

Ag Co. 468
History of Resource

I. Some genl perspectives, from Eur.

~~a. Historical urge to suppress corrup is universal.~~

~~Progressive urges also universal.~~

~~History a continual tug of war.~~

~~I. Resource~~

a. By-passing a leapfrog principle is universal

1. Naturally & ecly. as bldgs age

2. Exaggerated by instl. obsolescence, rigidity

3. " " universal urge to suppress corrup. By-passing easier than frontal assault.

b. Successful societies yield surpluses. Land rent largely. Disposition of them determines much. Japan, used for indl. cap. form. Junkies, for milty. Trng. of officer class. Eng. for waste & pol. leadership: France before revn., for waste. Etc.

c. Role of State is vital

1. Negative role — avoid restrictive practices, urge to suppress corrup

2. Positive

a. suppress local restrictionism

b. Supply some positive ec. contributions: xptn; education; military
Fructify rent surpluses.

1. Evans.

cf. H.C. Anderson

Ashley on treatment of capm. by historians

also, opposition of squirearchy.

cf. Clapham's inability to say what small farms were doing.

Entire mechanism of generat'g & dispensing info. is ~~the~~ biased

2. Kellogg. Soils ^{determinism} ~~fundamentalism~~ at its best,

Contrast pessimism & Messianism of Landk, Bennett, Dale & Carter

a. Grasslands. Chernozem. Recent use. Specialism required - not versatile

b. Grain. Semi-arid. Forces cooper. (why?)

6-gum, barbed wire, windmill. (This is cooper?)

b. Desert

Either-or. - no in-between. Cooper. again. Kills democracy?

Peaks labor needs

c. Temperate Forests. Gray-Brown Podzols at center, NY - Chicago.

Also in w-n Eur. Eased transition. But in south, plantations.

Civil war was Gray-Brown Podzols vs. Red & Yellow ones. Chernozems

settled postwar.

Gray-Brown basic features, highly versatile.

Less productive than Chern.; more responsive to input; ~~more~~ more

erosive. (hence less Tracy)

Versatility meant less cooper, higher individualism.

d. Forest, tropical. laterite

Small capl., rapid circulation. Plantations

Soils do not wear out. Compar. of rich western land led to abandoning

this e-n soils,

Outline four-fold cc. distinction of soil elements.

3. Hicks. South after Civil War
Effect of low prices on size of farm.

4. Schaefer

Burlingame.

2. Oliners views.

U.S. was relatively backward in technology; richness of natural endowment overcompensated; lacked of verted opponents to progress helped.

Automation & cybernation are nothing new. Capital adapts to prices of inputs. (Explore several phases of that. Use tables)

War helps labor in s.r., hurts in long, by overstimulating labor-saving. (canning in rem.; harvesters in civil war; etc.)

Westward progress fast due to waste. But Burl. assumes it was good. Doesn't mention xptn subsidies; loose construction; etc.

(1837, 1200 mills in 5 w-n states)
convergence belt

3. Slater & spinning; Whitney & quinning.

Prohibit export of technology - atomic energy. Impossible.

Arkwright & factories - analogous to shopping centers. Bringing together interdependent ops. Domestic system too diffuse, otherwise wd. have lasted much longer.

Luddites in Eng.

Cap. does not always displace least skilled labor; often less unskilled displace skilled. Whitney's jigs

6. ~ McCormick Location ees: Chi v. Baltimore

Credit: it mal-located Hurray

McCormick extended it. (but didn't invent it: factors did some)

Schmidt & Ross

a. Turner. Colonial Frontier, 1676-73

Piedmont & Mohawk & Shenandoah & Berkshires.

W. New Eng. towns. Indian fighting, religious. Commons.

After winning King Phillip's War, 1676, relaxed, more individ. & commercial -
& divided into classes.

N.Y. stymied by patroon holdings & Iroquois. So w-n N.Y. settled from
New England.

Va., Piedmont & Valley, mixed system, large & small. Large grants to
influential persons were to be subdivided, settled, & partly were. Large fellows
& inequality provide aristocratic system, leadership; also more individuation.
also more open-range grazing - cattlemen
N-S unity in the interior valleys

b. Stone Co. Factor system

South used credit more has more commercial production; more hired
inputs.

Con. ideal base, too - non-perishable, fungible. Bore rough handling, expended
w/o good roads, storage, etc.

Man who paid paper helped call time. (Land being cheap, control of credit
was of scantest input)

Concn. of credit in a few big cities meant concn. of commerce there too,
& controlled by factors, who exacted mpy. as price of credit. Thus
stifled growth of small towns & cities. Direct sales, from N. Orleans
factor to interior planter.

Rrs & land mortgage cos. broke up the system, postbellum.

8. Hofstadter

Anti-Turner thesis, in part.

Boomer psych., rise of l.v. U.S. never produced a rural society, always a boomer one, based on A.l.v. & exploitation of land. Waste soil, mechanize

Populism support based on hard commercial realities: collapse of prices of cotton, wheat, silver. Result of overexpansion.

Cramer, Coming of Civil War

p. 110. Ctn production/yr.
in lbs.

Date	Atl Coast	6 W-n States
1821	117	60
1826	180	150
1834	160	298

1816-20, US furnished $< \frac{1}{2}$ Eng's ctn.

140, 82% , & total much higher.

(Note how Homestead free land ties in with Republican protectionism — need tariff now for rev.) (Likewise preemption etc. Hence alliance of NE & west.)

Eaton, Clement A Hist. of the Old South.

p. 398 Factors. Were planters' agents in town, versatile: bought supplies & sold crops for planter. Gave mkt advice. Insurance, storage, drayage, weighing, credit. Credit extended mainly on cash staple.

Peddlers thru South - shows primitive state of local towns.

(Canals of Ill, Ind, Ohio, ed. carry goods either way, & thus helped region develop ~~from~~ towards South - so e-w canals were made premature.

Wasn't until r.r.s. that e-w xptn bloomed.)

B&O r.r. mainly tapped w-n Md & Va: wheat, beef

Rise of NYC after '25 was due to serving as entrepot for ctn & c

p. 404 southern trade to Eur, ~~not~~ more than Erie Canal. [Suggests restrictive measures in South, but in NYC]

Eaton, 2

1404. Balt. had wth power, ^{from Patuxent R.} became flour mill center.

(Erie canal added a 3d arrow focussing on NYC: others were South, & Europe)

Taylor, George Rogers. THE TRANSPORTATION REVOLUTION. Vol. 4, THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. NY: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1951

"tap" a hinterland with new road

Before 1812, pvt stock co.s built turnpikes, mid-Atl & N.eng states. Chartered by state govts. Lancaster Turnpike, Phila to Lanc., finished 1794, p. 18, ". . . its financial success stimulated considerable building of toll roads . . ." 1795, crash.

Then war of 1812, after it was more enthusiasm, partly because war demonstrated need.

Fed. got into it a little, but several presidential vetoes blocked it.

"incredibly arid passages", Congr. debates over constitutionality. Ave. annual approps for internal improvements increased with each admin from Jefferson to Jackson, even so. Punctuated by vetoes, such as Jackson's 1830 veto of the Maysville Rd.

p. 21 Real obstacle "which defeated a national system of internal improvements is to be found in the bitter state and sectional jealousies ..

NE, with good roads of her own, opposed federal improvements. NY and Pa at first supported fed roads, but then after about 1817 they were building their own and opposed fed.

South opposed because they thought others would benefit more; because they had good rivers; because wanted low tariff; and, as came to be outstanding issue, they wanted strict construction of const. because of slavery issue, "... as the defense of slavery gradually overshadowed all other issues."

p. 25 NE, NY, NJ, turnpikes pvtly financed. Pa and western states, states helped much. Pop less dense. S.C. and Indiana owned outright. More commonly states bought stock of pvt co.s.

Leg. 10 Census, with suggestive title: VALUATION, TAXATION, AND PUBLIC INDEBTEDNESS.

p. 27 Turnpikes rarely succeeded financially.

29 After 1844, temporary craze for plank roads. Cost averaged about \$1,500 a mile. 30 "Mania" for plank roads spread from NY to every part of country after 1844, strongest in Mid-Atl and N. Central. By 1847 1857, 7,000 miles of them in NY, Pa., NJ, Md., cost \$10m. Panic of 1857 killed them.

32 Boom in Britain ff completion of Bridgewater Canal, 1765.

U.S. denied financial aid, NY under Clinton built Erie alone. 33 Phenomenal success. Had been pressed for a long time. Even before finished was in heavy use. Tonnage grew to 1880.

There were others that had long been urged. They proved out. In craze, tho, submarginals all over the place were built. Including feeders, for Erie.

Taylor, 2

The Blackstone, Worcester-Narragansett, succeeded. The New Haven - Northampton failed utterly. Was designed, like so many canals, to capture a province -- New Haven wanted to capture trade of Ct. valley. "tap the Ct. at Northampton".

D&H, Lehigh, and other anthracite canals did well. 39

Duplicating canals undid each other here and there. p. 41, Baltimore got behind the Susquehanna and Tidewater Canal to draw rich trade of central Pa from Phila. (Balt is on Chesapeake Bay, Susquehanna flows into it. Natural rivalry.) Lower Susquehanna was otherwise unnavigable.

Susq and Tidew. took traffic from the Union, but helped the Chesapeake and Delaware, and hence Phila. again. (Union was Susq to Phila)

42 Every port city wanted its route to west. Even Richmond hoped to put canal across Appalachians to Kanawha! James R. and Kanawha Co. never got out of James.

43 Phila fearing NY pushed canal to Pittsburgh, with r.r. portage over mts. Opened 1834, but Portage R.r. bottleneck choked it.

44 Having spent state funds to benefit Phila, sectional political pressures demanded canals all over state. So they built them, mostly useless. Here is a universal problem. After 1842, bubble pricked, left many canals half built, state in financial difficulty.

46 Ohio, same problem, political logrolling. (Local people no doubt like canal even if know it won't pay off, because brings payrolls and local demand, they get something anyway.

Mid-fifties, canals obsolete in Ohio, r.r.s built so fast.

47 1839, Indiana virtually bankrupt, mammoth canal program.

49 NY's contribution to canal boom was largely in showing that you could finance them thru state bonds. States built most of canals. 1836, U.S. distributed surplus to states, helped a lot when their finances were weak. (not for long -- no saving them).

52 Canal enthusiasm involved hope that tolls would replace taxes. (cf today, hope to make money from toll roads, ff. Pt of NY authority, etc. Fact is, the first toll roads made money because they had been held back by restrictive thinking long past demand. Later ones will not because they are the ones requiring a subsidy. States willing to pay it will benefit. Those expecting lower taxes will be disappointed, react violently vs public works.)

52-3 When realized that tolls wouldn't even pay for canals, much less lower other taxes, enthusiasm waned. Voters didn't go for them, nor investors. And most of the best routes had been developed.

53 Stone turnpikes cost \$5,000 - 10,000 a mile; canals \$20,000 - 30,000, and up -- C&O cost 60,000, Susq & Tidew 80,000, but those were highs.

R.r.s cost a little more, average -- say \$30,000, roughly, wide variation.

55 Most canals built in thirties when costs were very high. Then with hi fixed costs they suffered in forties, low prices.

Taylor, 3

(Part of pattern may be breaking thru mnpy. With steamboats, Fulton-Livingston interests had mnpy from M NY. Teamed up with Ogden of NJ for interstate mnpy. Gibbons, Ogden's former partner, quarreled, and in Gibbons vs Ogden, 1824, est. fed. jurisdiction of interstate navigation. This opened up all rivers for steamboat xptn.

Gibbons v Ogden might be written Vanderbilt v Fulton-Livingston.

58 By 1830 steamboats dominated river xptn, and to 1850 were most important means of internal xptn in U.S.

Turnpikes and canals fed rivers more than they competed (nath -- why build a canal where there is already a river, if navigable)

(Another part of pattern: new form of xptn at first complements old, increases its value. Competition isn't so evident until later. Of course that's only very broadly true. In fact at first canals were opposed by tollkeepers, carriage makers, etc., canal enthusiasm had to break that down before they could get started. But once started they swept all aside. In this era, complementarity must be most pronounced.

61 Steamers took over not only rivers, but lakes, harbors, bays.

64 Steamboats declined in depression of early twenties -- then rocketed. On Ohio andtribs, numbers thicker than on Hudson even.

64 At first, steamboats didn't put flatboats and keelboats, its predecessors, out of business. Steamboats went upstream, others downstream, got xptn back. Flatboats waxed thru 1847, then waned.

69 Steamboating, small capital dominant, free highways. Non-skeds dominant.

72 Rails fed steamboats at first, helped them. Then, in fifties, knocked them off pretty fast.

74 R.r., European invention, grew much quicker in U.S., because fewer vesteds, political boundaries, prejudices, customs. Cheap land helped much too. Up to 1868 English r.r.s paid more for land than total sum spent on all Am. r.r.s for all purposes to that date.

States fought r.r.s at first, to protect their investment in canals. NY required r.r.s paralleling Erie to pay tolls equal to the Erie (cf. Morell's proposals today). Pa. and Ohio too.

77. Charleston S.C. built road up to Hamburg on the Savannah R. to take trade from Savannah.

(Here it is again. Where indirect benefits are involved, city-states fight each other as Taylor puts it,. The benefits are hard to predict. They are to some extent cumulative. They are magnified by the very process of construction that prepares to capitalize on them.

There is a question of survival, too. After the leader breaks through, other towns know they must have the new xptn or virtually perish. So they get it. Once they have it, they are willing to lapse back into quiescence, restrictive philosophy takes over again.)

Taylor, 4

✓ 77 The cities that pioneered in r.r. development were Boston, Charleston, and Baltimore, "Each struggling to enlarge its market to the West and each w/o important inland waterway connections, . . ."

B&O, 1828 was chartered.

NY started slow with r.r.s, because of state's vested interest in canal. 78

✓ 79 By 1840 rail mileage equaled canal, U.S., with non-canal states way out in front with r.r.s. : N.C., Mass., Ga, S.C., Md, NJ, Mich, Fla. R.r.s moved very slowly in O, Ind, esp. (and Ky: everything moved slow there, were no canals nor r.r.s).

79 By 1850 rails way in front

85 Rail boom ended 1857.

(Part of pattern: mossbacks hold back good sites, finally expansion breaks thru. The first projects are therefore enormous successes. "Cost" is conceived w/o land element, they "pay off" handsomely. Imitators don't appreciate this fact, build all over the place. etc)

✓ 88 Most gains were indirect, so rails got enthusiastic support from citizens all over. State and local aid enormous. 92, also.

→ ✓ The bankrupted states of 1836 were cautious about rails. New states farther west, Minn, Mo., Texas, gave enormous grants, 1850s. In Ia., Wisc., and Illinois, states forbidden to give grants, municipalities did it. 94

96 The IC grant of 1850 was supposed to be unique but it set a precedent and soon Congress flooded with demands for grants, of which a number passed.

98 Indirect benefits, rivalry of Atlantic ports, behind r.r. booms. "City-states", fighting with r.r.s. "Metropolitan mercantilism". Each community provided the capital for its own r.r.

336 1815-19, vast sums spent on internal improvements; also on constructing ocean-going ships.

337 1819 panic, emphasized our colonial nature. Restriction of money in England. Agriculture suddenly prostrated. BUS in Minn. closed as debtors defaulted and "land values all but disappeared."

374. Many states got much of their revenue from property taxes. NY had gpt, 1815-26, then again after 1843. Tax on lotteries, big money-raiser, 1816-1820. Early 20s Mass $\frac{1}{2}$ rev prop tax, other half tax on banks. "The southern and western states, on the other hand, were chiefly dependent on gptaxes, but the rates were generally low.

See Stadenki & Kroos for more on this.

*Leg.
hist. of gpt.*

~~Ann~~ Faulkner.

p. 323 By 1860, South had 9500 mi rrs, $\frac{1}{3}$ nation's total.

Locally forced.

1850 Compromise opened to slavery all lands won from Mex. save Calif.

154, Ks-Neb bill repealed Mo. compromise, with local option.

150s, trans-Allegheny rrs. linked NW to NE, won it away from So.

South, controlling U.S., made 9C grants to same old trade rtes, but failed. - why?

NW now shifts to tariff bcs it wd help NE, her mkt, at expense of SE, with which no relations

p 262 Turnpikes, after Lancaster success, built not only to 1795, but for next 30 yrs. (1 dare say 1819 was a turnpike bust). Few paid off — nor tall bridges accompanying them.

p 264 Nat Rd built from public land sales, agreements w O, Ind, Ill, Mo, to help them. But 1st stretch, to Wheeling, not finished until 1818.

Vandalia, 1852. (Hicks says 1838)

Were many other proposals, but 1830 Maysville veto threw future to States. (others say this was just brief setback in Jackson's policy of helping States).

✓ p. 267 Steamboat boom, 1830s, N. Orleans grew faster than any city. (probly her exceptionally mnpste. position was exploited, turned traffic east)

Faultner.

p. 209. Erie Canal, dropped Buff - NYC frt from \$100 to \$15/ton,
time from 20 days to 8. Doubled on-fm value of w-n NY produce.

NYC doubled pop, 1820-30, surpassed Phila.

all Lake cities grew, began to surpass River cities for 1st time.

Several X-Alleg. rrs finished simul:

NYC '50 or before

Erie '51

Pa '52

B&O '53.

In So, Chatt. became hub, Ga to Nashville etc.

Gulf ports pushed lines n., but still lost share of upper Miss trade.

p 282 St. Louis was center of w-n fm trade.

Independence was base of Sta. Fe Trail, for trade w. Spanish settlements.

Taylor, Kptmura,

p 21 A. Jackson, Ad Fed aid to xptn, even over J A Adams (& despite Maysville?)

NE had good rds, hence opposed Fed rds, esp. e-w.

NH & Pa favored, but then built own xptn, thereafter opposed.

So. had rivers, hence opposed. Also bus. they paid, via tariff; & linked NW to e.

New canals pushed settlers away from selves. But also made possible further out canals, using trunk canal as base.

Ideally, lands near Erie wd dev. networks of local xptn, Mohawk V wd.

Failure of local govts to proceed - failure to synchronize, program, or settle up. Failure to schedule jointly - is as impnt as individ. specn. Indeed is part of it, since individ. local govts can promote or suppress individ. specn. & specn suppress local govt.

Hicks, p. 375. Pop density, '30. Hi' in NE, NY, NJ, SE Pa., & in west around Cinne-Dayton, Columbus, Louisville, Nashville (not N. Orleans!)

Thus NE settled thick. South spread thin. Thus south executed great sweep, surrounded & hedged in NE - but the southerners who penetrated NW became Yankees!

Low N. Or. pop. suggests restriction

p 393. June, 1836, distribution of surplus began. Encouraged States to further extravaganzas

p 416 By 1840, area around Jeff city etc. was over 45/mi². Only such area west of Nashville & Louisville. A monstrous leapfrog. Why? What was here?

Canals that the (local) traffic wd not justify were pushed out to tap
antic. future (remote) mts. - to capture new territory, or defend old.

Hicks, 326-27. Suggests southern expansion was more a spreading thinner
than an A pop. Plantations grew longer

p. 317 1810-30, O, Ind & Ill % growth the fastest. Also absolute.

Ky & Tenn were much longer but grew slowly.

Ala, La, & Miss. grew slowly.

NW grew from the South.

Settlement fbd rivers - O, Miss, Mo. Cinn., biggest city, 1820.

But Ark-Miss-Tenn delta lands undeveloped, '20.

p 328. Turnpikes hastened their demise by too-hi tolls. But rivers were
free

p 330 Buying land on credit a big factor, boom & bust, ~~18~~ '19

p 356 JQ Adams pro W-n improvements. Pushed Nat Rd. Intended
terminus was Jeff City. but ended '38, Vandalia, & stopped b/c of depression.

(Very fact that xptn was built delayed, rather than promoted, land
devt. Pushed fms elsewhere - thus promoting new xptn devt.)

p. 357 JQ Adams dreamed of integrated network of Nat roads. But pot &
state projects held field, all U.S. cd do was buy stock, which it did.
But local control, no intgn.

Juglar, Clement. A brief Hist. of Panics in the U.S. xlted D.W. Thom,
NY: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1897. 332 f 93

p. 64. Very quotable. 1836, projects begun, if carried out, wd absorb far more real capital than there was. Borrowed abroad, but when i.v. rose there, "They saw the impossibility of carrying out a third of their schemes." Ctn fell, & panic seized the public."

Emphasizes this panic as worse than others; & bound up w. land spec.
BUS tried to conceal its insolvency by land spec. Also tried buy up ctn to bolster mkt, collapsed.

Apr. 5, 1962. Ag. E. 468.

Cattle boom. Osgood Chap. IV.

Prescriptive principle on open range, fosters use, but overuse.

Mts. of SW Mont. settled first. Grassland of east was frontier in 1880s. Older SW mt. ~~frontier~~ ^{frontier} ~~ties~~ turned to smaller farms, fenced, close herding, winter feeding. E-n range required more cooper: roundup, chuckwagon, etc. p. 88

1879-85, huge northward cattle move, stocking range. By drive, & new Sta Fe line. Also from Colo., overstocked. Also westward move from midwest feeder states. ^{p. 91-92} Thus cap. migrated, & market starved

Fn. landholdings. Thus Eng. supported --- her patricians had interests here. Free trade resulted.

As to value of cattle, & land, evoked invs -- too late.

Liquidation reversed all, suddenly glutted market. Limiting factor was range land -- [& maybe capl. to fence, & use intensively]

E.E. Dale also mentions hi l.v. speeded turnover much

Chap. VII. Disaster & Transition

Liquidation, winter of 1886-87 & sell-off.

Transition -- coming of graziers, wars of small vs. big, end of big.

Wyo. goes Democratic.

E.E. Dale, The Range Cattle Industry

p. 153 High l.v. forced mktg. cattle at earlier age. Made it unprofitable to grow scrub cattle. Both in corn belt & on range.

c. 1865-70, steers 5-6 yrs old went to mkt. Then 4, 3, & baby beef, 2.

(Read more in Dale)

Cycle in simple form.

New land opens — new r.r.s (State from south; others from east)

defeat Indians

wet cycle

better cattle

New land absorbs capital.

Here, the capl. was the product: cattle. Also other kinds.

Capl. inflow absorbs cap. that otherwise wd. go to mkt., thus raises price at same time is preparing to swamp mkt

Prescription principle urges excess & overexpansion. (Also depletion). Buying cattle was means to control land; land was rising. L.V. the holder.

Emulation — herd psych. (among herdsmen!)

Scattered settlement — while some ranges got overcrowded, new Indian reservations; large European holdings (so? Find ref.) that later came on

External economies: growth of popn. permits growth of towns, etc.

Wave effect?

Sabb's cap. for labor — big herds, little care.

" land " " — scattered herds, range for selves.

Racing. Many cities vied for new hinterland

Political allies at core. Biggest English investors. Free trade. Cf. big Am. oil cos. etc. today.

Revival at core. Tex., "bombed out" by exports, but L.V. rise there, too, prompt faster turnover.

A short cycle -- bcs land devmt relatively small element. Accum. & lign. of cattle equally input; shorter gestation. Wx also called a turn.

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