

Ideas from Faulkner

First wave west after trappers & hunters were ranchers, but livestock easy to move. Even on east coast. "Cowpens" of Piedmont

Ploughs scarce in N.E., 17th. Many went without.

N.E. more subject to French & Indian attack - hence towns. Govt Ct. ordered people to go - & stay.

In south, large landholders joined revolution (besides soil exhaustion & migratory agric. ^{he later contradicts this, p. 127} Mercantilism was hitting them. They were in debt; & heavily involved in W-n spec., as best invmt outlet. (needed new land constantly to butcher)
In North, wealthy landowners mostly Tories. (This may account for more equalitarian northern land system? Large ~~fellows~~ fellows expropd by revn.)

Proclam. of 1763 (like Tsar & Siberia)

To maintain fur trade, now in British hands

To keep trade flowing to eastern ports, in which English had big investments.

Reserve Δ of land spec. for Englishmen, who Δd interest in spec. here after 1763
Δ govt income from land sales & quitrents - maintain price. Thus ease
Eng taxes, & free colonial govs from dependence on legislators, colonial land houses.

1774, new policy on ungranted lands in east: prices & quitrents doubled.

Auction sales (+ thus colonial insiders lost advantage)

Depression, after ~~1863~~ 1763

Faulkner, ideas, p. 2

War was not just vs Eng, but Tories of seaboard. "Agrarians" were main backers.

1777, Congress recommended States confiscate & sell Tory land. They did. Sold in small parcels. Given as military grants, etc.

1776, Jeff as Va gov. abolishes entail. Other states do - mostly after war, as small farms of west dominated legislatures.

Moved State capitals westward - Albany, Raleigh, Trenton, etc.

Ag went on during war, bus. - as - usual, including sales to British.

Indigo died, w/o further British subsidy. Tobacco thrived.

Blockade stimulated wool & etc.

Western Lands

1 Critical period: 1781 - 91.

Loose confederation. Danger of fighting

esp. over western lands:

	State		State		
	Farm	City	Farm	City	
East:	~~Ins~~	~~Outs~~	~~Ins~~	~~Outs~~	---
West:	settlers				
	spec				

(note in passing, value of a general matrix.. Exclusive literary thinking leads to missing many tricks, hard to organize thoughts — a fault of historians. East have opposite fault. Needed is combo — & that is way to make successful career.) (Death of E. historians)

Between states: Va. vs Ct. for Ohio; vs. Mass for Mich. etc.

Between east & west: West might go indep. Watch ec. unit, focussed on New Orleans & St. Louis. Burr's conspiracy. Citizen Genet (French ambass. to Pres. Wn.)

Between settlers & specs:

Specs controlled Cont. Cong. Ex-officers, Cincinnati; Henry Knox & J. Wn, one patent group, set up mil. aristoc.

Big cos. with claims. These wanted Congress to withhold public lands, keep theirs dear. Put roadblocks in path of ~~expans~~ settlement: slow survey; hi prices; no credit; no soldiers

vs. Indians — & idealize noble savage in process, distort history
Between settlers & debt specs + Eastern taxpayers: latter wanting sell public lands for revenue.

Between tariff vs export interests:

Tariff into want slow sales, to justify tariff. Developed later

Critical period, (2).

1, Western lands, (2)

Developments.

(until 1790 or so)

(A) Va. refuses to cede Ky; NC keeps Tenn! Settlement proceeds rapidly, are first Western States, 1792 & '96. Jefferson for them, L.V.V.

Shows importance of land policy. Xp'tn here hardest of all, yet here was first salient, bcs land was available. Cumberland Gap, Wilderness Trail

(B) Va. offers to cede ^{N.} West if others ~~give up~~ void old sales, as she did. - e.g. to Henderson's Transylvania Co., who promptly moved to Nashville. Pa, Md, Ct, & Mass. fight, but give in, 1784 Ordinance, Jefferson.

Cont. Cong. wanted to begin sales, needed money - ^{then why did it sell so slow?} ^{& pay old soldiers.} Also, as time passed, debt specs strong, wanted get it redeemed from sale of W-n lands. provides local control. 1781 revenues.

(C) 1785, survey system estab. for N.W. Twsp → Ranges
Surveyed 7 ranges W. of Ohio, then stopped. Slow, expensive, & geometrical, rather than best land first.
Grants to Ohio & Scioto Cos. & Symmes. First great lobbyist, Manasseh Cutler, swings Ohio Co. steal — but they never made money.

Land cos. as precursors of corpn.

(D) 1781, restrictive elements in control — (to 1800.)
Principle of selling lands for revenue. came in. Compromised revenue & restrictive ideas by maintain'g money price
1781 Ord. raises ^{min.} land price to \$2; outlaws squatters.

Makes local self-govt. harder. App'ts Gov. Arthur St. Clair.

rep'g specs, seated at Marietta, then Cincinnati — loses to Indians.

Soldiers clear out squatters — 1781
Ham. didn't need much money to pay debt — he merely funded it, & wanted land as security. Then rev. tariff & excises brought rev., allowed slow land sales.
But before sales got going strong, found new rev. source in tariff. Alliance of import — competitors with restrictive elements wins.

~~Western Lands (3)~~
Constitutional-making & Federalist period, 1781-1800.

(E) Constn.

✓ Restrictive elements wanted new ^{source} of rev. for Congress besides land sales. Was a big force for new constn. 1789, new president, A. Hamilton. Rev. tariff & excises, slow survey, slow sales.

Ambivalence. Wn. a spec., etc., but couldn't brook defeat. Gov. Arthur St. Clair whipped by Indians! ^{English arms.} Sends A. Wayne with men & money, clears back Indians & English for long time, 1794.

(F) 1800 revn, new land law ~ Wm H. Harrison's. Lasted to 1820.

5 yr credit, min. acreage 320 (lowered to 160, 1804)

Squatting virtually recognized. Squatters had moved out to free land rather than pay \$2/acre or more for poor land in surveyed

7 ranges, poor part of Ohio.

1803, La. Purchase, to placate west. Admit Ohio, 1803
to 1820 La. 1812?

At the Constitutional Convention:
Elbridge Gerry of Mass., one of the least conservative members,
feared that the Westerners, if given the opportunity might use
it to "oppress commerce and drain out wealth into the Western
Country." He suggested that the number of representatives to be
chosen from the West should never exceed the no. chosen by the
Atlantic states.

Butterfield, 254, on 'undermining mkt'

Indentured Servants:

Smith, Abbott E., J E H, My '42, 'New Light on some of Am.'s First Families'.

17th c., Eng. vesteds concerned about loss of labor, Δ g wages. Raised furor, took some small kidnapping, blew up by vast propaganda -- & since, has been accepted historical 'fact.'

- Showing a, Effort to depress wages by blocking frontier
b. Falsifying history by landowners.

Land
Mnpy

Thoughts from Merrill Jensen, The New Nation NY: Da Knopf, '50.

Rev. hi fm prices, townsmen resented fairs.

Urban grain ^{etc.} spec. were most unpopular (as usual) & often forced to open granaries. Public resentment led them to lose legist. power. Md. enacted no merchant cd rep. in Cent. Cong.

Inflation. Merchants feared p control.

Get Cole, Arthur H. Wholesale Comm. P. U.S. 1700-1861

Depression after 1783. Specie flows out, ~~the~~ injected by Eng & French armies. Some say depression caused move for stronger Fed. central govt.

Jensen says recovery was under way after a brief time

Indigo revived postwar, but Eng developed another source, East Indies, 1790s.

Great Δ Eng demand for ctn, 1770s, new machines.

1793 Eli Whitney's improved ctn gin. But maybe Δ demand was paramount factor?

1793, ~~the~~ was begin in Eur, Δ demand.

Before revn, ~~the~~ ^{middle} colonies were bread producers; after, for a while, southern ones forged ahead in wheat, corn, flour. ^{diversified due to tob's troubles.} Mills thruout back country. (Olin Evans). Alexandria on Potomac a great grain port.

N-n ag also grew, but South faster - & was already ahead.

Jensen thought 5, 2.

Continuous process in Am hist: eastern lands exhausted, move west. Some easterners try block western expansion; others buy w-n lands, promote expansion. Thus neutralize net effect of property, leave labor to swing balance.

Ambivalence, expansion & contraction. Restrictive efforts & free-dragging led to wide expansion

Wars dominated cycles for a time. 1763, bust - helped by prod. line. 1783 bust after Revn. ~~1784~~ 1793-1815, war boom. 1819 postwar bust. Thus 1837 was first simple cobweb bust for some time.

Phila. & Balt. merchants exploited tobacco mpy, after English out, 1783 on. Rbt Morris got mpy w. French Fmrs Gail mpy.

1728, Boston est. public granary, 1784, turned over to free ent.

N.Y. Gov. George Clinton favored fms, taxed cities

Am. Acad. of Arts & Sciences promoted scientific agric.

Fmrs demanded stay laws etc, tax relief.

Jensen + thoughts, 3.

Jeff. wanted self-govt. in NW. E-n specs wanted
Congressional control, to avoid control by settlers. (here is pattern for
many later ambivalent boom-bust movements)

1784 provided for local control; 1781 for Congressional. p 354

1785 ... survey. Lands not to be sold until surveyed

(so expansive forces not completely in saddle. slow survey cd.

stop settlement - until 1841)

Congress sent troops to clear squatters, burned cabins etc - but
they returned. Jeff. in minority (did he open lands after 1800?)

Retired army officers approached Congr, wanted big grants. Ohio
Co., Manassah Cutler.

Arthur St. Clair was made Gov. of west after 1781, rep'g
eastern specs. Unpopular in west.

U.S. wanted sell land to pay debt. Debt specs thus had interest
in lands - & in selling them rather than giving for residence,
settlement. You cd use Cont. Cong specs to ~~to~~ buy lands - then
help's specs.

See:
Trent, Payson J. Nat. Land System 1785-1820.

Jensen thoughts, 4

1781 policy lasted: principle of selling public land for rev.
(Recall ~~ambivalence~~ of tariff interests: wanted low sales to justify
tariffs; also slow labor outflow.)

Jensen, M. "The Creation of the Nat. Domain, 1781-84." MVHR 26:325-42

Lewis, A.M. "Jefferson & Va's Pioneers, 1774-81." MVHR 34:551-88.

p. 350 Va, by 1784, had long since voided all land co. purchases
w. of Alleghenies. Other States had not - esp. Pa & Md. Va. refused
to cede western lands until others voided ^{sales} ~~claims~~, too. Va. also
demanded Ky. Va. offered cession if terms met.

Specs fought: Robt Morris, Sam'l Wharton, Chas. Carroll, B. Franklin
Va.-ns ~~then~~ demanded all opposing debaters declare connections with
land cos - thus won out. Va urged Congress accept cession,
meantime sold lands, putting on pressure. ^{also, squatters were moving on.} By 1784 Congress needed
income, caved in. Also needed land for vets, had promised.

Esp. officers, for whom Wn. was lobbying.

1784 Congress accepts Va. cession of old NW. Jeff. brought it to
Congress - & his plan for N.W., give land free with residence requirement
Jeff wanted outlaw slavery after 1800. Congress dropped this, but
kept many other proposals: when pop. of a territory = smallest state,
become state. 1784. 1781, e-n specs reversed

Jensen thoughts, 5

1785-86 etc. agrarian state legislators inflated etc. to help w--n debtors. (Lending substance to Beard's idea of monied classes pushing Constn)

Ritchford, B.U. ~~Am. State Debts~~ Durham, '41.

Colonies ran up big debts in war. Also inflated, at first made paper money legal tender. Tried price control, but in vain.

Toward end of Revn, most States said paper no longer legal tender, for debts or taxes. Taxed paper money; levied taxes in specie; etc.

Thus they repudiated their paper. ~~Specie~~

Meantime specie flowed out to Eng. Deflation. Debtors demanded paper.

Va. & Pa. ran up biggest debts. N.Y. & Mass. pitiless. 303-4

People not used to paying taxes, slow to change - hence debt.

Slapped on a variety of ~~debts~~ taxes, from c. 1718.

N.Y., $\frac{\$90,000}{184,000}$ taxes, 1784-85, from customs. Later dropped, parlous.

Va., $\frac{\$129,000}{349,000}$, 1785-86, land & prop. taxes. Va. paid off her

huge debt rapidly. p. 304-05. v. W.F. Dodd, "Effect of the Adoption of the Constitution the Finances of Va.", Va Mag. of Hist. & Bio X (1903): 366 etc.

Jensen, 5

p. 305 Colonial land taxes were by area. - rich land as little as
poor. So taxpayers attacked debt specs (cf. Calif. P.Ds, 1930s!!)

Va, one shilling/100 acres.

NC, 5 " " " "

1782, Va. divided into 4 classes for land taxes.

1786, NC " " 3 " " "

SC & Ga. also.

Jens Jensen, Hist Prop Tax U.S.?

Popular movement was to pay debts at mkt, not face.

Mass. was esp. hard on ~~the~~ w-n firms. Paid off huge debt, used poll
tax for much. 1786 Sharp rebellion. Resulting concessions

Jensen is very sympathetic to Va. + hrm out - e.g. for winking at
tax strikes; & vs. Mass., for enforcing tax payments.

R.I., most notorious paper money, debtors pursue creditors

Hicks.

Colonial grants quickly made free. Cont. Congress broke precedent to charge for lands. (Probably colonies were competing vs. each other)

Def. threw to hands of specs.

Peace Treaty, 1783, promised arms wd pay debts owed Eng., & Eng wd leave NW forts. But neither did. Also promised restore Loyalist land, but didn't. Thus west was sacrificed to East.

Cessions of w-n land complete in 1802, when Ga. finally surrendered claim.

✓ Due to insistence of Md. Cong. controlled land NW of Ohio R.

Va. & N.C. each showed selves anxious for Ky & Tenn. to become independent States - to reduce costs of fighting Indians, & perhaps reduce western influence on State leg. (recall rich new Englanders were glad to see turbulent elements go west)

Hicks.

Easterners on balance wanted admin. w-n lands for rev. Hamilton
esp. for this. As Sec-y Treas., gave rpt. on public lands.

✓ Wanted sell large blocks to specs. Credit to large, not small.

1196

~~as long as there was debt to~~

✓ Jeff ~~was~~ undertook pay debt - Ham. had funded it.

as long as was debt to pay, or pay int. on, cd. sell lands w/o

✓ threatening tariff.

Products:

Indian corn, ptoes, beans, & livestock! "Compens".
Grains, from Europe. staples of subsistence agric. Apples.

In poorer areas: NE, Central Pa., Piedmont, NC. - but no ports?

Staple exports: grain ^{& flour - they had own mills at least} & meat from central colonies - limestone soil.

Tobacco - Va & Md, after 1609. Vicissitudes, from 1660.

Rice - from 1695. Only near coast, heavy export problem. S.C.

Irrn, reservoirs. Mormons not first Anglo-Saxon irrigators.

Indigo, from 1742, S.C., Ga.

NE. exported handicrafts, textiles, rum, lumber, fish, ^{ships -} combo of poor soil & good access to sea. Cottage indy from the start.

Methods:

Crudest implements: hoes & spades. Slowly introduced draft animals, which Indians lacked. ^{Few ploughs.} And Slaves.

Indentured servants. Defn. Opposition in Eng. by employers, hence wild stories. Eng. encouraged get popn elsewhere.

Slaves everywhere. But north cdn't pay as much as South:

Tobacco, & rice, & indigo kept them busy all yr, one simple job.

Diversified ag. of ^{& cottage indy} Pa & NE required free labor

South, less clothing, housing, loss from acclimatization.

Higher wages among freemen in so., - & at least less inclination to work for hire - but free land, easy living, so available.

Exploited soil. No doubt of it here, unlike Rome etc. Was early rational probly. Tobacco stayed 3-4 yrs on new soil, then maize, then weeds. OK for its times, but made bad habits.

4-7-59 p. 2

Methods, (cont)

Scale of fmg. Larger in tidewater south. ^{Hi wages, exploit fool} Even tobacco, oddly, tho got smaller. Gangs of slaves the cause: today tobacco is smallest.

Small in Piedmont. Just what one man cd farm w. primitive hand tools & horse or ox. Held more, but probly cultivated 5-10 acres. Clearing a huge job. — makes one wonder if migratory exploitation ag. was so ec., or motivated by desire get land.

Middle colonies, medium family fms. Here new equipment came earliest, when it came.

NE, 17th, manorial system, common ops & pasture — giv' way to prt. 50 families per town. Live in town, not on fields.

4-1-59, p. 3

Markets.

To Eur. or W. Indies. Plus huge home mkt, inland, subsistence agric.
Easier to enter agric. than commerce. Commerce muzzed, probly bcs
required British connections, & mercantilist Eng out to exploit colonies.
Probly only reason did well at all was bcs Eng disorgd - civil wars.
Let colonies alone. Didn't expect much of them anyway.

Recurrent crises of tobacco. ^{1727-30.} ~~1727~~, Va. & Md limit output, etc.
But Eng. stops this. ^{Carl C. Taylor.} 1710, duty on new slaves, to stifle
new compn. Again, English stop. And if this angered old land-
holders, pleased new ones, suffering from non-reapportionment.
Note how old stuff is our farm program.

English tax tobacco, esp. after 1763, & force thru Eng.

Sources of supply:

~~W. &~~ Piedmont & mts, home indy, self-contained
Coast bought from Eur. - or NE.

Land Tenure.

Regarded by Eng. as venturing in commercial land spec. & devmt.
Bubbles of 1720.

Proprietary - Pa, Md, Nf. (earlier Ga, Va [London Co.]) (NY)

Titles from prop. Quitrents (hard to collect)

Family farms. Caths & Quakers - but Pa. Dutch now most
distinctive religious group.

Corporate - Commonwealths. NE.

Not worth much to English investors. Theocracy took over.

Roughly = land division. People tolerate where immigration restricted.
Religious test. cf. Mormons. ~~As long as~~ As long as few wanted so there anyway,
worked fine.

New towns, 50 or so families, held land = by.

"Town props." Town mtg was origly to plan common farm opens.
More exposed to French & Indian attacks, required group settlement.

18th, immigrants, props withdraw lands, enclose commons.

Create class society. And 18th c. grants are more commercial,
spec., cf. 17th, just order people to go, like B. Young.

Royal

King appts Gov. & Council; let colonists elect lower Assembly.

Gov. & council grant land. To further their interests: mil.

Settlements vs. French & Indians; pay friends. Enormous grants, on
condition of settlement.

Special case Dutch estates, Hudson. Blocked settlement, & scattered.
(Likewise Mohawk). Delayed descent NY agric. until 1830s.

~~NH grants in Vt. - confusion & was.~~

Ag. & govt.

Low prop. qualifns. Most farms cd vote.

Esp in west. So east kept control by not reappearing

West paid undue share taxes, got fewer benefits, except sections owned by influential easterners.

Regulator uprising, N.C. - demands conceded, 1776.

(Fallacy of regarding all farm uprisings as same. Regulators were small, unlike tobacco scheme of 1721)

Ag & Rwn

1763, French menace goes. Eng. fear indep. Miss V; & his wages. ^{- or Spanish}
Proclamation. Despite hav'g already given grants O. Valley.

Not only Am labor vs this; many e-n landholders who spec in west. & Wn. e.g. Was their customary way of life - ruin soil, move west. Heavy charges for debts & land wd ruin them if cdn't move on. Small farms wanted better land.

Δ tobacco tax.

Enforce Navign Acts - all goes to Eng. Offends merchants.

British motives: Maintain fur trade

Keep trade flowing east - & avoid indep. Miss Valley

Δ eastern l.v., where British held much (am specs had Miss. V.)

Δ govt revenues from land sales & quitrents: mpp. Thus ease Eng. taxes

Colonial resentment:

a. Large southern landholders. Their assets were in slaves & political power, more than tidewater lands, which were wearing out, & migratory agric. was custom. Fixed charges of debts & slaves, needed new lands to chew up. - which led finally to Civil War.
Glad to get away from debts

Were victims of trade monopoly by British merchants. Tobacco duties.
Navigation acts

b. Small western farmers.

Wanted expand onto good land
Overthrow eastern political rule. Earlier uprisings everywhere:
Regulators; Bacon's rebellion in Va; Vt war by E. Allen vs. N.Y.
Succeeded

c. Western specs, in north

Quebec Act, 1774, wiped out all previous grants, put Miss V.
NW of Ohio under Quebec.

d. Eastern tenants.

1774, prices & quitrents doubled on new lands.

Thus offended 'most everyone.

Other causes of revn:

Prohibit much mfr.

Force trade thru Eng

Depression - much aided by close of w-n expansion, on which
Am. prosp. has always hinged.

(We can assume a constant pressure by pot landholders in west to keep public land off mkt, improve their sales.)

New States: Vt 1791

Ky 1792

Tenn 1796

Ohio 1803

Agric. during revn.

- No manpower shortage. Bus. as usual.
- Confiscate Tory lands. ¹⁷⁷⁷ Tenants stopped pay'g rent. (became owners?)
States took over idle estates, sold to help fund war. In smaller parcels. — the large ~~estates~~ holdings remained, & were newly formed.
But generally Throught Am hist. ~~as~~ the recurrent efforts to form huge aristo. estates have failed, thru devmt of other lands, & taxation, as new pol. units fall into hands of immigrants.
- 1776, Va. under Th. Jeff outlaws entail & primogen. French influence - Physiocrats. Du Pont esp. Later most states follow.
- Reapportionment legist. Move capitals west. Equalize tax burdens.
- Indigo kaput. Subsidy gone. Tobacco thrives.
Ctn gets start. Wool helped, too.
- Large holdings destroyed ~~when~~ in most of n, except Hudson.
In so, many large holders were with revn, held on.

Thoughts on Colonial Am ag hist.

N.E. theocracy. Proprietary colonies - Pa, Md, ^{Del.} ~~N.J.~~? Hudson patroons.

Va - estates. Tidewater vs Piedmont. Slaves. Thfeff. & entail.

Why no slavery in n.?

Big claims to w-n lands - Ohio.

Early crops: Indigo. Rice? Tobacco.

Wars: 1713, Peace of Utrecht

1740 - 48, war. French build up Indian alliances.

✓ Fears of losing ~~the~~ Miss Valley, a natural ec. unit, prompt East to treat it well.

Vt - NH vs NY grants.

British policy, 1748 - 63 at least, royal land grants in Ohio v. etc. on condition of building forts & settling. But such grants! 200,000 acres to Ohio Co., & another 300,000 if they settled 100 families!

1778, Va. Assembly denied many patents, ~~from~~ confirmed a few for Revolutionary leaders.

17th, Eng civil wars, colonies went own ways.

NE town, 50 ~~100~~ families, or so. Each gets a share of 4 kinds land: home lot, pasture, meadow, woodlot. Shares too for minister, teacher.

3 kinds colonies:

Proprietary: Pa, Md., Del.

Corporate.
(Commonwealth) Mass., R.I., Ct. These had most experience in self-govt by 1776.

Royal: All others: NH, NY, NJ, Va, NC, SC, Ga. Directly under King's pleasure - he appts Gov. & Council, or upper house of assy. Freemen elect lower house, of genl Assy. Were origly propy, but reverted.

Propy were vassals - & autocrats in own lands.

English mercantilism. Designs on colonies.

Force trade thru Eng. as center.

Stifle industry, keep dependent, weak.

avoid indep. Miss. Valley.

Thoughts from Nettels, Curtis P. THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION. NY:
F.S. Crofts & Co., 1939

pp229-42, colonial agric. & household industry.

NE nearly self-sufficient, centering in grains, livestock, & household mfr.
Exported lumber, fish, ships, shipping service., earthenware, woodenware
(handicrafts?), leather goods, woolen cloth, ironware.

Middle colonies exported wheat, flour (so they had mills), beef, pork.
Va & Md. tobacco.

Clearing, big part of job.

Indian corn biggest crop, in general.

English approved tobacco production in Va-Md, bcs they had been buying it
already from Spain, draining gold.

Tobacco grown in large plantations (now, microscopic patches, why the change?)

Slavery more in south because better land there meant higher wage level?

Diversified agric. of middle colonies precluded slaves, who required close
supervision.

NE no good for wheat; but grew corn, rye, barley. Apples a staple.
Scattered parcels.

Mined soil, migrated on.

pp 416-24, Planation economy

After 1660, tobacco price fell.

1694-96, first rice in SC, used irrigation with reservoirs!

1742, indigo starts in SC.

Tobacco depressions: 1703-13; 1720-34; 1756-65

As soil exhausted by tobacco, fixed costs of slaves and debts remained,
ruined many. Bigger profits were in factoring, shipping.

1700, old seaboard planters got law ~~stopping~~ putting duty on importing
slaves, to hurt rising competitors, Va. But English Privy Council disallowed,
wishing to promote tobacco and slave trade.

p421 Depressions, Va & Md Assemblies curtailed output per plantation;
but couldn't enforce. But note how ancient is this reaction to competition
etc. E.g. 1727-30. Opposition of England a large element in failure.

Big western specs. Often imported tenants first, before selling.

With tobacco depression in old areas, increased self-sufficiency. (or did
that have much to do with it? Price of slaves kept rising). Plantations,
self-sufficient, developed. But slavery stifled free artisans, hence much
industrial development

pp. 516-38, the struggle for land and currency.

Sakolski.

Early land tenure based on spec - large royal grants to chartered cos.

They let it out on quitrent system. Weren't going to sell title. But land was so abundant, enforcement so hard, resentment so great, they abandoned quitrent system, sold land.

Then I imagine settlers voted land taxes, poached & squatted etc; & finally in revn confiscated.

Even in N.E., land was held by Cos., & granted by them to town props.

No doubt shares of these land devmt cos. sold in London, & thus began bus. cycle problem

Ch 3, Land Systems of Colonial Era.

4, Va & the Prop. Colonies.

5 stinks - Colonial Land specs.

6, Land & the Am Revn.

After revn, new States swept away entail, primogen.; confiscated unallotted estates of proprietors; manorial privileges of patroons; etc.

1787 Ordinance, no entail or primogen. in NW territories

From prompt action vs land mopy, by new States, seems clear resentment vs. relics of old systems must have been a big motive for revolution.

Ford, Colonial Precedents of our Nat Land System.
King George's War, 1744-48 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Eng. started trying use colonies as source of revenue, once French beaten.
To lower land taxes at home.

Tidewater planters exhausted their lands; so used pol. pow to get
w-n lands. Thus became westerners! Jumped over Piedmont. But in Piedmont
valley, sold to settlers, who took over local fort, & wanted control state.

Tidewater large estates grew tobacco & rice for export. Piedmont &
valley grew grain mostly, small farms. Equalitarian. But overrept East
pushed most taxes on them. Regulator uprising, N.C., 1768-71 or so,
suppressed, but demands granted in N.C. constn of 1776.

Atkagi. pp. 44-49, focus of 17th & 18th c. props.

pp 30-38 Grants from the genl Ct.

pp 103-14 Divn. of Land.

pp 288-300 Conclusion.

c. 1710-20, big spec. land boom, related to bubbles of Eur.

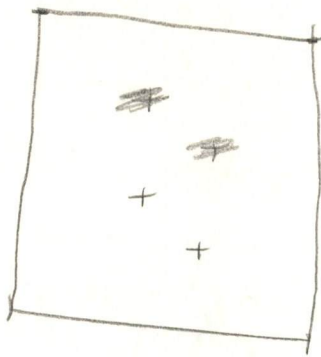
No doubt shares of land devmt cos. in U.S. also involved.

1727-38, another wave of spec-n. ~~was~~ Mass.?

Town mtg was origly a props. mtg. But 18th. props
grew separate from town. Then, after disposed of all
common, passed away as orgd body.

18th, due to spec., early compact settlements gave way to
scattered ones.

A	G
B	H
C	I
D	J
E	
F	



Parrington, Vernon L. Main Currents in Am. Thought

Vol. I: The Colonial Mind. NY: Harcourt-Brace, 1927.

To memory of J. Allen Smith.

Book 3 - Liberalism & the Constn., 1783-1800

Part 1 - The Agrarian Defeat

Chap I - Agrarianism & Capitalism, pp 267-79

~~I, pp 267-73, The Background of Ideas~~

Ch. II - The Great Debate, pp 279-92

The Constn was designed to weaken small farms who controlled State legislatures. R.? (& Ct.?) esp. levelsome.

Vol. II The Romantic Revn. Bk I, Pt I, II: Heritage of Jeffersonianism

Pt III, Romance of the West

I. Jefferson inland - clay & Whiggery 137-45

II. A. Jackson & Lincoln 145-61

III, II, 2 The Davy Crockett Myth 172-82

Carlton

p. 270 Like, Haynes, P-n associates laissez-faire in Eng. with Locke & bourgeoisie - Landed interests more inclined to impose State controls. I wonder.

Parrington follows Beard in division of "agrarian" vs "money" interests latter including "large landed interests." From some quotes it seems this was division visualized by contemporaries, & their language. Why does no one speak of the urban poor? Probly bec they had no votes. But rural poor voted, & dominated regions, & State govts.

Parrington cites nothing to demonstrate that suffrage was restricted, but assumes it thruout.

Parrington seems to rep. school that has strong opinions w/o really knowing much for sure.

Vol I, Bk II, Pt I, I, - Colonial Backgrounds.

II - The Frontier - Lubberland. Wm. Byrd, Madam Knight. pp. 137-40

III - " " Land of Promise. Crèvecoeur pp. 140-48

Pt I, III - Ben. Franklin

pp. 172 - 178, Franklin as a Physiocrat

Bk III, Pt. II, II - Tom Paine, & Th. Jefferson ^{agrarian justice, 331-4; 342-51, pretty thin} pp. ~~331~~ - 57

Note great French influence on U.S., via Jefferson, Franklin - small farm ideal. Note how sympathetic Crèvecoeur & de Tocqueville were to Am. fung. Physiocracy frustrated at home found expression in U.S.

The idea of a unified frontier, as in Parrington & Turner, as v.s. divided older sections, is paradox. Old coast cities united by sea & commerce, backwoods had little communication except thru their cities. Until they crossed Appom - so Turner ok, but is dubious if was much solidarity in 18th c. Except when their reps gathered in ~~the~~ Fed. Capitol, they probably discovered common interests.

Paine, Tom. Agrarian Justice - This reps. the thinking
that comstr was fighting.

Irving, Washington - A Tour of the Prairies

A. Hamilton - proposals re public domain, find them.

Parington -

Vol II, Bk II, V, II, Horace Greeley

Vol II, Beginnings of Critical Realism in Am.

Bk II, Pt. I,

I Plight of the Time.

Intro. to Giants in the Earth, reprinted pp 387 - 96.

Readings on Interpretations of History

Compiled by M. Saffner

1. Environmental emphasis

Ellsworth Huntington. MAINSPRINGS OF CIVILIZATION. Paperback, 75¢.
573.4 H92m. Chaps. 27-30.

----- WORLD POWER AND EVOLUTION. 573.4 H92w. Chap. 11, "The
Example of Rome."

- - - - - CLIMATIC CHANGES. 551.56 H92c. Chaps. 5, 6, "The Climate
of History" and "The Climatic Stress of the 14th Century."

There are numerous more works from this prolific writer. MAINSPRINGS, above, sums up most of his work. Huntington also emphasizes the importance of race, but his most distinctive contribution is his emphasis on climate in history. Most historians think Huntington overstated his case, but this may reflect as much the natural professional reaction to invasion from another discipline (Huntington was a geographer) as it does the merits of the case.

Derwent Whittlesey. ENVIRONMENTAL FOUNDATIONS OF EUROPEAN HISTORY.
940 W619e. Whittlesey is a non-dogmatic environmentalist,
so much so as to become positively wishy-washy after a while.

- - - - - THE EARTH AND THE STATE. 320.12 W619e. Chaps. 6 & 7 on
France and Germany are pretty good.

Abbott P. Usher. "Resource Requirements of an Industrial Economy."
JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC HISTORY. Supplement, 1947, pp. 35-46. In
periodical room.

Unlike the geographers Huntington and Whittlesey, Usher was
by trade an historian, albeit an economic one.

Does his philosophy appear capable of explaining the in-
dustrial might of Japan, based on imported raw materials?

2. The Frontier Thesis

Like the environmentalists, the frontier-oriented historians emphasize the effect of nature on man. But the frontier thesis emphasizes the effect of migration into unoccupied lands, rather than the particular character of those lands and their climate. Webb, who picks up the frontier thesis where Turner left it, is perhaps as much an environmentalist as a frontier thesis man, especially in THE GREAT PLAINS.

Significance of the

Frederick J. Turner. "The Frontier in American History." Chap. 1 of THE FRONTIER IN AMERICAN HISTORY. 973 T84 RBR

This is the original and classic statement of the "frontier" or "Turner thesis." It dominated much historical thought in America in the early 20th century but has been vigorously attacked since the 1930s.

Frederick L. Paxson. "Frontier: American History." in ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, Vol 6, pp. 500-03. Reading Room.

- - - - - "When the West is Gone." Chap. 3 of WHEN THE WEST IS GONE, 978 P28w.

Walter P. Webb. THE GREAT FRONTIER. 901 W384. Chap. 1, Part 3, "The Boom Hypothesis of Modern History."

A free-wheeling Texas-style frontier thesis, as journalistic as it is scholarly. Very windy, so don't weigh each word.

J.E. Thorold Rogers. THE ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY. 330.9 R63. Chap. 1, "The Economic Side of History." Especially the last few pages, on the influence of the frontier in England.

Karl Marx. CAPITAL. Volume I. Chap. 33, "The Modern Theory of Colonization."

We do not usually think of Marx as a frontier theorist; indeed many Marxists were prominent in the 'thirties for their attacks on Turner and his disciples. But this chapter, aside from its characteristic bitter Marxian irony, is almost pure Turner.

Franz Oppenheimer. THE STATE. 320.1 Op5

A German sociologist-historian interprets world history in terms of the influence of the frontier. Oppenheimer's thesis also resembles that of Henry George, of whom he was a follower.

3. Marx's interpretation of historical evolution

No doubt you know that Marx was an "economic determinist." This however is a little more complex than the proposition that "where your treasure is, there will your heart be also," a relatively straightforward syllogism more closely linked with Charles Beard. Marx was a mystic and a controversialist, a conspirator and a politician, all joined in one complex and probably psychotic personality, which makes his philosophy difficult to comprehend. It is far more lucidly developed in his commentators and critics than in his own basic work, THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY, 335 M36mE.

Cornforth, Maurice. DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM. Vol 2, Historical Materialism. 335.4 C819d. Chaps 4, 5.

Simkhovitch, Vladimir G. MARXISM VS. SOCIALISM. 335 Si45m. Chap. 3, "The Economic Interpretation of History."

Wilson, Edmund. TO THE FINLAND STATION. 335.09 W692t. Part II, Chap. 11, "The Myth of the Dialectic."

Cole, G.D.H. WHAT MARX REALLY MEANT. 331 M36Xc6 Chap. 3, "The Realist Conception of History."

Bober, Mandell K. KARL MARX'S INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY. 335 M36Yb6. Chap. 3, "The Bases of History Up to the Present."

Hill, Christopher. "The English Civil War Interpreted by Marx and Engels." SCIENCE AND SOCIETY, 1948 Centenary of Marxism Issue, 335.4 B458c.

Seligman, E.R.A. THE ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY. 901 Se4. Chap. 3, "Genesis and Development of the Theory."

This is as readable an analysis of Marx as you will find, but old.

Dobb, Maurice H. CAPITALIST ENTERPRISE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. Possibly not yet in Missouri library.

Plekhanov, Georgii. THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY. 901 P713vE. Dogmatic Russian Marxism at its utmost.

Hacker, Lewis. THE TRIUMPH OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM. This book is rather an extreme example of "stage" history: the "stages" of merchant capitalism, industrial capitalism, and finance capitalism, sharply distinguished from each other without transition and without other dimensions to history. "Stage" history is a characteristic Marxist outlook, but is not peculiar to Marxists. With wry humor Hacker prefaces his second edition with the comment that he is writing to discredit the Marxist interpretation of history, but if this is so it is by producing a travesty, not a criticism. That this rather ridiculously unbalanced book has enjoyed such wide use as a text is a sad commentary on the teaching of history in America.

Sweezy, Paul M. THE THEORY OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT. 331 M36Xs. Sweezy is probably the outstanding Marxist scholar in America today.

4. Henry George's cyclical thesis.

Henry George. PROGRESS AND POVERTY. Book X, "The Law of Human Progress." Chap. 3, "The Law of Human Progress," and Chap 4, "How Modern Civilization May Decline."

George's thesis: the conditions of progress are "association in equality." Rising land values and rents split society into haves and have-nots; indirect taxes and trade barriers disrupt voluntary economic association. Thus as society achieves material progress it fosters seeds of social discord that will weaken or destroy it.

Others after George have thought to see society destroying itself. Indeed Marx, who preceded and overlapped George in time, had Capitalism carrying "the seeds of its own destruction," although for somewhat different reasons. Brooks Adams, in THE LAW OF CIVILIZATION AND DECAY, (paperback) blamed the decline of empires on centralization and deflation. Oswald Spengler, in THE DECLINE OF THE WEST, leaned on his analogy of mature societies with aging individual organisms. Arnold Toynbee in A STUDY OF HISTORY emphasizes the weakening of religious values in mature societies. Joseph Schumpeter, in CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM, AND DEMOCRACY sees free enterprise destroyed not by failure to function, but by loss of political support due to separation of ownership from management in large corporations (a point also stressed by Thorstein Veblen in THE ENGINEERS AND THE PRICE SYSTEM, James Burnham in THE MANAGERIAL REVOLUTION, and Adolf Berle and Gardiner Means in THE CORPORATION AND PRIVATE PROPERTY.)

Oppenheimer, Franz. The State 320.1 Op 5

5. Soil fertility and depletion.

Lowdermilk, Walter C. ISRAEL: LAND OF PROMISE. 330.9569 L951p
Chaps. 4 & 5. ~~XXX~~

Like Huntington, Lowdermilk is considered by many to have propagated for his thesis more than he evaluated it. But he has amassed impressive evidence and is not to be lightly dismissed. Professional historians may well have needed some prodding from outside their ranks to give proper weight to physical factors.

- - - - - CONQUEST OF THE LAND THROUGH 7,000 YEARS. S.C.S. Info. Bull. No. 99. 353.8 Al.75, Agric. Lib. Also available from local SCS office for the asking.

Craven, Avery O. SOIL EXHAUSTION AS A FACTOR IN THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND.

Craven is one of the few professional historians to give much attention to this topic. This work is undoubtedly a more careful evaluation of historical evidence than that of the avowed SCS propagandist Lowdermilk. However in evaluating Craven keep in mind that he is as well as a professional historian a professional southerner, or at least an ardent amateur, who seems obsessed with the objective of vindicating southern behavior before the Civil War (The War Between the States, huh!)

Usher, Abbott P. "Soil Fertility, Soil Exhaustion, and their Historical Significance." QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS, Vol 37, pp. 385-411. 330.5 Q2. In room 116.

A prominent Harvard economic historian disputes the importance of soil exhaustion. Curiously, Usher attaches very heavy importance to natural resources of other kinds -- fuel or energy resources primarily -- and might be called a carboniferous determinist from his emphasis on coal resources.

Simkhovitch, Vladimir G. "Hay and History." An essay which you may find in one of his other works, but you will have to hunt in the card catalogue.

Dale, Tom, and Carter, V.G. TOPSOIL AND CIVILIZATION. 630.09 D155t Agric.

A horrible example of "proof by vigorous affirmation" without evaluation of evidence. If you want to learn how to alienate 90% of your readers, look at this.

6. Agricultural fundamentalism.

Griswold, A. Whitney. FARMING AND DEMOCRACY. 338.1 G889f.

The president of Yale University is not an agricultural fundamentalist, but he writes a good book about it.

Walter C. Lowdermilk, the soils man, would probably rate as an agricultural fundamentalist, as would almost all soils historians.

7. Local governments as monopolies.

Schmoller, Gustav. THE MERCANTILE SYSTEM AND ITS HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE. 330.1 Sch 5. Perhaps on reserve in Room 116.

This is one of the best historical analyses ever written. City-states exploit their hinterlands and do economic battle with each other. The phenomena observed and described by Schmoller go far toward explaining much of historical evolution.

8. Laissez-faire interpretations

Mantoux, Paul. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN THE 18th CENTURY. 330.942 M3l. Part II, Chap. 1, "The Beginnings of Machinery in the Textile Industry."

Mantoux finds progress stemming from the absence of government regulation in the new cotton industry, and stagnation in the privileged, regulated woolen industry of England.

Pirenne, Henri. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL EUROPE. Paperback & 330.902 P665e. Chap. 7, "14th and 15th Century Changes."

Pirenne sees dynamic enterprising capitalists developing new modes of production in order to escape from restrictive labor unions and regulatory local governments. They migrate to where they have freedom and security, the latter meaning security of possession, not security from competition but the contrary.

This is not an explicit statement of Pirenne's philosophy, but it clearly shows through his description of Flanders in evolution.

The Marxist historian Maurice Dobb, curiously enough, has a strikingly parallel interpretation of English evolution in CAPITALIST ENTERPRISE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

Smith, Adam. WEALTH OF NATIONS. 330 Sm5i.

Book I, Chap. 3, "The Division of Labor is limited by the Extent of the Market." The thesis express or implied is that specialization in production waits upon commercial or political developments to widen the markets.

Book III, Chap. 4, "How the Commerce of Towns Contributed to the Improvement of the Country." Smith sees town merchants as the dynamic factor, creating markets which stir up farmers to change their methods. Some of us would question, however, whether Smith wasn't overgeneralizing, and whether it was not often progressive farmers who had to stir up the merchants.

Condliffe, John B. THE COMMERCE OF NATIONS. 330.9 C752c.

9. Monetary emphasis.

This interpretation of history would find widespread support among economists today, who are inclined by and large to give more weight to monetary factors than to most others.

Earl Hamilton, "Profit Inflation." In F.C. Lane and J. Riemersma (eds.) ENTERPRISE AND SECULAR CHANGE. 330.9 L241e

----- AMERICAN TREASURE AND THE PRICE REVOLUTION IN SPAIN.
338.5 H18

Hamilton might be called the Keynes of economic history. He finds that expansion of the money supply and spending are powerful forces leading to industrial expansion. While on this you might as well go to the fountainhead itself and read:

John M. Keynes, THE GENERAL THEORY OF EMPLOYMENT INTEREST AND MONEY. "Notes on Mercantilism."

A major critic of Hamilton is:

John U. Neg, "Prices and Industrial Capitalism." ECONOMIC HISTORY REVIEW, May, 1937. Room 116.

Just as the above were th own up by the monetary controversey of the 1930s, so the earlier Populist movement produced its historical philosopher in:

Brooks Adams, THE LAW OF C VILIZATION AND DECAY. 901 Ad121, and paperback.

10. Racial emphasis

There are many racist tracts of the Nazi and KKK type which are on a very low intellectual plane and not worth reviewing except for study of social pathology. But there are also some more serious works which contain some real challenge.

Ellsworth Huntington, MAINSPRINGS OF CIVILIZATION (paperback)
Chaps. 10, 11.

Herbert B. Adams. THE GERMANIC ORIGIN OF NEW ENGLAND TOWNS. 305 J61, V. 1. This was the sort of thinking against which Frederick J. Turner was reacting when he developed his frontier thesis.

Tenney Frank, "Race Mixture in the Roman Empire." AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, July, 1916, pp. 689-708. Roa 116.

Of course scholars have not been lacking to take the opposite viewpoint.

F. H. Hankins. THE RACIAL BASIS OF CIVILIZATION. 572 H187
Unfortunately long-winded, but factual and meaty all the same.

Bergen Evans. THE NATURAL HISTORY OF NONSENSE. 818 Ev12na.
Chap. 14, "The Skin Game."

Melville J. Herskovitz, THE MYTH OF THE NEGRO PAST. 572.96 H439m.
Chap. 3, "The African Cultural Heritage."

11. Beard's thesis of the self-serving founding fathers.

Charles A. Beard. AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.
342.73 B38e. Chap. 1, "Historical Interpretation in the United States."

Robert E. Brown. CHARLES BEARD AND THE CONSTITUTION. 342.73
B38eYb8 Chap. 1, "Historical Interpretation in the United States."

There is also a new criticism of Beard published in 1959. Track
it down.

Forrest Mc Donald