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An Appeal to The People of Maine on the Question of Separation

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AN APPEAL

TO

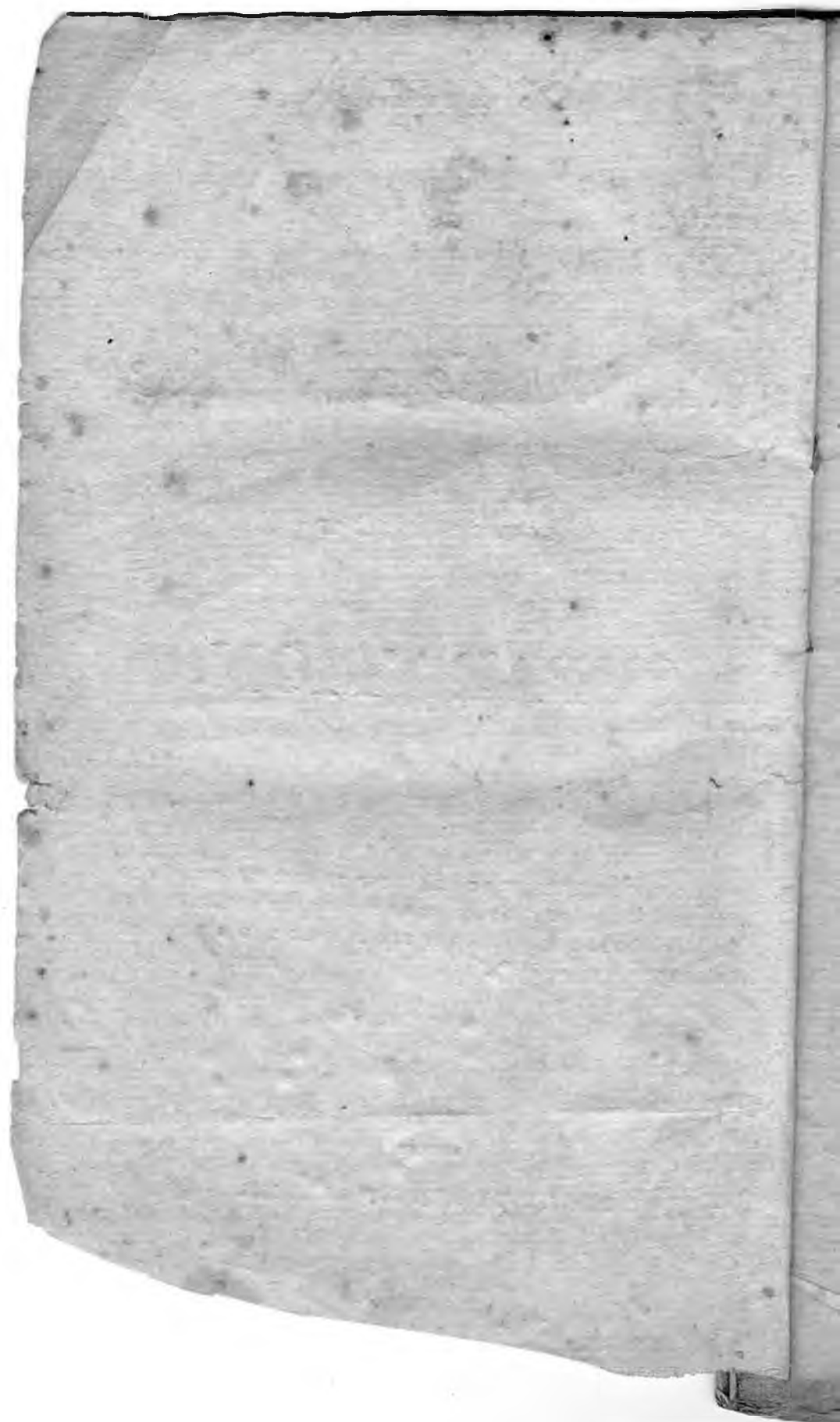
The People of Maine

ON THE QUESTION OF

SEPARATION.

"SHALL THE LEGISLATURE BE REQUESTED TO GIVE ITS CONSENT TO
THE SEPARATION OF THE DISTRICT OF MAINE FROM MASSACHUSETTS
PROPER AND TO THE ERECTION OF SAID DISTRICT INTO A SEPARATE
STATE" MASS. RESOLVES.

PRINTED (BY REQUEST) APRIL 1816.



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TO THE

PEOPLE OF MAINE.

*Is it for the interest of the District of
Maine to become a Separate State?*

“**STRIKE,**” said an ancient philosopher to an impetuous young man, enraged at the philosopher’s opposition to a favorite measure, “strike, but hear me.”—He listened, and was convinced. I am one of those, who believe that, when facts are fairly laid before the people, without appealing to their prejudices, or party feelings, their decision will be right. A question, interesting to you and your posterity, is about to be submitted to you. Lay aside, my fellow citizens, your hasty opinions, your party dissensions, and view the subject calmly with candor and fairness. For, whatever the furious partizan on this or that side may tell you, it is one, in which *the people* are all alike interested. If it is for the interest of the District of Maine to continue her connexion with Massachusetts proper, we ought to support that connexion. But, if it is for her interest to become a separate State in the Union, her sons ought to forget every minor and selfish consideration, and join in effecting an amicable separation.

It seems to be conceded, that we must sooner or later be separated from Massachusetts. In extent of territory the District of Maine is larger, than the rest of New-England. Her extensive seacoast is indented with harbors, some of which are allowed to be among the finest in the world. Her territory is watered by noble rivers, intersecting the country in every direction. These, it is ascertained, may be easily connected with each other by means of locks and canals, and be made to afford a cheap, safe, and expeditious communication between the most distant places. Her water privileges for manufactories, and her facilities to internal and external commerce, are second to those of no State in the Union. Her lands are not so productive, as the more fertile fields of the South and West, but they richly reward the farmer for all his labor and toil; and even that less fertility is compensated to us by the enhanced price of our own productions, and the

superior salubrity of our climate. In fine, she wants nothing but the fostering care of a legislature, devoted to her prosperity, and ready to aid the enterprize of men of public spirit and capital, to make her the most wealthy and powerful of the Northern States. And such is the high destiny, that awaits her. For crippled, as her energies now are, she is still gaining strength upon Massachusetts : and so soon, as Massachusetts sees the sceptre about to depart from her own hands into those of Maine, she herself will become clamorous for separation, and will effect it. Whatever therefore may be our individual wishes, the present connexion will subsist but a few years longer. Separation is inevitable ; still if it be an evil, we ought not to hasten it. Let us then enquire, how such an event would probably affect the interests of the District of Maine.

As the question just proposed is a broad one, we will for the sake of method first consider the probable effects of separation upon the District of Maine, without reference to the expense of supporting a separate government. We will next compare the probable expense of a separate government for Maine with her present proportion of the expense of the government of Massachusetts.

EFFECTS OF SEPARATION UPON MAINE.

There can be no doubt, that the *relative importance of Maine in a national point of view would, by her becoming a separate State, be vastly increased.* Admitted a constituent member of the union, entitled to her equal representation in the Senate of the United States, her voice would have its equal influence. As in territorial extent she exceeds the residue of New-England, so her free population is already greater, than that of ten of the States ;—it is even greater, than the united population of the three States of Rhode-Island, Delaware, and Louisiana. Among her sister States therefore Maine would find few more powerful and influential, than herself, while many would be less so ; and she would also find that power and influence rapidly and constantly increasing. But, my fellow citizens, what is her influence now in her present situation ? Her voice has never yet been heard in the Senate of the United States. *She has no standing among the States. She is known only as a mere province of Massachusetts.*

The policy of Massachusetts is, to prevent the District of Maine from growing too rapidly. She views with a degree of jealousy our prosperity, lest we should be increased in wealth and population, and become unmanageable. *We are*

necessary to her importance ; but then we must not outgrow her. This charge is not made rashly. Discerning men of both parties from Maine have long seen this spirit in her legislature. To satisfy the doubting we select the following from many instances. In the January session of 1814 the legislature made a donation to the Colleges of \$ 16,000 of the annual revenue of the State to be continued ten years. Of this sum \$ 13,000 was apportioned to the *two within her own limits*, and \$ 3000 only to the College at Brunswick ; notwithstanding hers were already rich and flourishing, while ours was languishing for want of patronage. The proportion of that donation, which as a matter of right belonged to the District of Maine according to the tax she pays, is \$ 3158. *In effect therefore we ourselves not only pay the whole \$ 3000 to our own College, but CONTRIBUTE ANNUALLY \$ 458, TO THOSE WITHIN THE LIMITS OF MASSACHUSETTS PROPER.* Such is her liberality to the public institutions of Maine, a *liberality, which under the semblance of patronizing them, levies a tax on us for the support of her own.* So also at the last session, application was made for the usual grant for an Academy at Bangor. It was however discovered by her sharp sighted politicians, "that these Academies injure the common schools," and the grant was refused. Application was also made for a lottery, the profits of which were to be appropriated to a work of public utility and improvement in Maine ; but, notwithstanding the Harvard College lotteries, the Middlesex Canal lotteries, and a hundred others, which had been granted for similar purposes within the limits of Massachusetts proper, it was now discovered, as it were intuitively, that all *lotteries are immoral ;* and the application was rejected.

A legislature, composed of men taken from among ourselves, would act from other motives, and with other feelings. Devoted to the welfare of Maine, and feeling a common interest in her prosperity, their attention would be engrossed in devising and executing plans for her improvement. Public spirit would animate the legislature and the people. Encouragement would be given to works of public utility. Our feelings would no longer be directed to Boston and Cambridge, but would center upon their proper objects among ourselves. Our own literary institutions would be fostered and patronized. What have we at present to excite among men of information a literary emulation, or to raise and improve the standard of scientific and literary attainments ? Massachusetts has her literary and medical societies, her Athenæums, her Societies for the promotion of agriculture ; and these all experience the bounty of

her legislature ; *but we have nothing.* In case of separation *we too* should have our literary, our medical, our agricultural societies, and last though not least our societies for the dissemination of Christian knowledge. These advantages it is true, would not all be instantly realized ; but they *would come in a succession so rapid, that people would be surprized at the change.*

A liberal and enlightened policy with respect to the disposition and settlement of our immense wild lands, is to Maine an object of the first magnitude. It appears from the report of a committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts, made in 1814, and from facts since ascertained, that the lands owned by the State, amount to about fifteen million acres. The committee also state, that “for want of prudent management the course of emigration has been changed from Maine to the western States”—Farther “that nothing is wanting, but a liberal, enlightened, and generous policy, to again turn the current of emigration to our own lands, and to produce a great and lasting revenue to the government.” Yet Massachusetts has *not changed her policy.* Some of the reasons, why she has not done so, have already been explained. Her policy is to sell to the monied speculator at the highest price, she can obtain. While the lands remain *uncultivated*, she *taxes him for two per cent only* on their valuation ; but the poor settler, who buys of the speculator at an *enhanced price*, and by indefatigable toil reduces his *wilderness to a farm*, she *taxes six per cent.* The effects of this policy upon the District of Maine are too well known, to need explanation. Of these lands as well, as of all the other public property, Maine in case of Separation would be entitled to her proportion. Her legislature would pursue that “liberal, enlightened, and generous policy.” with respect to them, which has in vain been urged upon Massachusetts. The tide of emigration would again turn in our favor ; and its happy effects upon the wealth and power of Maine would be incalculable.

Our country is now at peace. May she long continue to enjoy the blessing. As we cannot however expect it to be perpetual, the dictate of wisdom is, “in peace prepare for war.” Experience has taught us, that the District of Maine is peculiarly exposed to the successful inroads of an enemy. Without entering therefore into a discussion of those questions, which have agitated the two parties respecting the conduct of the executive of Massachusetts ; it must be conceded, that an executive, resident among us, acquainted with our local situation, and with the positions, and comparative strength, and discipline, of our militia, would, other things being equal, be better qualified

to direct and conduct a series of successful operations against an invading enemy, than an executive, removed to the distance of one or two hundred miles from the scene of action, and at the same time a stranger to the country and the people.

It is a sound maxim in political economy, that where a certain trade is constantly draining the country of its money, such trade, though it may be profitable to the merchant, is injurious to the community. The principle of this maxim may be applied to the political connexion, subsisting between Maine and Massachusetts. In the year 1815 there was levied upon the District of Maine, and actually paid by her into the State Treasury at Boston* upwards of *sixty thousand dollars*. Of this sum raised by *taxation, and carried out of the district, only about twenty thousand dollars returns; thus draining us in one year of FORTY THOUSAND DOLLARS of our circulating medium.* These drains must and do impoverish us; and they constitute one among other causes of the extreme scarcity of money among us. It is evident, that if this sum, instead of being drawn from us, as it is, were to be expended here, the District of Maine would be \$40,000 richer; and at the same time the money, instead of being in effect lost to us, would continue as part of our circulating medium. Here also, we may add, that the sums expended in the erection and improvement of the public buildings, which are the pride and ornament of Massachusetts, contribute nothing to the respectability or improvement of Maine; whereas in case of separation the sums, expended by us for such purposes, would be laid out among ourselves, and would adorn and beautify our own capital.

Such with regard to the District of Maine are the principal effects, which independent of all considerations of expense would probably result from her becoming a separate State.— They are certainly of no ordinary or doubtful character. But

* By the tax act passed March 1, 1815, there was laid upon the *polls and estates* in the District of Maine, \$42,911 04
Amount of tax upon Banks in Maine, 17,800 00
—————\$ 60,711 04

Making the amount raised by *taxation* and paid into the Treasury at Boston, sixty thousand seven hundred and eleven dollars and four cents.

Of this sum there is paid to Counties, Towns, and individuals, in Maine, and by them brought back again as follows, viz.

Towns for support of State Paupers, ascertained at	\$ 7,570 69
Balance of salaries to our two Judges of S. J. C. over and above fees received in Maine,	\$ 4,500
Deduct expenses, &c. on Western Circuits, \$ 500 each,	1,000
	————— 3,500 00
Officers of militia for militia expenses	1,200
Counties and Sheriffs, &c. for expenses of criminals, &c. &c.	3,000
Senators, Counsellors, and Representatives, after deducting board and other bills and expenditures in Boston—will not exceed	5,000
	————— 20,670 69

Making a balance of cash carried from us more than received back again of 40,640 35

great, as these advantages are, they may be purchased at too high a price;—they may be counterbalanced by effects of an opposite nature. Let us therefore proceed to enquire, what is the ordinary expense of the government of Massachusetts; what proportion of that expense belongs to the District of Maine; and what it would probably cost Maine to support a separate government? It may be proper to remark, that we shall take *no notice of those extraordinary expenditures and disbursements, incident to a state of war.* These are of a temporary nature, and cease with the occasion, that gives rise to them. We shall refer to those expenses only, which arise from the ordinary operations of the government.

REVENUE AND EXPENSES OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The revenue of Massachusetts, by which she is enabled to defray the expenses of her government, is derived from different sources. The following constitute the principal ones, viz.

Taxation upon the polls & estates within the Commonwealth.

Taxation upon Bank capital.

Proceeds of sales of Public lands.

Dividends on Bank stock, owned by the State.

Interest and reimbursement of U. States stock, owned by the State.

Fines, penalties and forfeitures, &c. &c. &c.

The sum, annually raised by a tax upon the polls and estates, has been for many years \$ 133,334, together with a farther sum for the pay of members of the legislature. This last sum was in 1812, \$ 26,416; in 1813 it amounted to \$ 52,640. The average sum, taking six years together, is \$ 37,979, making the *whole sum, raised by taxation upon the polls and estates, one hundred seventy one thousand three hundred and thirteen dollars.*

The sum, annually raised by the tax on bank capital, after deducting the donation of \$ 16,000 for ten years to the Colleges, amounts to about *one hundred and thirty thousand dollars.* That is to say, it is one per cent on the whole bank capital actually paid in within the state.

It appears from the statement of the agent for the sale of eastern lands, made in September 1813, that the whole amount paid into the Treasury from June 19, 1801 to June 1813, being twelve years, on account of lands sold, after deducting the expenses of surveys, &c., was \$ 258,057 38; making an annual net revenue for those twelve years of *twenty one thousand five hundred and four dollars and seventy eight cents.* The receipts from this source of revenue are rather increasing than decreasing.

The *dividends* at the Boston and Union Banks on one Million of Bank stock, owned by the State, and the *receipts on account of interest and reimbursement* of U. States Stock, amounted for the single year 1813, the only year, for which we have the statement, to one hundred eighty one thousand five hundred and thirty one dollars and eighty six cents. The amount, accruing to the state in the subsequent years, cannot vary materially.

The sums, realized by the Commonwealth from her other and minor branches of revenue, we are unable to state with precision; and, what we cannot state with certainty, we choose not to state at all. That they are far from being contemptible however, may be inferred from this, that *one single item*, the amount paid by suitors in Maine only in part of the salaries of the Judges of the S. J. Court, is estimated by gentlemen of the law, opposed to separation, at fifteen hundred dollars annually.

We have dwelt more at large upon this part of our subject, because there are many, who, not having examined the thing, really believe that the sum, raised by taxation upon the polls and estates, defrays the whole expenses of the government; whereas in fact it amounts to only about one third of those expenses; and there are others, who know better, and yet, we speak it with regret, are endeavoring by jesuitical statements to induce such of the people, as have less information than themselves, to fall into the same error.

Having briefly reviewed the principal sources, from which Massachusetts derives her revenue, we will now consider the amount of her annual ordinary expenditures. From examination of the books of the Treasury it appears, that the actual expense of the State, *exclusive of those disbursements arising from a state of war*, was for the four years last past as follows viz :

* For the year 1812	- - - - -	\$ 452,146 74
" " 1813	- - - - -	582,787 65
" " 1814	- - - - -	516,301 31
" " 1815	- - - - -	452,834 25

Amounting in the whole for four years to \$ 2,004,069 95

* Many people, unacquainted with the extent of the expenditures of Massachusetts, and seeing these large sums as above quoted, are induced to believe, that the *war expenses*, incurred for defence, &c. must be included. After what we have already stated, it is hardly necessary for us to repeat, that *these sums*, as above quoted, do not include the *war expenses*. What war expenses for instance were incurred by Massachusetts in 1812? And yet the expenditures for that year amounted to \$452,146 74. What war expenses were incurred by Massachusetts in 1813? It was in 1814, that those great expenses for defence, &c. were incurred by the State; and yet the amount of expenditures for that year as above quoted, is less, than the average expenses of the two preceding years. Besides, we have already shown, that the annual revenue of Massachusetts amounts to considerably more than five hundred thousand dollars. What does she do with that revenue. She expends it in defraying

One fourth of this aggregate is the average annual expense of the State for the same four years, and amounts to - - - - - \$ 501,017 49

But the State of Massachusetts owes a debt of \$ 549,340, bearing an interest of five per cent. The interest on this debt amounts annually to \$ 27,467, which being deducted from the average annual expense, as just ascertained, - - - - - 27,467 00

\$ 473,550 49

Leaves a balance of FOUR HUNDRED SEVENTY-THREE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED AND FIFTY DOLLARS AND FORTY NINE CENTS, as the AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENSE for the support of the government of Massachusetts.

PROPORTION PAID BY MAINE OF THE EXPENSES OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The average annual expense of Massachusetts, incurred for the support of her government, being thus ascertained, and the principal sources of revenue, by which she is enabled to meet her expenditures, having been pointed out, we will now proceed to enquire, what proportion of that expense belongs to the District of Maine.

By a resolve of the legislature, establishing the valuation, passed January 30, 1812, the *proportion*† there to be paid by Maine of every thousand dollars, raised by the State, was fixed at *two hundred thirty four dollars and sixty three cents*. Maine accordingly paid in that proportion for two years. In that valuation the rateable poll was estimated at *two mills* agreeably to the long established usage in this Commonwealth. By a subsequent resolve, passed June 10, 1813, the valuation, for certain reasons, it is not proper to mention in this place, was so far amended, as that the rateable polls should be estimated at *one mill* each in all taxes thereafter to be assessed. This amendment reduced the proportion of \$ 1000 paid by Maine to \$ 216 13. At their very *last session* however the legislature again stated the *poll at two mills*, and in effect restored the *original valuation*. Hence Maine will in future after the current year pay the same proportion, that was allotted

the ordinary expenses of her government. It is notorious, that for defraying the war expenses, incurred for defence, &c. Massachusetts borrowed the money, and expects to be remanerated by the United States.

† By this resolve the several counties in Maine were to pay on every \$ 1000 raised, as follows, viz.

York, - - - - -	\$ 44 82	Hancock (and Penobscot) - - - - -	20 06
Cumberland, - - - - -	43 92	Washington, - - - - -	8 30
Lincoln, - - - - -	43 23	Somerset, - - - - -	11 08
Kennebec, - - - - -	30 66	Oxford, - - - - -	17 56

Amounting, as stated above, to \$ 234 63

to her in 1812. We shall therefore assume that, and not the reduced proportion, as the correct ratio; because in 1812 and 1813 Maine paid in that ratio, because the established usage in this Commonwealth almost time out of mind has been to estimate the polls at two mills instead of one mill each, and because Maine will in future after the current year pay in that ratio. Hence of five hundred one thousand and seventeen dollars and forty-nine cents, the whole ordinary annual expense of Massachusetts, the proportion of Maine

amounts to	\$ 117,553 73
From this sum deduct <i>the amount, which Maine annually contributes, as her proportion of the interest accruing on the State debt. This sum Maine must continue to pay so long, as the principal remains due, whether the contemplated separation takes place, or not</i>	6,444 58
	\$ 111,109 15

And there remains a balance of **ONE HUNDRED AND ELEVEN THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND NINE DOLLARS AND FIFTEEN CENTS, being THE AMOUNT, WHICH MAINE ANNUALLY CONTRIBUTES TOWARD THE SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS.** This sum the District of Maine pays *partly* by the *annual tax, assessed upon polls and estates, partly* by her proportion of the *tax on bank capital, partly* by her proportion of the *proceeds of sales of eastern lands, partly* by her proportion of the *dividends on the bank shares, owned by the State, and by the interest &c. accruing on the U. States stock, also owned by the State. and partly* by her proportion of the *other minor branches of revenue.*†

§ The amount paid by Maine according to the proportion as reduced by the resolve of 1813 is	\$ 108,254 90
Deduct her proportion of interest in the same ratio,	5,936 44
Leaving a balance paid by Maine by that ratio for the support of the government of Massachusetts annually of	\$ 102,348 46

† It may possibly be asked if the proportion which Maine pays toward the expense of supporting the government of Massachusetts amounts to \$ 111,109 how is it that we find it stated in one of our public newspapers that "the average of the district of Maine for four years including Representatives pay has been \$ 37,523 91?" To such a question we should answer that this sum is the average annual tax upon the polls and estates for the last four years, but *does not include our proportion of the other branches of revenue.* The writer evidently intended to make the impression that this annual tax on the polls and estates was all Maine contributed towards the support of the government of Massachusetts; but should your better information detect the fallacy, he would shield himself under the explanation now given, and save his veracity. Hence he was careful to say *nothing* respecting our proportion of the revenue derived from the sale of eastern lands. He was equally careful not to allude to our proportion of the large revenue arising from dividends, on our bank shares and interest &c. on our stock, and he disposed of the tax on bank capital with as little ceremony

**EXPENSE OF A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT
FOR MAINE.**

The amount annually contributed by Maine for the support of the government of Massachusetts being thus ascertained, our next enquiry is, what would it probably cost Maine to support a separate government ?

According to the last census the population of Vermont in 1810 was 217,895, that of New-Hampshire 214,460, and that of Maine 228,705. As the difference in population therefore is not very considerable, it cannot be absolutely necessary, that the expense of a separate government for Maine should be greatly enhanced merely on account of her greater population. But, it should be recollected, our territory is more extensive, and our population more scattered, than that of either of those States, and that their governments were established, when money was more valuable, or rather, when a given sum would buy a greater quantity of the necessaries of life, than it now will. Hence it must be conceded, that the expense of a separate government for Maine would probably be greater, than that of New-Hampshire or Vermont. At the same time we distinctly deny, that it would, or ought to be greater, than the aggregate expense of both those States. The people of Maine will never consent to pay her officers double, and more than double, what is paid to officers, and good officers too, of the same grade by neighboring States. It appears from the statement of the Attorney General of Vermont, that the average annual expense of that State is \$ 27,099 29 ; and from the statement of the Governor elect of New-Hampshire, that the annual average expense of that State is \$ 23,000. Hence the aggregate annual expense of both States is \$ 50,099 29. We think therefore we might justly infer without farther examination, that the expense of a separate government for Maine would not exceed forty thousand dollars ; that is, about fifty per cent more, than it now costs Vermont to support her government, and about seventy five per cent more, than it now costs New Hampshire to support hers. But, as this is a point of great importance, one, which deserves the most patient, careful, and thorough examination, let us consider separately the probable amount of those several and distinct items, which go to form the aggregate of expense.

The man, who holds the office of first magistrate of a State, occupies a high and dignified station. The honor, conferred upon him by the people, is in our apprehension a sufficient reward for his mere personal services. His salary therefore ought to be such, as to enable him to defray the extra expenses

incident to his situation, and to maintain the proper dignity of his office, but nothing more. The salary of the Governor of Massachusetts is \$ 2667; that of the Governor of New-Hampshire is \$ 1200. We should think therefore *two thousand dollars* about the proper salary for a Governor of Maine; and under all the circumstances of the case a *more liberal allowance*, than that of the Governor of Massachusetts.

The pay of Senators, Counsellors, and Representatives, is an item complex in its nature as well, as fluctuating in its amount. There are certain facts however well ascertained, which will enable us to estimate its average amount with tolerable accuracy. Thus, it is ascertained that the average time, the legislature of Massachusetts is in session annually, is *sixty-one days*. The average time, the legislature of New-Hampshire, whose population, as we have already seen, differs but little from that of Maine, is in session annually, will not exceed according to the statement of Gov. Plumer, *twenty three days*. We may therefore I think, safely infer, that the average time, the legislature of Maine would be in session annually, would not exceed *thirty days*.

The House of Representatives of Massachusetts is an unwieldy body, consisting of about six and sometimes of nearly seven hundred members. The number of its members is an evil, which all discerning men feel and acknowledge. And to increase the embarrassment, the only mode of applying an effectual remedy, is replete with mischief.

In framing our constitution for Maine, provision would undoubtedly be made as has been done in most of the States except Massachusetts, guarding against that evil. Our number ought in no case to exceed a hundred and fifty members. The prevailing sentiment among the people, it is believed, is in favor of even a less number. Our present number for the year 1815 in the Legislature of Massachusetts is *one hundred and three*. In the Legislature of Maine, therefore, I think it may be safely stated, that our representatives will not exceed *one hundred and fifty*.

The Senate of Massachusetts as including Maine, consists of forty members; a number deemed by the venerable framers of her constitution sufficient for both her senate and her council. This number for Maine separately is unnecessarily large, exceeding, as it does, that of the great States of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and even that of the United States. New-Hampshire has *twelve* Senators, Maryland *fifteen*, Virginia *twenty four*, and Maine at present has *nine*. We think therefore that in case of separation our number ought not, and probably will not exceed *twenty*.

The council of Massachusetts consists of *nine members*, that of New-Hampshire of *five*, and Maine has in no instance, it is believed, had more than *two*. In case of separation our number ought not probably to exceed *five*:—at all events there can be no sufficient reason urged in favor of a greater number, than *seven*. Now, if the legislature can transact their business on an average in thirty days, it must, we think, be conceded, that the council will find in *forty five days* ample time to do theirs.

As our Senate and Council would consist of but a small number of members, the constant attendance of those members at their respective boards when in session could not well be dispensed with. In forming an estimate of the amount of their pay therefore no abatement ought to be made on account of the supposed absence of members. But in the popular branch of the legislature the constant attendance of every representative will by no means be necessary. The House of representatives of Massachusetts commences its session with upwards of 500 and even 600 members, but one half do not tarry longer than the first week, and by the close of the session the number is often reduced to even less, than one hundred. By the constitution even *sixty* constitutes a quorum for doing business. In case of separation our representatives, we presume, would be influenced by the same feelings in this respect, they now are, and be animated by the same desire to return to the bosoms of their families. Hence although our House of Representatives might possibly commence their session with 150 members, the *average number present*, taking the *whole session together*, would not exceed *eighty*.

Considering the time fixed by the constitution, of annually organizing the government of Massachusetts, two sessions of her Legislature a year seem absolutely necessary. With the exception however of this State and Connecticut, where it also necessarily results from the provisions of her constitution, there is scarce another State in the Union, whose legislature has more than one session. It is not to be presumed therefore that the provisions of the constitution of Maine would make it necessary, that her legislature should, nor is it to be presumed that her legislature would, imitate the example of those two in opposition to the example of all the other States; an example at the same time useless and expensive, and which probably those very States would not follow, if it could be avoided.

The business of the council is of a nature very different from that of the legislature, and would probably require *two sessions* of that board annually.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to fix with precision the aver-

age travel of the members of the Legislature and council. After the best examination we have been able to bestow on the subject, we are confident it will not exceed *sixty miles*. Our readers may satisfy themselves in some measure on this point, by taking in their dividers from the scale of a correct map of the District of Maine, the distance of sixty miles. Apply one point of the dividers to any town on the map near the *centre of population*, and with the other, describe a circle. They will find within that circle almost the whole population of Maine; and after making every allowance that ought to be made, they will be satisfied, it is believed, that the average travel will fall short rather than exceed the distance above stated.

Having explained the principles, upon which our calculations are predicated, and considering the rate of compensation, established in Massachusetts, as the probable rate, that would be allowed in Maine, we will now apply those principles to the immediate subject of our enquiry.

The pay of our Senators would amount to	-	\$ 1200
Pay of Representatives	- - - - -	4800
Compensation of Senators and Representatives for travel		2040
Pay of President of Senate and Speaker of the House over and above their pay as members	- - - - -	120
Pay of Counsellors	- - - - -	630
Compensation for two travels	- - - - -	168
		<hr/>
Amounting in the whole to	- - - - -	\$ 8958

Hence it appears, that the *pay of our Senators, Counsellors, and Representatives, would not probably exceed nine thousand dollars*; and may be, correctly, we think, estimated at that sum.

The number of Clerks necessary to the legislature would be one to each branch, and possibly also an assistant. In New-Hampshire the pay for *Clerks and Stationary* amounts to \$ 334 13. Allowing our principal Clerks at the *rate of four dollars* per day each or double the pay of a member, and allowing the assistant Clerks *three dollars* each per day, their compensation would amount to *four hundred and twenty dollars*. We will state it at *four hundred and fifty dollars*.

The Stationary bill in New-Hampshire is about one hundred and fifty dollars annually. This article is certainly as cheap with us, as it is there; and, as our population is about the same, our State government would not have occasion to consume a quantity much exceeding, what is consumed by hers. That we may not however fall short of the expenditure, we will estimate the amount for Maine at *two hundred and fifty dollars*.

In case Maine should have a State prison, as we presume she would, it would be necessary for her to have officers also to superintend it. The compensation to these officers in New-Hampshire is eight hundred dollars. Now, if we increase the compensation for officers of the same grade and description in Maine fifty per cent, their salaries will amount to *twelve hundred dollars* annually; that is *seven hundred and fifty dollars* to the *Warden*, and *one hundred and fifty* to each of the *Directors*.

It appears from the "Pay-Rolls" so called Nos. 72 and 73, allowed by the legislature of Massachusetts, that the whole amount allowed to towns and individuals in Maine for the support of State Paupers for the political year 1814-15 was \$ 7570 69. The expense of supporting our *State Paupers** therefore may be safely stated at *seven thousand six hundred dollars*.

In Maine there are twenty-seven companies of Artillery. These are annually furnished at the expense of the Commonwealth with about *fifty pounds of powder*, thirty or *forty balls*, (if drawn for) three yards of flannel for the cartridges and a proportional quantity of matches &c. The expense for each company is about \$ 25 annually, amounting in the whole to \$ 675. New companies however will probably continue to be raised, one perhaps in the course of every three or four years. the expense of furnishing which with field pieces &c. might possibly amount to not far from \$ 1000. The whole expense therefore of Ordnance and Military Stores would not probably on an average exceed *one thousand dollars* annually.

It is stated, that the average annual expense of criminal prosecutions in the Supreme Courts in the county of Cumberland, and of supporting prisoners has for the years 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814 been \$ 913. It is well known, that for the three last of those four years the town of Portland was extremely crowded with that class of the community, who are most commonly the subjects of criminal prosecutions. In fact large sea-

* The whole amount of Pauper accounts in Pay-Roll No. 72, is	36,223 43
do. do. " No. 73, is	21,186 94
Amounting in the whole to the sum of	\$ 57,410 37
The proportion of this amount paid that year by Maine was	12,409 18
There was allowed to towns in Maine in Pay-Roll No. 72, \$	4,973 06
do. do. " 73,	2,597 63
Making the whole amount allowed that year to Maine	7,570 69
Leaving a balance of	\$ 1,838 49

Hence it appears from Official Documents, from facts, which cannot be controverted, that the *District of Maine* not only supports *all the poor within her own limits*, but actually contributes in one year, *four thousand eight hundred thirty eight dollars and forty-nine cents* for the support of the poor of *old Massachusetts!!!*

port towns always have a double portion of the disorderly part of mankind even in peaceable times. It will be recollected also, that the Supreme Court, which sets in Cumberland, is the Supreme Court of both that county and the county of Oxford, and that those counties together have considerably more, than one fourth of the whole population of Maine. We may therefore, I think with great safety infer, that at least one third of the whole expense of such prosecutions in Maine is incurred in the county of Cumberland; and also, that the annual expense to Maine on account of such prosecutions would not in case of separation exceed three thousand dollars.

There are also a variety of other small expenses not otherwise classed under any particular head, and usually denominated *contingent expenses*. These in New-Hampshire amount to \$617. There is no reason to believe that the contingent expenses of Maine would exceed nine or at most eleven hundred dollars.

There are other expenses, to which Maine would be subjected, which we have not yet mentioned. These have been estimated by gentlemen, opposed to separation; and, as our remarks on this part of our subject have already exceeded the limits, we had prescribed to them, we shall so far as respects these items adopt the estimate of those gentlemen. These items consist principally of the salaries of various officers. With the exception of those of the Judges of the Supreme Court, we think the salaries are generally stated too high. But, as this is a point about which every man must judge for himself, we will without further remark collect the several items of expenditure, and exhibit them in one view.

Governor's salary	- - - - -	\$ 2,000
Pay of Senators, Counsellors and Representatives	- - - - -	9,000
Clerks of Senate and House	- - - - -	450
*Messengers, Door-keepers, fuel, &c.	- - - - -	500
*Judges of the Supreme Court	- - - - -	\$6,500
* deduct amount paid by suitors	- - - - -	1,500
		500
* Attorney General	- - - - -	\$1,000
deduct fees of office received	- - - - -	100
		900
*Secretary of State and his Clerk	- - - - -	1,400
*Treasurer and his Clerk	- - - - -	1,400
Officers of the State Prison	- - - - -	1,200
*Printing the laws, &c.	- - - - -	1,000
Stationary	- - - - -	250
*Expenses of Courts martial Adjutants, Brigade- Majors, Quarter-Masters, &c.	- - - - - } - - - - - }	2,000
*Adjutant General and his Clerk	- - - - -	1,000
*Quarter-Master-General and his Clerk	- - - - -	1,000
Ordnance and Military Stores	- - - - -	1,000
Expenses of supporting State paupers	- - - - -	7,600
Expenses of criminal prosecutions in Supreme Courts and of supporting prisoners	- - - - - } - - - - - }	3,000
*Sheriffs and Coroners	- - - - -	200
Contingent expenses	- - - - -	1,100
		<hr/> \$40,000

Hence it appears, that the probable expense of supporting a separate government for Maine would be about FORTY THOUSAND DOLLARS. And after the best examination, we have been able to bestow upon the subject, we feel

* Those items with this mark (*) are as estimated by gentlemen opposed to Separation.

perfectly satisfied, that *our expenditures would not exceed that sum.* This, as we have already remarked, is about fifty per cent more than it costs Vermont, whose population differs but little from our own, to support her government; and about seventy-five per cent more than it costs N. Hampshire, with about the same population to support hers.

MAINE'S PRESENT PROPORTION OF EXPENSE COMPARED WITH THAT OF A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT.

Having thus ascertained, what it would probably cost Maine to support a separate government, we will now compare that expense with the sum, which she annually contributes for the support of the government of Massachusetts. The amount, ascertained, which Maine annually contributes } \$111,109 15
toward the support of the government of Massachusetts is }
The sum, which it will probably cost her to sup- }
port a separate government of her own is } 40,000 00

Making a difference annually of 71,109 15

Hence it appears, that so far as respects the *expense of supporting government* merely the District of Maine would **SAVE ANNUALLY** by becoming a separate State more than ***SEVENTY ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS.**

This balance is too respectable in amount to be treated lightly. It demands our careful and candid consideration. As an individual I venerate the institutions of Massachusetts; yet I must confess, that with all my partiality this to me appears *too large a sum to contribute annually for the mere honor of being connected with her.*

But it must be recollected, that in case of separation Maine would be subjected to *certain extraordinary expenses*, which we have not yet considered—we mean those of framing her constitution and erecting her public buildings. These, it is true, are of such a nature as to be incurred but once in an age. Nevertheless such is their amount, that it is our duty in forming our opinion upon the question of separation to take those items into consideration.

The expense of a session of the legislature and council of Maine we have already estimated at \$ 9000. The expense of a Convention for the formation &c. of a constitution could not be *more than double* that sum. If therefore we estimate the expense of such Convention at \$ 18,000, there will still remain a ballance of **FIFTY THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS** of the **SUM ANNUALLY SAVED TO MAINE BY SEPARATION**; and *for even that deduction there will be no secession after the first year.*

It is impossible to estimate the expense of public buildings with any thing like accuracy. We may *expend as much, as we please*, and, I had almost said *as little as we please.* Whatever we do expend, will be expended among ourselves for the improvement, use, and ornament, of our State. This also is certain, that our *proportion* of the *public buildings of Massachusetts* would at a

*Maine's proportion of expense by the *reduced valuation* amounted to \$102,848 46
Deduct expense of a separate government for Maine - - - 40,000 00

D.62,348 46

Making a difference annually by the *lowest ratio* in favor of separation so }
far as relates to expense merely of } D.32,348

Note by the Printer. The opposers of separation may take which horn of the dilemma they please.

† Some persons are attempting to operate upon the fears rather than the understandings of the people of Maine by throwing out intimations that in case of separation we might lose our *promotion of the public property!!!* This is a most preposterous suggestion. Massachusetts herself has never thought of setting up so iniquitous a pretension. Her present chief Justice has given his decided opinion in our favor. But even if he had not, common sense at

fair appraisal enable us to erect far better buildings in Maine, than Massachusetts had for more than twenty years after the revolution.

OBJECTIONS TO SEPARATION CONSIDERED.

Having considered the probable effects of separation upon the District of Maine without reference to the expense of supporting a separate government, and having also compared the probable expense of a separate government with our present proportion of the expense of the government of Massachusetts, we will now briefly review the principal objections, which have been urged against separation. The only objections, which have been insisted upon publicly resolve themselves into the following: That it will increase the expense: That it is dangerous to trust the people of Maine with the power of forming their own constitution and of choosing their own officers: "That it will diminish the consequence of Massachusetts proper:" and "that it will injure the coasting trade."

As to the first of these objections, "that it will increase the expense," we shall merely remark, that we have already in the course of our preceding observations shown, and shown conclusively, that instead of increasing the expense it will *actually diminish it by more, than one half.* It will *save to Maine annually more, than seventy thousand dollars.*

The second objection, that it is dangerous to trust the people of Maine with the power of forming their own constitution and of choosing their own officers, is of a nature easy enough to be made, and, if not as easy to be answered, it is not because it has any foundation in truth, but because it is difficult to do away the groundless and idle fears of a timid and distempered imagination. It is fashionable in a certain part of Massachusetts proper to consider the people of Maine as not more than half civilized, and as impatient of the wholesome restraints of law and moral principle. There are men among us, it seems, who live by our patronage, that affect to entertain the same sentiment. We believe that the people of Maine collectively have as much good sense, as much regard to order and good government, and as much morality, as even the people of Massachusetts proper; and we believe that notwithstanding the insidious and ungenerous suggestions of certain men to the contrary they would adopt a constitution and form of government as excellent in its provisions and as judicious in its limitations, as that of any State in the union.

The third objection, urged against separation, assumes a more definite shape, "it will diminish the importance of the State." In other words it will diminish the consequence of Massachusetts proper; for, as we *have already shown, it would vastly increase the importance of Maine.* And so, lest we should diminish the dignity and importance of Massachusetts, we must forego all the advantages of separation, give up our own consequence, and contribute to Massachusetts for the honor of the connexion *seventy thousand dollars annually more, than it would cost us to support a separate government.* It would contribute to the consequence of your neighbor, if you would make him a present of your estate to be added to his own. Men of great estates have more influence, than men of small ones. Let your neighbor therefore have your estate, for it will increase his influence. Such is the argument,

once decides the question. If we are entitled to no portion of the property in Massachusetts proper she can be entitled to no portion of that within the limits of Maine. This discussion is idle. The question is not to be settled by the municipal laws of Massachusetts but by the immutable principles of equity and justice. The great mass of public property owned by the State consists principally of the following descriptions viz. *Lands, of which there are in Maine besides those lying in Massachusetts proper about 15,000,000 acres. State House, State Prison and appurtenances and other public buildings. Ordnance, Stands of arms and military stores. Bank shares, United States stock, out standing debts, bonds &c. for the purchase money of lands sold &c. &c.* This property is constantly decreasing.

which would dissuade you from becoming a separate state, because it would diminish the importance of Massachusetts.

COASTING TRADE.

The last objection we shall notice, urged against separation, is that "it will injure the coasting trade;" or rather *that it will injure the owners of coasting vessels.* This, it is believed, is the only objection founded in fact, that exists against the measure. Hence it has been iterated and reiterated, and magnified, beyond all due bounds and proportion. We will endeavor to strip this objection of all its decorations and factitious importance, and to exhibit it in its just and real character, that it may have all the influence, which it ought to have, and no more.

Our coasting vessels may be divided into the three following classes, viz.

- 1, Coasting vessels (whether with a cargo on board or in ballast) bound to, or from, ports to the Southward of Rhode Island.
- 2, Coasting vessels bound to, or from, one port and district, from, or to, another whether in Massachusetts or elsewhere, having on board foreign merchandise of the amount specified by law.*
- 3, Coasting vessels bound to, or from, ports this side Connecticut, and not having on board foreign merchandise to the amount specified by law.

The two first classes include the most valuable and respectable coasters both as regards the vessels and their cargoes. It is believed also, that taking those of the whole district of Maine together they constitute the greater number. For, if a vessel have any foreign articles on board, the amount must be small, not to make it necessary for her to enter and clear. And from minutes, extracted from the records of the custom-house at Portland, it appears, that more than *three quarters of the coasters of that place belong to these two classes.* Separation from Massachusetts therefore will not effect the coasters of these two classes, because by law they are *now* obliged to clear and enter, and in case of separation they would have to do nothing more.

The *third and last class*, consisting principally of vessels employed in carrying *wool, lumber, and lime to Boston*, whose return cargoes are of very trifling amount, is the *only class of coasters, which would be affected by separation.*—These are now under no necessity of entering and clearing; but if Maine should be erected into a separate state, it would be necessary for them to enter and clear, whenever they should go to ports beyond New-Hampshire. *This is the evil*, which is to result from separation, to the coasting trade. If the vessel be over *fifty tons* it will cost the owner of the vessel *fifty cents for entering*, if less than *fifty tons* it will cost him *twenty-five cents!!!* The fees are the same for clearing. The profits of a voyage must be small indeed, which cannot afford an expense so trifling. Our present population has been estimated at 270,000. The individuals among us, who are owners or part owners of this third class of coasting vessels, do not exceed 500, probably not half that number. And so, lest these few individuals should be obliged to pay *twenty-five cents, or fifty cents*, for entering and clearing their

* Coasting vessels having on board either of the following articles in the quantities here specified are *now* obliged by law to enter and clear, viz.

	If they have on board more than	500 gallons of Rum & Brandy &c.
Or	"	250 gallons of wine.
Or	"	3000 lbs. of Sugar.
Or	"	500 lbs. of Tea.
Or	"	1000 lbs. of Coffee.
Or	"	\$400 } worth of foreign merchandise in the original packages.

Or if they have neither of these articles to the amount specified, yet if the whole amount of foreign articles on board be more than \$800, they are obliged to enter and clear whether bound to a port within or without the State. U. S. Laws, vol. 2, page 168.

vessels at the custom-house, the District of *Maine* must pay annually upwards of SEVENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS. We will merely add that *the same mode of argument*, which would show, that the District of Maine ought not to become a separate State, because this third class of coasters would thereby be obliged to clear & enter, *would also show* that the *several States* in the Union ought to be consolidated and become *one great State*. And why? why in order that these coasters when they go farther south, should not be obliged to clear and enter!!!

But comparatively small as is that class of the community interested in this branch of the coasting trade, we should much regret that their interests should suffer in consequence of the adoption of a measure, so eminently calculated to promote the honor, the influence, the power, the happiness, and the wealth, of Maine. It is believed that their interest would not suffer.— Congress could pass a law relieving such coasters from the burthen of entering and clearing. They passed a law* for the relief of Rhode-Island under circumstances very similar, to what the situation of Maine would be, if a separate State; and why is it not to be presumed, that they would grant the same relief to Maine?

We have now, my fellow citizens, closed our examination of the important question respecting the separation of Maine from Massachusetts proper. We have endeavored to investigate it fairly and fully, and to exhibit it to you in all its various bearings and relations. How far we have been successful, you will judge. We have done our duty: it remains for you to do yours. Is it for the interest of the district of Maine to become a separate State? Examine the question calmly with candor and fairness; then act from the dictates of your understandings and consciences. You owe something to the country, that nourishes and supports you. You owe much to the District of Maine:—*the best return you can make her is, to give your voice for separation.*

* U. S. Laws, Vol. 3. Page 196.

SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

ARCH IV