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Turner, F. J.

The Old West

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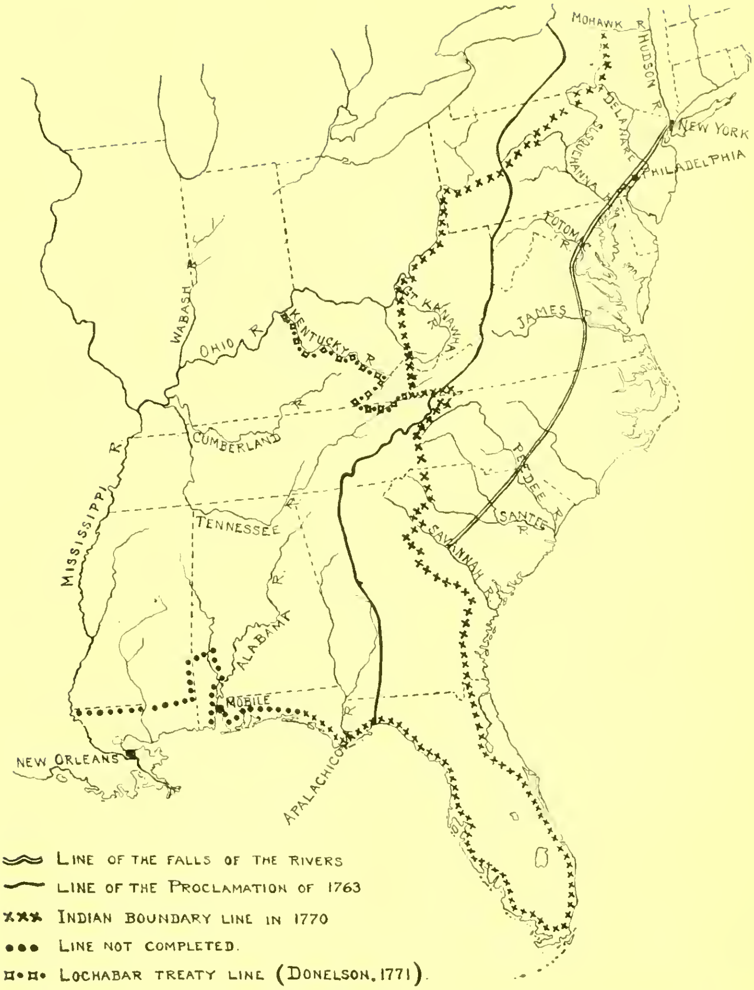
THE OLD WEST

By Frederick Jackson Turner

[From the Proceedings of the State Historical Society of
Wisconsin for 1908, pages 184-233]

Madison
Published by the Society
1909


Mohawk R.
Hudson R.
New York
Delaware
Susquehanna R.
Philadelphia
Potomac R.
James R.
Gt. Kanawha R.
Wabash R.
Ohio R.
Kentucky R.
Cumberland R.
Mississippi R.
Tennessee R.
Pee Dee R.
Santee R.
Savannah R.
Alabama R.
Mobile
Apalachicola R.
New Orleans
Line of the falls of the rivers
Line of the Proclamation of 1763
Indian boundary line in 1770
Line not completed.
Lochabar treaty line (Donelson, 1771).

[Based in part on map by Farrand, in *American Historical Review*, x, No. 4]

THE OLD WEST

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Wisconsin Historical Society

The Old West

By Frederic Jackson Turner

It is not the oldest West with which this paper deals. The oldest West was the Atlantic coast.[1] Roughly speaking, it took a century of Indian fighting and forest felling for the colonial settlements to expand into the interior to a distance of about a hundred miles from the coast. Indeed, some stretches were hardly touched in that period. This conquest of the nearest wilderness in the course of the seventeenth century and in the early years of the eighteenth, gave control of the maritime section of the nation and made way for the new movement of westward expansion which I propose to discuss.

In his *Winning of the West*, Roosevelt dealt chiefly with the region beyond the Alleghanies, and with the period of the later eighteenth century, although he prefaced his account with an excellent chapter describing the backwoodsmen of the Alleghanies and their social conditions from 1769 to 1774. It is important to notice, however, that he is concerned with a backwoods society already formed; that he ignores the New England frontier and its part in the winning of the West, and does not recognize that there was a West to be won between New England and the Great Lakes. In short, he is interested in the winning of the West beyond the Alleghanies by the southern half of the frontier folk.

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[1] I have indicated the relations between the West and the frontier, and the significance of the West as a moving region, in "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1893, pp. 79–112; Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1893, p. 199; *International Socialist Review*, vi, 321; Bullock, *Select Readings in Economics* (Boston [1907]); also compare *Atlantic Monthly*, lxxviii, p. 289.

There is, then, a western area intermediate between the coastal colonial settlements of the seventeenth century and the trans-Alleghany settlements of the latter portion of the eighteenth century. This section I propose to isolate and discuss under the name of the Old West, and in the period from about 1676 to 1763. It includes the back country of New England, the Mohawk Valley, the Great Valley of Pennsylvania, the Shenandoah Valley, and the Piedmont—that is, the interior or upland portion of the South, lying between the Alleghanies and the head of navigation of the Atlantic rivers marked by the "fall line."[2]

In this region, and in these years, are to be found the beginnings of much that is characteristic in Western society, for the Atlantic coast was in such close touch with Europe that its frontier experience was soon counteracted, and it developed along other lines. It is unfortunate that the colonial back country appealed so long to historians solely in connection with the colonial wars, for the development of its society, its institutions and mental attitude all need study. Its history has been dealt with in separate fragments, by states, or towns, or in discussions of special phases, such as German and Scotch Irish immigration. The Old West as a whole can only be understood by obliterating the state boundaries which conceal its unity, by correlating the special and fragmentary studies, and by filling the gaps in the material for understanding the formation of its society. The present paper is rather a reconnoissance than a conquest of the field, a programme for study of the Old West rather than an exposition of it.

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[2] For the settled area in 1660, see the map by Lois Mathews in Channing, *United States* (N. Y., 1905), i, p. 510; and by Albert Cook Myers in Avery, *United States* (Cleveland, 1905), ii, following p. 398. In Channing, ii, following p. 603, is Marion F. Lansing's map of settlement in 1760, which is on a rather conservative basis, especially the part showing the interior of the Carolinas.

Contemporaneous maps of the middle of the eighteenth century, useful in studying the progress of settlement, are: Mitchell, *Map of the British Colonies* (1755); Evans, *Middle British Colonies* (1758); Jefferson and Frye, *Map of Virginia* (1751 and 1755).

On the geographical conditions, see maps and text in Powell, *Physiographic Regions* (N. Y., 1896), and Willis, "Northern Appalachians," in *Physiography of the United States* (N. Y., 1896), pp. 73–82, 169–176, 196–201.

For the line of the falls of the rivers, see map published in illustration of Professor Alvord's paper, "The British Ministry and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix," *ante*, p. 176.

The Period

The end of the period proposed may be placed about 1763, and the beginning between 1676 and 1700. The termination of the period is marked by the Peace of Paris in 1763, and the royal proclamation of that year forbidding settlement beyond the Alleghanies. By this time the settlement of the Old West was fairly accomplished, and new advances were soon made into the "Western waters" beyond the mountains and into the interior of Vermont and New Hampshire. The isolation of the transmontane settlements, and the special conditions and doctrines of the Revolutionary era during which they were formed, make a natural distinction between the period of which I am to speak and the later extension of the West.

The beginning of my period is necessarily an indeterminate date, owing to the different times of colonizing the coastal areas which served as bases of operations in the westward advance. The most active movements into the Old West occurred after 1730. But in 1676 New England, having closed the exhausting struggle with the Indians, known as King Philip's War, could regard her established settlements as secure, and go on to complete her possession of the interior. This she did in the midst of conflicts with the exterior Indian tribes which invaded her frontiers from New York and Canada during the French and Indian wars from 1690 to 1760, and under frontier conditions different from the conditions of the earlier Puritan colonization. In 1676, Virginia was passing through Indian fighting—keenest along the fall line, where the frontier lay—and also experiencing a social revolt which resulted in the defeat of the democratic forces that sought to stay the progress of aristocratic control in the colony.[3] The date marks the end of the period when the Virginia tidewater could itself be regarded as a frontier region, and consequently the beginning of a more special interest in the interior.

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[3] See Osgood, *American Colonies* (N. Y., 1907), iii, chap. iii.

The Settlement of the New England Interior

Let us first examine the northern part of the movement into the back country. The expansion of New England into the vacant spaces of its own section, in the period we have chosen for discussion, resulted in the formation of an interior society which contrasted in many ways with that of the coast, and which has a special significance in Western history, in that it was this interior New England people who settled the Greater New England in central and western New York, the Wyoming Valley, the Connecticut Reserve of Ohio, and much of the prairie areas of the Old Northwest. Wisconsin especially should be interested in the region, for here was the source of the important stream of Yankee influence which contributed very largely to our own State, and helped mould its society and ideals in its early years. It is important to realize that the Old West included interior New England.

The situation in New England at the close of the seventeenth century is indicated by the Massachusetts act of 1694 enumerating eleven towns, then on the frontier and exposed to raids, none of which might be voluntarily deserted without leave of the governor and council, on penalty of loss of their freeholds by the landowners, or fine of other inhabitants. The towns were mostly in what is now the eastern part of New England; among them were Amesbury, Haverhill, Dunstable, Chelmsford, Groton, Lancaster, Marlboro, and Deerfield. A similar act in 1700 added Brookfield, Mendon, and Woodstock, with an inner frontier through Salisbury, Andover, Billerica, Hatfield, Hadley, Westfield, and Northampton.[4]

Thus these frontier settlers were made substantially garrisons, or "mark colonies." Crowded into the palisades of the town, and obliged in spite of their poverty to bear the brunt of Indian attack, their hardships are illustrated in the manly but pathetic letters of Deerfield's minister, Mr. Williams,[5] in 1704.

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[4] *Massachusetts Records* (Boston, 1853), i, p. 194; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical Hist. of America* (Boston and N. Y., 1887), v, p. 184.

[5] Sheldon, *Deerfield* (Deerfield, Mass., 1895), i, p. 288.

Parkman succinctly describes the general conditions in these words:[6]

> The exposed frontier of New England was between two and three hundred miles long, and consisted of farms and hamlets loosely scattered through an almost impervious forest. * * * Even in so-called villages the houses were far apart, because, except on the seashore, the people lived by farming. Such as were able to do so fenced their dwellings with palisades, or built them of solid timber, with loopholes, a projecting upper story like a block house, and sometimes a flanker at one or more of the corners. In the more considerable settlements the largest of these fortified houses was occupied in time of danger by armed men and served as a place of refuge for the neighbors.

Into these places, in days of alarm, were crowded the outlying settlers, just as was the case in later times in the Kentucky "stations." In 1704 the assembly of New Hampshire ordered that every householder should provide himself with snow-shoes for the use of winter scouting parties.

In spite of such frontier conditions, the outlying towns continued to multiply. Between 1720 and the middle of the century, settlement crept up the Housatonic and its lateral valley into the Berkshires. About 1720 Litchfield was established; in 1725, Sheffield; in 1730, Great Barrington; and in 1735 a road was cut and towns soon established between Westfield and these Housatonic settlements, thus uniting them with the older extensions along the Connecticut and its tributaries.

In this period, scattered and sometimes unwelcome Scotch-Irish settlements were established, such as that at Londonderry, New Hampshire, and in the Berkshires, as well as in the region won in King Philip's War from the Nipmucks, whither there came also Huguenots.[7]

In King George's War, the Connecticut River settlers found their frontier protection in such rude stockades as those at the sites of Keene, of Charlestown, New Hampshire (Number Four), Fort Shirley at the head of Deerfield River (Heath), and Fort Pelham (Rowe); while Fort Massachusetts (Adams) guarded the Hoosac gateway to the Hoosatonic Valley. These frontier garrisons and the self-defense of the backwoodsmen of New England are well portrayed in the pages of Parkman.[8] At the close of the war, settlement again expanded into the Berkshires, where Lennox, West Hoosac (Williamstown), and Pittsfield were established in the middle of the century. Checked by the fighting in the last French and Indian War, the frontier went forward after the Peace of Paris (1763) at an exceptional rate, especially into Vermont and interior New Hampshire. An anonymous writer gives a contemporary view of the situation on the eve of the Revolution:[9]

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[6] Parkman, *Frontenac* (Boston, 1898), p. 390; compare his description of Deerfield in 1704, in *Half Century of Conflict* (Boston, 1898), i, p. 55.

[7] Hanna, *Scotch Irish* (N. Y. and London, 1902), ii, pp. 17–24.

> The richest parts remaining to be granted are on the northern branches of the Connecticut river, towards Crown Point where are great districts of fertile soil still unsettled. The North part of New Hampshire, the province of Maine, and the territory of Sagadahock have but few settlements in them compared with the tracts yet unsettled. * * *
>
> I should further observe that these tracts have since the peace [i. e., 1763], been settling pretty fast: farms on the river Connecticut are every day extending beyond the old fort Dummer, for near thirty miles; and will in a few years reach to Kohasser which is nearly two hundred miles; not that such an extent will be one-tenth settled, but the new-comers do not fix near their neighbors, and go on regularly, but take spots that please them best, though twenty or thirty miles beyond any others. This to people of a sociable disposition in Europe would appear very strange, but the Americans do not regard the near neighborhood of other farmers; twenty or thirty miles by water they esteem no distance in matters of this sort; besides in a country that promises well the intermediate space is not long in filling up. Between Connecticut river and Lake Champlain upon Otter Creek, and all along Lake Sacrament [George] and the rivers that fall into it, and the whole length of Wood Creek, are numerous settlements made since the peace.[10]

For nearly a hundred years, therefore, New England communities had been pushed out to new frontiers in the intervals between the almost continuous wars with the French and Indians. Probably the most distinctive feature in this frontier was the importance of the community type of settlement; in other words, of the towns, with their Puritan ideals in education, morals, and religion. This has always been a matter of pride to the statesmen and annalists of New England, as is illustrated by these words of Holland in his *Western Massachusetts*,[11] commenting on the settlement of the Connecticut Valley in villages, whereby in his judgment morality, education, and urbanity were preserved:

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[8] *Half Century of Conflict*, ii, pp. 214–234.

[9] *American Husbandry* (London, 1775), i, p. 47.

[10] For the extent of New England settlements in 1760, compared with 1700, see the map in Channing, *United States*, ii, at end of volume.

> The influence of this policy can only be fully appreciated when standing by the side of the solitary settler's hut in the West, where even an Eastern man has degenerated to a boor in manners, where his children have grown up uneducated, and where the Sabbath has become an unknown day, and religion and its obligations have ceased to exercise control upon the heart and life.

Whatever may be the real value of the community type of settlement, its establishment in New England was intimately connected both with the Congregational religious organization and with the land system of the colonies of that section, under which the colonial governments made grants—not in tracts to individuals, but in townships to groups of proprietors intending to settle, who in turn assigned lands to the inhabitants without cost. The typical form of establishing a town was as follows: On application of an approved body of men, desiring to establish a new settlement, the colonial general court would appoint a committee to view the desired land and report on its fitness; an order for the grant would then issue, in varying areas, not far from the equivalent of six miles square. In the eighteenth century especially, it was common to reserve certain lots of the town for the support of schools and the ministry. This was the origin of that very important feature of Western society, federal land grants for schools and colleges.[12] The general courts also made regulations regarding the common lands, the terms for admitting inhabitants, etc., and thus kept a firm hand upon the social structure of the new settlements as they formed on the frontier.

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[11] Vol. i, p. 62.

[12] Schafer, "Land Grants for Education," Univ. of Wis. *Bulletin* (Madison, 1902), chap. iv.

This practice, seen in its purity in the seventeenth century especially, was markedly different from the practices of other colonies in the settlement of their back lands. For during most of the period New England did not use her wild lands, or public domain, as a source of revenue by sale to individuals or to companies, with the reservation of quit-rents; nor attract individual settlers by ''head rights,'' or fifty-acre grants, after the Virginia type; nor did the colonies of the New England group often make extensive grants to individuals, on the ground of special services, or because of influence with the government, or on the theory that the grantee would introduce settlers on his grant. They donated their lands to groups of men who became town proprietors for the purpose of establishing communities. These proprietors were supposed to hold the lands in trust, to be assigned to inhabitants under restraints to ensure the persistence of Puritan ideals.

During most of the seventeenth century the proprietors awarded lands to the new-comers in accordance with this theory. But as density of settlement increased, and lands grew scarce in the older towns, the proprietors began to assert their legal right to the unoccupied lands and to refuse to share them with inhabitants who were not of the body of proprietors. The distinction resulted in class conflicts in the towns, especially in the eighteenth century,[13] over the ownership and disposal of the common lands.

The relation of these conflicts to the settlement of the back country needs further investigation. They doubtless afford one of the reasons why men were willing to form new towns on the frontier, remote from markets and exposed to Indian raids. It is not unlikely, also, that the system of from time to time assigning unoccupied lands in the old towns unequally to the members of the community, according to their existing estate, or on some similar plan, created a desire to settle in new towns, where the less-favored could find a congenial social system as well as lands to till.

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[13] On New England's land system see Osgood, *American Colonies* (N. Y., 1904), i, chap. xi; and Eggleston, "Land System of the New England Colonies," Johns Hopkins Univ. *Studies* (Baltimore, 1886), iv.

Compare the account of Virginia, about 1696, in *Mass. Hist. Colls.* (Boston, 1835), 1st series, v, p. 129, for a favorable view of the New England town system.

In any case, the new settlements, by a process of natural selection, would afford opportunity to the least contented whether because of grievances, or ambitions, to establish themselves. This tended to produce a Western flavor in the towns on the frontier. But it was not until the original ideals of the land system began to change, that the opportunity to make new settlements for such reasons became common. As the economic and political ideal replaced the religious and social ideal, in the conditions under which new towns could be established, this became more possible.

Such a change was in progress in the latter part of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth. In 1713, 1715, and 1727 Massachusetts determined upon a policy of locating towns in advance of settlement, to protect her boundary claims. In 1736 she laid out five towns near the New Hampshire border, and a year earlier opened four contiguous towns to connect her Housatonic and Connecticut Valley settlements.[14] Grants in non-adjacent regions were sometimes made to old towns, the proprietors of which sold them to those who wished to move.

The history of the town of Litchfield illustrates the increasing importance of the economic factor. At a time when Connecticut feared that Andros might dispose of the public lands to the disadvantage of the colony, the legislature granted a large part of western Connecticut to the towns of Hartford and Windsor, *pro forma,* as a means of withdrawing the lands from his hands. But these towns refused to give the lands up after the danger had passed, and proceeded to sell part of them.[15] Riots occurred when the colonial authorities attempted to assert possession, and the matter was at length compromised in 1719 by allowing Litchfield to be settled in accordance with the town grants, while the colony reserved the larger part of northwestern Connecticut. In 1737 the colony disposed of its last unlocated lands by sale in lots. In 1762 Massachusetts sold a group of entire townships in the Berkshires to the highest bidders.[16]

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[14] Amelia C. Ford, *Colonial Precedents of our National Land System,* MS. doctor's thesis (1908), Univ. of Wis., citing Massachusetts Bay, House of Rep. *Journal,* 1715, pp. 5, 22, 46; Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay* (London, 1768), ii, p. 331; Holland, *Western Massachusetts* (Springfield, 1855), pp. 166, 169.

[15] *Conn. Colon. Records* (Hartford, 1874), viii, p. 134.

But the most striking illustration of the tendency, is afforded by the "New Hampshire grants" of Governor Wentworth, who, chiefly in the years about 1760, made grants of a hundred and thirty towns west of the Connecticut, in what is now the state of Vermont, but which was then in dispute between New Hampshire and New York. These grants, while in form much like other town grants, were disposed of for cash, chiefly to speculators who hastened to sell their rights to the throngs of landseekers who, after the peace, began to pour into the Green Mountain region.

It is needless to point out how this would affect the movement of Western settlement in respect to individualistic speculation in public lands; how it would open a career to the land jobbers, as well as to the natural leaders in the competitive movement for acquiring the best lands, for laying out town sites and building up new communities under "boom" conditions. The migratory tendency of New Englanders was increased by this gradual change in its land policy; the attachment to a locality was diminished. The later years showed increasing emphasis by New England upon individual success, greater respect for the self-made man who, in the midst of opportunities under competitive conditions, achieved superiority. The old dominance of town sentiment, village moral police, and traditional class control gave way slowly. Settlement in communities and rooted Puritan habits and ideals had enduring influences in the regions settled by New Englanders; but it was in this

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[16] Holland, *Western Massachusetts*, p. 197. See the comments of Hutchinson in his *History of Massachusetts Bay*, ii, pp. 331, 332. Compare the steps of Connecticut men in 1753 and 1755 to secure a land grant in Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, for the Susquehanna Company, and the Connecticut governor's remark that there was no unappropriated land in the latter colony—*Pa. Colon. Records* (Harrisburg, 1851), v, p. 771; *Pa. Archives*, 2d series, xviii, contains the important documents, with much valuable information on the land system of the Wyoming Valley region. See also General Lyman's projects for a Mississippi colony in the Yazoo delta area—all indicative of the pressure for land and the speculative spirit.

Old West, in the years just before the Revolution, that individualism began to play an important rôle, along with the traditional habit of expanding in organized communities.

The opening of the Vermont towns revealed more fully than before, the capability of New Englanders to become democratic pioneers, under characteristic frontier conditions. Their economic life was simple and self-sufficing. They readily adopted lynch law (the use of the "birch seal" is familiar to readers of Vermont history) to protect their land titles in the troubled times when these "Green Mountain boys" resisted New York's assertion of authority. They later became an independent Revolutionary state with frontier directness, and in very many respects their history in the Revolutionary epoch is similar to that of settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee, both in assertion of the right to independent self government and in a frontier separatism.[17] Vermont may be regarded as the culmination of the frontier movement which I have been describing in New England. By this time two distinct New Englands existed—the one coastal, and dominated by commercial interests and the established congregational churches; the other a primitive agricultural area, democratic in principle, and with various sects increasingly indifferent to the fear of "innovation" which the dominant classes of the old communities felt. Already speculative land companies had begun New England settlements in the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania, as well as on the lower Mississippi; and New England missions among the Indians, such as that at Stockbridge, were beginning the noteworthy religious and educational expansion of the section to the west.

That this movement of expansion had been chiefly from south to north, along the river valleys, should not conceal from us the fact that it was in essential characteristics a Western movement, especially in the social traits that were developing. Even the men who lived in the long line of settlements on the Maine coast, under frontier conditions, and remote from the older centres of New England, developed traits and a democratic spirit that relate them closely to the Westerners, in spite of the fact that Maine is "down east" by pre-eminence.[18]

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[17] Compare Vermont's dealings with the British, and the negotiations of Kentucky and Tennessee leaders with Spaniards and British. See *Amer. Hist. Review*, i, p. 252, note 2, for references on Vermont's Revolutionary philosophy and influence.

The Back Country of the Middle Region

The frontier of the middle region in this period of the formation of the Old West, was divided into two parts, which happen to coincide with the colonies of New York and Pennsylvania. In the latter colony the trend of settlement was into the Great Valley, and so on to the southern uplands; while the advance of settlement in New York was like that of New England, chiefly northward, following the line of Hudson River.

The Hudson and the Mohawk constituted the area of the Old West in this part of the eighteenth century. With them were associated the Wallkill, tributary to the Hudson, and Cherry Valley near the Mohawk, along the sources of the Susquehanna. The Berkshires walled the Hudson in to the east; the Adirondacks and the Catskills to the west. Where the Mohawk Valley penetrated between the mountainous areas, the Iroquois Indians were too formidable for advance on such a slender line. Nothing but dense settlement along the narrow strip of the Hudson, if even that, could have furnished the necessary momentum for overcoming the Indian barrier; and this pressure was lacking, for the population was comparatively sparse in contrast with the task to be performed. What most needs discussion in the case of New York, therefore, is not the history of expansion as in other sections, but the absence of expansive power.

The fur-trade had led the way up the Hudson, and made beginnings of settlements at strategic points near the confluence of the Mohawk. But the fur-trader was not followed by a tide of pioneers. One of the most important factors in restraining density of population in New York, in retarding the settlement of its frontier, and in determining the conditions there, was the land system of that colony.

From the time of the patroon grants along the lower Hudson, great estates had been the common form of land tenure. Rensselaerswyck reached at one time over seven hundred thousand acres. These great patroon estates were confirmed by the

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[18] See H. C. Emery, *Artemas Jean Haynes* (New Haven, 1908), pp. 8–10.

English governors, who in their turn followed a similar policy. By 1732 two and one-half million acres were engrossed in manorial grants.[19] In 1764, Governor Colden wrote[20] that three of the extravagant grants contain,

> as the proprietors claim, above a million acres each, several others above 200,000. * * * Although these grants contain a great part of the province, they are made in trifling acknowledgements. The far greater part of them still remain uncultivated, without any benefit to the community, and are likewise a discouragement to the settling and improving the lands in the neighborhood of them, for from the uncertainty of their boundaries, the patentees of these great tracts are daily enlarging their pretensions, and by tedious and most expensive law suits, distress and ruin poor families who have taken out grants near them.

He adds that "the proprietors of the great tracts are not only freed from the quit-rents, which the other landholders in the province pay, but by their influence in the assembly are freed from every other public tax on their lands."

In 1769 it was estimated that at least five-sixths of the inhabitants of Westchester County lived within the bounds of the great manors there.[21] In Albany County the Livingston manor spread over seven modern townships, and the great Van Rensselaer manor stretched twenty-four by twenty-eight miles along the Hudson; while still farther, on the Mohawk, were the vast possessions of Sir William Johnson.[22]

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[19] Ballagh, in Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1897, p. 110.

[20] *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii, pp. 654, 795.

[21] Becker, in *Amer. Hist. Review*, vi, p. 261.

[22] Becker, *loc. cit.* For maps of grants in New York, see O'Callaghan, *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.* (Albany, 1850), i, pp. 421, 774; especially Southier, *Chorographical Map of New York;* Winsor, *America*, v, p. 236. In general on these grants, consult also *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, i, pp. 249–257; *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, iv, pp. 397, 791, 874, v, pp. 459, 651, 805, vi, pp. 486, 549, 743, 876, 950; Kip, *Olden Time* (N. Y., 1872), p. 12; Scharf, *History of Westchester County* (Phila., 1886), i, p. 91; Libby, *Distribution of Vote on Ratification of Constitution* (Madison, 1894), pp. 21–25.

For the region of the Wallkill, including New Paltz, etc., see Eager, *Outline History of Orange County, New York* (Newburgh, 1846–47); and Ruttenber and Clark, *History of Orange County* (Phila., 1881), pp. 11–20. On Cherry Valley and upper Susquehanna settlements, in gen-

It was not simply that the grants were extensive, but that the policy of the proprietors favored the leasing rather than the sale of the lands—frequently also of the stock, and taking payment in shares. It followed that settlers preferred to go to frontiers where a more liberal land policy prevailed. At one time it seemed possible that the tide of German settlement, which finally sought Pennsylvania and the up-country of the South, might flow into New York. In 1710, Governor Hunter purchased a tract in Livingston's manor and located nearly fifteen hundred Palatines on it to produce naval stores.[23] But the attempt soon failed; the Germans applied to the Indians on Schoharie Creek, a branch of the Mohawk, for a grant of land and migrated there, only to find that the governor had already granted the land. Again were the villages broken up, some remaining and some moving farther up the Mohawk, where they and accessions to their number established the frontier settlements about Palatine Bridge, in the region where, in the Revolution, Herkimer led these German frontiersmen to stem the British attack in the battle of Oriskany. They constituted the most effective military defense of Mohawk Valley. Still another portion took their way across to the waters of the Susquehanna, and at Tulpehockon Creek began an important centre of German settlement in the Great Valley of Pennsylvania.[24]

The most important aspect of the history of the movement into the frontier of New York at this period, therefore, was the evidence which it afforded that in the competition for settlement between colonies possessing a vast area of vacant land, those which imposed feudal tenures and undemocratic restraints, and which exploited settlers, were certain to lose.

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eral, in New York, see Halsey, *Old New York Frontier*, pp. 5, 119, and the maps by De Witt and Southier in O'Callaghan, *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, i, pp. 421, 774.

Note the French Huguenots and Scotch-Irish in Orange County, and the Scotch-Irish settlers of Cherry Valley and their relation to Londonderry, N. H., as well as the missionary visits from Stockbridge, Mass., to the upper Susquehanna.

[23] Lord, *Industrial Experiments* (Baltimore, 1898), p. 45; Diffenderfer, *German Exodus* (Lancaster, Pa., 1897).

[24] See *post*.

The manorial practice gave a bad name to New York as a region for settlement, which not even the actual opportunities in certain parts of the colony could counteract. The diplomacy of New York governors during this period of the Old West, in securing a protectorate over the Six Nations and a consequent claim to their territory, and in holding them aloof from France, constituted the most effective contribution of that colony to the movement of American expansion. When lands of these tribes were obtained after Sullivan's expedition in the Revolution (in which New England soldiers played a prominent part), it was by the New England inundation into this interior that they were colonized. And it was under conditions like those prevailing in the later years of the expansion of settlements in New England itself, that this settlement of interior and western New York was effected. The result was, that New York became divided into two distinct peoples: the dwellers along Hudson Valley, and the Yankee pioneers of the interior. But the settlement of central and western New York, like the settlement of Vermont, is a story that belongs with the era in which the trans-Alleghany West was occupied.

We can best consider the settlement of the share of the Old West which is located in Pennsylvania as a part of the migration which occupied the southern uplands, and before entering upon this it will be advantageous to survey that part of the movement toward the interior which proceeded westward from the coast. First let us observe the conditions at the eastern edge of these uplands, along the fall line in Virginia, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, in order that the process and the significance of the movement may be better understood.

Expansion Westward from the Southern Tidewater: Virginia

About the time of Bacon's Rebellion, in Virginia, strenuous efforts were made to protect the frontier line which ran along the falls of the rivers, against the attacks of Indians. This "fall line," as the geographers call it, marking the head of navigation, and thus the boundary of the maritime or lowland South, runs from the site of Washington, through Richmond, and on to Raleigh, North Carolina, and Columbia, South Carolina. Virginia having earliest advanced thus far to the interior, found it necessary in the closing years of the seventeenth century to draw a military frontier along this line. As early as 1675 a statute was enacted,[25] providing that paid troops of five hundred men should be drawn from the midland and most secure parts of the country and placed on the ''heads of the rivers'' and other places fronting upon the Indians. What was meant by the ''heads of the rivers,'' is shown by the fact that several of these forts were located either at the falls of the rivers or just above tidewater, as follows: one on the lower Potomac in Stafford County; one near the falls of the Rappahannock; one on the Mattapony; one on the Pamunky; one on the falls of the James (near the site of Richmond); one near the falls of Appomattox, and others on Blackwater, Nansemond, and the Accomac peninsula, all in the eastern parts of Virginia.

Again, in 1679, similar provision was made, [26] and an especially interesting act was passed, making *quasi* manorial grants to Major Lawrence Smith and Captain William Byrd, ''to seate certain lands at the head [falls] of Rappahannock and James river'' respectively. This scheme failed for lack of approval by the authorities in England.[27] But Byrd at the falls of the James near the present site of Richmond, Robert Beverley on the Rappahannock, and other frontier commanders on the York and Potomac, continued to undertake colonial defense. The system of mounted rangers was established in 1691, by which a lieutenant, eleven soldiers, and two Indians at the ''heads'' or falls of each great river were to scout for enemy,[28] and the Indian boundary line was strictly defined.

By the opening years of the eighteenth century (1701), the assembly of Virginia had reached the conclusion that settlement would be the best means of protecting the frontiers, and that the best way of "settling in cohabitations upon the said land frontiers within this government will be by encouragements to induce societies of men to undertake the same."[29] It was declared to be inexpedient to have less than twenty fighting men in each "society," and provision was made for a land grant to be given to these societies (or towns) not less than 10,000 nor more than 30,000 acres upon any of the frontiers, to be held in common by the society. The power of ordering and managing these lands, and the settling and planting of them, was to remain in the society. Virginia was to pay the cost of survey, also quit-rents for the first twenty years for the two-hundred-acre tract as the site of the "cohabitation." Within this two hundred acres each member was to have a half-acre lot for living upon, and a right to two hundred acres next adjacent, until the thirty thousand acres were taken up. The members of the society were exempt from taxes for twenty years, and from the requirements of military duty except such as they imposed upon themselves.

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[25] Hening, *Va. Statutes at Large* (N. Y., 1823), ii, p. 326.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 433.

[27] Bassett, *Writings of William Byrd* (N. Y., 1901), p. xxi.

[28] Hening, iii, p. 82. Similar acts were passed almost annually in successive years of the seventeenth century; cf. *loc. cit.*, pp. 98, 115, 119, 126, 164; the system was discontinued in 1722—see Beverley, *Virginia and its Government* (London, 1722), p. 234.

It is interesting to compare the recommendation of Governor Dodge for Wisconsin Territory in 1836—see Wis. Terr. House of Reps. *Journal*, 1836, pp. 11 *et seq.*

"Provided alwayes," ran the quaint statutes, "and it is the true intent and meaning of this act that for every five hundred acres of land to be granted in pursuance of this act there shall be and shall be continually kept upon the said land one christian man between sixteen and sixty years of age perfect of limb, able and fitt for service who shall alsoe be continually provided with a well fixed musquett or fuzee, a good pistoll, sharp simeter, tomahawk and five pounds of good clean pistoll powder and twenty pounds of sizable leaden bulletts or swan or goose shott to be kept within the fort directed by this act besides the powder and shott for his necessary or useful shooting at game. Provided also that the said warlike christian man shall have his dwelling and continual abode within the space of two hundred acres of land to be laid out in a geometricall square or as near that figure as conveniency will admit," etc. Within two years the society was required to cause a half acre in the middle of the "cohabitation" to be palisaded "with good sound palisadoes at least thirteen foot long and six inches diameter in the middle of the length thereof, and set double and at least three foot within the ground."

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[29] Hening, iii, pp. 204–209.

Such in 1701 was the idea of the Virginia tidewater assembly of a frontiersman, and of the frontier towns by which the Old Dominion should spread her population into the upland South. But the "warlike christian man" who actually came to furnish the firing line for Virginia, was destined to be the Scotch-Irishman and the German with long rifle in place of "fuzee" and "simeter," and altogether too restless to have his continual abode within the space of two hundred acres. Nevertheless there are points of resemblance between this idea of societies settled about a fortified town and the later "stations" of Kentucky.[30]

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the engrossing of the lands of lowland Virginia had progressed so far, the practice of holding large tracts of wasteland for reserves in the great plantations had become so common, that the authorities of Virginia reported to the home government that the best lands were all taken up,[31] and settlers were passing into North Carolina seeking cheap lands near navigable rivers. Attention was directed also to the Piedmont portions of Virginia, for by this time the Indians were conquered in this region. It was now possible to acquire land by purchase[32] at five shillings sterling for fifty acres, as well as by head-rights for importation or settlement, and land speculation soon turned to the new area.

Already the Piedmont had been somewhat explored.[33] Even by the middle of the seventeenth century, fur-traders had followed the trail southwest from the James more than four hundred miles to the Catawbas and later to the Cherokees. Col. William Byrd had, as we have seen, not only been absorbing good lands in the lowlands, and defending his post at the falls of the James, like a count of the border, but he also engaged in this fur-trade and sent his pack trains along this trail through the Piedmont of the Carolinas,[34] and took note of the rich savannas of that region. Charleston traders engaged in rivalry for this trade.

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[30] Compare the law of 1779 in *Va. Revised Code* (1819), ii, p. 357; Ranck's *Boonesborough* (Louisville, 1901).

[31] Bassett, *Writings of Byrd*, p. xii; *Calendar of British State Papers, Am. and W. I.*, 1677–80 (London, 1896), p. 168.

[32] Bassett, *loc. cit.*, p. x, and Hening, iii, p. 304 (1705).

[33] For example, the expeditions of Abraham Wood to the Ohio by way of the Great Kanawha, in 1654, and the later expeditions of Lederer, Batt, and Lawson. Compare *Va. Mag.* (Richmond, 1895), ii, p. 51; Hening, i, pp. 357, 376, 581; *Cal. British State Papers, Colonial Am. and W. I.*, 1669–74 (London, 1889), p. 270, no. 647; Edward Bland, *Discovery of New Brittaine* (London, 1651; and reprinted by Sabin, N. Y., 1873); this deals with discoveries by Bland, Captain Abraham Wood, and others, one hundred and twenty miles southwest from the falls of the Appomattox; Beverley, *Virginia* (London, 1722) p. 62 (Batt); Lederer, *Discoveries* (Cincinnati, 1879).

It was not long before cattle raisers from the older settlements, learning from the traders of the fertile plains and peavine pastures of this land, followed the fur-traders and erected scattered "cow-pens" or ranches beyond the line of plantations in the Piedmont. Even at the close of the seventeenth century, herds of wild horses and cattle ranged at the outskirts of the Virginia settlements, and were hunted by the planters, driven into pens, and branded somewhat after the manner of the later ranching on the Great Plains.[35] Now the cow-drivers and the cow-pens[36] began to enter the uplands. The Indians had by this time been reduced to submission in most of the Virginia Piedmont—as Governor Spotswood[37] reported in 1712, living "quietly on our frontiers, trafficking with the Inhabitants."

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[34] Bassett, *Writings of Byrd*, pp. xvii, xviii, quotes Byrd's description of the trail; Logan, *Upper South Carolina* (Columbia, 1859), i, p. 167; Adair describes the trade somewhat later; cf. Bartram, *Travels* (London, 1792), passim, and Monette, *Mississippi Valley* (N. Y., 1846), ii, p. 13.

[35] Bruce, *Economic Hist. of Va.* (N. Y., 1896), i, pp. 473, 475, 477.

[36] See descriptions of cow-pens in Logan, *History of Upper S. C.*, i, p. 151; Bartram, *Travels*, p. 308. On cattle raising generally in the Piedmont, see: Gregg, *Old Cheraws* (N. Y., 1867), pp. 68, 108–110; Salley, *Orangeburg* (Orangeburg, 1898), pp. 219–221; Lawson, *New Voyage to Carolina* (Raleigh, 1860), p. 135; Ramsay, *South Carolina* (Charleston, 1809), i, p. 207; J. F. D. Smyth, *Tour* (London, 1784), i, p. 143, ii, pp. 78, 97; Foote, *Sketches of N. C.* (N. Y., 1846), p. 77; *N. C. Colon. Records* (Raleigh, 1887), v, pp. xli, 1193, 1223; *American Husbandry* (London, 1775), i, pp. 336, 350, 384; Hening, v, pp. 176, 245.

[37] Spotswood, *Letters* (Richmond, 1882), i, p. 167; compare *Va. Magazine*, iii, pp. 120, 189.

After the defeat of the Tuscaroras and Yemassees about this time in the Carolinas, similar opportunities for expansion existed there. The cattle drovers sometimes took their flocks from range to range; sometimes they were gathered permanently near the pens, finding the range sufficient throughout the year. They were driven to Charleston, or later sometimes even to Philadelphia and Baltimore markets. By the middle of the century, distemper worked havoc with them in South Carolina[38] and destroyed seven-eighths of those in North Carolina; Virginia made regulations governing the driving of cattle through her frontier counties to avoid the disease, just as in our own time the northern cattlemen attempted to protect their herds against the Texas fever.

Thus cattle raisers from the the coast followed the fur-traders toward the uplands, and already pioneer farmers were straggling into the same region, soon to be outnumbered by the tide of settlement that flowed into the region from Pennsylvania.

The descriptions of the uplands by contemporaneous writers are in glowing terms. Makemie, in his *Plain and Friendly Persuasion* (1705), declared: "The best, richest and most healthy part of your Country is yet to be inhabited, above the falls of every River, to the Mountains." Jones, in his *Present State of Virginia* (1724), comments on the convenience of tidewater transportation, etc., but declares that section "not nearly so healthy as the uplands and Barrens which serve for Ranges for Stock," although he speaks less enthusiastically of the savannas and marshes which lay in the midst of the forest areas. In fact, the Piedmont was by no means the unbroken forest that might have been imagined, for in addition to natural meadows, the Indians had burned over large tracts.[39] It was a rare combination of woodland and pasture, with clear running streams and a mild climate.[40]

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[38] *N. C. Colon. Records*, v, p. xli.

[39] Lawson, *Carolina* (Raleigh, 1860), gives a description early in the eighteenth century; his map is reproduced in Avery, *United States* (Cleveland, 1907), iii, p. 224.

[40] The advantages and disadvantages of the Piedmont region of the Carolinas in the middle of the eighteenth century are illustrated in Spangenburg's diary, in *N. C. Colon. Records*, v, pp. 6, 7, 13, 14. Compare *American Husbandry*, i, pp. 220, 332, 357, 388.

The occupation of the Virginia Piedmont received a special impetus from the interest which Governor Spotswood took in the frontier. In 1710 he proposed a plan for intercepting the French in their occupation of the interior, by inducing Virginia settlement to proceed along one side of James River only, until this column of advancing pioneers should strike the attenuated line of French posts in the centre. In the same year he sent a body of horsemen to the top of the Blue Ridge, where they could overlook the Valley of Virginia.[41] By 1714 he became active as a colonizer himself. Thirty miles above the falls of the Rappahannock, on the Rapidan at Germanna,[42] he settled a little village of German redemptioners (who in return for having the passage paid agreed to serve without wages for a term of years), to engage in his iron works, also to act as rangers on the frontier. From here, in 1716, with two companies of rangers and four Indians, Governor Spotswood and a band of Virginia gentlemen made a summer picnic excursion of two weeks across the Blue Ridge into the Shenandoah Valley. *Sic juvat transcendere montes* was the motto of these Knights of the Golden Horse Shoe, as Spotswood dubbed them. But they were not the "warlike christian men" destined to occupy the frontier.

Spotswood's interest in the advance along the Rappahannock, probably accounts for the fact that in 1720 Spotsylvania and Brunswick were organized as frontier counties of Virginia.[43] Five hundred dollars were contributed by the colony to the church, and a thousand dollars for arms and ammunition for the settlers in these counties. The fears of the French and Indians beyond the high mountains, were alleged as reasons for this advance. To attract settlers to these new counties, they were (1723) exempt from purchasing the lands under the system of head rights, and from payment of quit-rents for seven years after 1721. The free grants so obtained were not to exceed a thousand acres. This was soon extended to six thousand acres, but with provision requiring the settlement of a certain number of families upon the grant within a certain time. In 1729 Spotswood was ordered by the council to produce "rights" and pay the quit-rents for the 59,786 acres which he claimed in this county.

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[41] Spotswood, *Letters*, i, p. 40.

[42] On Germanna see Spotswood, *Letters* (index); Fontaine's journal in A. Maury, *Huguenot Family* (1853), p. 268; Jones, *Present State of Virginia* (N. Y., 1865), p. 59; Bassett, *Writings of Byrd*, p. 356; *Va. Magazine*, xiii, pp. 362, 365, vi, p. 385, xii, pp. 342, 350, xiv, p. 136.

Spotswood's interest in the Indian trade on the southern frontier of Virginia is illustrated in his fort Christanna, on which the above references afford information.

The contemporaneous account of Spotswood's expedition into Shenandoah Valley is Fontaine's journal, cited above.

[43] See the excellent paper by C. E. Kemper, in *Va. Magazine*, xii, on "Early Westward Movement in Virginia."

Other similar actions by the council show that large holdings were developing there, also that the difficulty of establishing a frontier democracy in contact with the area of expanding plantations, was very real.[44] By the time of the occupation of the Shenandoah Valley, therefore, the custom was established in this part of Virginia,[45] of making grants of a thousand acres for each family settled. Speculative planters, influential with the governor and council secured grants of many thousand acres, conditioned upon seating a certain number of families, and satisfying the requirements of planting. Thus what had originally been intended as direct grants to the actual settler, frequently became grants to great planters like Beverley, who promoted the coming of Scotch-Irish and German settlers, or took advantage of the natural drift into the valley, to sell lands in their grants, as a rule, reserving quit-rents. The liberal grants per family enabled these speculative planters, while satisfying the terms of settlement, to hold large portions of the grant for themselves. Under the lax requirements, and probably still more lax enforcement, of the provisions for actual cultivation or cattle-raising,[46] it was not difficult to hold such wild land. These conditions rendered possible the extension of a measure of aristocratic planter life in the course of time to the Piedmont and valley lands of Virginia. It must be added, however, that some of the newcomers, both Germans and Scotch-Irish, like the Van Meters, Stover, and Lewis, also showed an ability to act as promoters in locating settlers and securing grants to themselves.

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[44] Compare Phillips, "Origin and Growth of the Southern Black Belts," in *Amer. Hist. Review*, xi, p. 799.

[45] *Va. Magazine*, xiii, p. 113.

[46] *Revised Code of Virginia* (Richmond, 1819), ii, p. 339.

In the northern part of the Shenandoah Valley, lay part of the estate of Lord Fairfax, some six million acres in extent, which came to the family by dower from the old Culpeper and Arlington grant of Northern Neck. In 1748, the youthful Washington was surveying this estate along the upper waters of the Potomac, finding a bed under the stars and learning the life of the frontier. Lord Fairfax established his own Greenway manor,[47] and divided his domain into other manors, giving ninety-nine-year leases to settlers already on the ground at twenty shillings annually per hundred acres; while of the newcomers he exacted two shillings annual quit-rent for this amount of land in fee simple. Litigation kept land titles uncertain here, for many years. Similarly, Beverley's manor, about Staunton, represented a grant of 118,000 acres to Beverley and his associates on condition of placing the proper number of families on the tract.[48] Thus speculative planters on this frontier shared in the movement of occupation and made an aristocratic element in the up-country; but the increasing proportion of Scotch-Irish immigrants, as well as German settlers, together with the contrast in natural conditions, made the interior a different Virginia from that of the tide-water.

As settlement ascended the Rappahannock, and emigrants began to enter the Valley from the north, so, contemporaneously, settlement ascended the James above the falls, succeeding to the posts of the fur-traders.[49] Goochland County was set off in 1728, and the growth of population led, as early as 1729, to proposals for establishing a city (Richmond) at the falls. Along the upper James, as on the Rappahannock, speculative planters bought headrights and located settlers and tenants to hold their grants.[50] Into this region came natives of Virginia, emigrants from the British isles, and scattered representatives of other lands, some of them coming up the James, others up the York, and still others arriving with the southward-moving current along both sides of the Blue Ridge.

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[47] *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, xiii, pp. 217, 230; Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist. of America*, v, p. 268; Kercheval, *The Valley* (Winchester, Va., 1833), pp. 67, 209; *Va. Magazine*, xiii, p. 115.

[48] *William and Mary College Quarterly* (Williamsburg, 1895), iii, p. 226—see Jefferson and Frye, *Map of Virginia, 1751*, for location of this and Borden's manor.

[49] Brown, *The Cabells* (Boston, 1895), p. 53.

[50] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 57, 66.

Before 1730 few settlers lived above the mouth of the Rivanna. In 1732 Peter Jefferson patented a thousand acres at the eastern opening of its mountain gap, and here, under frontier conditions, Thomas Jefferson was born in 1743 near his later estate of Monticello. About him were pioneer farmers, as well as foresighted engrossers of the land. In the main his country was that of a democratic frontier people—Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, Quakers, Baptists, and other sects,[51] out of sympathy with the established church and the landed gentry of the lowlands. This society in which he was born, was to find in Jefferson a powerful exponent of its ideals.[52] Patrick Henry was born in 1736 above the falls, not far from Richmond, and he also was a mouthpiece of interior Virginia in the Revolutionary era. In short, a society was already forming in the Virginia Piedmont which was composed of many sects, of independent yeomen as well as their great planter leaders—a society naturally expansive, seeing its opportunity to deal in unoccupied lands along the frontier which continually moved toward the West, and in this era of the eighteenth century dominated by the democratic ideals of pioneers rather than by the aristocratic tendencies of slaveholding planters. As there were two New Englands, so there were by this time two Virginias, and the uplands belonged with the Old West.

North Carolina

The advance across the fall line from the coast was, in North Carolina, much slower than in Virginia. After the Tuscarora War (1712–13) an extensive region west from Pamlico Sound was opened (1724). The region to the north, about the Roanoke, had before this begun to receive frontier settlers, largely from Virginia. Their traits are interestingly portrayed in

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[51] Meade, *Old Churches* (Phila., 1861), 2 vols.; Foote, *Sketches* (Phila., 1855); Brown, *The Cabells*, p. 68.

[52] *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xci, pp. 83 *et seq.;* Ford, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (N. Y., 1892), i, pp. xix *et seq.*

Byrd's *Dividing Line.* By 1728 the farthest inhabitants along the Virginia boundary were frontiersmen about Great Creek, a branch of the Roanoke.[53] The North Carolina commissioners desired to stop running the line after going a hundred and seventy miles, on the plea that they were already fifty miles beyond the outermost inhabitant, and there would be no need for an age or two to carry the line farther; but the Virginia surveyors pointed out that already speculators were taking up the land. A line from Weldon to Fayetteville would roughly mark the western boundary of North Carolina's sparse population of forty thousand souls.[54]

The slower advance is explained, partly because of the later settlement of the Carolinas, partly because the Indians continued to be troublesome on the flanks of the advancing population, as seen in the Tuscarora and Yemassee wars, and partly because the pine barrens running parallel with the fall line made a zone of infertile land not attractive to settlers. The North Carolina low country, indeed, had from the end of the seventeenth century been a kind of southern frontier for overflow from Virginia; and in many ways was assimilated to the type of the up-country in its turbulent democracy, its variety of sects and peoples, and its primitive conditions. But under the lax management of the public lands, the use of "blank patents" and other evasions made possible the development of large landholding, side by side with headrights to settlers. Here, as in Virginia, a great proprietary grant extended across the colony—Lord Granville's proprietary was a zone embracing the northern half of North Carolina. Within this area, sales and quit-rents were administered by the agents of the owner, with the result that uncertainty and disorder of an agrarian nature extended down to the Revolution. There were likewise great speculative holdings, conditioned on seating a certain proportion of settlers, into which the frontiersmen were drifting.[55] But this system also made it possible for agents of later migrating congregations to establish colonies like that of the Moravians at Wachovia.[56] Thus, by the time settlers came into the uplands from the north, a land system existed similar to that of Virginia. A common holding was a square mile (640 acres), but in practice this did not prevent the accumulation of great estates.[57] Whereas Virginia's Piedmont area was to a large extent entered by extensions from the coast, that of North Carolina remained almost untouched by 1730.[58]

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[53] Byrd, *Dividing Line* (Richmond, 1866), pp. 85, 271.

[54] *N. C. Colon. Records*, iii, p. xiii. Compare Hawks, *Hist. of North Carolina* (Fayetteville, 1859), map of precincts, 1663–1729.

[55] Raper, *North Carolina* (N. Y. 1904), chap. v; W. R. Smith, *South Carolina* (N. Y., 1903), pp. 48, 57.

South Carolina

The same is true of South Carolina. By 1730, settlement had progressed hardly eighty miles from the coast, even in the settled area of the lowlands. The tendency to engross the lowlands for large plantations was clear, here as elsewhere.[59] The surveyor-general reports in 1732 that not as many as a thousand acres within a hundred miles of Charleston, or within twenty miles of a river or navigable creek, were unpossessed. In 1729 the crown ordered eleven townships of twenty thousand acres each to be laid out in rectangles, divided into fifty acres for each actual settler under a quit-rent of four shillings a year for every hundred acres, or proportionally, to be paid after the first ten years.[60] By 1732 these townships, designed to attract foreign Protestants, were laid out on the great rivers of the colony. As they were located in the middle region, east of the fall line, among pine barrens, or in malarial lands in the southern corner of the colony, they all proved abortive as towns, except Orangeburg[61] on the North Edisto, where German redemptioners made a settlement. The Scotch–Irish Presbyterians who came to Williamsburg, on Black River, suffered hardships; as did the Swiss who, under the visionary leadership of Purry, settled in the deadly climate of Purrysburg, on the lower Savannah. To Welsh colonists from Pennsylvania there was made a grant—known as the "Welsh tract," embracing over 173,000 acres on the Great Pedee (Marion County)[62] under headrights of fifty acres, also a bounty in provisions, tools, and livestock.

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[56] Clewell, *Wachovia* (N. Y., 1902).

[57] Ballagh, in Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1897, pp. 120, 121, citing Bassett, in *Law Quarterly Review*, April, 1895, pp. 159–161.

[58] See map in Hawks, *North Carolina*.

[59] McCrady, *South Carolina*, 1719–1776 (N. Y., 1899), pp. 149, 151; Smith, *South Carolina*, p. 40; Ballagh, in Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1897, pp. 117–119; Brevard, *Digest of S. C. Laws* (Charleston, 1857), i, p. xi.

[60] McCrady, *South Carolina*, pp. 121 *et seq.;* Phillips, *Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt* (N. Y., 1908), p. 51.

[61] This was not originally provided for among the eleven towns. For its history see Salley, *Orangeburg*—frontier conditions about 1769 are described on pp. 219 *et seq.;* see map opposite p. 9.

These attempts, east of the fall line, are interesting as showing the colonial policy of marking out towns (which were to be politically-organized parishes, with representation in the legislature), and attracting foreigners thereto, prior to the coming of settlers from the North.

Georgia

The settlement of Georgia, in 1732, completed the southern line of colonization toward the Piedmont. Among the objects of the colony, as specified in the charters, were the relief of the poor and the protection of the frontiers. To guard against the tendency to engross the lands in great estates, already so clearly revealed in the older colonies, the Georgia trustees provided that the grants of fifty acres should not be alienated or divided, but should pass to the male heirs and revert to the trustees in case heirs were lacking. No grant greater than five hundred acres was permitted, and even this was made conditionally upon the holder settling ten colonists. However, under local conditions and the competition and example of neighboring colonies, this attempt to restrict land tenure in the interest of democracy broke down by 1750, and Georgia's land system became not unlike that of the other Southern colonies.[63]

In 1734, Salzburgers had been located above Savannah, and within seven years some twelve hundred German Protestants were dwelling on the Georgia frontier; while a settlement of Scotch Highlanders at Darien, near the mouth of the Altamaha, protected the southern frontier. At Augusta, an Indian trading fort (1735), whence the dealers in peltry visited the Cherokee, completed the familiar picture of frontier advance.[64]

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[62] Gregg, *Old Cheraws*, p. 44.

[63] Ballagh, *loc. cit.*, pp. 119, 120.

[64] Compare the description of Georgia frontier traders, cattle raisers, and land speculators, about 1773, in Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 18, 36, 308.

Resume' of Westward Settlement from the Coast

We have now hastily surveyed the movement of the frontier of settlement westward from the lowlands, in the later years of the seventeenth and early years of the eighteenth century. There is much that is common in the whole line of advance. The original settlers engross the desirable lands of the older area. Indented servants and new-comers pass to the frontier seeking a place to locate their headrights, or plant new towns. Adventurous and speculative wealthy planters acquire large holdings in the new areas, and bring over settlers to satisfy the requirements of seating and cultivating their extensive grants, thus building up a yeomanry of small landholders side by side with the holders of large estates. The most far-sighted of the new-comers follow the example of the planters, and petition for increasingly extensive grants. Meanwhile, pioneers like Abraham Wood, himself once an indented servant, and gentlemen like Col. William Byrd—prosecuting the Indian trade from their posts at the ''heads'' of the rivers, and combining frontier protection, exploring, and surveying—make known the more distant fertile soils of the Piedmont. Already in the first part of the eighteenth century, the frontier population tended to be a rude democracy, with a large representation of Scotch–Irish, Germans, Welsh, and Huguenot French settlers, holding religious faiths unlike that of the followers of the established church in the lowlands. The movement of slaves into the region was unimportant, but not unknown.

Southward Migration through the Valley to Piedmont

The Virginia Valley was practically unsettled in 1730, as was much of its Piedmont area and all of the Piedmont area of the Carolinas. The significance of the movement of settlers from the North into this vacant valley and Piedmont, behind the area occupied by expansion from the coast is, that it was geographically separated from the westward movement from the coast, and that it was sufficient in volume to recruit the democratic forces and postpone for a long time the process of social assimilation to the type of the lowlands.

As has been pointed out, especially in the Carolinas a belt of pine barrens, roughly eighty miles in breadth, ran parallel with the fall line and thus discouraged western advance across this belt, even before the head of navigation was reached. In Virginia, the Blue Ridge made an almost equally effective barrier, walling off the Shenandoah Valley from the westward advance. At the same time this valley was but a continuation of the Great Valley, that ran along the eastern edge of the Alleghanies in southeastern Pennsylvania, and included in its mountain trough the Cumberland and Hagerstown valleys. In short, a broad limestone band of fertile soil was stretched within mountain walls, southerly from Pennsylvania to southwestern Virginia: and here the watergaps opened the way to descend to the Carolina Piedmont. This whole area, a kind of peninsula thrust down from Pennsylvania, was rendered comparatively inaccessible to the westward movement from the lowlands, and was equally accessible to the population which was entering Pennsylvania.[65]

Thus it happened that from about 1730 to 1760 a generation of settlers poured along this mountain trough into the southern uplands, or Piedmont, creating a new continuous social and economic area, which cut across the artificial colonial boundary lines, disarranged the regular extension of local government from the coast westward, and built up a new Pennsylvania in contrast with the old Quaker colonies, and a new South in contrast with the tidewater South. This New South composed the southern half of the Old West.

Pennsylvania Germans

From its beginning, Pennsylvania was advertised as a home for dissenting sects seeking freedom in the wilderness. But it was not until the exodus of German redemptioners,[66] from about 1717, that the Palatinate and neighboring areas sent the great tide of Germans which by the time of the Revolution made them nearly a third of the total population of Pennsylvania. It has been carefully estimated that in 1775 over 200,000 Germans lived in the thirteen colonies, chiefly along the frontier zone of the Old West. Of these, a hundred thousand had their home in Pennsylvania, mainly in the Great Valley, in the region which is still so notably the abode of the "Pennsylvania Dutch."[67]

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[65] See Willis, "Northern Appalachians," in *Physiography of the U. S.* in National Geog. Soc. *Monographs* (N. Y., 1895), no. 6.

[66] Diffenderfer, "German Immigration into Pennsylvania," in Pa. German Soc. *Proc.*, v, p. 10; *Redemptioners* (Lancaster, Pa., 1900).

Space does not permit us to describe this movement of colonization.[68] The entrance to the fertile limestone soils of the Great Valley of Pennsylvania was easy, in view of the low elevation of the South Mountain ridge, and the watergaps thereto. The continuation along the similar valley to the south, in Maryland and Virginia, was a natural one, especially as the increasing tide of emigrants raised the price of lands.[69] In 1719 the proprietor's price for Pennsylvania lands was ten pounds per hundred acres, and two shillings quit-rents. In 1732 this became fifteen and one-half pounds, with a quit-rent of a half penny per acre.[70] During the period 1718 to 1732, when the Germans were coming in great numbers, the management of the lands fell into confusion, and many seated themselves as squatters, without title.[71] This was a fortunate possibility for the poor redemptioners, who had sold their service for a term of years in order to secure their transportation to America.

By 1726 it was estimated that there were 100,000 squatters;[72] and of the 670,000 acres occupied between 1732 and 1740, it is estimated that 400,000 acres were settled without grants.[73]

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[67] A. B. Faust, in his MS. monograph which won the Conrad Seipp prize for the best study of the German element in the United States.

[68] See the bibliographies in Kuhns, *German and Swiss Settlements of Pennsylvania* (N. Y., 1901); Wayland, *German Element of the Shenandoah Valley* (N. Y. 1908); Channing, *United States*, ii, p. 421; Griffin, *List of Works relating to the Germans in the U. S.* (Library of Congress, Wash., 1904).

[69] See in illustration, the letter in Myers, *Irish Quakers* (Swarthmore, Pa., 1902), p. 70.

[70] Shepherd, *Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania* (N. Y., 1896), p. 34.

[71] Gordon, *Pennsylvania* (Phila., 1829), p. 225.

[72] Shepherd, *loc. cit.*, pp. 49–51.

[73] Ballagh, Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1897, pp. 112, 113. Compare Smith, *St. Clair* Papers (Cincinnati, 1882), ii, p. 101.

Nevertheless these must ultimately be paid for, with interest, and the concession of the right of preemption to squatters made this easier. But it was not until 1755 that the governor offered land free from purchase, and this was to be taken only west of the Alleghanies.[74]

Although the credit system relieved the difficulty in Pennsylvania, the lands of that colony were in competition with the Maryland lands, offered between 1717 and 1738 at forty shillings sterling per hundred acres, which in 1738 was raised to five pounds sterling.[75] At the same time, in the Virginia Valley, as will be recalled, free grants were being made of a thousand acres per family. Although large tracts of the Shenandoah Valley had been granted to speculators like Beverley, Borden, and the Carters, as well as to Lord Fairfax, the owners sold six or seven pounds cheaper per hundred acres than did the Pennsylvania land office.[76] Between 1726 and 1734, therefore, the Germans began to enter this valley,[77] and before long they extended their settlements into the Piedmont of the Carolinas,[78] being recruited in South Carolina by emigrants coming by way of Charleston—especially after Governor Glenn's purchase from the Cherokee in 1755, of the extreme western portion of the colony. Between 1750 and the Revolution, these settlers in the Carolinas greatly increased in numbers.

Thus a zone of almost continuous German settlements had been established, running from the head of the Mohawk in New York to the Savannah in Georgia. They had found the best soils, and they knew how to till them intensively and thriftily, as attested by their large, well-filled barns, good stock, and big canvass-covered Conestoga wagons. They preferred to dwell in groups, often of the same religious denomination—Lutherans, Reformed, Moravians, Mennonites, and many lesser sects. The diaries of Moravian missionaries from Pennsylvania, who visited them, show how the parent congregations kept in touch with their colonies[79] and how intimate, in general, was the bond of connection between this whole German frontier zone and that of Pennsylvania.

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[74] Shepherd, *loc. cit.*, p. 50.

[75] Mereness, *Maryland* (N. Y., 1901), p. 77.

[76] *Calendar Va. State Papers* (Richmond, 1875), i, p. 217; on these grants see Kemper, "Early Westward Movement in Virginia" in *Va. Mag.*, xii and xiii; Wayland, "German Element of the Shenandoah Valley," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, iii. The speculators, both planters and new-comers, soon made application for lands beyond the Alleghanies.

[77] In 1794 the Virginia House of Delegates resolved to publish the most important laws of the state in German.

[78] See Bernheim, *German Settlements in the Carolinas* (Phila., 1872); Clewell, *Wachovia;* Allen, *German Palatines in N. C.* (Raleigh, 1905).

Scotch-Irish

Side by side with this German occupation of Valley and Piedmont, went the migration of the Scotch-Irish.[80] These lowland Scots had been planted in Ulster early in the seventeenth century. Followers of John Knox, they had the contentious individualism and revolutionary temper that seem natural to Scotch Presbyterianism. They were brought up on the Old Testament, and in the doctrine of government by covenant or compact. In Ireland their fighting qualities had been revealed in the siege of Londonderry, where their stubborn resistance balked the hopes of James II. However, religious and political disabilities were imposed upon these Ulstermen, which made them discontented, and hard times contributed to detach them from their homes. Their movement to America was contemporaneous with the heavy German migration. By the Revolution, it is believed that a third of the population of Pennsylvania was Scotch-Irish; and it has been estimated, probably too liberally, that a half million came to the United States between 1730 and 1770.[81] Especially after the Rebellion of 1745, large numbers of Highlanders came to increase the Scotch blood in the nation.[82] Some of the Scotch-Irish went to New England.[83] Given the cold shoulder by congregational Puritans, they passed to unsettled lands about Worcester, to the frontiers in the Berkshires, and in southern New Hampshire at Londonderry—whence came John Stark, a frontier leader in the French and Indian War, and the hero of Bennington in the Revolution, as well as the ancestors of Horace Greeley and S. P. Chase. The frontier college of Dartmouth was Presbyterian in its origin. In New York, a Scotch-Irish settlement was planted on the frontier at Cherry Valley.[84] Scotch Highlanders came to the Mohawk,[85] where they followed Sir William Johnson and became Tory raiders in the Revolution.

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[79] See Wayland, *loc. cit.*, bibliography, for references; and especially *Va. Mag.*, xi, pp. 113, 225, 370, xii, pp. 55, 134, 271; *German American Annals*, N. S. iii, pp. 342, 369, iv, p. 16; Clewell, *Wachovia; N. C. Colon. Records*, v, pp. 1–14.

[80] On the Scotch-Irish, see the bibliography in Green, "Scotch-Irish in America," Amer. Antiquarian Soc. *Proceedings*, April, 1895; Hanna, *Scotch-Irish* (N. Y., 1902), is a comprehensive presentation of the subject; see also Myers, *Irish Quakers.*

[81] Fiske, *Old Virginia* (Boston, 1897), ii, p. 394. Compare Linehan, *The Irish Scots and the Scotch-Irish* (Concord, N. H., 1902).

But it was in Pennsylvania that the centre of Scotch-Irish power lay. "These bold and indigent strangers, saying as their excuse when challenged for titles that we had solicited for colonists and they had come accordingly,"[86] and asserting that "it was against the laws of God and nature that so much land should be idle while so many christians wanted it to work on and to raise their bread," squatted on the vacant lands, especially in the region disputed between Pennsylvania and Maryland, and remained in spite of efforts to drive them off. Finding the Great Valley in the hands of the Germans, they planted their own outposts along the line of the Indian trading path from Lancaster to Bedford; they occupied Cumberland Valley, and before 1760 pressed up the Juniata somewhat beyond the narrows, spreading out along its tributaries, and by 1768 had to be warned off from the Redstone country to avoid Indian trouble. By the time of the Revolution, their settlements made Pittsburg a centre from which was to come a new era in Pennsylvania history. It was the Scotch-Irish and German fur-traders[87] whose pack trains pioneered into the Ohio Valley in the days before the French and Indian wars. The messengers between civilization and savagery were such men[88] as the Irish Croghan, and the Germans Conrad Weiser and Christian Post.

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[82] See MacLean, *Scotch Highlanders in America* (Cleveland, 1900).

[83] Hanna, *Scotch-Irish*, ii, pp. 17–24.

[84] Halsey, *Old New York Frontier* (N. Y., 1901).

[85] MacLean, pp. 196–230.

[86] The words of Logan, Penn's agent, in 1724, in Hanna, ii, pp. 60, 63.

[87] Winsor, *Mississippi Basin* (Boston, 1895), pp. 238–243.

Like the Germans, the Scotch-Irish passed into the Shenandoah Valley,[89] and on to the uplands of the South. In 1738 a delegation of the Philadelphia Presbyterian synod was sent to the Virginia governor and received assurances of security of religious freedom; the same policy was followed by the Carolinas. By 1760 a zone of Scotch-Irish Presbyterian churches extended from the frontiers of New England to the frontiers of South Carolina. This zone combined in part with the German zone, but in general Scotch-Irishmen tended to follow the valleys farther toward the mountains, to be the outer edge of this frontier. Along with this combined frontier stream were English, Welsh and Irish Quakers, and French Huguenots.[90]

Among this moving mass, as it passed along the Valley into the Piedmont, in the middle of the eighteenth century, were Daniel Boone, John Sevier, James Robertson, and the ancestors of John C. Calhoun, Abraham Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, Stonewall Jackson, James K. Polk, Sam Houston, and Davy Crockett; while the father of Andrew Jackson came to the Carolina Piedmont at the same time from the coast. Recalling that Thomas Jefferson's home was in this frontier, at the edge of the Blue Ridge, we perceive that these names represent the militant expansive movement in American life. They fortell the settlement across the Alleghanies in Kentucky and Tennessee; the Louisiana Purchase, and Lewis and Clark's transcontinental exploration; the conquest of the Gulf Plains in the War of 1812–15; the annexation of Texas; the acquisition of California and the Spanish Southwest. They represent, too, frontier democracy in its two aspects personified in Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln. It was a democracy responsive to leadership, susceptible to waves of emotion, of a "high religious voltage"—quick and direct in action.

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[88] See Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904–06), i; Walton, *Conrad Weiser* (Phila., 1900); Heckewelder, *Narrative* (Phila., 1820).

[89] Christian. *Scotch-Irish Settlers in the Valley of Virginia* (Richmond, 1860).

[90] Roosevelt gives an interesting picture of this society in his *Winning of the West* (N. Y., 1889–96), i, chap. v; see also his citations, especially Doddridge, *Settlements and Indian Wars* (Wellsburgh, W. Va., 1824).

The volume of this Northern movement into the Southern uplands is illustrated by the statement of Governor Tryon, of North Carolina, that in the summer and winter of 1765 more than a thousand immigrant wagons passed through Salisbury, in that colony.[91] Coming by families, or groups of families or congregations, they often drove their flocks with them. Whereas in 1746 scarce a hundred fighting men were found in Orange and the western counties of North Carolina, there were in 1753 fully three thousand, in addition to over a thousand Scotch in the Cumberland; and they covered the province more or less thickly, from Hillsboro and Fayetteville to the mountains.[92] Bassett remarks that the Presbyterians received their first ministers from the synod of New York and Pennsylvania, and later on sent their ministerial students to Princeton College. "Indeed it is likely that the inhabitants of this region knew more about Philadelphia at that time than about Newbern or Edenton." [93]

Results

We are now in a position to note briefly, in conclusion, some of the results of the occupation of this new frontier during the first half of the eighteenth century—some of the consequences of this formation of the Old West.

I. A fighting frontier had been created all along the line from New England to Georgia, which bore the brunt of French and Indian attacks and gave indispensable service during the Revolution. The significance of this fact could only be developed by an extended survey of the scattered border warfare of this era. We should have to see Rogers leading his New England Rangers, and Washington defending interior Virginia with his frontiersmen in their hunting shirts, in the French and Indian War. When all of the campaigns about the region of

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[91] Bassett, in Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1894, p. 145.

[92] *N. C. Colon. Records*, v, pp. xxxix, xl; cf. p. xxi.

[93] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 146, 147.

Canada, Lake Champlain, and the Hudson, central New York (Oriskany, Cherry Valley, Sullivan's expedition against the Iroquois), Wyoming Valley, western Pennsylvania, the Virginia Valley, and the back country of the South are considered as a whole from this point of view, the meaning of the Old West will become more apparent.

II. A new society had been established, differing in essentials from the colonial society of the coast. It was a democratic, self-sufficing, primitive agricultural society, in which individualism was more pronounced than the community life of the lowlands. The indented servant and the slave were not a normal part of its labor system. It was engaged in grain and cattle raising, not in producing staples, and it found a partial means of supplying its scarcity of specie by the peltries which it shipped to the coast. But the hunter folk were already pushing farther on; the cow-pens and the range were giving place to the small farm, as in our own day they have done in the cattle country. It was a region of hard work and poverty, not of wealth and leisure. Schools and churches were secured under serious difficulty,[94] if at all; but in spite of the natural tendencies of a frontier life, a large portion of the interior showed a distinctly religious atmosphere.

III. The Old West began that movement of internal trade which developed home markets and diminished that colonial dependence on Europe in industrial matters, shown by the maritime and staple-raising sections. Not only did Boston and other New England towns increase as trading centres when the back country settled up, but an even more significant interchange occurred along the Valley and Piedmont. The German farmers of the Great Valley brought their woven linen, knitted stockings, firkins of butter, dried apples, grain, etc., to Philadelphia and especially to Baltimore, which was laid out in 1730. To this city also came trade from the Shenandoah Valley, and even from the Piedmont came peltry trains and droves of cattle and hogs to the same market.[95] The increase of settlement on the upper James resulted in the establishment of the city of Richmond at the falls of the river in 1737. Already the tobacco-planting aristocracy of the lowlands were finding rivals in the grain-raising area of interior Virginia and Maryland. Charleston prospered as the up-country of the Carolinas grew. Writing in the middle of the eighteenth century, Governor Glenn, of South Carolina, explained the apparent diminution of the colony's shipping thus:[96]

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[94] See the interesting account of Rev. Moses Waddell's school in South Carolina, on the upper Savannah, where the students, including John C. Calhoun, McDuffe, Legaré, and Petigru, were educated in the wilderness. They lived in log huts in the woods, furnished their own supplies, or boarded near by, were called to the log school-house by horn for morning prayers, and then scattered in groups to the woods for study. Hunt, *Calhoun* (Phila., 1907), p. 13.

> Our trade with New York and Philadelphia was of this sort, draining us of all the little money and bills that we could gather from other places, for their bread, flour, beer, hams, bacon, and other things of their produce, all which, except beer, our new townships begin to supply us with which are settled with very industrious and consequently thriving Germans.

It was not long before this interior trade produced those rivalries for commercial ascendancy, between the coastwise cities, which still continue. The problem of internal improvements became a pressing one, and the statutes show increasing provision for roads, ferries, bridges, river improvements, etc.[97] The basis was being laid for a national economy, and at the same time a new source for foreign export was created.

IV. The Old West raised the issues of nativism and a lower standard of comfort. In New England, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians had been frowned upon and pushed away by the Puritan townsmen.[98] In Pennsylvania, the coming of the Germans and the Scotch-Irish in such numbers caused grave anxiety. Indeed, a bill was passed to limit the importation of the Palatines, but it was vetoed.[99] Such astute observers as Franklin feared in 1753 that Pennsylvania would be unable to preserve its language and that even its government would become precarious.[1] "I remember," he declares, "when they modestly declined intermeddling in our elections, but now they come in droves and carry all before them, except in one or two counties;" and he lamented that the English could not remove their prejudices by addressing them in German.[2] Dr. Douglass[3] apprehended that Pennsylvania would "degenerate into a foreign colony" and endanger the quiet of the adjacent provinces. Edmund Burke, regretting that the Germans adhered to their own schools, literature, and language, and that they possessed great tracts without admixture of English, feared that they would not blend and become one people with the British colonists, and that the colony was threatened with the danger of being wholly foreign. He also noted that "these foreigners by their industry, frugality, and a hard way of living, in which they greatly exceed our people, have in a manner thrust them out in several places."[4] This is a phenomenon with which a succession of later frontiers has familiarized us. In point of fact the "Pennsylvania Dutch" remained through our history a very stubborn area to assimilate, with corresponding effects upon Pennsylvania politics.

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[95] Scharf, *Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), ii, p. 61, and chaps. i and xviii; Kercheval, *The Valley*.

[96] Weston, *Documents*, p. 82.

[97] See, for example, Phillips, *Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt*, pp. 21–53.

[98] Hanna, *Scotch-Irish*, ii, pp. 19, 22–24.

[99] Cobb, *Story of the Palatines* (Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1897), p. 300, citing *Penn. Colon. Records*, iv, pp. 225, 345.

It should be noted also that this coming of non-English stocks to the frontier raised in all the colonies affected, questions of naturalization and land tenure by aliens.[5]

Struggle of the West Against the East

V. The creation of this frontier society—of which so large a portion differed from that of the coast in language and religion as well as in economic life, social structure, and ideals—produced an antagonism between interior and coast, which worked itself out in interesting fashion. In general this took these forms: contests between the property-holding class of the coast and the debtor class of the interior, where specie was lacking, and where paper money and a readjustment of the basis of taxation were demanded; contests over defective or unjust local government in the administration of taxes, fees, lands, and the courts; contests over unfair apportionment in the legislature, whereby the coast was able to dominate, even when its population was in the minority; contests to secure the complete separation of church and state; and, later, contests over slavery, internal improvements, and party politics in general. These contests are also intimately connected with the political philosophy of the Revolution and with the development of American democracy. In nearly every colony prior to the Revolution, struggles had been in progress between the party of privilege, chiefly the Eastern men of property allied with the English authorities, and the democratic classes, strongest in the West and the cities.

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[1] *Works* (Bigelow ed.), ii, pp. 296–299.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 297; cf. p. 221.

[3] *Summary* (1755), ii, p. 326.

[4] *European Settlements* (London, 1793), ii, p. 200 (1765); cf. Franklin, *Works* (N. Y., 1905–07), ii, p. 221, to the same effect.

[5] Proper, "Colonial Immigration Laws," in Columbia Univ. *Studies*, xii.

This theme deserves more space than can here be allotted to it; but a rapid survey of conditions in this respect, along the whole frontier, will at least serve to bring out the point.

In New England as a whole, the contest is less in evidence. That part of the friction elsewhere seen as the result of defective local government in the back country, was met by the efficiency of the town system; but between the interior and the coast there were struggles over apportionment and religious freedom. The former is illustrated by the convention that met in Dracut, Massachusetts, in 1776, to petition the states of Massachusetts and New Hampshire to relieve the financial distress and unfair legislative representation. Sixteen of the border towns of New Hampshire sent delegates to this convention. Two years later, these New Hampshire towns attempted to join Vermont.[6] As a Revolutionary state, Vermont itself was an illustration of the same tendency of the interior to break away from the coast. Massachusetts in this period witnessed a campaign between the paper money party which was entrenched in the more recently and thinly-settled areas of the interior and west, and the property-holding classes of the coast.[7] The opposition to the constitutions of 1778 and 1780 is tinctured with the same antagonism between the ideas of the newer part of the interior and of the coast.[8] Shay's Rebellion and the anti-federal opposition of 1787–88 found its stronghold in the same interior areas.[9]

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[6] Libby, "Distribution of the Vote on the Federal Constitution," Univ. of Wis. *Bulletin*, pp. 8, 9, and citations. Note especially *New Hampshire State Papers*, x, pp. 228 *et seq.*

[7] Libby, *loc. cit.*, pp. 12–14, 46, 54–57.

The religious struggles continued until the democratic interior, where dissenting sects were strong, and where there was antagonism to the privileges of the congregational church, finally secured complete disestablishment in New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. But this belongs to a later period.[10]

Pennsylvania affords a clear illustration of these sectional antagonisms. The memorial of the frontier "Paxton Boys," in 1764, demanded a right to share in political privileges with the older part of the colony, and protested against the apportionment by which the counties of Chester, Bucks, and Philadelphia, together with the city of Philadelphia, elected twenty-six delegates, while the five frontier counties had but ten.[11] The frontier complained against the failure of the dominant Quaker party of the coast to protect the interior against the Indians.[12] The three old wealthy counties under Quaker rule feared the growth of the West, therefore made few new counties, and carefully restricted the representation in each to preserve the majority in the old section. At the same time, by a property qualification they met the danger of the democratic city population. Among the points of grievance in this colony, in addition to apportionment and representation, was the difficulty of access to the county seat, owing to the size of the back counties. Dr. Lincoln has well set forth the struggle of the back country, culminating in its triumph in the constitutional convention of

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[8] Farrand, in *Yale Review*, May, 1908, p. 52 and citation.

[9] Libby, *loc. cit.*

[10] See Turner, *Rise of the New West* (Amer. Nation series, N. Y., 1906), pp. 16–18.

[11] Parkman, *Pontiac* (Boston, 1851), ii, p. 352.

[12] Shepherd, "Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania," in Columbia Univ. *Studies*, vi, pp. 546 *et seq.* Compare Watson, *Annals*, ii, p. 259; Green, *Provincial America* (Amer. Nation series, N. Y., 1905), p. 234.

1776, which was chiefly the work of the Presbyterian counties.[18] Indeed, there were two revolutions in Pennsylvania, which went on side by side: one a revolt against the coastal property-holding classes, the old dominant Quaker party, and the other a revolt against Great Britain, which was in this colony made possible only by the triumph of the interior.

In Virginia, as early as 1710, Governor Spotswood had complained that the old counties remained small while the new ones were sometimes ninety miles long, the inhabitants being obliged to travel thirty or fourty miles to their own court-house. Some of the counties had 1,700 tithables, while others only a dozen miles square had 500. Justices of the peace disliked to ride forty or fifty miles to their monthly courts. Likewise there was disparity in the size of parishes—for example, that of Varina, on the upper James, had nine hundred tithables, many of whom lived fifty miles from their church. But the vestry refused to allow the remote parishioners to separate, because it would increase the parish levy of those that remained. He feared lest this would afford "opportunity to Sectarys to establish their opinions among 'em, and thereby shake that happy establishment of the Church of England which this colony enjoys with less mixture of Dissenters than any other of her Maj'tie's plantations, and when once Schism has crept into the Church, it will soon create faction in the Civil Government."

That Spotswood's fears were well founded, we have already seen. As the sectaries of the back country increased, dissatisfaction with the established church grew; until in the Revolution, Patrick Henry and Jefferson, with the back country behind them, were able to destroy the establishment, and to break down the system of entails and primogeniture behind which the tobacco-planting aristocracy of the coast was entrenched. The desire of Jefferson to see slavery gradually abolished and popular education provided, is a further illustration of the attitude of the interior. In short Jeffersonian democracy, with its idea of separation of church and state, its wish to popularize education, and its dislike for special privilege, was deeply affected by the Western society of the Old Dominion.

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[18] Lincoln, *Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania* (Boston, 1901); McMaster and Stone, *Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution* (Lancaster, 1888).

The Virginian reform movement, however, was unable to redress the grievance of unequal apportionment. In 1780 Jefferson pointed out that the practice of allowing each county an equal representation in the legislature gave control to the numerous small counties of the tidewater, while the large populous counties of the up-country suffered. "Thus," he wrote, "the 19,000 men below the falls give law to more than 30,000 living in other parts of the state, and appoint all their chief officers, executive and judiciary."[14] This led to a long struggle between coast and interior, terminated only when the slave population passed across the fall line, and more nearly assimilated coast and up-country. In the mountain areas which did not undergo this change, the independent state of West Virginia remains as a monument of the contest. In the convention of 1829–30, the whole philosophy of representation was discussed, and the coast defended its control as necessary to protect property from the assaults of a numerical majority. They feared that the interior would tax their slaves in order to secure funds for internal improvements.

As Doddridge put the case:[15]

> The principle is that the owners of slave property must be possessed of all the powers of government, however small their own numbers may be, to secure that property from the rapacity of an overgrown majority of white men. This principle admits of no relaxation, because the weaker the minority becomes, the greater will their need for power be according to their own doctrines.

Leigh of Chesterfield county declared:[16]

> It is remarkable—I mention it for the curiosity of the fact—that if any evil, physical or moral, arise in any of the states south of us, it never takes a northerly direction, or taints the Southern breeze; whereas, if any plague originate in the North, it is sure to spread to the South and to invade us sooner or later: the influenza—the small

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[14] *Notes on Virginia.* See his table of apportionment in Ford, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, iii, p. 222.

[15] *Debates of the Virginia State Convention, 1829–1830* (Richmond, 1854), p. 87. These debates constitute a mine of material on the difficulty of reconciling the political philosophy of the Revolution with the protection of the property, including slaves, of the lowland planters.

[16] *Loc. cit.*, p. 407. The italics are mine.

pox—the varioloid—the Hessian fly—the Circuit Court system—Universal Suffrage—all come from the North, *and they always cross above the falls of the great rivers*: below, it seems, the broad expanse of waters interposing, effectually arrests their progress.

Nothing could more clearly bring out the sense of contrast between upland and lowland Virginia, and the continued intimacy of the bond of connection between the North and its Valley and Piedmont colonies, than this unconscious testimony.

In North and South Carolina the upland South, beyond the pine barrens and the fall line, had similar grievances against the coast; but as the zone of separation was more strongly marked, the grievances were more acute. The tide of backwoods settlement flowing down the Piedmont from the north, had cut across the lines of local government and disarranged the regular course of development of the colonies from the seacoast.[17] Under the common practice, large counties in North Carolina and parishes in South Carolina had been projected into the unoccupied interior from the older settlements along their eastern edge.

But the Piedmont settlers brought their own social order, and could not be well governed by the older planters living far toward the seaboard settlements. This may be illustrated by conditions in South Carolina. The general court in Charleston had absorbed county and precinct courts, except the minor jurisdiction of justices of the peace. This was well enough for the great planters who made their regular residence there for a part of each year; but it was a source of oppression to the upcountry settlers, remote from the court. The difficulty of bringing witnesses, the delay of the law, and the costs all resulted in the escape of criminals as well as in the immunity of reckless debtors. The extortions of officials, and their occasional collusion with horse and cattle thieves, and the lack of regular administration of the law, led the South Carolina upcountry men to take affairs in their own hands, and in 1764 to establish associations to administer lynch law under the name of "Regulators." The "Scovillites," or government party, and the Regulators met in arms on the Saluda in 1769, but hostilities were averted and remedial measures passed, which alleviated the difficulty until the Revolution.[18] There still remained, however, the grievance of unjust legislative representation.[19] Calhoun stated the condition in these words:

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[17] McCrady, *South Carolina, 1719–1776*, p. 623.

> The upper country had no representation in the government and no political existence as a constitutent portion of the state until a period near the commencement of the revolution. Indeed, during the revolution, and until the formation of the present constitution, in 1790, its political weight was scarcely felt in the government, even then although it had become the most populous section, power was so distributed under the constitution as to leave it in a minority in every department of government.

Even in 1794 it was claimed by the up-country leaders that four-fifths of the people were governed by one-fifth. Nor was the difficulty met until the constitutional amendment of 1808, the effect of which was to give the control of the senate to the lower section and of the house of representatives to the upper section, thus providing a mutual veto.[20] This South Carolina experience furnished the historical basis for Calhoun's argument for nullification, and for the political philosophy underlying his theory of the "concurrent majority."[21] This adjustment was effected, however, only after the advance of the black belt toward the interior had assimilated portions of the Piedmont to lowland ideals.

When we turn to North Carolina's upper country we find the familiar story, but with a more tragic ending. The local officials owed their selection to the governor and the council whom he appointed. Thus power was all concentrated in the official "ring" of the lowland area. The men of the interior resented the extortionate fees and the poll tax, which bore with unequal weight upon the poor settlers of the back country. This tax had been continued after sufficient funds had been collected to extinquish the debt for which it was originally levied, but venal sheriffs had failed to pay it into the treasury. A report of 1770 showed at least one defaulting sheriff in every county of the province.[22] This tax, which was almost the sole tax of the colony, was to be collected in specie, for the warehouse system, by which staples might be accepted, while familiar on the coast, did not apply to the interior. The specie was exceedingly difficult to obtain; in lack of it, the farmer saw the sheriff, who owed his appointment to the dominant lowland planters, sell the lands of the delinquent to his speculative friends. Lawyers and court fees followed.

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[18] Brevard, *Digest of S. C. Laws*, i, pp. xxiv, 253; McCrady, *South Carolina, 1719–1776*, p. 637; Schaper, "Sectionalism in South Carolina," in Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1900, i, pp. 334–338.

[19] Schaper, *loc. cit.*, pp. 338, 339; Calhoun, *Works* (N. Y., 1851–59), i, p. 402; *Columbia* (S. C.) *Gazette*, Aug. 1, 1794; Ramsay, *South Carolina*, pp. 64–66, 195, 217; Elliot, *Debates*, iv, pp. 288, 289, 296–299, 305, 309, 312.

[20] Schaper, *loc. cit.*, pp. 400–437 *et seq.*

[21] Turner, *Rise of the New West*, pp. 50–52, 331; Calhoun, *Works*, i, pp. 400–405.

In short, the interior felt that it was being exploited,[23] and it had no redress, for the legislature was so apportioned that all power rested in the old lowland region. Efforts to secure paper money failed by reason of the governor's opposition under instructions from the crown, and the currency was contracting at the very time when population was rapidly increasing in the interior.[24] As in New England, in the days of Shay's Rebellion, violent prejudice existed against the judiciary and the lawyers, and it must, of course, be understood that the movement was not free from frontier dislike of taxation and the restraints of law and order in general. In 1766 and 1768, meetings were held in the upper counties to organize the opposition, and an "association"[25] was formed, the members of which pledged themselves to pay no more taxes or fees until they satisfied themselves that these were agreeable to law.

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[22] *N. C. Colon. Records*, vii, pp. xiv–xvii.

[23] See Bassett, "Regulators of N. C." in Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1894, pp. 141 (bibliog.) *et seq.; N. C. Colon. Records*, pp. vii–x (Saunder's introductions are valuable); Caruthers, *Dr. David Caldwell* (Greensborough, N. C., 1842); Waddell, *Colonial Officer* (Raleigh, 1890); M. De L. Haywood, *Governor William Tryon* (Raleigh, N. C., 1903); Clewell, *Wachovia*, chap. x; W. E. Fitch, *Some Neglected History of N. C.* (N. Y., 1905); L. A. McCorkle and F. Nash, in *N. C. Booklet* (Raleigh, 1901–07), iii; Wheeler, *North Carolina*, ii, pp. 301 *et seq.;* Cutter, *Lynch Law*, chaps. ii and iii.

[24] Bassett, *loc. cit.*, p. 152.

[25] Wheeler, *North Carolina*, ii, pp. 301–306; *N. C. Colon. Records*, vii, p. 251, 699.

The Regulators, as they called themselves, assembled in the autumn of 1768 to the number of nearly four thousand, and tried to secure terms of adjustment. In 1770 the court-house at Hillsboro was broken into by a mob. The assembly passed some measures designed to conciliate the back country; but before they became operative, Governor Tryon's militia, about twelve hundred men, largely from the lowlands, and led by the gentry whose privileges were involved, met the motley army of the Regulators, who numbered about two thousand, in the battle of the Alamance (May, 1771). Many were killed and wounded, the Regulators dispersed, and over six thousand men came into camp and took the oath of submission to the colonial authorities. The battle was not the first battle of the Revolution, as it has been sometimes called, for it had little or no relation to the stamp act; and many of the frontiersmen involved, later refused to fight against England because of the very hatred which had been inspired for the lowland Revolutionary leaders in this battle of the Alamance. The interior of the Carolinas was a region where neighbors, during the Revolution, engaged in internecine conflicts of Tories against Whigs.

But in the sense that the battle of Alamance was a conflict against privilege, and for equality of political rights and power, it was indeed a preliminary battle of the Revolution, although fought against many of the very men who later professed Revolutionary doctrines in North Carolina. The need of recognizing the importance of the interior led to concessions in the convention of 1776 in that state. "Of the forty-four sections of the constitution, thirteen are embodiments of reforms sought by the Regulators."[26] But it was in this period that hundreds of North Carolina backwoodsmen crossed the mountains to Tennessee and Kentucky, many of them coming from the heart of the Regulator region. They used the device of "associations" to provide for government in their communities.[27]

In the matter of apportionment, North Carolina showed the same lodgment of power in the hands of the coast, even after population preponderated in the Piedmont.[28]

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[26] *N. C. Colon. Records*, viii, p. xix.

[27] Turner, in *Amer. Hist. Review*, i, p. 76.

[28] *N. C. Colon. Records*, vii, pp. xiv–xxiv.

It is needless to comment on the uniformity of the evidence which has been adduced, to show that the Old West, the interior region from New England to Georgia, had a common grievance against the coast; that it was deprived throughout most of the region of its due share of representation, and neglected and oppressed in local government in large portions of the section. The familiar struggle of West against East, of democracy against privileged classes, was exhibited along the entire line. The phenomenon must be considered as a unit, not in the fragments of state histories. It was a struggle of interior against coast.

VI. Perhaps the most noteworthy contribution in the Revolutionary era, aside from the military aspects already mentioned, was in the part which the multitude of sects in the Old West played in securing the great contribution which the United States made to civilization by providing for complete religious liberty a secular state with free churches. Particularly the Revolutionary constitutions of Pennsylvania and Virginia, under the influence of the back country, insured religious freedom. The efforts of the North Carolina upland area to secure a similar result were noteworthy, though for the time ineffective.[29]

VII. As population increased in these years, the coast gradually yielded to the up-country's demands. This may be illustrated by the transfer of the capitals from the lowlands to the fall line and Valley. In 1779, Virginia changed her seat of government from Williamsburg to Richmond; in 1790, South Carolina, from Charleston to Columbia; in 1791, North Carolina, from Edenton to Raleigh; in 1797, New York, from New York City to Albany; in 1799, Pennsylvania, from Philadelphia to Lancaster.

VIII. The democratic aspects of the new constitutions was also influenced by the frontier as well as by the prevalent Revolutionary philosophy; and the demands for paper money, stay and tender laws, etc., of this period were strongest in the interior. It was this region that supported the turbulence of the area in New England, where Shay's Rebellion occurred; it was (with some important exceptions) the same area that resisted the ratification of the federal constitution, fearful of its stronger government and of the loss of paper money.

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[29] Weeks, *Church and State in North Carolina* (Baltimore, 1893); *N. C. Colon. Records*, x, p. 870; Curry, *Establishment and Disestablishment* (Phila., 1889); C. F. James, *Documentary History of the Struggle for Religious Liberty in Virginia* (Lynchburg, Va., 1900); Semple, *The Virginia Baptists* (Richmond, 1810); Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Papers*, ii, p. 21, iii, pp. 205, 213.

IX. The interior later showed its opposition to the coast by the persistent contest against slavery, carried on in the up-country of Virginia, and North and South Carolina. Until the decade 1830–40, it was not certain that both Virginia and North Carolina would not find some means of gradual abolition. The same influence accounts for much of the exodus of the Piedmont pioneers into Indiana and Illinois, in the first half of the nineteenth century.[30]

X. These were the regions, also, in which were developed the desires of the pioneers who crossed the mountains, and settled on the "Western waters," to establish new states, free from control by the lowlands, owning their own lands, able to determine their own currency, and in general to govern themselves in accordance with the ideals of the Old West. They were ready also, if need be, to become independent of the old thirteen. Vermont must be considered in this aspect, as well as Kentucky and Tennessee.

XI. The land system of the Old West furnished precedents which developed into the land system of the trans-Alleghany West.[31] The squatters of Pennsylvania and the Carolinas found it easy to repeat the operation on another frontier. Pre-emption laws became established features. The Revolution gave opportunity to confiscate the claims of Lord Fairfax, Lord Granville, and McCulloh to their vast estates, as well as the remaining lands of the Pennsylvania proprietors. The 640 acre (or one square mile) unit of North Carolina for pre-emptions, and frontier land bounties, became the area awarded to frontier stations by Virginia in 1779, and the "section" of the later federal land system. The Viriginia pre-emption right of four hundred acres on the Western waters, or a thousand for those who came prior to 1778, was, in substance, the continuation of a system familiar in the Old West.

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[30] See Ballagh, "Slavery in Virginia," Johns Hopkins Univ. *Studies*, extra, xxiv; Bassett, "Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina," *Id.*, xiv, pp. 169–254; Bassett, "Slavery in the State of North Carolina," *Id.*, xvii; Bassett, "Antislavery Leaders in North Carolina," *Id.*, xvi; Weeks, "Southern Quakers," *Id.*, xv, extra; Schaper, "Sectionalism in South Carolina," Amer. Hist. Assoc. *Report*, 1900; Turner, *Rise of the New West*, pp. 54–56, 76–78, 80, 90, 150–152.

[31] Hening, x, p. 35; *Public Acts of N. C.*, i, pp. 204, 306; *Revised Code of Va., 1819*, ii, p. 357; Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, i, p. 261, ii, pp. 92, 220.

The grants to Beverley, of over a hundred thousand acres in the Valley, conditioned on seating a family for every thousand acres, and the similar grants to Borden, Carter, and Lewis, were followed by the great grant to the Ohio Company. This company, including leading Virginia planters and some frontiersmen, asked in 1749 for two hundred thousand acres on the upper Ohio, conditioned on seating a hundred families in seven years, and for an additional grant of three hundred thousand acres after this should be accomplished. It was proposed to settle Germans on these lands.

The Loyal Land Company, by order of the Virginia council (1749), was authorized to take up eight hundred thousand acres west and north of the southern boundary of Virginia, on condition of purchasing "rights" for the amount within four years. The company sold many tracts for £3 per hundred acres to settlers, but finally lost its claim. The Mississippi Company, including in its membership the Lees, Washingtons, and other great Virginia planters, applied for two and one-half million acres in the west in 1769. Similar land companies of New England origin, like the Susquehanna Company and Lyman's Mississippi Company, exhibit the same tendency of the Old West on the northern side. New England's Ohio Company of Associates, which settled Marietta, had striking resemblances to town proprietors.

These were only the most noteworthy of many companies of this period, and it is evident that they were a natural outgrowth of speculations in the Old West. Washington, securing military bounty land claims of soldiers of the French and Indian War, and selecting lands in West Virginia until he controlled over seventy thousand acres for speculation, is an excellent illustration of the tendency.[32] He also thought of colonizing German

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[32] Adams, in Johns Hopkins Univ. *Studies*, iii, pp. 55 *et seq.*

Palatines upon his lands. The formation of the Transylvania and Vandalia companies were natural developments on a still vaster scale.[33]

XII. The final phase of the Old West, which I wish merely to mention, in conclusion, is its colonization of areas beyond the mountains. The essential unity of the movement is brought out by a study of how New England's Old West settled northern Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, the Adirondacks, central and western New York, the Wyoming Valley (once organized as a part of Litchfield, Connecticut), the Ohio Company's region about Marietta, and Connecticut's Western Reserve on the shores of Lake Erie; and how the pioneers of the Great Valley and the Piedmont region of the South crossed the Alleghanies and settled on the Western Waters. Daniel Boone, going from his Pennsylvania home to the Yadkin, and from the Yadkin to Tennessee and Kentucky, took part in the whole process, and later in its continuation into Missouri.[34] The social conditions and ideals of the Old West powerfully shaped those of the trans-Alleghany West.

The important contrast between the spirit of individual colonization, resentful of control, which the Southern frontiersmen showed, and the spirit of community colonization and control to which the New England pioneers inclined, left deep traces on the later history of the West.[35] The Old West diminished the importance of the town as a colonizing unit, even in New England. In the Southern area, efforts to legislate towns into existence, as in Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, failed. They faded away before wilderness conditions. But in general, the Northern stream of migration was communal, and the Southern individual. The difference which existed between that portion of the Old West which was formed by the northward colonization, chiefly of the New England Plateau (including New York), and that portion formed by the southward colonization of the Virginia Valley and the Southern Piedmont was reflected in the history of the Middle West and the Mississippi Valley.

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[33] Alden, *New Governments West of the Alleghanies* (Madison, 1897), gives an account of these colonies.

[34] Thwaites, *Daniel Boone* (N. Y., 1902).

[35] Turner, in *Alumni Quarterly of the University of Illinois*, ii, 133-136.

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