⁴

Despite its limited intent, the Maine census of 1800 contains a wealth of data about frontier migration, information unavailable for other parts of the country for so early a date. It is well worth a close look. Although few census takers collected any more than the minimal information required by Congress, two of the Maine enumerators, George Haliburton of Penobscot and Samuel Cony of Hallowell, inexplicably exceeded their orders. Haliburton canvassed twenty-six towns and unincorporated settlements along the Penobscot Valley and Penobscot Bay; Cony polled thirty-seven communities in the vicinity of the upper Kennebec and Androscoggin rivers. In addition to the data required by Congress, they also inquired about respondents' place of origin. "Where did you live before you came to Maine?" they seem to have asked, a question not officially added to the census by Congress until 1850.⁵

Official or not, the question was logical, for European-Americans had only recently settled interior and eastern Maine. The vast majority of families residing in Haliburton's and Cony's backwoods territories were recent arrivals, pioneers in the deep forests of the raw northeastern frontier. Between the two of them, Haliburton and Cony recorded migration data for 2,538 pioneer families in sixty-three communities, accounting for nearly half of the Maine frontier.⁶

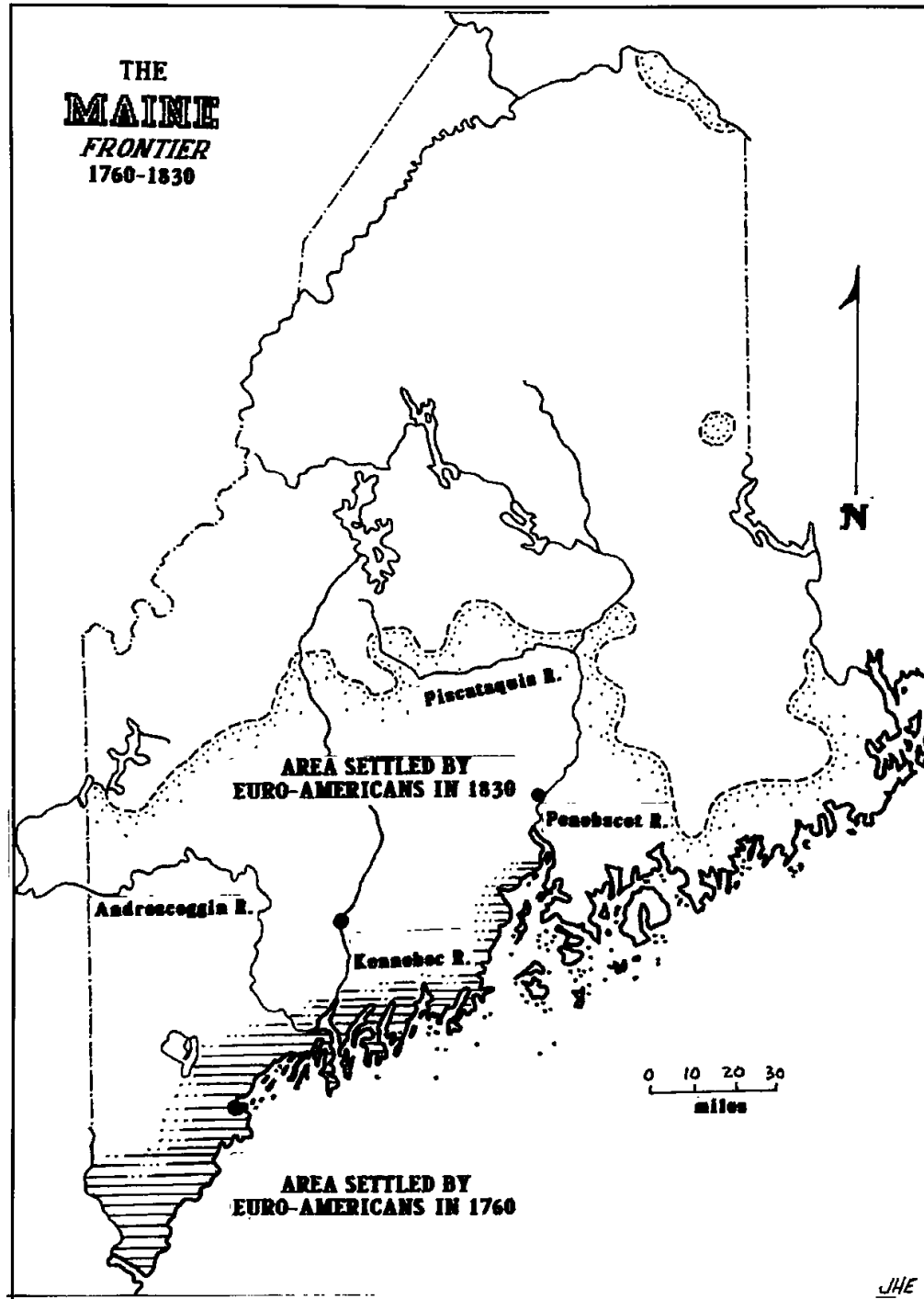
The two enumerators did not always record comparable data. Cony, for example, only noted places of origin for those settlers who came to Maine in the decade 1790-1800 — since the previous census. Haliburton, however, recorded places of origin for all migrants, regardless of when they arrived. Furthermore, Haliburton collected more specific information than Cony; in

most cases he identified the actual towns the pioneer families had originally come from. Cony noted only the state, province, or country of origin. Haliburton did not, however, record the dates pioneer families had settled in their new homes, information Cony took pains to collect.

Since Congress failed to include the migration data collected by Haliburton and Cony in its published summaries, this information was “lost” to scholars.⁷ Yet these notebooks provide rare and valuable information about the process of pioneer migration — information unavailable for any of the thousands of other American frontier communities that existed at the time. Historians of the early national frontier generally focus on the Trans-Appalachian West, the chief area of new settlement in the period. Since Maine lay to the northeast rather than to the west, it has been peripheral to their field of study. Yet like the Trans-Appalachian West, Maine’s lands, wrested from the Native peoples, drew farm families from the settled portions of the East by the thousands. The records kept by Haliburton and Cony, coupled with other sources, provide detailed information not only about where these pioneers came from, but also who they were and why they left their old homes behind and journeyed to new places. These pioneers influenced Maine’s demography and its culture, and as participants in the broader pioneering process, they give us vital insight into this important facet of the American experience.

The families enumerated by Haliburton and Cony in 1800 were part of the largest and most sustained migration into Maine in history. Thousands of pioneers swarmed into Maine after 1760, when the fall of the French citadel at Quebec signaled an end to the French and Indian War. Fewer than 22,000 non-Indians lived in Maine in 1765. Ten years later, however, Maine’s population had more than doubled, and after twenty-five years the first United States census in 1790 found nearly a hundred thousand in the District — a fourfold increase in but a quarter of a century. Put another way, Maine accounted for only 9 percent of Massachusetts’s population in 1765; in 1790 it comprised 20 percent.⁸ Maine’s

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Maps in this article courtesy of the author.

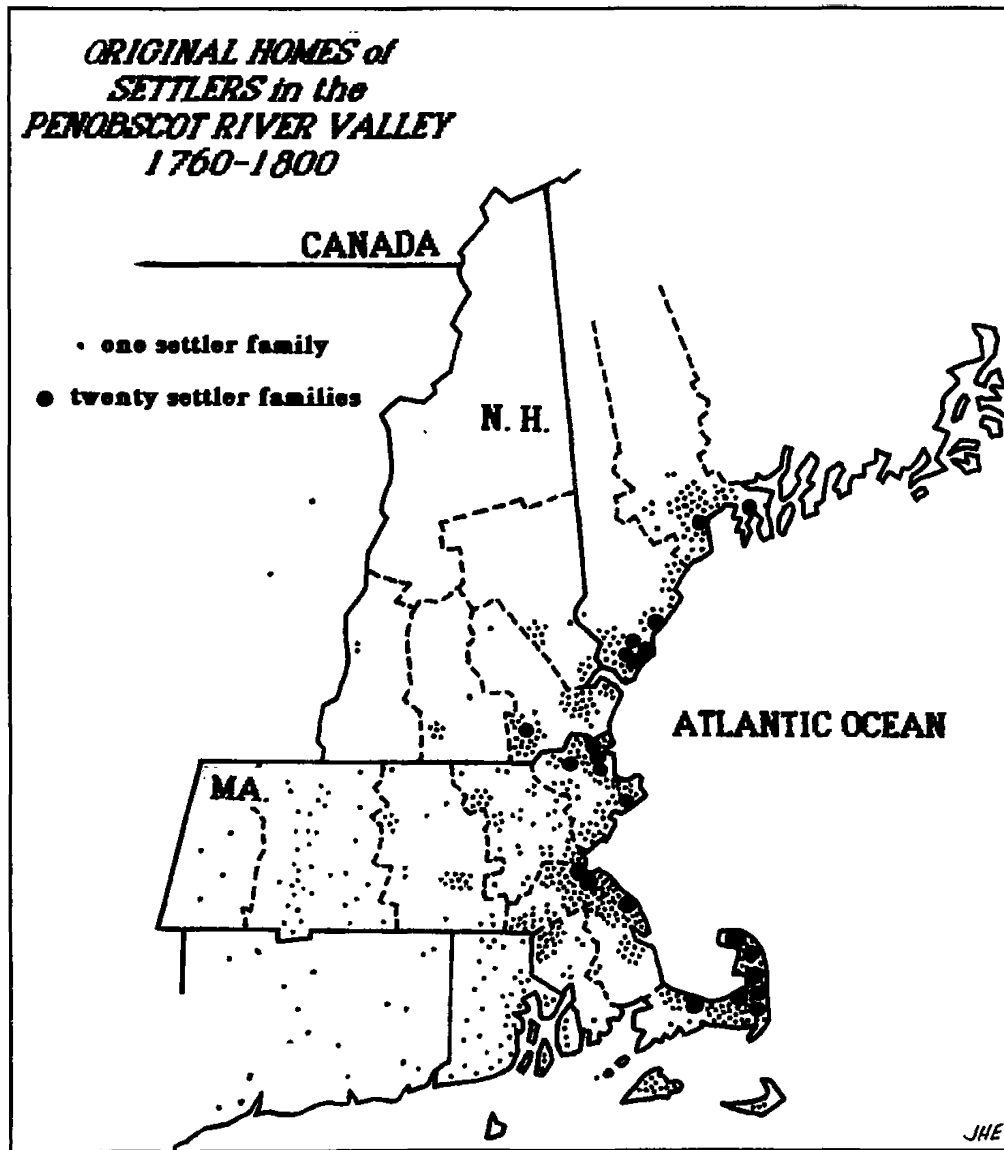
population continued to grow rapidly, expanding from 150,000 in 1800 to almost 400,000 in 1830 – a sixteen-fold increase since 1760. During the second half of the nineteenth century growth slowed as the population stabilized at between 600,000 and 700,000 inhabitants.⁹

Between 1810 and 1830 Maine's population grew at approximately the same rate as natural increase (about 35 percent per decade), indicating in-migration balanced out-migration. After 1830 the population grew more slowly than the rate of natural increase, indicating net out-migration. Yet before 1800 in-migration accounted for most of the population. About half of all Mainers in 1800 were recent migrants or their descendants. In pioneer communities, as Haliburton's and Cony's data show, the proportion of recent migrants was even greater: between 65 and 80 percent of the frontier population in 1800 came from outside Maine. Alongside the greater migration of outsiders into Maine, a smaller, yet nevertheless significant migration of Mainers themselves also occurred, a movement from older coastal towns within the District to the new communities on the frontier.

Haliburton's and Cony's data reveal that 90 percent were Yankees from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, or elsewhere in Maine. Of the 1,023 new families Cony canvassed in the Kennebec and Androscoggin valleys, almost half (470 families, or 46 percent) came from Massachusetts. Another third (319, or 31 percent) hailed from New Hampshire. Nearly a fifth (194, or 19 percent) came from other towns in Maine. Only forty families, or just four percent of all migrants arriving in Cony's district between 1790 and 1800, had come from other places: a smattering of Americans, Britons, continental Europeans, and Canadians.

Haliburton's data for the Penobscot area showed a similar pattern. Again almost half of all pioneer families (701 of 1,515, or 46 percent) were from Massachusetts. Fewer migrants from New Hampshire lived in the Penobscot Valley than in the Kennebec and Androscoggin (114 families, or 8 percent). Settlers from other Maine towns comprised more than a third (529 families, or 35 percent) of Penobscot pioneers. Only a tenth (171

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families, or 11 percent) came from other places, such as Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, the British Isles, and British North America. Despite the presence of a minority of Scots-Irish, German, French, and other ethnic groups, eighteenth-century New England was ethnically homogeneous.

In many cases Haliburton recorded the actual town the migrants had come from. His data indicate that the vast majority of the settler families came from towns located within twenty-five miles of the ocean, from Cape Cod to Casco Bay. The towns in this broad stretch of the New England coast were among the oldest in New England, having been settled in the early 1600s. Settlers in the Penobscot Valley were especially likely to have migrated from towns on outer Cape Cod, Massachusetts Bay, from the Merrimack River valley, and from York, Wells, Falmouth, and Harpswell in Maine.

Settlers who migrated into Maine between 1800 and 1825 came from roughly the same region as those who arrived earlier. A study of pioneers in Maine's Piscataquis River valley (a frontier region settled between 1801 and 1825) based on genealogies, late-nineteenth-century town histories, and a handful of other sources identified the former homes of eighty-six pioneer families, or approximately 5 percent of all Piscataquis-bound migrants. As before, more than nine-tenths hailed from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, or elsewhere in Maine. Forty-four (51 percent) came from older Maine towns, twenty-six (30 percent) migrated from eastern Massachusetts, thirteen (15 percent) originally came from southern New Hampshire, two were British, and one came from Vermont.¹⁰ Thus the vast majority of these later migrants, too, were Yankees.

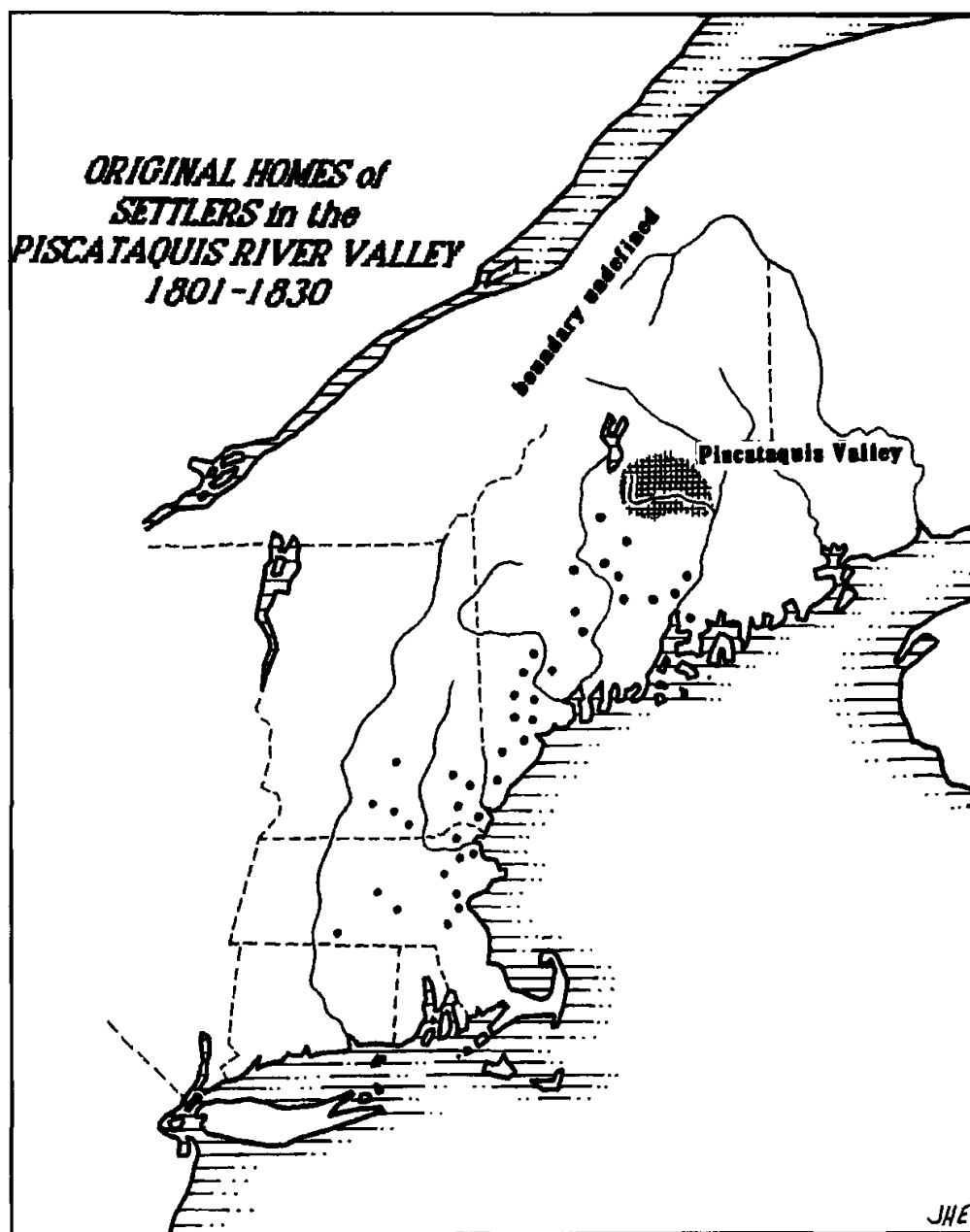
This Yankee migration into Maine between 1760 and 1825 was part of a widespread Yankee Diaspora that began in the middle of the eighteenth century and continued until near the end of the nineteenth century. Although usually generalized as part of the "westward movement," this Diaspora actually featured "northward" migration as well. Besides Maine, Yankees from southern New England moved northward into Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, northern New Hampshire, Vermont, and the

Eastern Townships of Quebec. Those who went west have been well studied. Unfortunately, those who journeyed north have received far less attention from historians of the United States, doubtless in part because so many of them crossed into Canada and disappeared from U. S. census records.¹¹

The majority of the pioneers who came to the Maine frontier were poor or middling farm families — participants in a rural-to-rural migration. A study of about two hundred pioneer families from Cape Cod who moved to the Penobscot valley between 1700 and 1790 revealed much about their lives in Massachusetts. Fourteen percent of the families appearing in the census of 1800 in Maine also appeared in a Massachusetts tax valuation conducted in 1771.¹²

Before migrating, about a third of these pioneers were “yeomen,” their own term for middling farmers. In Massachusetts each of the migrant yeoman families previously owned a modest estate of between ten and sixty-four acres of cleared land, and between nine and thirty-three head of livestock — fairly average holdings for eighteenth-century New England agriculturalists. Another third of the migrants had been but poor “husbandmen,” each with less than ten acres of cleared land and fewer than nine stock animals — less wealthy than the typical Yankee farm family. The remainder had owned no land at all, although some of them possessed a few livestock, indicating that they may have been either marginal tenant farmers or young families starting out. Few of the migrants appear to have been wealthy, and as a whole the newcomers were disproportionately poor.

Before 1840 it was common practice for New Englanders engaging in real estate transactions to list their occupations in their deeds. In the deeds to their new lands in Maine, recorded in the Hancock County Registry, the overwhelming majority of the migrants who came from Cape Cod to the Penobscot country listed their occupations as “yeomen” or “husbandmen,” further evidence of their farm backgrounds. A few declared themselves “mariners,” probably saltwater fishermen. Fewer yet were carpenters, house wrights, cobblers, millers, or other artisans. And



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merchants, physicians, “gentlemen,” “esquires,” and others of high status were extremely rare.¹³

A similar situation existed for those who migrated to the Piscataquis River valley between 1801 and 1825, where again most of the newcomers seem to have been poor or middling farmers. When the United States began collecting census information about occupations for the first time in 1820, the vast preponderance of Piscataquis pioneers whose occupations were recorded (95 percent) listed agriculture. (Farm wives, housewives, and most children, although not included among those “employed,” contributed greatly to family enterprises.) Undoubtedly most families had also toiled on farms before migrating to Maine as well.¹⁴

Typical of those who settled in the Piscataquis valley was the Ames family. Phineas Ames was born in 1757 in Rutland, Massachusetts, the eldest son of Samuel Ames, a semi-subsistence farmer. In 1780 the family left Massachusetts and migrated to the frontier community of Hancock, New Hampshire, a newly incorporated town with only about a hundred inhabitants. Although Samuel farmed in Massachusetts, and owned a farm in Hancock, he also operated a gristmill in the new town. Phineas probably helped out at the mill.¹⁵

Phineas, although he did not become wealthy, prospered in the new town. The young man somehow managed to acquire a farm lot of his own, located on a narrow stretch of *intervale* just south of Hancock village. Rising in the community, Phineas served as a selectman in 1781-1782. He married neighbor Mehitable Jewett in 1785. The couple had six sons and three daughters. In 1796, when Phineas was thirty-nine, he, Mehitable, and the children left Hancock and moved to the recently settled town of Harmony, Maine, about a 150 miles away to the northeast in the upper Kennebec valley. They stayed in frontier Harmony only seven years, then migrated again — about seventeen miles this time — to become the first settlers in Sangerville in the Piscataquis region.¹⁶

The Massachusetts farm Phineas grew up on was typically modest, and it is not likely that the one in Hancock had been

much larger. According to a 1771 tax valuation conducted when Phineas was fourteen, his father had been a middling Massachusetts yeoman. Samuel Ames had owned a modest twenty-five acres of cleared land in Rutland, most of which was in pasture or meadow rather than plowland. Samuel cultivated just three acres of crops and harvested only fifty-nine bushels of grain each year — very modest totals. The Ames farm had twenty-three stock animals: a horse for riding, two oxen to pull Samuel's heavy wooden plow, five cattle for milk and meat, two pigs, and thirteen sheep. Yet the family's ten acres of pasture had barely provided for four cows and no sheep, and their meadows produced scarcely six tons of hay a year.¹⁷ Keeping all the animals fed must have been a struggle, and with seven children to feed, the Ames family could not have produced much of a surplus for market. Like many who migrated to the northern New England frontier, the Ames family were clearly a marginal family operating on the edge of subsistence.

A yeoman farmer, Phineas Ames, like his father before him, also practiced numerous rural crafts. He evidently learned the rudiments of milling from his father, for he constructed and operated the first gristmill in Sangerville. He practiced carpentry and surveyed farm lots in Sangerville for the proprietor. Phineas also hunted to supplement the family diet. Like a number of pioneers, he owned a gun, and his Sangerville neighbors considered him a crack shot. Yet, like many "jacks of all trades," except for hunting Phineas was not very skilled at any of his undertakings. The Sangerville gristmill he built was so rickety that it had to be replaced only a few years later. His surveys proved to be inaccurate; the speculator who owned Sangerville had to hire someone else to rerun the lines. Not surprisingly, the Ames family continued to rely on farming for the bulk of its subsistence.¹⁸

Other migrants to the Piscataquis country combined farming with traditional rural crafts: carpentry, house-building, wagon making, cabinet making, blacksmithing, saw- and grist-milling, and tanning, among others.¹⁹ Yankee farmers drew the boundaries between occupations loosely. Housewives practiced crafts

such as brewing, butter making, spinning, and midwifery. Yet farming occupied most of a family's time, and most of the "artisans" who journeyed to the Piscataquis country were really only part-time craftspeople, not highly skilled, specialized mechanics.

Like Ames, most of the migrants shared a traditional rather than modern outlook on life. To characterize them as "semi-subsistence" does not mean that each farm family was completely and totally self-sufficient; probably no turn-of-the-century New Englanders produced all their own cloth, metal goods, or other manufactured items.²⁰ Nor does it mean that their economy was based strictly on barter, since most Yankee farmers sold their modest surpluses at market for cash or credit, sometimes traveling many miles to get the best price.²¹ Nor does it even mean that they were not keenly acquisitive, for they frequently bought and sold real estate, and were considered sharp traders. Nevertheless, unlike modern commercial farmers they typically produced most of what they consumed, and consumed most of what they produced. Usually, they managed to harvest modest surpluses, which they duly exchanged at the marketplace for goods the family could not or preferred not to fashion. But such surpluses were sharply limited, and marketing constituted a clear minority of a family's economic activities.²²

Accordingly, most migrants believed in the ideal of a "competency," that is, possession of enough property to absorb the labors of a particular family while at the same time providing it with a measure of comfortable independence. To most Yankee yeomen the key to competency and independence was a social structure in which almost everyone had access to ownership of modest farmsteads, but in which no one could accumulate the enormous amounts of property Americans associated with European aristocracy.²³

Successful competencies required two things: abundant land, and family labor. Most New England farm families continued to follow the traditional agricultural practice of mixed farming, supplemented by hunting and gathering. Normally, a family kept a third of each farm as woodland, waste, or fallow;

another third was kept as pasture; and most of the rest was devoted to meadows, orchards, and plowland. Each year the average Yankee farm family planted about ten to twelve acres of various grains, kept a few each of several different kinds of livestock, picked apples, tended a garden, made butter and cheese, practiced a variety of rural crafts, gathered wild herbs, greens, and berries, hunted animals, fished, and cut firewood and timber. Such a mixture of activities meant a more-or-less extensive agriculture, requiring at least fifty acres of land per family. New England farms operated as family enterprises, and each member — man, woman, and child — was expected to contribute.²⁴

While most of the pioneers had been farmers or rural artisans before coming to the frontier, a minority had other, more modern backgrounds: land speculators and their agents, small-time merchants, lumber operators, and a smattering of so-called “professionals.” Typical of such entrepreneurially minded migrants was Moses Greenleaf. In 1799, when he was twenty-two, Greenleaf left his father’s stony farm in New Gloucester, Maine (itself only recently settled), hoping to escape the drudgery of farm life forever. He opened a general store. When it failed Greenleaf moved on to the raw frontier community of Bangor to try again. But the new emporium — offering a variety of groceries, dry goods, and West Indies produce — fared no better than the old. After seven years as a merchant, Greenleaf found himself deeply in debt. He had also married in 1804 or 1805 and now carried the added burden of a family to support. Consequently, in 1806 Greenleaf entered into an agreement with a Boston-based speculator in frontier real estate who had recently acquired the entire backwoods township of Williamsburg, Maine. As land agent, Greenleaf drafted legal documents such as deeds and surveyed the land. For these services, the speculator gave Greenleaf a farm and one-quarter interest in the township. Although this may not have been the life this would-be merchant most desired, Greenleaf put down his ledgers and moved his family to Williamsburg.²⁵



Settlers in the upper Penobscot Valley were jacks-of-all-trades, but most activities centered around small farm clearings and a few livestock.

Inset illustration from Luella A. Frev, *An Historical Paper: 150th Anniversary Exercises, First Parish Church* (Saco, 1912). Deering Collection

Pioneers like Greenleaf constituted a clear minority of all migrants. The census of 1820 shows that merely 5 percent of Piscataquis valley's population was employed in commerce or manufacturing — and a substantial number of the “manufacturers” were doubtless really country craftspeople like Ames. Greenleaf was not a typical pioneer.

Knowing which towns in southern New England the Yankee pioneers lived in before coming to Maine presents clues concerning their reasons for migrating. The same factors did not motivate everyone, but economic, environmental, family, and cultural considerations were paramount. Prior to arriving in Maine most of the migrants practiced a mixed, semi-subsistence agriculture. Yet, environmental problems within the 250-mile-long crescent of old coastal communities that the pioneers

came from made such a lifestyle increasingly difficult. By 1760 a century and a half of population growth generated severe land shortages along the coast, making it tough for young families to acquire sufficient land for farms of their own. In most of the old towns, by the late 1700s the population exceeded forty people per square mile. Worse, this population wore out and depleted much of the farmland in the old seacoast towns. Practices such as continuous cropping, overgrazing, widespread deforestation, erosion, and insufficient manuring ruined the farmland in the old seacoast towns.²⁶

Demography also played a role in the decision to migrate. Population growth increased the demand for farmland, thus driving up land values. Increased costs meant longer mortgages, rising taxes, and years of debt, anathema to the ideal of an independent competency. Even farmers who did own fertile land could not always find enough additional acreage in their neighborhoods upon which to settle their children.²⁷ When New England yeomen chose a farm site, they usually looked for sufficient land to settle their children nearby, to be a comfort in their old age. Competencies were built on household production, and keeping the family intact — even after the children were grown — remained a powerful cultural imperative.

The family of Betsey and John Hart, who left the coastal Maine town of Penobscot for the frontier community of Atkinson in 1813, is a good example of migrants who moved in order to keep the family together. In 1795 Elizabeth “Betsey” Stover married John Hart, a landless sawmiller’s helper who recently arrived in Maine in the company of his employer. Betsey’s father sold the newlyweds an unimproved hundred-acre farm lot in Penobscot. The couple had five children: three daughters and two sons. By 1813 most of the good farmland in Penobscot had been taken up. With little farmland available for them in town, the boys dreamed of going to sea to seek their fortunes. Distraught at the prospect of losing her sons, Betsey prevailed upon John to trade their farm in Penobscot for another in Atkinson, far from the roar of the breakers on the shore. The plan worked. Plenty of uncleared land existed in Atkinson, and John acquired

an additional hundred acres after the family moved. When he died in 1841 John bequeathed a nearby farm to each of his sons, provided they continued to care for their aged mother.²⁸

A second reason for migration was the depletion of woodland in southeastern New England. Game animals, such as beaver, deer, bear, and turkeys, had vanished. The amount of forest still exceeded cleared land in southern New England as a whole in 1800, but along the coast woodland was becoming scarce. The prime oak and white pine had long since fallen, and shortages of cedar and hickory were reported. Many coastal communities imported their firewood from Maine.²⁹

By contrast, the Maine frontier seemed to offer all the things competency-seeking yeomen desired. Cheap land existed in abundance.³⁰ Speculators frequently grumbled that oversupply kept Maine land prices low. In 1825 Moses Greenleaf grouched that virgin land in Williamsburg had sold for only a dollar an acre in 1805, and that since then the price had dropped to only fifteen to thirty cents per acre. Often pioneers could barter "horses, cattle, goods of some kind, perhaps notes secured by a mortgage," or even an older farm in Massachusetts for a Maine farm lot.³¹ At those prices most settlers could afford hundred-acre lots with plenty of room for mixed, extensive agriculture — and be sure of plenty of land nearby for their children.

Settlers generally believed that land in Maine was at least as fertile as southern New England had once been. One typical and widely read account touted that "the crops of grain are equal to what can be produced in the western [i.e., southern] parts of New England."³² Glowing advertisements for Maine lands appeared in several Boston newspapers. One bragged of "soil [that] is believed to be generally very good, quite equal in quality to that of any part of New-England, and is capable of raising all the productions of the eastern and Middle States." Another claimed, "Perhaps no body of Land...now for sale...offers...to the individual who is desirous to form an actual settlement, so many inducements to purchasing as this."³³ Woodland, of course, was plentiful. Some argued that only a lush soil and plenty of

moisture could have produced the well-known, prodigious Maine forests. Others pointed out that Maine was nearer to eastern markets for farm produce than were other frontier regions, such as Ohio or Kentucky.³⁴

A few migrants like Moses Greenleaf came to the Maine frontier to make their fortunes in commerce. But even Greenleaf realized that the majority of the pioneers were driven by the desire to establish competencies. He admitted as much when he declared in his acclaimed 1829 geography, *A Survey of Maine*, that the migration to the Maine frontier had two causes. While those like himself had come seeking “the acquisition of wealth,” most of the newcomers instead had sought “a comfortable subsistence.”³⁵

There is, of course, much more that could be said about the Yankees who migrated to the Maine frontier between 1760 and 1825. Other research indicates they moved as family units, usually in chain migrations; they frequently migrated in stages, like the Ames family, making several moves before eventually settling down. Most journeyed by land, but some came by boat, as passengers on returning coasters that had carried wood and timber to southern New England.

The census of 1800, when combined with other sources, sheds a great deal of light on where these pioneers originated, who they were, and why they came. The vast majority were Yankees from old, long-settled towns in southeastern New England — towns gripped by environmental degradation, overpopulation, and land shortages. Most were semi-subsistence farmers, farm wives, and farm children from the middling and lower strata of society. The majority came looking for sufficient affordable land to establish competencies, although a minority sought entrepreneurial opportunities. Altogether, they constituted the largest migration into Maine in history. They would reshape Maine, both the land and the culture, in profound ways. Understanding them — knowing who they were — is a vital first step towards understanding the history of Maine during the last two and a half centuries.

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NOTES

¹Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1975), 1: 1-2.

²The six Maine Counties were York, Cumberland, Lincoln, Washington, Hancock, and Kennebec.

³*Constitution of the United States*, Article I, Section 2.

⁴In 1800 enumerators were instructed to ask fourteen questions — eight more than in 1790.

⁵The 1850 Census — as well as all subsequent censuses — asked for only the state, country, or colony of origin, not the town or county.

⁶Population Schedules of the Second Census of the United States, 1800, manuscript microcopy (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 1959), no. 32, reel 7 (Maine 2): 1-187, 279-459.

⁷But see Alan Taylor, *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors: The Revolutionary Settlement on the Maine Frontier, 1760-1820* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

⁸Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, comps., *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), pp. 21, 27, 29-30, 36-39, 46.

⁹Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics*, 1: 28-29; Edward O. Schriver, "Population," in *Maine: A History Through Selected Readings*, edited by David C. Smith and Edward O. Schriver (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hunt, 1985), p. 611; Richard D. Kelly, Jr., "Population Density," in *The Maine Bicentennial Atlas: An Historical Survey*, edited by Gerald E. Morris (Portland, Maine: Maine Historical Society, 1976), pp. 11-14.

¹⁰Amasa Loring, *History of Piscataquis County, Maine, from Its Earliest Settlement to 1880* (Portland, Maine: Hoyt, Fogg, and Donham, 1880), pp. 36-40, 74-80, 90-91; Diana Bray, et al., *175th Anniversary: Sangerville Centeseptquinary* (Sangerville, Maine: History Text Book Committee, 1989), pp. 3-6, 15 (citing earlier sources); Edgar Crosby Smith, "Henry Leland," *Collections of the Piscataquis County Historical Society* 1 (1910): 177-80; deed of Calvin Sanger to William Barrel, Penobscot County Registry of Deeds, 21: 204; deed of Calvin Sanger to Isaiah Knowlton, Penobscot County Registry of Deeds, 6: 148; George Thomas Little, comp., *Genealogical and Family History of the State of Maine* (New York: Lewis Publishing, 1909), p. 355-56; 358-61, 1335; John Francis Sprague, "Historical Address," *Sprague's Journal of Maine History* 2 (1914): 109-112; Ava Harriet Chadbourne, *Maine Place Names and the Peopling of its Towns* (Portland, Maine: Bond Wheelwright, 1955), pp. 132-33, 158-60, 330-47, 355-58.

¹¹Margaret Conrad, ed., *The Planted Well: New England Planters in Maritime Canada* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1988); Jamie H. Eves, "Yankee Immigrants: Ecological Crisis and the Settlement of Maine, 1783-1825," M.A. thesis, University of Maine, 1988, pp. 1-33; R. Cole Harris and John Warkentin, *Canada Before Confederation: A Study in Historical Geography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 66-67, 93-94, 175; Lois Kimball Mathews, *The Expansion of New England: The Spread of New England Settlement and Institutions to the Mississippi River, 1620-1865* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909).

¹²Bettye Hobbs Pruitt, comp., *The Massachusetts Tax Census of 1771* (Boston: C.K. Hall, 1978).

¹³Jamie H. Eves, "'The Valley White with Mist': A Cape Cod Colony in Maine, 1770-1820," *Maine Historical Society Quarterly* 32 (1992): 82-85.

¹⁴*Census for 1820* (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1821), n.p.

¹⁵William Willis Hayward, *The History of Hancock, New Hampshire, 1764-1889* (Lowell, Massachusetts: S. W. Huse, 1889), pp. 306-09; Edgar Crosby Smith, "Phineas

Ames," *Collections of the Piscataquis County Historical Society* 1 (1910): 154-57; Lynn Warren Turner, *The Ninth State: New Hampshire's Formative Years* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), p. 363.

¹⁶Smith, "Phineas Ames," pp. 154-57.

¹⁷Pruitt, *Massachusetts Tax Census*, pp. 352-53.

¹⁸Smith, "Phineas Ames," pp. 156-57.

¹⁹Loring, *History of Piscataquis County*, pp. 44, 76-77, 80-88.

²⁰Bettye Hobbs Pruitt, "Self-Sufficiency and the Agricultural Economy of Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 41 (1984): 333-64.

²¹Winifred B. Rothenberg, "The Market and Massachusetts Farmers, 1750-1855," *Journal of Economic History* 41 (1981): 283-312.

²²Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780-1860* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990): 3-29.

²³Daniel Vickers, "Competency and Competition: Economic Culture in Early America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 47 (1990): 3-29.

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²⁸Edgar Crosby Smith, "John Hart," *Collections of the Piscataquis County Historical Society* 1 (1910): 169-71; will of John Hart, Sr., 1842, Piscataquis County Registry of Probate, file 0-44; deed of the administrator of the estate of John Hart, Sr., to John Hart, Jr., 1847, Piscataquis County Registry of Deeds, 41: 447.

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³³Boston *Columbian Sentinel*, February 7, 1807.

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