

THE
FARMER'S
AGE
AGRICULTURE
1815-1860



Paul W. Gates



The Farmer's Age: Agriculture
1815–1860

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES
Edited by Henry David, Harold U. Faulkner, Louis M. Hacker,
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THE FARMER'S AGE: AGRICULTURE

1815–1860

By PAUL W. GATES

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Foreword

WHEN this series of nine volumes on the economic history of the United States was first conceived, the nation's economy had reached a critical stage in its development. Although the shock of the depression of 1929 had been partially absorbed, the sense of bewilderment which it produced had not yet vanished, and the suffering and the bitterness of its first years were being transformed into less substantial, though still anguished, memories. Reform measures, either in operation or proposed, were being actively debated, but with less sense of urgency than earlier.

To the Editors of this series a fresh consideration of America's economic history was justified by more than the experiences of the recent past or the obscurity of the future. Rich contributions to the literature of American history had been made through cooperative series dealing with the political, social, and cultural aspects of American life. Numerous single-volume surveys of the country's economic development have been written. But, as late as the end of the fourth decade of the twentieth century, the world's foremost economic power had not yet produced an integrated, full-length, and authoritative treatment of its own economic history.

Scholarly concern with American economic history has been constantly growing during the past half century, and chairs of economic history have been established in leading universities. A more profound understanding of the role of economic forces in the nation's history has not only been developed by historians and economists, but has also won some measure of popular acceptance. The earlier thin trickle of monographs has broadened in recent years into a flood of publications. At present, such specialized studies, the many collections of documentary materials, and the mountains of government reports on different facets of American economic life, are staggering in their richness and scope.

This series has been planned to utilize these available sources in the preparation of a full-scale, balanced, cooperative, and readable survey of the growth of American economy and of its transformation from one of primitive character to world pre-eminence in industry, trade, and finance. Clearly, in nine volumes all aspects of the nation's economic life cannot be treated fully. But such a series can point the way to new fields of study and treat authoritatively, if not definitively, the main lines of economic development. Further, the series is intended to fill a present need of those professionally concerned with American economic history, to supplement the

economic materials now available in general school and college histories of the United States, and finally to provide the lay reader with the fruits of American scholarship. If these objectives are attained, then the efforts which have gone into the creation of this economic history of the United States will have been amply repaid.

Contributors to the series have been chosen who have already established their competence in the particular periods they are to survey here; and they are, of course, solely responsible for the points of view or points of departure they employ. It is not intended that the series represent a school of thought or any one philosophical or theoretical position.

The Farmer's Age is the appropriate title for Volume III of the series, devoted to agriculture between 1815 and 1860. The title is appropriate, as Professor Gates makes clear, in two ways. On the one hand, the period between the War of 1812 and the Civil War was a time when the typical American farmer might well have felt that—on balance—"everything appeared to be going his way." On the other hand, there were clear signs in 1860 that "the great age of the American farmer was drawing to a close."

Public land policies, while enriching urban speculators, also served most farm owners. These tended to regard "their land as the means of quickly making a fortune" and were ready to move on whenever they saw a chance to reap bigger profits from virgin land farther west. The westward movement intensified the clamor for new transportation to carry the burgeoning output to market, and farmers bore a heavy share of the costs attending the transportation revolution with minimum protest. New methods and new species—some the product of Yankee ingenuity and some of Europe's more scientific agriculture—were as much a part of the frontier as new land. Agricultural technology was advanced by the states and, to some degree, by the Federal government; by seed, fertilizer, and implement companies and journal publishers, all seeking profits like the farmers themselves; and by the farmers' own societies.

Like the nation as a whole, however, the farmers were divided against themselves: large landowners against small; landlords against tenants; creditors against debtors; growers of one crop against those of another; and, most serious of all, partisans of one section against their fellow citizens elsewhere. Professor Gates sets forth these divisions with particular brilliance and cogency—not only the sectional differences that speeded the coming of the Civil War but also the disunity that foreshadowed an end to *The Farmer's Age* just when "everything appeared to be going his way." In 1860, when the population of the United States was still more than four-fifths rural, it could not find a common solution to its chronic problems of cyclical instability, high transportation costs, and inadequate sources of credit.

THE EDITORS

Preface

FEW historians have had their way better prepared for a major project than one who undertakes a general history of agriculture for the antebellum period. Bidwell and Falconer for the North and L. C. Gray for the South wrought admirably, producing histories that will last though later writers may not necessarily accept their emphasis, allocation of space, or even interpretation in all matters. An abundance of monographs and articles have appeared since their publication which make necessary different treatment, the inclusion of new subjects, and a reassessment of older ones.

My obligations in the preparation of this study are many. James B. Hedges and Frederick Merk were most responsible for attracting me to agricultural history. Everett E. Edwards, Herbert Kellar, Wendell Stephenson, L. C. Gray, Charles S. Sydnor, and Joseph Schafer offered encouragement and provided intellectual stimulation. It was a great privilege to attend Dr. Gray's seminar in Land Economics at the Brookings Institution. Over the course of a full year of close association Leonard Arrington shared with me his intimate knowledge of economic progress in territorial Utah. My graduate students, especially David M. Ellis, Neil A. McNall, Harry J. Brown, Allan G. Bogue, Margaret Beattie Bogue, Richard M. Bliss, and Gould Colman have taught me much about farmers and farming. The editors of this series have been appropriately helpful. My grandfather, who successfully tilled his New Hampshire farm, made 400 gallons of maple syrup, and hundreds of pounds of sugar annually, sold butter, cheese, apples and garden products in a nearby city, gave me unforgettable experiences which have ever been an inspiration and a delightful memory. My wife, notwithstanding the responsibility of four children and her own intellectual interests, has given of her time and attention as no one but a wife should be asked to do.

I am indebted for many favors to the staffs of the United States Department of Agriculture, the National Archives, the Indiana State Library, the Wisconsin State Historical Society Library, the Louisiana State University Library the Alabama State Library, the Kansas State Historical Society Library, the Bancroft Library, and the Huntington Library, as well as the various Cornell University Libraries. During a year at the Huntington Library where most of this study was written I borrowed

through inter-library loan a host of books with the kind assistance of Miss Marion Chevalier.

Fellowships of the Social Science Research Council, the Guggenheim Foundation, and the Huntington Library gave me time to pursue my research in peaceful environments away from the bustle of college life. Donald Young, Henry Allen Moe, and John E. Pomfret can never be forgotten by the many they have aided. Cornell University has materially helped in the pursuit of this work.

PAUL W. GATES

Ithaca, New York
March, 1960

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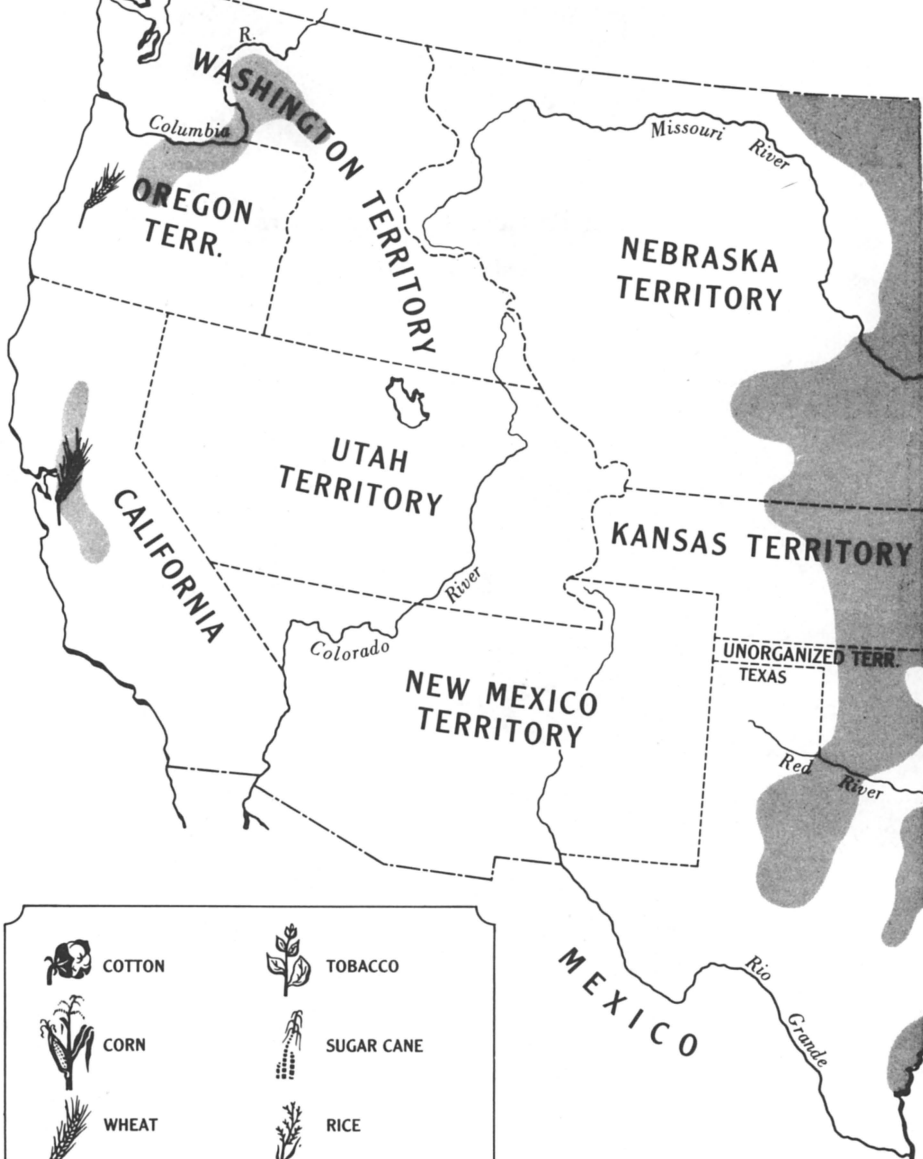
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



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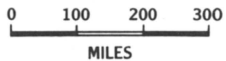
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The Farmer's Age: Agriculture
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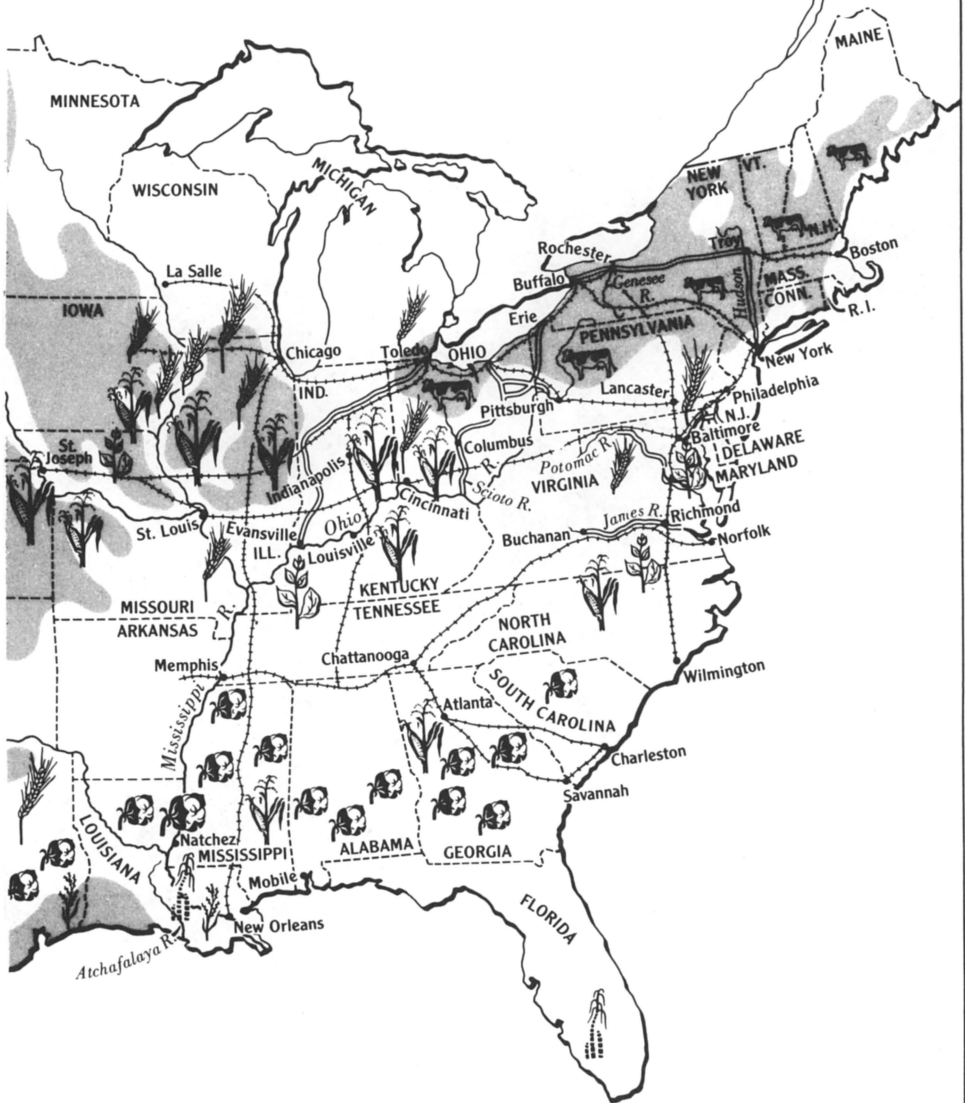
BRITISH



	COTTON		TOBACCO
	CORN		SUGAR CANE
	WHEAT		RICE
	PRAIRIES		HAY AND DAIRYING
	IMPORTANT RAILROADS		IMPORTANT CANALS



POSSESSIONS



AGRICULTURE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1860



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CHAPTER I

The South in 1815

AN unrivaled sweep of land-hungry men was unleashed into the trans-Appalachian West by the close of the War of 1812. By that time, British intrigues among the Indians had been eliminated, the western frontier had been pacified, and interference by the Spanish had been reduced. Hundreds of thousands of people left their homes and struck out into the wilderness in search of cheap, fertile land in new communities untroubled by a concentration of land ownership, inequalities, and lack of economic opportunities. This burst of population into the West swept five new states, not including Maine, into the Union in six years. It brought millions of acres of new land into competition with the farms of older states. The United States was no longer considered an Atlantic coastal confederation but a continental nation. All the coastal states except New York and Georgia, which had frontiers of their own and an abundance of land to settle, were seriously affected by this pull of the West. They lost part of their rural population, and consequently there was a diminishing demand for land and farms. They suffered from a shortage of farm laborers and from the competition of tobacco, cotton, wheat, and wool produced on the cheap virgin land of the West.

In 1815 America's population of 5,500,000 to 6,000,000 people lived in the seaboard states, in Vermont, in parts of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, in the St. Louis area, and along the lower Mississippi. Of these areas only eastern Pennsylvania and New York, most of New Jersey, and southern New England were intensively developed in terms of agriculture.¹ Few Americans were far from direct contact with the soil. The Census of 1810 showed only eight cities with a population in excess of 10,000 and only 6 per cent of the population living in communities of

¹ *Statistical Atlas; Twelfth Census of the United States*, prepared under the direction of Henry Gannett (Washington, D. C.: United States Census Office, 1903), Plates 4 and 5.

5,000 or more. Smaller communities down to the crossroads hamlet were inhabited chiefly by people engaged in satisfying the farmers' wants or processing his goods. Among them were millers, sawyers, cobblers, harness makers, drovers, merchants, blacksmiths, glaziers, brickmakers, carpenters, tinsmiths, and unskilled workers. Many of these people lived on generous-sized lots or on small farms adjoining the towns; they usually kept gardens, a pig, a cow, and perhaps a horse. They were in reality part-time farmers. The occupation of the great mass of the people was agriculture or was related to agriculture. Agriculture provided the basis of much of America's foreign and domestic trade, and the opportunities it offered constituted the principal attraction to immigrants. Out of the problems of agriculture were to come bitter sectional strife, dissolution of the Union, and the Civil War.

In 1815 there was no one pattern of agriculture prevailing throughout the country or throughout any of its physiographic provinces. Pioneering—the making of a farm in a new community—had certain basic similarities whether conducted on the frontier of Maine, the back country of Kentucky, or the canebrakes of Mississippi: trees were cleared or girdled, a small patch of corn was hoed in, the piece was fenced, and a crude log hut was erected. After the initial years, during which a considerable acreage was cleared and fenced, trails were constructed over which hogs and cattle could be driven and wagon loads of grain or tobacco could be hauled. As the pioneering stage ended throughout the various sections, differentiation in agricultural patterns produced well-defined stereotypes. There was the Yankee hillside farmer with his mixed economy; the Pennsylvania "Dutch" farmer with his large, well-fed cattle, level and productive wheat fields, and big barns; the tobacco planter with his slave labor; the cotton farmer of the Georgia Piedmont; and the Buckeye corn and hog farmer.

All these types of farmers had certain basic attitudes in common: a yearning to own land in abundance, a love of freedom and a contempt for restrictive measures that denied them the rights they claimed, a pragmatic outlook on life, a distrust of urban politicians, and a tendency to become more conservative as their property increased in value. With the exception of the Pennsylvania German farmer, all these types discarded the Old World respect for the soil as something to be cherished, and looked upon land as a means to a quick fortune. If wheat, tobacco, rice, or cotton were marketable and returns from their cultivation were satisfactory, the one-crop system was introduced, no matter what the effect upon the soil. When the land was no longer profitable to operate, the farmers, with a certain fatalism, sold it to others or let it grow up to brush and moved on to exploit new areas.

WASTEFUL FARM PRACTICES

European travelers who surveyed American rural life condemned the wasteful and destructive practices they observed. They came from countries where land was intensively and conservatively used, where the pressure of population upon land was great and increasing, where land values were high and labor costs low, where forests were dangerously depleted and what remained had to be carefully husbanded. The idea that the forest was an enemy that must be destroyed was shocking to Europeans. Isaac Weld commented upon this aversion to trees which led settlers to cut and destroy without regard to future needs.² Travelers criticized the practice of lightly scratching the soil and sowing grain or tobacco year after year without applying restoratives, not realizing that the very abundance of cheap tillable land and the high cost of labor made such methods almost unavoidable. To them deep and horizontal plowing, utilization of animal manures, elimination of weeds, maintenance of hedgerows, and prudent use of the forest were basic to proper agriculture. In 1815 American farm practices were indeed primitive and destructive although generally rewarding to the first generation who used the land.

In the coastal states, soil-exhausting farm practices had by 1815 already created serious agricultural problems for which many farmers saw only one solution: fresh land. Farmers from the older settled areas had long been moving westward into the Piedmont, the Great Valley and then into the trans-Allegheny country from the South, and across New York State from New England. Internal migration had become a well-established feature of American life. Turner's conception of a fluid mobile population perennially moving and re-establishing itself on successive frontiers remains intact, no matter what other parts of his frontier interpretation may be open to question. A detailed examination of the state of agriculture in the various sections of the United States in 1815 will show that their problems and the tendency of their populations to migrate into new areas had a variety of causes, of which worn-out land was but one. Soil and topography, previous land policies, land and capital requirements of staple crops, fluctuations in European demand for American products and in European tariffs, technological changes, and established social patterns were all factors that influenced in varying degrees the prospects of agriculture in the various sections and the readiness of the population to take up new land in the West.

Oldest of the settled regions of the United States was the coastal plain

² Isaac Weld, *Travels through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada During the Years 1793, 1796 and 1797* (London: J. Stockdale, 1799), pp. 23-24, 29.

of Virginia. Endowed with a soil only truly productive in the alluvial river bottoms, this region had long since passed its prime as a result of exhaustive planting of tobacco and wheat. Sterilizing the soil of seedbeds for tobacco by burning brush on it, and clean cultivation of the fields to which the tobacco was transplanted had killed the soil-binding plants and permitted the heavy rains to erode the topsoil from the bare fields, while continued cropping had depleted the minerals in the soil. Gradually tobacco planting had moved into the Piedmont, and wheat had replaced it in the coastal plain. The Napoleonic Wars—which had not favored tobacco producers—had induced some to make this change. There was, however, little profit in the cultivation of wheat, which yielded only four to seven bushels an acre on badly abused land and required from one half to one bushel of seed. And corn on the worn-out lands was said to yield but eight to fourteen bushels to the acre.³ Continued cropping to wheat, once tobacco was abandoned, resulted in the accumulation of wheat parasites. In 1817 one third of the wheat in Virginia was reported to have been destroyed by the Hessian fly.⁴ Eventually both tobacco and wheat had to be given up for corn and mixed farming. Corn, with its cross cultivation, carried soil damage further. Exhausted fields were then abandoned to scrub pine. Livestock might have aided Virginia farmers in maintaining the fertility of their soil, but they concentrated upon the production of staples and made little or no effort to utilize the manure of the animals they did have.⁵ Clearing fresh land seemed more important than liming, manuring, and rotating crops. Some forward-looking planters had begun to use more grass crops and to apply gypsum, but their example was not extensively followed. The historian of soil exhaustion in Virginia observes that contemporary sources deplored the “continuance of exhausting cultivation, of wasted lands, abandoned fields, neglected stock and shifting crops” for the years 1785 to 1820.⁶

The Maryland tidewater region went through much the same experience. Land no longer useful for tobacco or cereal production was permitted to grow up into weed timber. Nature was attempting to make up for the sins of man by covering the scars left by his activities.

³ François Alexandre Frédéric de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Travels through the United States of North America* . . . (2d ed., 2 vols.; London: R. Phillips, 1800), II, 52, 106.

⁴ D. B. Warden, *Statistical, Political and Historical Account of the United States of America* . . . (2 vols.; Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., 1819), II, 208-218.

⁵ Johann David Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, Alfred J. Morrison, trans. and ed. (2 vols.; Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1911), II, 32, and *passim*.

⁶ Avery Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860* (University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XIII; Urbana: 1925), p. 82.

PLIGHT OF THE TOBACCO-GROWING AREAS

Agriculture was in a chronic state of depression in 1815 in the tobacco-growing areas of Virginia and Maryland. Overproduction, marketing problems, low prices, declining yields, and heavy debts had brought a once-proud area to near insolvency. This is not to say that no farmers or planters prospered; those who were more efficient, more able, more modern did well, or at least maintained their equity. But others, including some of the outstanding statesmen of the Old Dominion, were faced with increasing obligations and had to sell some of their slaves and land and ultimately lost most of their possessions. Well known is the plight of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, whose long-neglected and ill-used plantations failed to yield them an adequate income in their retirement.

THE WESTWARD TREK

As the yield of their lands declined, the tobacco and wheat planters of Virginia and Maryland had to be prepared to purchase or develop new land to which they might move their hands when the old was no longer sufficiently productive to operate. Many of the better small holdings were purchased by the large planters or, if tenancies, were consolidated by them. Small farmers whose holdings were thus swallowed up, or the children of small farmers who saw no reason to remain in regions seemingly destined for planters and slaves, sought new homes in the West, taking with them little more than a gun, a hoe, an ax, a cow, oxen, and a wagon filled with miscellaneous household articles. Joining them in the westward trek were other small farmers who found their lowered social position unattractive, and large numbers of young people pouring out of the immensely fecund families of the upland and hill sections where the land resources were insufficient to absorb their energies. At the same time, planters dissatisfied with the declining yield from their heavy investment in land and slaves, or younger sons who could not expect to inherit the family plantations, were moving west to establish in new communities substantial plantations stocked with slaves, sheep, horses, cattle, and all essential agricultural implements.

Also joining the westward trek were numerous planters who did not intend to give up their residences in older communities. They acquired lands in newly opened areas with the expectation of creating, at some future date, a second tobacco or cotton plantation which would be managed by an overseer and to which they would move the surplus slaves that could no longer be gainfully employed on the home plantation. If, in the meantime, squatters settled upon their land there was nothing to be lost by permitting them to remain for a few years. They would surely

clear a few acres, erect a rude hut, and thereby increase the value of the land. Often two years' free use of the land was followed by rental agreements which brought the landlord some income in the form of tobacco or wheat. Tenancy was not uncommon in the Piedmont and Great Valley of Virginia in the eighteenth century. Great landlords like Washington, Fairfax, and Carter had scores of tenants. However, when the landlords needed the land on which to establish their slave economy, which was no longer profitable on the worn soils of the older plantations, the tenants had to go.⁷ Both the planter and the man of small means thus joined in the development of the new West.

In the broad coastal plain of North Carolina, agriculture was still in a rude state in 1815. After tobacco had taken toll of the land it was moved to newly cleared tracts, and for a time corn continued to provide worth-while returns. An Edgecombe County scribe in 1811 said that farmers and planters tried to clear and put in grain as much land as possible and to "exhaust it as fast as a series of grain crops can do it." The task of clearing the land to replace that which was to be abandoned absorbed all efforts. There was no time for manuring the land, for sowing clover in rotation, or for proper attention to livestock. The only good stock was horses.⁸

On the Carolina frontier, corn was raised in abundance but had little commercial value because of the remoteness of the frontier communities and the lack of transportation. A good portion of it was distilled into whiskey. One frontier county—Iredell—could boast fifty-nine stills in 1800.⁹ Cattle grazing had once been a chief source of livelihood. Cattle and hogs ran wild in the woods, the owners allowing them to take their chances against the attacks of wild animals, Indians, and cattle rustlers. A little grain was given them in the winter when forage was gone, but only enough to assure survival, not enough to put them in good shape for market. Under such conditions stock degenerated into scrub animals of low value.

North Carolina was sandwiched in between two states with navigable rivers and good harbors which drew off its products. It had no sizable urban centers of its own to provide markets and processing plants for foodstuffs, tobacco, and cotton. Hogs and tobacco were driven or hauled to Virginia markets, and cotton and rice were floated to South

⁷ Willard F. Bliss, "The Rise of Tenancy in Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LVIII (October, 1950), 427-441.

⁸ A. R. Newsome, "Twelve North Carolina Counties in 1810-1811—Sketch by Jeremiah Battle of Edgecombe County," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (January, 1929), 82-85.

⁹ Hugh Hill Wooten, "The Land Values of Iredell County in 1800," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIX (October, 1952), 536; Newsome, "Twelve North Carolina Counties . . .," *loc. cit.*, p. 85.

Carolina centers. Transportation costs delayed the development of commercial agriculture, and careless farm practices ruined land lightly tilled in corn and tobacco. In 1819, before North Carolina had enjoyed any extensive prosperity, a leading agricultural reformer said that its "state of agriculture is at the lowest ebb" as a result of its "land killing system."¹⁰

These were the circumstances that stimulated the first great rush of North Carolinians to Alabama's fast-growing and exciting cotton country. A resident of the North Carolina Piedmont spoke in 1817 of the "anxiety and confusion that pervades all ranks of people in this section of country to remove" to Alabama. Numbers had already sold their property and left for Alabama and many more were anxious to follow. Land was diminishing in value and the state was losing "many of its most enterprising and respectable inhabitants."¹¹ It was estimated at that time that the amount of abandoned land in the state was equal to, if not greater than, the amount of land in cultivation.¹²

In South Carolina, rice and indigo planting had flourished in the eighteenth century, but only rice survived into the nineteenth. Its cultivation was narrowly limited to coastal areas washed by the tide above the salt-water level. Cotton, both long and short staple, had also been grown in small quantities until the invention of the cotton gin, when the short-staple variety became extensively planted. In the coastal areas of South Carolina the average plantation of 1795 contained 725 acres. Colonial land policies, under which generous donations had been made to influential people and headrights had been granted in proportion to the number of white servants and slaves they brought to America, had made possible the accumulation of substantial holdings of land. Even in the upcountry, where small farmers were more common, the average farm or plantation contained 225 acres.¹³

COTTON PLANTING

When the cotton gin was perfected, cotton swiftly became the miracle crop that surpassed all others in importance in the South. The

¹⁰ C. O. Cathey, "Sidney Weller, Ante-Bellum Promoter of Agricultural Reform," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXI (January, 1954), 5n.

¹¹ James Graham, Lincoln Vesuvius Furnace, near Statesville, August 10, 1817, to Thomas Ruffin, in J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, ed., *Papers of Thomas Ruffin* (4 vols., *Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission*; Raleigh: 1918), I, 194-195.

¹² Wooten, "The Land Values of Iredell County . . .," *loc. cit.*, p. 531; Cathey, "Sidney Weller . . .," *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

¹³ William A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1900 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), I, 391.

gin made practicable the use of the seedy short-staple cotton which could be raised in upland areas more easily and cheaply than long-staple cotton could be raised in the lowlands of South Carolina and Georgia. Cheaper cotton and technological improvements in the manufacture of the fiber permitted the substitution of cheap cotton fabrics for woollens and linens. Between 1790 and 1815 the new demand for cotton led to a sixtyfold increase in its production, from 3,135 to 208,986 bales. Supply did not catch up with demand for many years, and the price remained well above ten cents a pound except for an unusual year, 1811, and perhaps 1812.¹⁴ Cotton planting swept everything before it as planters and farmers with one accord turned to it to reap the profits which high prices and swiftly accelerating demand assured them. Favorable prices and high gross returns—in 1815 \$18,526,589—provided planters with capital for expansion that was phenomenal.¹⁵ Slaves were imported in large numbers into the South Carolina and Georgia Piedmont and tobacco plantations, mixed farms and squatters' holdings were replaced by extensive cotton plantations. Here was the center of the cotton kingdom in 1815.¹⁶

As a result of the scramble for good cotton land, the patterns of settlement and the problems they produced became rather different in the cotton-growing South from those in other areas. Outside the lowland cotton region the squatter had always been as characteristic of the South as hogs and hominy. Public or ungranted lands had been the refuge of the redemptioner; to them had gravitated the Scotch-Irish, the German immigrant, and other folk who were being crowded out of the older settled areas. The southern states had tolerated, even encouraged, the settlement of squatters on the frontier. When a squatter was so unfortunate as to settle on the property of some absentee owner he might be evicted unless he would accept the landlord's terms. A squatter generally found it difficult to raise the money to buy either from the government or from a private owner. With luck he might sell some skins or furs, he might even sell some of his crops to a nearby fort, Indian trader, or government agent, or perhaps to a man with capital who was getting his plantation under way. If he was near a river, he could float his crop to market by flatboat. He might even make a little money from labor performed on public works such as river improvements, canals, or roads. In time he might create a self-sufficient farm and obtain title to

¹⁴ O. E. Baker, ed., *Atlas of American Agriculture* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), Part V, sec. a, Table IV, p. 18; Lewis Cecil Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (2 vols.; Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution, 1933), II, 1035.

¹⁵ Baker, *Atlas of American Agriculture*, Part V, sec. a, pp. 16, 18.

¹⁶ Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1927), pp. 150-163.

it, provided in the meantime that competition for the land did not send its price up rapidly. Unfortunately for the squatters, the latter phenomenon was occurring in the newer South. Planters with capital and speculators either forestalled squatters by purchasing in advance of need, or forced market values up to such levels that the squatter could neither buy nor afford to retain ownership if he did acquire title.

The exodus of small freehold farmers from the coastal plain and the Piedmont of Carolina and Georgia was also hastened by the expansion of the cotton economy. Slaveowners tended to crowd them out. Potential cotton land brought from five to more than ten dollars an acre, clearing cost eight to fifteen dollars, fencing three to six dollars. Small farmers with meager resources could not meet these expenses, build the necessary house and shed, provide the essential farm implements and stock, and subsist until returns from the first crop were received. With no labor but his own, the small farmer could make only slow progress. To support his family he had to raise corn, not cotton. Only when his farm operations were well under way could he afford to turn to cotton.¹⁷ This is not to say that small farmers did not survive planter competition in most good cotton areas, but the pressure upon them was always present and many gave up and sold out. The piney woods area of southern Georgia and later the upland hill sections of northern Georgia provided a refuge for some of these small farmers who found little opportunity in the Piedmont. In some instances, however, poor whites and freedmen became established in a small way in the cotton areas as farm tenants, day laborers, or squatters who were tolerated until their lands were wanted by the planters. As tenants they cultivated old fields which the plantation owner had abandoned, paying a small rent. As squatters they were sometimes permitted to use planter-owned land which did not interfere with the large-scale slave operations; for this privilege they might be required to perform small tasks.¹⁸

The rapid expansion of cotton planting in Georgia was facilitated by the prodigal distribution of its public lands and by the removal of the Creek and Cherokee Indians, who had long persisted in retaining land admirably suited to the growth of the fiber crop.¹⁹ Georgia was one of the most profligate states in the disposal of its public lands. Although the intent of the Georgia law was to restrict grants to 1,000 acres,

¹⁷ M. B. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry* (Publications of the American Economic Association, New Series, No. 1; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897), pp. 101-102; Roger W. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1939), pp. 81 ff.

¹⁸ Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), pp. 68-72.

¹⁹ The production of cotton, prices, and amount produced in the various states are found in Baker, *Atlas of American Agriculture*, Part V, sec. a, pp. 16, 18.

individuals had secured numerous rights that permitted them to gain possession of tracts ranging from 10,000 to 1,000,000 acres. Later, when new cessions were acquired from Indians, land was granted or sold in 200-acre allotments for small sums through the operation of lotteries. Efforts were made to prevent allotments from falling into the hands of large owners but without much success.²⁰

The Georgia Creeks and Cherokees clung most tenaciously to their ancestral homes, but the demand of cotton farmers for land was inexorable, the more so as the areas first brought into use soon wore out under the continued cropping to which they were subjected. It was the efforts to oust the Indians and the resistance of the Creeks and Cherokees to the pressure of the planters, small farmers, and speculators who sought their land that Ulrich B. Phillips considered to be the central theme of early Georgia history.²¹

A general weakness of American agriculture that showed itself markedly in Georgia was the tendency of farmers and planters, after accumulating considerable land and cropping the best of it for several years, to sell and move on to other locations. Continued farm- or plantation-making thus absorbed their attention. They skimmed the cream off the land, and, unwilling to maintain it by better farm practices, they left it for others with more patience and with knowledge of scientific farming to restore it to profitable use. The first group went on to other regions after taking two profits: one from mining the land and the other from rising land values, the result of improvement and the subsequent inrush of settlers. Such a practice was not materially different from that followed on a small scale by the squatter who sought out a desirable location on the public land, made a minimum of improvements while waiting for the demand for land that would make his claim valuable, and then sold. The squatter was not, however, exhausting land though he might be somewhat destructive of its timber.

NEW LANDS IN THE TRANS-APPALACHIAN STATES

After the War of 1812 the Georgian looking for new lands to exploit naturally turned to neighboring Mississippi Territory, where land was being opened to sale and settlement. Settlers from the Carolinas and

²⁰ Enoch Marvin Banks, *The Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia* (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. XXIII, No. 1; New York: 1906, *passim*; *Niles' Register*, XXXII (June 23, 1827), 277; Milton Sydney Heath, *Constructive Liberalism: The Role of the State in Economic Development in Georgia to 1860* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954), *passim*.

²¹ Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, "Georgia and States Rights," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1901 (2 vols.; Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), I, 15 ff.

Virginia also rushed into the region that soon became Alabama. In fact, all the original southern states contributed heavily of their population to the newly developing commonwealths west of the Appalachians. Kentucky and Tennessee had been the first areas to attract residents of the older South. They had surpassed Georgia in population by 1810 and were to surpass South Carolina by 1830 and North Carolina by 1840. The phenomenal growth of these trans-Appalachian states is not easy to explain in view of the confusion in land titles and the great speculative landholdings which existed.

An aristocratic and concentrated pattern of landownership had been established in the tidewater states by lavish grants and abuse of the headright system; in Kentucky and Tennessee large grants, unrestricted sales and generous military bounties permitted an equally concentrated pattern of landownership to develop. L. C. Gray has shown that 60 per cent of the Virginia grants in Kentucky were for 1,000 to 5,000 acres, and 4 per cent were for 5,000 to 10,000 acres. There were 250 grants of 10,000 to 20,000 acres, 89 grants for 20,000 to 40,000 acres, 44 grants for 40,000 to 100,000 acres, and 4 grants in excess of 100,000 acres. In addition, speculators secured more than one grant; some had as many as fifty or more ranging from a few hundred acres to many thousands. The early land grants made by Kentucky itself were on an equally lavish scale. Seven persons acquired a total of 1,732,000 acres or an average holding of 247,427 acres.²²

Grants made in such a reckless manner, carelessly assigned and inaccurately surveyed and recorded, frequently only after long delay, resulted in widespread confusion over titles. This insecurity of titles led the Kentucky legislature to provide in 1811 that all claims to land were to be produced and put on record within five years from adoption of the measure; none were to be admitted thereafter. Overlapping claims were to be referred to commissioners appointed by the legislature; in the meanwhile, all transfers were to be recorded. Unfortunately, the damage was done, and Kentucky, despite its excellent soil and favorable location, was by-passed by many westward movers for areas where land titles were more certain. Kentucky in 1815 still had wide areas almost untouched by settlers. Further title complications were provided by squatters who disliked absentee ownership and saw no reason why they should not set up counterclaims to the land they were improving.

²² Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States*, II, 624. I have corrected the number of grants in excess of 100,000 acres. See Willard Rouse Jillson, *The Kentucky Land Grants* (*Filson Club Publications*, No. 33; Louisville: The Standard Printing Company, 1925), pp. 15-139 and the same author's *Old Kentucky Entries and Deeds* (*Filson Club Publications*, No. 34; Louisville: The Standard Printing Company, 1926), *passim*.

Lawyers' and court fees were high for years as a result of long-sustained litigation over titles. Sympathetic to squatters' rights, the legislature provided that the occupier of the land who lost a title dispute and was ejected should be reimbursed for the improvements he had made.²³

The great speculator landlords showed discrimination by locating their holdings in the heart of the fertile Bluegrass region: in Fayette, Madison, Bourbon, Clark, and Scott counties. By the labor of squatters, tenants, small purchasers, and slaves, land was cleared, fenced, and put in cultivation. Wheat was easily and abundantly produced on these limestone- and phosphorus-bearing soils and it became the first cash crop. Livestock prospered in the area, and the raising of horses, mules, cattle, and swine was undertaken in a large way, thereby providing a type of mixed farming that was not hard on the land and at the same time produced an easily marketable surplus. The increasing tax burden, the demand for land, and rising land values induced division and sale of some of the speculative holdings. As late as 1816, however, as one indignant visitor noted, many thousand acres of undeveloped land in Kentucky were being held for \$30 an acre by a "rich gentleman in Virginia, or . . . some other opulent, non-resident land jobber. . . ." ²⁴ From the outset the unit of farm management in the Bluegrass country was large. The vitriolic Thomas Ashe, not distressed at the concentration of ownership and liking the aristocracy which had established itself in the vicinity of Lexington, commented on the neatness of the farms which "affect the English manner." ²⁵

Elsewhere in Kentucky, on poorer land, farmers with small means were taking up tracts of 50 to 200 acres under state legislation which permitted purchase at prices varying from five to forty cents an acre. By far the larger proportion of the 143,228 separate grants in Kentucky that Jillson lists were of this order. The near-subsistence farming practiced

²³ John Melish, *Travels through the United States of America* (2 vols.; Philadelphia: John Melish, 1815), II, 2-9, 226. Kentucky adopted laws recognizing squatters' rights in 1797, 1812, 1819, and 1820. William Littell and Jacob Swigert, *Digest of the Statute Laws of Kentucky* (2 vols.; Frankfort: Kendall & Russell, 1822), II, 724-728, 957, 961, 963-964.

²⁴ Samuel R. Brown, in his *The Western Gazetteer or Emigrant's Directory Containing a Geographical Description of the Western States and Territories* (Auburn, N. Y.: H. C. Southwick, 1817), p. 112, maintained that the "evil" of land speculation in Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and the western counties of Virginia as well as in Kentucky was a "disgrace of our legislation, which grant every facility to the rich, without consulting the interests of the poor." He noted that farms around Lexington were selling in 1816 for as much as \$100 an acre.

²⁵ Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America, Performed in 1806, for the Purpose of Exploring the Rivers Alleghany, Monongahela, Ohio, and Mississippi, and Ascertaining the Produce and Condition of Their Banks and Vicinity* (London: R. Phillips, 1809), pp. 184 ff.

by these pioneers soon gave way to the cultivation of tobacco, which became their principal cash crop. Most of the early settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee were from North Carolina and Virginia, where they had concentrated upon tobacco and it was natural that they should raise the "weed" in the new commonwealths. Second to tobacco, whiskey—bourbon—was the most important item the Kentuckians sold.²⁶ Their 2,000 distilleries, one for every 200 people, produced more than five gallons of liquor for every person in the state in 1810. Only Pennsylvania, which produced eight gallons for every person, exceeded this record. North Carolina had more stills than any other state, but its production was little more than half that of Kentucky. The distilleries provided a growing demand for large quantities of barley, rye, oats, corn, and wheat, which farmers were glad to satisfy.

PRINCIPAL WHISKEY-PRODUCING STATES IN 1810

State	Number of Stills	Gallons
Pennsylvania	3,594	6,552,284
Virginia	3,662	2,367,589
Kentucky	2,000	2,220,775
New York	591	2,107,243
Massachusetts	—	1,628,326
North Carolina	5,426	1,386,691

Source: Compiled from the *Census of 1810* (Philadelphia: Tench Cox, 1813). North Carolina had 1 still for every 111 people. Massachusetts led in the production of rum, which was distilled from West India molasses.

LAND POLICIES IN TENNESSEE

Chance played an important role in determining the nature of land which early settlers, planters, and speculators acquired. The immigrants to the Tennessee country were forced by circumstances to take up land in the thin-soiled, rugged, or steeply sloped and infertile eastern part. There farmers raised grain to feed cattle, the principal product they could market. Drovers annually purchased their surplus animals and drove them over the mountains for sale in North Carolina and Virginia. When better land in the Nashville Basin became available, many of these first emigrants undoubtedly moved on to try life there. Others remained, destined to suffer from the opening up of superior land elsewhere, an eroding soil that was producing ever poorer yields, isolation, distance from markets, low land values, a poor tax base, inadequate educational and other social facilities, and poor nutrition. Those on the worst land,

²⁶ Henry Bradshaw Fearon, *Sketches of America* . . . (3d ed.; London: Longmans, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1819), pp. 237–238.

suffering from malnutrition and hookworm and finding their efforts produced little, became lazy, shiftless, "no account," perhaps "poor white trash," the "southern mountaineer." Those on somewhat better land struggled hard to improve their position, had better returns from their labor, were able to vary their diet somewhat more, improve their homes, even expand their ownership of land. By the second or third generation the descendants of both groups were pressing on the supply of cultivable land, and many of the younger men were attracted elsewhere by better land. Division of the larger holdings was resorted to in some instances, but in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee the parceling of tracts never went to the extremes found in Ireland or on the Continent. Americans rarely became so wedded to an area that they would stay there when it became overcrowded.

The record of land distribution and use in Tennessee is not unlike that in Kentucky. By favoritism, fraud, and misuse of authority, and by taking advantage of loosely drawn laws in an area where the jurisdiction of North Carolina and Tennessee overlapped, speculators and land companies had acquired most of the best land, including the Nashville Basin and the choice tract in western and southwestern Tennessee, which was to be intensively developed in cotton. Holdings of 100,000 to 300,000 acres were established, though no person could retain ownership of such large tracts for long after taxes were levied. Most large holders found that their expectations of sales were rarely fulfilled and that meanwhile interest and taxes had run away with their resources. Only prompt sales or renting could save them. Those who sold early might only make a small profit, but they could come out with a whole skin. Others who held too long were forced to sell their land at distress prices that did not cover all costs in the transactions. About 1813, speculator-owned land in Tennessee was selling for 12½ cents an acre.²⁷ Unfortunately, actual settlers seeking small tracts were rarely able to pick up land at these prices. Large owners who wanted to retain and develop their holdings, but who lacked the necessary capital and slaves to do so, resorted to tenancy to achieve their aims. They made agreements with tenants, generally recent arrivals or squatters, to build log houses and to clear, fence, and cultivate land for a period of years rent-free, at the end of which time the tenants were

²⁷ Thomas Perkins Abernethy, in his *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932), finds greed for land a central theme in Tennessee political history, but he gives little detail concerning the distribution of land by the governments of Tennessee and North Carolina. Cf. Samuel Cole Williams, *Beginnings of West Tennessee: In the Land of the Chickasaws, 1541-1841* (Johnson City: The Watauga Press, 1931), p. 99; "Recollections of Memucan Hunt Howard," *American Historical Magazine*, VII (January, 1902), 55-68; Carl S. Driver, *John Sevier, Pioneer of the Old Southwest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932).

either to pay a share or cash rent or give up their improvements. In the Tombigbee Valley of Alabama, farms of 200 acres with 25 or 30 acres in crops rented in 1812 for 200 bushels of corn or \$100.²⁸

Persons who located in the Nashville Basin had much in their favor. Endowed with a soil that was rich in both humus and minerals, well drained yet comparatively level, and not too difficult to bring into cultivation, this area was destined by nature to become a land of grain, livestock, and tobacco farms and plantations. The limestone soils of the Nashville Basin, like those of the Kentucky Bluegrass area, produced favorable yields of wheat, corn, and rye, much of which was used locally for human and livestock consumption.

There was less concentration upon a single crop in these trans-Appalachian states than in the lower South or in parts of the Old Dominion, but systematic rotation of crops and fertilization of the soil were not generally practiced. Increased production of cotton in the lower South created a demand for baling cloth and rope. There was therefore a good market for hemp, another cash crop which, like tobacco and cotton, could be raised to advantage on the plantation system. Gray states that by 1810 flax had become the "grand staple" of Kentucky. In Tennessee, flax was raised more extensively than hemp, but in Kentucky both crops were established as major features of the agricultural pattern. Despite the early concentration of landownership, small farms were numerous, their owners rubbing elbows with their neighbors, the great planters. Slaves were brought in early, and with their labor rich yields of tobacco, grain, livestock, hemp, and flax were brought forth.²⁹

In addition to the staple crops of tobacco, rice, and hemp in Kentucky and tobacco and cotton in southwestern Tennessee, these states were important food producers for the lower South. When cotton and sugar prices were favorable in this latter area, the planters leaned heavily upon the corn, hogs, cattle, wheat, and hay of Kentucky and Tennessee as well as of the states north of the Ohio. But when cotton and sugar prices were less favorable, the staple producers of the lower South sought to make themselves self-sufficient. That they never succeeded was well for the food-producing states of the upper Mississippi Valley.

THE LOWER SOUTH AND SUGAR

The lower South, a recent addition to the United States where boundaries were not yet clearly defined, was a section of great social and eco-

²⁸ Lewis Sewall, St. Stephens, August 3, 1812, to Edward Tiffin, in Clarence Edward Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1938), VI, 316.

²⁹ Gray, *op. cit.*, II, 821-823.

conomic contrasts in 1815. In Mobile and New Orleans was to be found an easygoing Latin society and in Natchez, a small British aristocracy. Although the Latin civilization was deeply influenced by the influx of acquisitive and land-hungry Americans, it was able to assimilate them to its mode of life. These cosmopolitan communities were surrounded by illiterate Cajuns (descendants of Acadian exiles) and crude American frontiersmen. In the area from New Orleans to Natchez, highly developed plantations created by slave labor poured out their wealth in sugar or cotton for their planter-owners, but the little peasant farms which stretched back from the bayous in narrow strips barely sufficed to maintain their Cajun occupants. A variety of land systems and land policies—Spanish, French, English, and American—made for prolonged litigation which lasted in notable instances for half a century.

These contrasting states of civilization were well delineated in 1817 by William Darby, a Natchez planter from 1799 to 1804 and government surveyor in Louisiana:

A journey from New Orleans to the mouth of the Sabine, exhibits man in every stage of his progress, from the palace to the hut, and inversely. . . . The rapid transition from the superb mansions of the wealthy citizens of New Orleans and its vicinity, to the rudely constructed log cabin, on the Sabine and Calcasieu, will suggest matter for the deepest reflection. . . . On a space of three hundred miles can be found human beings from the most civilized to the most savage. In the city of New Orleans, four or five of the most elegant of the living languages of the earth are now spoken in all their purity; and there is now enjoyed all that luxury and learning can bestow. Upon the banks of the Mississippi many of the sugar and cotton planters live in edifices, where . . . are exhibited all that art, aided by wealth, can produce. In Attacapas and Opelousas the glare of expensive luxury vanishes, and is followed by substantial independence. . . . The farm houses are generally rough, but solid buildings, in which the inhabitant enjoys good, wholesome, and abundant food, and excellent beds.

In the western parts of Opelousas are found those pastoral hunters who recall to our imagination the primitive times of history.³⁰

At an early date French families had located on the alluvial soils on both sides of the Mississippi above and below New Orleans. Experiments with tobacco, indigo, and sugar cane showed that the first, except for richly flavored perique, did not do well on fertile soils in a hot climate, but that indigo and sugar cane flourished. Market changes, the ravages of parasites, and severe competition with other areas better adapted to their production brought these crops into disrepute and they were largely abandoned after the American Revolution. Then a fortunate development wrought a swift change in the agriculture of the lower Mississippi: the

³⁰ William Darby, *The Emigrant's Guide to the Western and Southwestern States and Territories* (New York: Kirla & Mercein, 1818), p. 61.

perfection by Étienne Boré, on his plantation six miles from New Orleans, of the process of granulating sugar from the juice of the cane.

Planters from Baton Rouge to below New Orleans took up the raising of sugar cane and the production of sugar and molasses with highly profitable results. Governor W. C. C. Claiborne reported in 1806: "The facility with which the sugar Planters amass wealth is almost incredible. . . . It is not uncommon with 20 working hands to make from 10 to 14 thousand Dollars, and there are several Planters whose field negroes do not exceed forty who make more than 20,000 Dollars each year." One planter, Jean Noel d'Estrehan, was reported to have an annual income of \$30,000 from his sugar and \$6,000 from his real estate in New Orleans.³¹ Sugar planters in the Mississippi Delta soon began to erect the "elegant and commodious" houses which have attracted the attention of travelers from that day to this.³²

When the famous naturalist, Thomas Nuttall, visited Louisiana in 1819, he commented on the plantation of Julien Poydras on Bayou Sara, on which between 400 and 500 slaves were employed in the production of sugar. At this early time he estimated Poydras's estate to be worth several million dollars. In his will Poydras provided for the gradual emancipation of his slaves, said to number 1,200 in 1824.

Among the Americans who came early to Louisiana and acquired large tracts of land were John McDonogh, Daniel Clark, and Wade Hampton. Clark, who had a number of well-developed plantations, sold the largest and most valuable of them to Hampton in 1811 for \$300,000. Abundant sugar and cotton crops, technical proficiency in making sugar, ease of marketing, and deals in land and city property made all three millionaires.³³

³¹ Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne, 1801-1816* (6 vols.; Jackson, Miss.: State Department of Archives and History, 1917), III, 361 ff., especially p. 363; Henry Ker, *Travels through the Western Interior of the United States from the Year 1803 up to the Year 1816* (Elizabethtown, N. J.: Henry Ker, 1816), p. 44; Charles Gayarre, *History of Louisiana: The Spanish Domination* (New York: W. J. Widdleton, 1854), pp. 347-349.

³² Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansa Territory during the Year 1819* (Philadelphia: T. H. Palmer, 1821), p. 237; Helen Tunnicliff Catterall, *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro* (5 vols.; Washington, D. C., Publication No. 374, Carnegie Institution, 1932), III, 393-394, says the Poydras estate had a value of more than a million dollars at the owner's death in 1824; Alcee Fortier, *Louisiana Studies: Literature, Customs and Dialects, History and Education* (New Orleans: F. F. Hansell & Bro., 1894), pp. 7-16.

³³ Christopher Fitzsimons, Charleston, May 15, 1811, to Wade Hampton, Charles E. Cauthen, ed., *Family Letters of the Three Wade Hamptons, 1782-1901* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1953), pp. 14-15. Thomas Nuttall reported in 1819 that Hampton had over 400 slaves and produced in a single year 500 hogsheds of sugar and 1,000 bales of cotton worth \$150,000. It is not clear whether he included Hampton's South Carolina plantations in these estimates.—Nuttall, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

Large profits permitted sugar planters to purchase numerous slaves, build levees to shut out flood waters, and clear increasing amounts of land. So valuable was the alluvial land along the Mississippi that by 1820 a levee six to nine or more feet broad at the base and four to six feet high had been built stretching for 130 miles on the eastern side and 170 miles on the western side of the river.³⁴ The wealth that sugar had brought to the D'Estrehan, Marigny, Bouligny, Poydras, and Trepagnier and other family groups enabled them to erect their magnificent plantation homes, to travel, to educate their children abroad, to patronize the arts, and to establish a high state of culture in a frontier wilderness.

One hundred and fifty miles north of New Orleans by land, and 322 miles by the Mississippi was Natchez, the center of the cotton culture of the Mississippi Valley. To Natchez, after a decade spent on a plantation near Baton Rouge, came William Dunbar, with numerous slaves. Dunbar raised indigo, corn, tobacco, rice, and cotton, but by the 1790's he was concentrating on cotton. By 1810 he was raising more than 500 bales, in addition to quantities of corn for domestic consumption. Dunbar combined the qualities of a harsh slave-driver, a persistent land-grabber, and a shrewd and resourceful businessman with a conservative political temperament, a keen interest in science, and a wide learning.³⁵

To Natchez also had come wealthy families from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New England, bringing with them many slaves and capital with which to establish a flourishing aristocratic society.³⁶ Winthrop Sargent, for example, the puritanical and autocratic Federalist governor of Mississippi territory who had arrived in 1798, by marriage, settlement rights, and purchase had soon built up an estate of 8,000 acres of well-located and highly productive land near Natchez, on which he raised cotton. Despite his background, he had no more difficulty in reconciling himself to the employment of slave labor than did other immigrants who came from the North. Sargent claimed that his slaves brought him an annual return of \$270 each, which would make his income high indeed.³⁷

³⁴ Warden, *Statistical, Political and Historical Account of the United States*, II, 507; Adam Hodgson, *Letters from North America* (2 vols.; London: Hurst, Robinson & Co., 1824), p. 162.

³⁵ Dunbar's journal and letters in the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History have been published in Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, *Life, Letters and Papers of William Dunbar* (Jackson: Mississippi Historical Society, 1930), *passim*.

³⁶ J. F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State* (Jackson: Power & Barksdale, 1880), p. 107; Major Samuel S. Forman, *Narrative of a Journey Down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1789-1790*, Lyman C. Draper, ed. (Cincinnati: R. Clarke & Co., 1888), pp. 19-63; Robert T. Thompson, *Colonel James Neilson* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1940), pp. 48 ff.

³⁷ For Sargent's purchase, see Adams County Deed Records, F:165 and G:367; for the income from slave labor see letter of François X. Martin, March 22, 1811, to

Natchez, like New Orleans, was a wealthy and cosmopolitan community developed in the midst of a frontier wilderness by capitalists who came as pioneers.

Because these early Mississippi and Louisiana planters did so well with their staple crops, they made little effort to raise grain and livestock for their own consumption, preferring to buy from the operators of flat-boats who brought supplies from Kentucky and Ohio. The ideal of self-sufficiency that was to motivate their successors in a later day was not a factor in their economic policies. The flourishing cotton business made southwestern Mississippi, like the lower Delta region, a fast-growing area. A census of 1816 showed that the four southwestern counties, of which Natchez was the center, contained 14,599 slaves, or 69 per cent of the Negro population of the state.³⁸

Two other areas in which the plantation system was developing in the Southwest were the Huntsville region of the Tennessee Valley, then Madison County, Alabama, and the lower Tombigbee and Alabama Valleys. Madison County had 4,000 slaves in 1816.³⁹ Around Mobile and northward for a considerable distance on the Tombigbee and Alabama were centered the Spanish and British grants. In this area, where a considerable concentration of ownership had developed, cotton and sugar cane were planted.

The Acadians who came to the bayous of Louisiana after 1763 crowded tightly into a solid pattern of small farms having narrow frontages on the streams and extending back forty arpents (or slightly less than a mile). Lacking capital and, some said, enterprise, they improved little land but subsisted on slight cultivation, a few cattle that fed on the prairies, hunting, fishing, and trapping. Although they had originally acquired desirable land, they were early pushed out by late-comers and were left in possession of swamp and overflowed land which was not commercially feasible to drain; they were also left with prairie land useful for little more than grazing livestock.⁴⁰

On the richly grassed prairies of Calcasieu and St. Landry Parishes were grazed large herds of cattle descended from the early Spanish importations. Vacheries, or great cattle farms of five, ten, and fifteen thou-

Col. John Hamilton, in Ulrich B. Phillips, *Plantation and Frontier, 1649-1863*, in John R. Commons, et al., *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (11 vols.; Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1910-1911), II, 197.

³⁸ Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, VI, 730.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, V, 684-692; VI, 730.

⁴⁰ *The Planter's Banner and Louisiana Agriculturist*, Franklin, La., September 23, 1847, has a strongly worded criticism of the Acadians for their poverty and lack of enterprise and intelligence. See also William Henry Sparks, *The Memories of Fifty Years . . . Spent in the Southwest* (3d ed.; Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1872), Chap. 26, "Acadian French Settlers."

sand acres, had been blocked out on these prairies by the Fontenot, Wick-off, and Andrus families. By 1811 these farms had between 15,000 and 20,000 cattle and several hundred horses and mules.⁴¹ Another area where cattle raising was a major industry was the piney woods region of southern Mississippi.

FARMING IN THE NEWER SOUTH

In the newer parts of the South, whether in the Bluegrass region of Kentucky, the limestone soils of central Tennessee, the upcountry of Georgia, or the cane and alluvial lands of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the early experiments in farming had by 1815 shown great possibilities for future development. In the older portions of the South, the cultivated areas were badly depleted but there was much good land still unutilized. For those planters and farmers who loved their land and tried to develop a rational plan of agriculture to offset declining yields, there was hope in crop rotation, the use of lime and marl, abandonment of tobacco and the cultivation of new crops including clover, and the sale of slaves to the new South. To other practical farmers who could see no limit to the expansion of the United States and no alternative to cultivating staple crops, the new lands beckoned.

The cropping system which the South had developed on its tobacco, cotton, rice, and sugar plantations called unceasingly for more new land and an increasing supply of labor. Continued emphasis upon staple-crop agriculture and the production of ever-increasing quantities of these goods which, except for sugar, the domestic market could not absorb, forced attention upon foreign markets. Cotton, tobacco, and wheat (and wheat flour) constituted America's chief export items.

VALUE OF EXPORTS, 1815

Cotton	\$17,529,000
Tobacco & tobacco products	12,809,000
Wheat & flour	7,209,000
Rice	2,785,000
Total	<u>\$40,332,000</u>
Value of all exports	45,974,403

Source: Timothy Pitkin, *Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States* (2d ed.; New York: James Eastburn & Co., 1817), Chap. 4.

⁴¹ Claims for 52,000 acres were confirmed to these three families. Compiled from *American State Papers, Public Lands* (8 vols.; Washington, D. C.: Gales and Seaton, 1832-1861), Vols. II, III, and IV; William Darby, *Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana* (Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816), p. 89.

Nothing could be of more importance to the South than the assurance that this flow of produce to foreign markets would not be interrupted. The Napoleonic Wars and American foreign policy had brought some interruption, but they had also brought higher prices. During the wars the Louisiana Territory and a part of West Florida had been acquired. If Calhoun for a time and Clay throughout his life were to support such sophistries as were embodied in the arguments for protection, others who were more aware of current trends and more farseeing were marshaling their forces in opposition. Large-scale farming as practiced in the South, except for the sugar, flax, and hemp plantations, made for no alternative to free trade.

CHAPTER II

Northern Agriculture in 1815

AGRICULTURE in the northeastern states, particularly in the New England states, was early displaced in importance in the minds of their statesmen by commerce and industry. Consequently, its problems were given little attention in Congress and in the press. Neither the devastation of the potato blight nor the calamitous effects of pleuropneumonia on the dairy herds, both of which wrought havoc in Massachusetts, stirred the lofty Webster or the high-minded Sumner to action. In contrast, leading Southerners like Clay, Calhoun, and Slidell never let an opportunity pass to argue the needs of the growers of hemp, flax, cotton, or sugar cane. One may search in vain for references to potatoes, onions, apples, and cheese in Congressional discussions but allusions to southern staples cannot be missed. The country was surfeited with literature relating to plantation economy but few heard or thought about the problem of the northern farmer.

One explanation for the neglect of the northern farmer is that slavery drew public attention to the plantation economy of the South. Neither abolitionists nor advocates of slavery could talk about it without discussing also the staple economy of the South which depended on it. When Southerners replied to attacks upon their peculiar institution they sought to turn the tables on their opponents by describing in lurid detail the "wage slavery" in the cotton mills of Massachusetts. European travelers also paid great attention to southern agriculture. These visitors brought with them aristocratic notions, a distrust of democracy, and a desire to associate only with the better class of people. The southern planter's big house, income, and leisure permitted him to extend generous hospitality and entertainment to guests as the working northern farmer could not. Even critics of slavery were likely to be captivated by southern hospitality. Only in a few spots outside the northern cities was comparable hospitality available. Travelers took full advantage of the Wadsworth home

in Geneseo, Otsego Hall and Hyde Hall on Otsego Lake, John Greig's mansion in Canandaigua, and Stephen Van Rensselaer's palatial home in Troy, New York. Except in these localities they saw little of northern farm life save through the meager windows of stage coaches.¹ Had they been properly aware, they would have realized that northern farming was more important to the economic growth of the United States than the plantation economy of the South on which they lavished their attention.

THE LAND OF NEW ENGLAND

New England's touring Yankee peddlers, strident abolitionists, social reformers, and forceful leaders who sought to impose their theological and political philosophy on other sections of the country aroused deep resentment in the West and South. Western land and settlement promoters and southern politicians counterattacked by presenting a distorted picture of the Northeast. New England's thin, unproductive soil covered with rocks and boulders, its steep and rugged slopes that made the use of oxen and horses almost impossible, its long, harsh winters that isolated farmers for months, its early frosts and short growing season, its nagging women, fretting children, tight-fisted and hard-hearted farmers, and shrewd storekeepers ever ready to cheat the unwary were all part of the caricature of New England shaped by its critics.²

Much of New England had thin and infertile soil over a granite base. In addition to the mountainous country of western Massachusetts, northern New Hampshire, and the Green Mountain spine of central Vermont, there were other extensive areas not suited for anything but forest growth. Furthermore, except for the lower portions of southern New England, the growing season was short. These handicaps did not, however, prevent New England from developing into an agricultural region which supported a larger population than any state save New York until 1850. New England, without Maine, maintained in an area much smaller than Virginia an agricultural population 50 per cent greater than that of the Old Dominion, and New England's deficiencies did not prevent her from feed-

¹ One hostile critic of European travelers, himself an intelligent commentator on the American scene, said this of foreign observers: "They fly through the country in stages and steam-boats; make half their tour in the night-time; see nothing but the highways and a few great cities, the inhabitants of which are half foreigners; talk with a dozen foolish would be aristocrats, who give them dinners, and instil into them their own superficial notions, and then return to set themselves up as judges. . . ."—James Kirke Paulding, *Letters from the South* (2 vols.; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835), II, 107.

² See the doggerel in the *Little Rock Arkansas Gazette*, April 30, 1826, about

"Such barren lands, such rocks and sands,
And then, good Lord! so hilly."

ing in addition the rapidly growing population of her commercial and industrial cities, although with the aid of some grain and meat brought in from New York and Ohio.

New England's disadvantages of geography were offset to some extent by the advantage arising from the fact that land speculation had occurred to only a limited extent in that section. In the rest of the country speculative land companies or landlords commonly intruded themselves between the government, as the first owner of the land, and the pioneer owners. These speculator interests increased the cost of farm making, induced men to buy land on credit, exacted heavy interest payments that absorbed the fruits of the farmers' labor for many years, and skimmed off the profits of rising land values resulting from the settlers' own improvements. Their activities retarded the transition from subsistence to commercial agriculture by withholding undeveloped areas from settlers and delaying the coming of internal improvements.

It would not be correct to say that speculation was nonexistent in New England. Town proprietors in some communities accumulated large holdings, speculation in the New Hampshire grants was extensive, and in Maine large sales were made by Massachusetts.³ William Bingham's purchase of two million acres was the largest, but other big holdings were established, mostly of timber land unsuited for settlement.

Squatters, tenants, landlords, and debt-ridden farmers as well as land speculators were known though not common. Timothy Dwight lists a town in Maine in 1807 which had 1,044 settlers, all of whom were squatters. One half the farms in Stonington, Connecticut, he found to be operated by tenants paying rents in produce worth from \$100 to \$700 a year. Another traveler commented on the "very extensive farm, and an entire village named Weathersfield," Vermont, owned by the wealthy William Jarvis.⁴

Notwithstanding these instances of extensive land accumulation in New England, on the whole, land was distributed on a more equitable basis there than elsewhere. There was therefore less tillable land undeveloped, fewer debt-ridden farmers and mortgages. Tenancy, squatting, absentee and alien ownership, and anti-rent wars were not the issues they were elsewhere. Settlers could devote their energies and their capital to the task of improving the land. Dwight sang a paean of praise for the

³ Lewis D. Stilwell, *Migration from Vermont, 1776-1860*, *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, V (1937), 84; Florence May Woodard, *The Town Proprietors in Vermont: The New England Town Proprietorship in Decline* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), *passim*.

⁴ Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New-England and New-York* (4 vols.; New Haven, Conn.: T. Dwight, 1820), II, 221; III, 24; and Benjamin Silliman, *Remarks Made on a Short Tour between Hartford and Quebec in the Autumn of 1819* (New Haven, Conn.: Converse, 1820), p. 390.

New England system that assured "that every man in this country, almost without an exception, lives on his own ground. The lands are universally holden in fee-simple; and descend, by law, to all the children in equal shares. Every Farmer . . . is the little monarch of a dominion sufficiently large to furnish all the supplies of competence. . . ." ⁵

Critics of New England wrote off its agricultural potentialities too readily. They did not take into sufficient account the considerable areas where high farming could profitably be practiced. The Connecticut Valley, which broadens into a level plain south of Northfield and has a growing season longer by a month than the upland sections bordering it, was such an area. Here prosperous farms with fertile fields were early established. By 1815 these valley farms were becoming known for their truck gardening and for their tobacco, dairy cattle, and even wheat. Onions for the West Indian market constituted a profitable crop.⁶ The Champlain Valley of Vermont was another richly productive area having, as Elkanah Watson said in 1805, "a range of excellent farms occupied by substantial houses, and every appearance announcing the abodes of high-minded, intelligent, republican farmers. A few elegant seats exhibited the presence of affluence and taste."⁷ Extensive and high-yielding timothy and clover pastures helped to make this region a wealthy sheep and horse-breeding area. An English traveler noted on his way from Boston to Canada by way of Keene, Middlebury, and Burlington, the well-cultivated farms, quantities of livestock, neat houses, and the steadiness and industriousness of the farmers.⁸ Elsewhere in the Housatonic, the Merrimack, the Blackstone, and numerous smaller valleys, agriculture flourished. Aroostook County in northern Maine, which had the largest extent of first-rate arable land in New England, was, in 1815, a wilderness, not to be settled for years to come.

Outside the valleys was rolling countryside where the thin, less fertile soil was liberally sprinkled with stones. Yet these areas could produce fine grass, potatoes, fruit, rye, and, at lower altitudes, corn. On these plateau or rolling lands a more diverse program of land use had been developed. Because they were farther than the valley lands from centers of population, only articles of high value in relation to bulk, like butter,

⁵ Dwight, *op. cit.*, I, 17, 214-215.

⁶ John Donald Black, *The Rural Economy of New England* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 181; Dwight, *op. cit.*, I, 225. Cf. Edward Augustus Kendall, *Travels through the Northern Parts of the United States in . . . 1807 and 1808* (3 vols.; New York: I. Riley, 1809), I, 84.

⁷ Winslow C. Watson, ed., *Men and Times of the Revolution, or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson* (New York: Dana and Company, 1856), p. 353.

⁸ John Lambert, *Travels through Canada, and the United States of North America, in the Years 1806, 1807, & 1808* (3 vols., 3d ed.; London: Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, 1816), II, 301 ff.

cheese, or meat on the hoof, could be transported to market. The ex-crable roads in existence in 1815 did not encourage long hauls of any kind, and the new turnpikes were not much better.⁹ Occupants of these plateau and rolling lands, after the first generation had cleared the more level areas, fenced the meadows, pastures, and crop land, and erected homes; they had few complaints and were not inclined to migrate elsewhere, although their younger sons might do so.

A third class of land was the steep and broken hillsides through whose thin, gravelly soils extensive outcroppings of granite base protruded. Huge glacial boulders were to be found on these hillsides, which were covered with heavy stands of mixed hard and soft woods. These timbered tracts were made useful possessions. Potash derived from the burning of the logs cut for clearing constituted a product of value that could be bartered for essential items the farmer could not produce.¹⁰ Fuel wood early became an important item in the economy of farmers near Long Island Sound, who could ship it to the New York City market. Elsewhere it was hauled to nearby country villages and cities, to be sold for use in fireplaces and kitchen stoves. After coal had replaced wood as the major fuel in cities, cordwood still sold extensively throughout the northern states. In 1839, the first year for which statistics are available, 3,217,000 cords were thus sold. In Boston and New York the wood brought from five to eight dollars a cord.¹¹ Maple sugar was another important item on northern farms. Timothy Pitkin reported that from the maple trees of the North, principally New England and New York, was produced one seventh of the sugar consumed in the United States in 1810, which was almost as much as the cane sugar made in Louisiana.¹²

On these hill farms small islands of gravelly loam left by the glaciers existed here and there. These could be cleared and cropped, but most of the land in these hill farms was too broken and too rugged to be worth cultivating. Heavy pelting rain washed the top soil off or leached away the scant supply of essential minerals from the cleared ground. Declining yields showed farmers how unwise their fathers had been in investing labor in the backbreaking work of clearing such land. Tillage proving unprofitable, the occupants turned to raising sheep and beef cattle to utilize the still well grassed pastures.

⁹ Percy Wells Bidwell, *Rural Economy in New England at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century*, *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XX (1916), 311-318.

¹⁰ Lambert, *op. cit.*, II, 526-527.

¹¹ *Sixth Census; or Enumeration of Inhabitants of United States* (Washington, D. C.: Blair and Rives, 1841), p. 360; *Boston Cultivator*, February 2, 1839. The *New York Herald* of March 2, 1836, said fuel wood was "exorbitantly high" with very little available. Prices were quoted at \$5 to \$7 a load.

¹² Timothy Pitkin, *A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States of America* (2d ed.; New York: James Eastburn & Co., 1817), p. 283.

Livestock, particularly sheep, enabled farmers to remain on these hill farms for a second generation after their tillage capacity was gone. Livestock improvement was fostered by the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, which offered a prize of \$50 for the introduction of a superior ram or ewe from abroad.¹³ In the first two decades of the nineteenth century some of the best Spanish Merino sheep were brought to New England. These, together with its Morgan horses, enabled that region to become a leader in the breeding and sale of high-quality stock. Sheep farming required larger pastures, better fences, good-blooded stock, and protection from killer dogs. All this took considerable capital and led to the consolidation of small farms.

Even before the transition to sheep farming was made, life on these hill areas had begun to yield a crop of discouraged and dissatisfied people. Hill farmers listened entranced to the blandishments of the representatives of the Holland Land Company or the Ohio Land Company, who optimistically described the lush soils and economic opportunities of the Genesee Valley of New York or the Muskingum Valley of Ohio. From these hill farms of southern New England, called by Thomas Cooper "the northern hive," went a growing stream of emigrants, younger sons at first, and finally entire families, to seek homes in western New York, Ohio, Michigan, northern New England, and elsewhere.¹⁴ In his travels in New England on behalf of the Holland Land Company, John Lincklaen found a Vermont farmer who, although he had spent a considerable part of his life in creating a farm from the wilderness and who had not yet completed his new house, had bought a Genesee Valley tract in New York for a tenth or twentieth of the price he could get for his farm. At the age of fifty he was planning to move and to start anew with a much larger tract. Such was the ambition of restless Yankees who were not content with small holdings of inferior land when farther west they could acquire more and better acreage.¹⁵

New England cities, with their flourishing industries and commerce,

¹³ *Papers on Agriculture Consisting of Communications Made to the Massachusetts Agricultural Society* (Boston: Young and Minns, 1801), p. 6.

¹⁴ Thomas Cooper, *Some Information Respecting America* (London: J. H. Johnson, 1794), p. 8. For other promotional pamphlets, see Robert Munro, *A Description of the Genesee Country in the State of New York* (New York: The Author, 1804); and Charles Williamson, *Description of the Settlement of the Genesee Country, in the State of New-York* (New York: T. & J. Swords, 1799). Also see Richard J. Purcell, *Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1819* (Washington, D. C.: American Historical Association, 1918), pp. 139-158; and Jarvis Means Morse, *A Neglected Period of Connecticut's History, 1818-1850* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1933, Chap. 1.

¹⁵ Helen Lincklaen Fairchild, ed., *Travels in the Years 1791 and 1792 in Pennsylvania, New York and Vermont: Journals of John Lincklaen, Agent of the Holland Land Company* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897), p. 83.

produced a demand for grain, flour, dairy products, vegetable crops, beef, pork, and mutton in addition to hay and grain for dray and driving horses. In 1815 this urban demand was limited, however, for it was still common for city and town residents to keep dairy cattle and hogs and to have vegetable gardens or perhaps small farms on the outskirts of the communities. Analysis of the goods brought to Boston from the Merrimack Valley by way of the Middlesex Canal in 1805 shows that "cyder" constituted the chief farm product sent to the city. But grain, apples, barrels of beef, flax seed, lumber, barrels, hoops, and ashes were also shipped to market.¹⁶

New England farmers found other markets for their surplus goods. New York City drew quantities of supplies from farms in Connecticut and Rhode Island as well as from western Massachusetts. Also, the rice and cotton plantations of South Carolina and Georgia and the planters of the West Indies took quantities of butter, cheese, lard, beef, pork, and livestock.¹⁷

Travelers and critics agreed that New England's farm methods and practices were inferior to those of old England. Dwight censured his own section for slovenly preparation of the soil, failure to practice rotation of crops, insufficient use of manures, and neglect of weeds. Most of these failures could be attributed, he felt, to the shortage of farm labor. Intensive cultivation or high farming would scarcely have paid, except on farms close to the larger cities and it is doubtful whether farmers could, with all their tasks, have undertaken more.¹⁸

That New England farmers were not altogether unprogressive was the view of Rodolphus Dickinson, of Greenfield, Massachusetts, who wrote a *Geographical and Statistical View of Massachusetts Proper* in 1813 to counteract unfair charges against his section. He pointed out that except in areas of high land values close to cities and on navigable rivers, Yankee farmers preferred to cultivate the land extensively. He contended that greater attention was being given to manures than formerly, that clover was being successfully introduced, and that plaster of Paris was widely used in improving the land. Despite the "humiliating picture of our agricultural economy, that is often drawn by interested strangers," he held that the farmers derived "as much profit from their farms in proportion to the capital employed, as those in the most prosperous, fertile, and best cultivated parts of Europe."¹⁹

¹⁶ Christopher Roberts, *The Middlesex Canal, 1793-1860* (*Harvard Economic Studies*, No. 61; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938), p. 161.

¹⁷ Bidwell, *Rural Economy*, pp. 294-302.

¹⁸ Dwight, *Travels in New England*, I, 108-109; Bidwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 319 ff.

¹⁹ Rodolphus Dickinson, *A Geographical and Statistical View of Massachusetts Proper* (Greenfield, Mass.: Denio and Phelps, 1813), p. 9. Corroborating evidence concerning the use of gypsum on New England farms is found in Kendall, *Travels through the Northern Parts*, I, 231.

Farm land values in New England, even for the poorer sort of country, were high, as compared with those elsewhere. Population density, the resulting pressure upon the supply of land, and the growth of towns all tended to maintain farm values at high levels. Edward Augustus Kendall, after a tour of Connecticut in 1807 and 1808, placed the average value for farm land in that state at between \$40 and \$50 an acre. A few years earlier Pitkin had given an average value of \$15 for Connecticut and \$7 for all of New England. The Connecticut figure far exceeded the average value of farm land in any other state except Rhode Island, and the average of New England was likewise greater than that of other states, except New Jersey.²⁰ These high values were doubtless for the better lands. They did not lead to tenancy, as high values did in other areas at a later time, but they did make the way to farm ownership difficult for succeeding generations and encouraged emigration to other states.

LAND SPECULATION IN NEW YORK

If land speculation was limited in extent in New England, it was rampant in New York. In the colonial period the governing clique had acquired by favoritism and collusion large tracts of land in eastern and southern New York. These holdings had been improved by squatters or by tenants, who were offered a period of free use after which regular rents were due.²¹ Some of these large estates, owned by Tories, had been confiscated during the Revolution and partially broken into small holdings, but others had been sold in large tracts; the net effect was not to democratize landownership to any great extent.²²

In the Military Tract of central New York, land bounties ranging from 500 to 5,500 acres had been granted to soldiers and officers who had

²⁰ Kendall, *op. cit.*, I, 311; Pitkin, *Statistical View of Commerce*, p. 417; Fairchild, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 87.

²¹ Charles Worthen Spencer, "The Land System of Colonial New York," *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association*, XVI (1917), 150-164; Ruth L. Higgins, *Expansion in New York with Special Reference to the Eighteenth Century* (Ohio State University Studies, No. 14; Columbus: 1931); Irving Mark, *Agrarian Conflicts in Colonial New York, 1711-1775* (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, No. 469; New York: Columbia University Press, 1940); David Maldwyn Ellis, *Landlords and Farmers in the Hudson-Mohawk Region, 1790-1850* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1946); Edith M. Fox, *Land Speculation in the Mohawk Country* (Cornell Studies in American History, Literature and Folklore, No. 3; Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1949).

²² Harry A. Yospe, *The Disposition of Loyalist Estates in the Southern District of the State of New York* (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, No. 469; New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), *passim*. The Livingston, Schuyler, Van Rensselaer, Clarke, and Duane holdings remained intact, occupied by hundreds of tenants.