

SECTIONALISM AND THE TRANS-ALLEGHENY WEST, 1785-1803

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By

Robert Webster Frazier

Bachelor of Science

Southeastern State Teachers College

Durant, Oklahoma

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Submitted to the Department of History
Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

1937

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APPROVED:

T. H. Reynolds

In Charge of Research

T. H. Reynolds

Head of the Department

D. C. McIntosh

Dean of the Graduate School

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The writer is greatly indebted to Dr. Thomas H. Reynolds whose able counsel and guidance as sponsor has made it possible in securing data for this thesis.

An expression of appreciation is made to other members of the History Staff who were willing at all times to render assistance contributing to the progress of this work.

For the patient, and generous suggestions and advice, the author feels grateful to Dr. J. C. Muerman, minor advisor, of the School of Education of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Acknowledgement is made to Miss Margaret Walters and Miss Grace Campbell, members of the Library Staff, for their patience and willingness to render assistance to graduate students doing research work.

PREFACE

In the preparation of this thesis the writer has made a sincere effort to set forth the geographic and historical background which laid the foundation for the many complicated problems in the settlements and growth of the Trans-Allegheny West.

An attempt has been made to present an unbiased statement of facts to be determined with the support of these facts by documentary evidence. An impartial interpretation has been given with reference to claims based upon explorations and settlements of Spain, France, and England in North America, particularly, with reference to the Mississippi Valley up to the period of 1763.

The Trans-Allegheny movement brought into play controversial matters involving the claims of Spain, England, and the United States regarding the economic welfare of the western people to the extent that the Jay-Gardoqui controversy brought forth an issue between the selfish interest of the East and the economic interest of the West over the outlet of the Mississippi River which threatened the danger of the newly formed Republic of the United States that was not allayed until the consummation of the Treaty of San Lorenzo between Spain and the United States in 1795.

By the interpretation of the Spanish intendant, Morales, with reference to the Treaty of San Lorenzo, the pioneers were again brought to the brink of war by being

denied river rights. This precipitated a grave crisis which challenged the Congress of the United States to thwart impending danger by immediate action as the secessionists had lost patience with the Federal Government in further delay.

The economic problem of the West had to be solved to promote the best interest of the common weal of the nation. As a solution of this problem depository rights at the mouth of the river had to be obtained either by purchase or conquest. This western pressure and the French designs on San Domingo spurred the actions of Thomas Jefferson in the appointment of James Monroe on December 11, 1803 to join Livingston, who was at this time in France, to open negotiations for the purchase of land around the mouth of the Mississippi River. The result of this negotiation brought about the outright purchase of Louisiana from France on April 30, 1803.

The outcome of this transaction has been given, supported by evidence from primary sources. The importance of this territory to the United States from the national, the political, and the economic standpoints, has been shown.

The writer has not undertaken to solve any new problems or to offer any new solutions to old problems, but has endeavored to present established facts relative to what is considered the most far reaching event in the history of the United States.

Robert Webster Frazier

Stillwater, Oklahoma
May 31, 1937.

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHIC AND EUROPEAN BACKGROUND TO 1763

The Mississippi River which lies wholly within the temperate zone is more fortunately situated, climatically, than the Amazon with its more fertile valley for the Mississippi valley having a more varied and somewhat rigorous climate offers conditions for human development which are denied to a country lying in the equatorial belt.¹

The main stream of the Mississippi is 2,500 miles in length; that is, about ten times that of the Seine. As Mark Twain has said, it is "the crookedest river" in the world, traveling 1,300 miles to cover the same ground that a crow would fly over in 675. For several hundred miles it is a mile in width.

The volume of water discharged by it into the sea is second only to the Amazon and is greater than that of all European rivers combined (excepting the Volga). The amount is estimated at 139 cubic miles long, 139 miles wide, and 139 miles high. With its tributaries it provides somewhat more than 16,000 miles of navigable water, more than any other system on the globe except the Amazon--and more than enough to reach from Lake Superior to Paris by way of Kamchatka and Alaska--about three-fourths of the way around the globe. The sediment deposited is 400,000,000 tons,

¹ John Houston Finley, "The French in the Heart of America", Scribner's (New York, October, 1915). Vol. 52, pp. 459-461.

enough to require daily for its removal five hundred trains of fifty cars, each carrying fifty tons, and to make each year two square miles of new earth over a hundred feet deep.²

The area which it drains is roughly a million and a quarter square miles, or two-fifths of the United States. That is, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, and Italy could be set down within this area and there would still be some room to spare.

It has the strength (for the most part put to no use whatsoever) of sixty million horses.³ The difference between high water and low water is in some places fifty feet, which gives some impression of the range of its moodiness.

The isotherm which touches the southern limits of France passes midway between the source and mouth of the river. In the northern half it has the mean annual temperature of France, England, and Germany; in the southern half, of the Mediterranean coasts.

From the Gulf, into which it empties, a river (that is, an ocean river or current) runs through the ocean to the western coasts of Europe; another runs out along the north-eastern coast of South America, and when the Panama Canal was opened, still another was in waiting at the western terminus of the canal to assist the ships across the Pacific.⁴

1 Ibid.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

A fair regularity and reliability of rainfall have made the rich soil of the valley tillable and productive without irrigation except in the far western stretches; and these blessings are likely to continue "so long as the earth continues to revolve toward the East and the present relationship of ocean and continent continues".⁵

Including Texas and Alabama, which lie between the same ranges of mountains with this valley, though the rivers run into the Gulf and not into the Mississippi, this valley has 140,000 miles of railway, being sixty-one per cent of the total mileage of the country, and twenty-five per cent of the mileage of the entire globe.

In richness of soil, variety of climate, number and value of products, facilities for communication, and general conditions of wealth and prosperity the Mississippi Valley surpasses anything known to the Old World, as well as the new.⁶

The importance of this great inland empire is not appreciated by most people; only partly recognized by a considerable number; and fully known by few. Here is one of the best farming regions in the world, and when it was opened to the growth of the cereals, New England and much of other Eastern areas went "down and out". In the basin of the Mississippi Valley a little over half of the people of the United States live. Here is sixty-five per cent of the improved land of the nation. Here is produced about eighty-five per cent of the country's crop of corn, sixty-

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

five per cent of the wheat, seventy-eight per cent of the oats, and almost fifty per cent of the cotton. Here also are raised about sixty-five per cent of the horses, sixty per cent of the dairy cattle, while fifty-five per cent of the beef cattle, eighty per cent of the hogs and forty-five per cent of the sheep of the nation are made ready for the market.⁷ Here are obtained about seventy-five per cent of our bituminous coal, a considerable portion of the iron ore, over fifty per cent of the lead, and over fifty per cent of the zinc. This area is also growing rapidly in manufactures and, if the lake cities are included, now produces almost fifty per cent of the country's manufactured articles.

The valley supports an estimated population of over fifty million, or over half that of the United States; and has an estimated maintenance capacity of from 200,000,000 to 350,000,000, or from four to seven times its present population. It has been tilled with "luxurious carelessness".⁸ A peasant in Brittany or a forester in Normandy would be scandalized by the extravagant, profligate use of its patrimony. That it is likely to have at least the 250,000,000 by the year 2100, is allowed by an estimate of a reliable statistician. Europe had 175,000,000 at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and North America

⁷ Frank Earnest Williams, "The Geography of the Mississippi Valley", in Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science (January, 1928). Vol. 135, p. 7.

⁸ Finley, loc. cit.

5,308,000.⁹ The former has somewhat more than doubled its population in the century since; America has increased her population about twenty times, and the Mississippi Valley several thousand times. It is not unreasonable to expect a doubling of the population of that valley in another century and its quadrupling in two centuries.

Let De Tocqueville, author of democracy in America, make summary of those prideful items in his description of the valley, embraced by the equator-sloping half of the continent. "It is upon the whole", he says, "the most magnificent dwelling-place prepared by God for man's abode-- a space of 1,935,952 square miles (about six times that of France)--watered by a river which, like a god of antiquity, dispenses both good and evil".¹⁰

Most of this great area which is so rich in resources is without striking topographic features. It is generally level or gently rolling, occasionally hilly, but never mountainous. Much of it appears as a limitless expanse of grove-dotted, gently undulating country, here and there trenched by rivers and surmounted by low hills; or it stretches away as far as the eye can see without either of these relief features--a grass-covered, farm-dotted, smoothly-contoured prairie. North of the Missouri and Ohio Rivers it is glaciated. Morainic belts cross it in looped pattern, and between them are notably flat till

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

plains. In that portion covered by glacial ice in the last (Wisconsin) glacial invasion, lakes, ponds, and undrained hollows in great numbers are scattered about freely, stream courses are disorganized, falls and rapids abound and alternate with swampy depressions often of considerable extent. Most of the area, however, is well drained and well fitted for agriculture. This is shown by the great number of evenly spaced comfortable houses and big barns.¹¹

From north to south almost through the center of this area flows the mighty Father of Waters. This great stream, although at times a devastating curse to many inhabitants of the valley, has been of great importance in opening up the country to settlement and has borne many millions of tons of produce to market.

This great valley and its river system present a two-fold problem. It has low-water difficulty as well as high-water peril; it associates intimately the interests of navigation and conservation; it involves keeping navigable depths in the channel as well as keeping navigation off the riparian corn and cotton fields. It is, then, the problem of keeping the system in shape to carry river commerce and of controlling its disastrous floods.¹²

There has been a brief discussion of the use of the river. Let us now see what the river itself is like. The source of the Upper Mississippi is in north central Minne-

¹¹ Williams, loc. cit.

¹² Ibid.

sota in a region which is sprinkled with a multitude of small lakes, and is close to a slight swell of land which separates it from the waters of the Hudson Bay. These lakes lie in a wilderness of evergreen woods and tamarack marshes, of low-lying hills and ridges left by the northward retreating glacier.¹³ From a physiographic point of view, the river flows through a shallow or "young" valley. Leaving the small Lake Hernando de Soto through an almost indiscernible outlet, its waters flow through alternate lakes and marshes and over many rapids and falls until it plunges over St. Anthony into the gorge below. In this meandering of the river, many artificial dams have been built, thus adding to the storage capacity of the natural reservoirs.

Below Minneapolis is found the second part, which extends down the river 888 miles of its channel to Cairo, Illinois. For this part of its length, the river flows in a gorge varying from one to six and a half miles in width and with bluffs rising from one hundred to 650 feet above the river.¹⁴ These bluffs are not continuous like the Palisades of the Hudson or like the Niagara River Gorge, but stretch along the river on either side "like lines of giant sentinels". This is the part of the river noted for its beauty--

majestic bluffs that overlook the river, along through

¹³ Williams, loc. cit., p. 9.

¹⁴ Ibid.

through this region, charm one with the grace and variety of their forms, and soft beauty of their adornment. The steep, verdant slope, whose base is at the water's edge, is topped by a lofty rampart of broken turreted rocks, which are exquisitely rich and mellow in color--mainly dark browns and dull greens, but splashed with other tints.¹⁵

Below Cairo, the valley is a level flood plain fifty to one hundred miles wide, with much of this area below water level of the river at high stages. Beginning as it does but 1500 feet above sea level, in the 2555 miles of descent to the Gulf, the river can average a fall of less than six inches per mile. It makes more than half of this descent in the six hundred miles from its source to St. Paul, and for the rest of its journey (1950 miles) it falls only three or four inches per mile. With a low gradient goes a low average velocity; nevertheless, the Mississippi River carries down and empties into the Gulf of Mexico every year about 400,000,000 tons of mud.¹⁶ Thirty-one per cent of the water of the Lower Mississippi is contributed by the Ohio River, nineteen per cent by the Upper Mississippi and only fourteen per cent by the Missouri, but with the fourteen per cent of water of the latter, comes sixty per cent of this silt. The Mississippi River, a few miles above St. Louis at the mouth of the Missouri River, is one and one-half miles wide,¹⁷ but from this junction to the mouth of the Ohio, it narrows to about three-quarters of a

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

mile in width. This great tributary seems to diminish the width of the main stream, but perceptibly increases its depth while volume alters its character.¹⁸

The discovery of America was followed by a century of exploration, which led to a better geographical knowledge of the New World and its relation to Europe and to the Orient. In explaining the remarkable outburst of maritime activity which characterized the leading nations of Europe during the sixteenth century, it will be helpful to examine the motives which actuated them.

The age of the Renaissance was one of intellectual curiosity; men of Spain, France, and England wished to know of the world in which they lived. In explaining the motives which led to the great outburst of exploration in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the pure joy of adventure and the satisfaction of intellectual curiosity must not be omitted. The other nations were different in motives and varied with each of these from time to time, but in the main they can be reduced to three groups of economic, political, and religious aspects, although these were generally inextricably mingled.¹⁹

The main impulse in the work of exploration and colonization was economic, and of all the economic motives the search for a shorter route to India was the first and for a

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Earnest Ludlow Bogart, Economic History of the American People, (2nd ed., New York, 1935), pp. 6-10.

long time the most potent.²⁰

The first explorations were made by the Spanish. The French were close on the heels of them in this work, but the most persistent in their efforts to find a northwest passage were the English. For this, there were several reasons. In the first place such a short cut would bring England nearer to the East with its treasures, and in the second place, it would avoid trespassing on the Portuguese and Spanish routes. The discovery of the northwest passage by the English would have the advantage not only of securing to England a route entirely her own, but it would have the additional advantage, by passing through a cold climate, of opening up a market for England's great staple, woolen cloth.

The acquisition of the precious metals came to occupy first place as a motive of exploration after the discovery of the treasure in Mexico and Peru and the opening up of the silver mines in those countries. When it was discovered that gold was lacking in the northern country, other motives became more important in leading to the exploration of the New World, and among these the fisheries ranked high. Danish, English, and, perhaps, other fishermen had caught cod off the shores of Iceland before America was discovered.²¹

The new turn was given to French enterprise by the dis-

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

covery of the St. Lawrence River by Jaques Cartier in 1534 and by the contacts which were established by the natives, and a new motive was given for exploration and trading. Although French explorers discovered neither gold nor the northwest passage, they found a traffic which yielded enormous returns. This was the fur trade.

The age of reformation was one in which the religious motive was strong. Prince Henry sent his ships to find not only the Indies, but also the fabled Christian kingdom of Prester John. "We came in search of Christians and Spices", said Vasco da Gama. In the breasts of the early Spanish conquerors and explorers the crusading spirit was dominant. "He who possesses gold", said Columbus, "does all that he wishes in this world, and succeeds in helping souls in paradise".²² French Jesuit priests threaded the lakes and rivers in advance of the fur trader, baptising as they went. The religious impulse moved even the more prosaic English. Drake and Hawkins, scoured the Spanish Main to fight Catholics as well as to collect booty. Later many felt with the Virginia Company managers that the first object of that plantation was "to preach and baptize into the Christian religion". One may admit that religion and political motives had their place; but the economic motive based on necessity was the most propelling in driving the adventurers to chart unknown seas, and then, and then only, did precious metals, fish, and furs take their place in

²² Harold Underwood Faulkner, American Economic History (New York, 1924), p. 36.

relative economic importance.²³

The three nations of Europe; Spain, France, and England, strove to dominate North America. Each nation had settlements in what is now the United States, and each nation designed to establish a foothold in America under the name of a New Spain, a New France, or a New England. Spain establishing her claims in the southern part of North America maintained undisputed rights as to her exploration and settlements. These activities were timed in a state of natural events to justify Spanish claims.²⁴

The first permanent settlements in the present United States were made by Spaniards. They were preceded by the picturesque but unproductive explorations in the south and southwest, of Ponce de Leon (1521), Narvaez and Cabecca de Vaca (1527), De Soto (1539),²⁵ and Coronado (1540-1542). Attempts by the French in 1562 and 1565 to colonize Florida brought the Spaniards under Menendez,²⁶ who destroyed the French settlement; founded St. Augustine in 1565, and other forts. By 1582, the Spaniards had opened missions on the Rio Grande and the Gila Rivers. During the succeeding

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Binger Herman, Louisiana Purchase, 56th Cong., 1st Sess., House Document 708 (Washington, 1900), p. 13; Francis Gardner Davenport, European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies to 1648; Article 7, "The Bull Inter Cetera", May 4, 1493, pp. 71-78, and Article 9, "Treaty of Tordesillas", September 5, 1494, pp. 84-100.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

centuries they planted frontier settlements in Texas, New Mexico, and California

France through the efforts of two men took part in American exploration. In 1524 Giovanni Da Verrazano tried to find a passage to India by the northwest.²⁷ It is difficult to determine from Da Verrazano's narrative how much of the Atlantic coast he explored; but it seems that he entered New York harbor and the Hudson river and penetrated Narragansett Bay after which he sailed north as far as Newfoundland.²⁸ In 1534 Jaques Cartier, a Breton sailed with two ships on what proved a more important voyage. He explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence and was forced home by stormy weather. A year later, he took up his work at the same place where he left off in 1534, and went up the St. Lawrence as far as what is now Quebec. Then he took rowboats with which he reached the Indian village of Hocheloga at the site of Montreal. The rapids which he stopped his search to see, were later called "La China" in ridicule it is said, of his attempt to find China through this river. Cartier's exploration was the basis of the French title to Canada.²⁹ It was followed in 1541 by an attempt to plant a colony; Roverbal having the command and Cartier showing the way. A fort was built near Quebec, but the Indians

²⁷ Giovanni Da Verrazano tried to find a passage to India by the northwest in 1524.

²⁸ John Spencer Bassett, History of the United States (New York, 1929), pp. 112-115.

²⁹ Ibid.

drove off the garrison and killed or discouraged the colonists so that they gladly escaped to France.

In Canada, where Cartier's explorations, 1534, 1535, and 1541, had given France a claim by right of prior discovery, French colonization fared better. Fur traders continued to visit the St. Lawrence, but no other impetus toward planting settlements was given until the region came under the eyes of Champlain, who arrived in quest of trade in 1603. In 1608 he returned to plant a trading colony at Quebec which his discerning eye selected as the key to the St. Lawrence Valley. This location marks the first permanent French settlement in America.³⁰

Champlain being allied with the Algonquin Indians, was induced to take action in their defense against the hostile Iroquois. It may further be added that this alliance with the Algonquins was a large factor in the early decline of the French in the New World.

It was about this time (1635) that the Jesuits turned their attention to Canada. They proposed to convert and civilize the Indians and thus establish French power in the Lake region while they delivered into the French hands an immense fur trade. With the Algonquins on the St. Lawrence they were easily successful: then they sent missions to the Hurons, on the shores of the lake which now bears their name, and here, after some delays, they also succeeded.³¹

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Herman, loc. cit.

Again the missionaries were paving the way for settlement in unexplored countries. The missionaries of the Hurons were the first Frenchmen to have knowledge of the rich country beyond Lake Erie. Though driven out of it by the attacks of the Indians, they kept alive the knowledge of its worders.³²

In 1673 Father Marquette, member of the indomitable society, and Joliet, a trader, going through this country, came to the Wisconsin river, down which they took their canoes until they came to the Mississippi, which they followed to the mouth of the Arkansas. They desired to reach the salt sea, but prudently turned back lest they fall into Spanish hands and the knowledge of their discovery perish with them.

What they failed to do was achieved by La Salle, one of the most intrepid of the French explorers.³³ He wished to organize the fur trade on the lakes, and from the profits carry on extensive discoveries in the region beyond. A license was obtained from the king, and money was subscribed by friends, but the opposition of Quebec merchants and the Jesuits was a severe impediment. Before complete ruin overtook this scheme he set out in December, 1681 to follow the "Great River" of Marquette and Joliet to the sea.³⁴ With

³² Ibid.

³³ Edward M. Douglas, Boundaries, Areas, Altitudes of the United States, U. S. Geological Survey, Bulletin 817 (Washington, 1930), p. 27.

³⁴ Herman, loc. cit., p. 12.

him were Tonti, a faithful friend, and fifty-three others, Frenchmen and Indians. From Lake Michigan they ascended the Chicago to its source and thence by portage to the Illinois down which they reached the Mississippi. On April 6, they passed out one of its sluggish mouths to the Gulf of Mexico. The Indians were friendly and assured La Salle that he was the first white man to explore the river. He took possession of its banks in the name of the king of France, and in 1684 he set out with a colony and four ships, fitted out by the king to settle at the mouth of the river. After many hardships on his return from France around the Florida peninsula, thereby missing the mouth of the newly explored river he landed on Madagorda Bay, off the coast of Texas. Confusion and disappointment led to the murder of La Salle by one of his own men in 1687, and his followers, only a few, survived starvation on the great plains or escaped the hands of the Spaniards.

The court of France had been engaged in wars and political intrigues, and nothing toward colonizing Louisiana had been affected since the disastrous expedition of La Salle. Twelve years had elapsed, but his discoveries and his unfortunate fate had not been forgotten. At length, in 1698, an expedition for colonizing the region of the lower Mississippi was set on foot by the French king. It was placed under the command of Iberville,³⁵ who had been an experienced and distinguished naval commander in the French wars of Canada, Acadie, and Cape Breton...with his little fleet of two frigates, rating thirty guns each, and two smaller vessels, bearing a company of marines and two hundred colonists, including a few women and children, he prepared to set sail from France for the mouth of the Mississippi. The colonists were mostly soldiers who had served in the armies of France and

35

Ibid., p. 13.

had received an honorable discharge. They were well supplied with provisions and implements requisite for opening of settlements in the wilderness. It was on the 24th day of September, 1698, that his colony sailed from Rochelle.³⁶

On the second day of the following March after considerable exploration of the coast, west from the Spanish settlement at Pensacola, Iberville found the mouth of the Mississippi being confirmed in the indentation of it by the discovery of a letter, in the hands of the Indians, which Tonti had written to La Salle thirteen years before.

Soon afterwards, Iberville selected a site and began to erect a fort upon the northeast shore of the Biloxi, about fifteen miles north of Ship Island. Here, upon a sandy shore, under a burning sun, upon a pine barren, he settled his colony about eighty miles northeast of the present city of New Orleans... Having thus located his colony, and protected them (by a fort) from the danger of Indian treachery and hostility, he³⁷ made other provisions for their comfort and security.

The next year Iberville was joined by Tonti with a party of French Canadians from the Illinois. Iberville ascended the river nearly four hundred miles, formed a friendly alliance with the Natchez tribe of Indians, and selected for a future settlement the site of the present city of Natchez. In the spring of 1702, war had been declared by England against France and Spain, and by order of the king of France the headquarters of the commandant were removed to the western bank of the Mobile river. This was the first European settlement within the present State

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

of Alabama.³⁸ The Spanish settlement at Pensacola was not remote; but as England was now the common enemy, the French and Spanish commandants arranged their boundary between Mobile and Pensacola Bays to be the Perdido River.

Crozat's failure was, in the nature of things foreordained, his scheme indeed, proved a stumbling-block to the colony and a loss to himself.³⁹ In five years (1717) he was glad to surrender his monopoly to the crown.⁴⁰ From its ashes sprung the gigantic Mississippi Scheme of John Law,⁴¹ to whom all Louisiana, now including the Illinois country was granted for a term of years. Compared with this prodigality Crozat's concession was but a plaything. It not only gave Law's Company proprietary rights to the soil (and a trade monopoly for twenty-five years), but also power was conferred to administer justice, make peace or war with the natives, build forts, levy troops and with the consent of the crown, appoint such military governors as it should think fitting. These extraordinary privileges were put in force by a royal edict, dated in September 1717. The new company (the "Western Company", later called "La Compagnie des Indes")⁴² granted lands along the river to individuals or associated persons, who were sometimes actual immigrants, sometimes great personages who sent out colonists at their own cost, or again the company itself undertook the building up of plantations on the lands reserved by it for that purpose.⁴³

As colonies were sent out by John Law to establish plantations and trading posts, we find them located at Natchez, the mouth of the Yazoo, and Baton Rouge. Slaves were imported from the West Indies and San Domingo for agricultural purposes. It was at this time (February, 1718) that Bienville began the foundation of the destined metropolis of Louisiana. The spot that

38 Ibid., p. 14.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid., p. 16.

41 Ibid.

42 House Executive Documents, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., vol. 20 (Washington, 1889), I, pp. 559-560.

43 Ibid.

was chosen by him was but a fragment of the delta which the river has been for ages building. Bienville, now chosen governor by the new company was to erect a town by the name of New Orleans in honor of the Regent, Orleans, who ruled France during the minority of Louis XV.⁴⁴

John Law's company soared high with unheard of prices for company stocks in the years of 1718 to 1720 only to burst as a bubble. It did little for the welfare of the Mississippi valley, however, some agriculture and some mining developed.

The English, who, from an early period, had opened commercial relations with the Chickasaws, through them constantly interfered with the trade of the Mississippi. Along the coast, from Pensacola to the Rio del Norte, Spain disputed the claims of her northern neighbor; and at length the war of the Natchez struck terror into the hearts of the white as well as the red men.⁴⁵ The French finally had to give up Natchez, due to Indian impediments of French progress in the Mississippi valley, and little was accomplished over a series of years that led to the final relinquishments of French claims in favor of the Spanish and English in the treaty of Fontainbleau in 1762.

On November 3rd, 1762, by an act passed at Fontainbleau and signed by Choiseul for France and by Grimaldi for Spain, Louis XV, 'by the pure effect of generosity of his heart, and on account of the affection and friendship' which he felt for his cousin, Charles III of Spain, made to the latter a gift of 'the country known by the name of Louisiana, as well as New Orleans and the island in which that city is

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

situated'. The King of Spain accepted the gift on November 13, 1762.⁴⁶ The Treaty of Fontainbleau was kept a secret; and on February 10, 1763, the shameful Treaty of Paris was signed. France ceded to Great Britain by Article 7, the river and port of Mobile and all the possessions on the left bank of the Mississippi with the exceptions of the town of New Orleans and the island in which it is situated. Spain, in its turn, ceded to Great Britain the province of Florida, with the fort of St. Augustine,⁴⁷ and all the country to east and southeast of the Mississippi. Havanna was returned to Spain, and Guadeloupe and Martinique to France. The King of France continued to act as the possessor of Louisiana, since the Treaty of Fontainbleau of November 3, 1762, was still kept secret.... On July 10, 1765, Don Antonio de Ulloa wrote from Havanna to Aubry that he had been appointed governor of Louisiana by the King of Spain. He arrived in New Orleans on March 5, 1766.⁴⁸

As England was not successful in finding a claim under the expeditions of John and Sebastian Cabot, Drake and Hawkins gave her a basis for colonization on the North American seaboard. In the year of 1584, Queen Elizabeth conveyed to Sir Walter Ralieggh a grant of land in what later became known as Virginia. Several attempts were made under the original grant to establish a permanent settlement but failed.⁴⁹

And further that the said Walter Raleigh, his heires and assignes, and eury of them, shall have holde, occupie, and enioye to him, his heires and assignes, and eury of them for ever, all the soil of all such lands, territories, and countreis, so to bee discour-ed and possessed as aforesaid, and of all such Cities, Castles, townes, villages, and places in the same, with the rights, royalties, franchises, jurisdictions, as well marine as others within the said landes, or

⁴⁶ Herman, loc. cit., p. 17.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 20.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Bassett, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

Countries, or the seas thereunto adjoining, to be had, or used, with full power to dispose thereof, and every part in fee-simple or otherwise according to the order of the laws of England, as neere as the same conveniently may bee, at his, and their will and pleasure, to any person then being, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of us, our heires and successors: reserving always to us our heires, and successors, for all services, duties, and demandes, the fift part of all the oare of golds and silver, that from time to time, and to all times after such discoveries, subduing and possessing, shall be there gotten and obtained: all which landes, Countries, and territories, shall forever be holden of the said WALTER RALEIGH, his heires and assignes, of us, our heirs and successors, by homage, and by the said paiement of the said fift part reserved only for all serviced.⁵⁰

The famous Virginia charter of 1606 created two companies...the London and the Plymouth companies. Upon them the King bestowed that part of the North American continent, to the first named company, that region between parallels thirty-four and forty-one degrees North Latitude, and to the Plymouth Company that region between parallels thirty-eight and forty-five North Latitude, with the region between the thirty-eighth and forty-first, North Latitude, open to either on condition that neither settled within one hundred miles of the other. Attempts at colonization were immediately made by both companies, the Plymouth Company attempting to make a settlement on the Kennebeck River in Maine failed, while the London Company, whose expedition entered the Chesapeake Bay in 1607, and planted a settlement thirty miles up the James River, received the distinction of being the first successful English settle-

⁵⁰ Francis Newton Thorpe, Constitutions and Charters (Washington, 1909). Vol. I, pp. 53-54.

ment in North America. In 1609, a second charter was granted to a group including fifty-six London guilds and 659 individuals, which increased the territorial grant of the London Company and stated very briefly its commercial rights...as some of the companies were more interested in dividends than colonization.⁵¹

There were four leading routes through the Appalachian barrier. The most northerly and the best, that by way of the Hudson and Mohawk to the Lakes, was closed to early settlers by the Iroquois. To the south was a second route leading from the headwaters of the Mohawk to the upper Allegheny. The third route led across southern Pennsylvania to the Monongahela and thence to the Ohio, a line later followed by the Cumberland road. The fourth and most important to the Pre-Revolutionary settlers was southward down the great Appalachian Valley and out through the Cumberland Gap or the Tennessee Valley. A possible route around the south of the Appalachians was closed by the Cherokees. While these routes were known to fur traders long before the Revolution, it was not until the later part of the eighteenth century that settlers in any numbers followed them.⁵²

Before that time the need of keeping in close touch with the European market had kept the white man near the rivers, and the hostile French and Indians as well as the natural mountain barrier had all contributed to limit settlement

⁵¹ Faulkner, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

⁵² Ibid., p. 121.

east of the Appalachians.

By 1730, settlers from the coast had spread from thirty to fifty miles into the Virginia Piedmont, but the Carolinas and Georgia foothills had scarcely been touched. The westward movement from the coast was augmented by a steady stream of Germans and Scotch-Irish from the northeast. By 1760, they had reached the uplands of Georgia...Due to the method of transportation, the headwaters of the Atlantic streams became barriers for those who traveled by boat.

In the Piedmont were mingled the settlers of the two converging streams, the vanguard being usually the sturdy and venturesome Scotch-Irish.⁵³

Among the moving mass, as it passed along the valley into the Piedmont, in the middle of the eighteenth century, were Daniel Boone, John Sevier, James Robertson, and the ancestors of John C. Calhoun, Abraham Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, Stonewall Jackson, James K. Polk, Sam Houston, and Davy Crockett. While the father of Andrew Jackson came to the Carolina Piedmont, at the same time from the coast, recalling that Thomas Jefferson's home was on the frontier, at the edge of the Blue Ridge, we perceive that these names represent the militant expansive movement in American life. They foretell the settlement across the Alleghenies in Kentucky and Tennessee; the Louisiana Purchase, and Lewis and Clark's transcontinental expedition; the conquest of the Gulf Plains in the War of 1812-1815; the annexation of Texas; the acquisition of California and the Spanish Southwest. They represent, too, frontier democracy in its two aspects personified in Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln. It was a democracy responsive to leadership, susceptible to waves of emotion, of a 'high religious voltage'-quick and direct in action.⁵⁴

Among the seaboard settlements whose grants extended

⁵³ Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York, 1920), p. 105.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

beyond the Allegheny mountains are Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia. These western claims from the thirty-first parallel on the south to the northern extremity of the Great Lakes on the north, with the Mississippi River as its western background. Carolina was the first proprietary colony based on a land grant by Charles II, to eight proprietaries, the most active of whom was Anthony Ashley Cooper, later Earl of Shaftesbury. Proprietary rule in the Carolinas came to an end in 1743.

Georgia, the youngest colony was founded in 1733. Partly as a result of the desire of the British government to set up a buffer against the Spanish in Florida and partly through the philanthropic desire to help the persecuted debtors commence life anew.⁵⁵

The beginning of the industrial revolution made English manufacturers more eager than ever to monopolize colonial markets and to stifle competition. As a consequence of her industrial situation, England adopted a stricter colonial policy.⁵⁶

By virtue of this policy, this gave the Englishmen frontiersmen in America a greater desire to forge their way through the mountain passes into the Ohio and Mississippi valleys in order to share in the rich fur trade enjoyed by the French who had erected forts at strategic

⁵⁵ Faulkner, op. cit., pp. 51-52.

⁵⁶ Earnest Ludlow Bogart, Economic History of the United States (New York, 1915), p. 105.

positions on the Great Lakes, at the portages leading from them to the Mississippi and on the larger rivers—Fort Cohokia, Chartres, Kaskaska, and New Orleans on the Mississippi, Vincennes on the Wabash, and Duquesne on the Ohio.⁵⁷

Rivalry for commercial and colonial supremacy of the world was the underlying cause of a series of wars of which the first four were fought in America as well as in Europe, between the years of 1689 and 1763 (King Williams War, 1689-1697; Queen Anne's War, 1702-1713; King George's War, 1744-1748; and the greatest and most decisive conflict was the French and Indian War, 1754-1763). The latter was a contest between the French and English for the fur trade, fortifications, and colonial possessions in North America.⁵⁸

The triumph of General Wolfe at Quebec, with a few exceptions, eliminated France in America. The Treaty of Paris closing the terms of peace was signed in Paris, France in April, 1763.

The elimination of France and the victory for England, meant the sudden acquisition of an enormous empire, with the national debt doubled and the burdens for the defense of dominations "on which the sun never set" multiplied many fold. For America, it meant removal of the French danger on the north and of the Spanish danger on the south.⁵⁹ On November 3, 1762, by the Treaty of Fontainbleau, France had

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Faulkner, op. cit., pp. 134-135.

⁵⁹ David Saville Muzzey, The United States of America (Boston, 1922). Vol. I; Through the Civil War, pp. 56-57.

secretly ceded to Charles III of Spain, all lands by her claims to England, east of the Mississippi River (Florida). Since the Treaty of 1763 gave to England, French rights in America, by conquest, and the secret Treaty of Fontainbleau, 1762, gave to England Spanish rights east of the Mississippi River, and in order to have a free hand to deal with the Indians, and to prevent the colonies from rapid growth, beyond the control of the King, by westward expansion, King George, in October, 1763, issued a proclamation, establishing a line running along the crest of the Alleghenies, beginning at the watershed of the St. Lawrence River, thence following the crest and cutting off all Atlantic streams below the Altamaha River, in southern Georgia. He ordered all colonists who had "either willfully or inadvertently seated themselves" on land west of this line "forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements".⁶⁰

While the King was thus hemming in the colonists between the Alleghenies and the Atlantic, and the English Parliament had imposed the burden of taxation on the colonists without their consent, he thought it advisable to place a garrison of ten thousand troops in America, to enforce his mandates as to tax collections, and to keep the young and ambitious colonies from trespassing on western lands.

⁶⁰ Frederick L. Paxon, History of the American Frontier (New York, 1924), p. 9.

CHAPTER II

WESTWARD MOVEMENT FROM 1763 TO 1795

Conflicting influences have contributed to the formation of American character and ideals. On the one hand, proximity to the ocean and intercourse with Europe retarded the development of a distinctly American civilization, while on the other, the westward movement and frontier life have continually worked to efface the European influence and to stimulate the growth of a new nation. "Up to our own days", said Professor Frederick Jackson Turner, "American history has been in a large degree the history of colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development". Each westward movement in American migration was marked by certain activities.¹

The first stage was usually marked by the activities of the hunter, trader, or missionary. Traders and trappers like John Smith and Daniel Boone, and missionaries like Father Marquette and Marcus Whitman are typical of the pathfinders who blaze the trail. The trail of the hunter followed that of the buffalo and the Indian, which later became the highway of civilization.² Following the trapper

¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History, (New York, 1920), p. 1.

² Harold Underwood Faulkner, American Economic History, 1st Ed. (New York, 1924), p. 113.

and the trader came the rancher, and close on the heels of the rancher, came the farmer; the first wave dispersing in sparsely settled communities and wastefully exploiting the soil. These are the stages through which most of our country has passed, and hunter, rancher, farmer, and capitalist have all played their part in its development.³

Before the revolution there had developed in the back country a society distinct from the tidewater regions. The men of the western borders and even beyond, were small farmers and trappers, living a life of poverty but they had the courage of a Columbus or a Czar. This antagonism was evident: (1) in the contest between the debtor class of the interior and the property-holding class of the coast; (2) in the demands for a more democratic and representative government in which the frontier might be more justly represented; (3) in the dissatisfaction over the defective administration of government and law under which the back country suffered; and (4) in the different moral and intellectual outlook of the two regions.

The military events of the Revolution have overshadowed to a great extent the story of the frontier advance which won for us the "Old Northwest" and which went on simultaneously. Although the Proclamation of 1763 had forbidden settlement west of the Allegheny mountains, the daring adventurers disregarded such restrictions with a

³ Ibid., p. 119.

lure for western fortunes. During the first year settlers were establishing themselves on the upper Yadkin. Six years later James Robertson and John Sevier led a band of Virginia frontiersmen to the Watauga Valley and planted a settlement in 1772, comprising thirteen stockaded posts and established a written constitution, the first adopted by white men west of the Alleghenies.

The interesting stories told by Daniel Boone, while hunting in the wilds of the West, attracted the settlers who arrived as early as 1769, only to be driven out by fierce Indian attacks which continued until the close of Lord Durmore's War of 1774. Judge Richard Henderson, a wealthy citizen of North Carolina, founded in 1775 the Transylvania Company, which purchased from the Cherokees the land between the Kentucky and the Cumberland rivers.⁴ This land was claimed by the six nations (Iroquois) and by Virginia as a part of the territory granted to her by her second charter.⁵ Boone, as agent for Mr. Henderson, blazed the trail and erected a walled fort at Boonesboro, where Henderson at a later date arrived with a colony. Immediately thereafter, they drew up a constitution, democratic in content, and petitioned Congress for admission as the fourteenth state of the union, said state to be styled Transylvania. Virginia refused to recognize their

⁴ Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th Ed. (New York, 1911), vol. xv, pp. 745-746.

⁵ Charter of 1609.

independence.

A further migration took place in 1779, when Robertson led an exodus of the most restless of the Watauga settlers into Tennessee and planted a colony at Nashboro at the bend of the Cumberland.⁶ In 1780 a convention of representatives met there and drew up a temporary government providing for the election, by manhood suffrage, of twelve judges in whose hands were vested the power of government. Recall of unsatisfactory judges was provided for and the agreement signed by each of the 256 male settlers. This political community was recognized in 1783 and the Cumberland district was organized as Davidson County.⁷ The attempts at state making in the west illustrates very clearly the lack of sympathy between the frontiersmen and their eastern neighbors, while the backwoodsmen's association of Watauga, Boonesboro, and Nashboro exemplify the "social Compact" in its simplest forms, and are in marked contrast to the undemocratic features of the state constitutions being set up almost simultaneously.

The second stage of transmigrational advancement is one of conquest and covers the early period of the Revolution.⁸ It may be said to begin about 1770 when the Watauga pioneers made their lodgment, there was no let-up in occupation

⁶ James Gattys M. Ramsey, The Annals of Tennessee, Reprinted (Chatanooga, Tennessee, 1926), p. 194.

⁷ Faulkner, op. cit., p. 165.

⁸ Frederick L. Paxson, History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893, Student's Ed. (New York, 1924), pp. 33-34.

thereafter. The first permanent English settlement in the West was established by James Harrod at Harrodsburg, south of the Ohio River, in the present state of Kentucky, in the year 1774.⁹ The English were holding the Old French forts north of the Ohio. They too, as well as the Atlantic seaboard settlers, looked on the early frontiersmen, who were rapidly increasing in strength and power, with an eye of fear and jealousy. This uneasiness caused Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, the British Governor-General of Detroit, known as the "Hair-Buyer", to send his Indian allies in raid after raid upon the hapless frontiersmen. As the colonies were engaged in a bitter struggle for independence, it was almost impossible to rush soldiers for immediate defence.

George Rogers Clark, scarcely twenty-six years of age, but a born leader, with a commission from Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, raised a force, in the spring of 1778, of some two hundred and fifty men,¹⁰ descended the Ohio, and captured the French posts, now held by the British, at Kaskaskia and Cahokia on the Mississippi, and Vincennes on the Wabash. It is true that Hamilton drove Clark out of Vincennes in December, but Clark returned two months later, after a journey of 175 miles across the "drowned lands" surprised and captured Hamilton, the British Governor-General of Detroit and his garrison, and in-

⁹ Britannica, op. cit., pp. 745-746.

¹⁰ Ramsey, op. cit., p. 186.

sured the American possession of the northwest at the close of the war. Being in the northern part of the country, and in the winter months of December, January, and February, this undertaking was nothing less than heroic. To Clark and his little band belongs much credit for this expansion of territory, a region now inhabited by more than twenty millions.¹¹

Under the Quebec Act the territory between the Ohio and the Great Lakes was annexed to Canada, and as part of Canada, George Rogers Clark and his frontiersmen conquered the Ohio Valley.¹² It must be remembered, however, even though Clark deserves much praise, fully as important as the conquest of Clark was the actual occupation of the vanguard of settlers led by Boone, Robertson, and Sevier, whose hold on the Ohio and Cumberland valleys was bitterly resented by the Indians.

The winning of the war of independence and that of the Old Northwest gave to the early pioneers greater security. Under the Land Ordinance of 1785,¹³ and the more famous Ordinance of 1787, the way was prepared for the opening to settlement, and provisions were made for organized government, of that region north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi.

¹¹ Journal of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789
(Washington, 1909), vol. xiv, pp. 809-810.

¹² Quebec Act was in 1774.

¹³ Paxson, op. cit., p. 65.

The first great trans-Allegheny migration, as we have seen, was south of the Ohio into Kentucky and Tennessee.

This movement went on during the Revolution, and according to the first census of 1790, over seventy-five thousand settled in Kentucky and thirty-five thousand settled in Tennessee.¹⁴ These settlers made attempts to free themselves from the parent states of Virginia and North Carolina, but were unsuccessful. But in 1792 and 1796, the newly settled regions were respectively admitted to the Union as states.

The Industrial Revolution, and especially, the invention of the cotton gin, in 1793, created a new interest in the production of cotton. As the soils of Virginia and Carolina were constantly losing their potency of production, a desire for richer lands lured the southern planter westward.

By the side of the picture of the advance of the pioneer farmer (says Turner) bearing his household goods in his canvass-covered wagon to his new home across the Ohio, must therefore be placed the picture of the southern planter crossing through forests of western Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, or passing over the free state of Illinois to the Missouri Valley, in his family carriage, with servants, packs of hunting dogs, and a train of slaves, their nightly camp fires lighting up the wilderness where so recently the Indian hunter held possession.¹⁵

In the southwest the Creeks and Cherokees in Georgia and Alabama, and the Choctaws and Chickasaws in Mississip-

¹⁴ Frederick Jackson Turner, Rise of the New West, 1819-1829 (New York, 1906), p. 92.

¹⁵ Ibid.

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pi, had held back the advance, but outside the Indian reservations the white population had filtered into western Georgia, northern Florida, and southern Alabama.

The Spaniards, who had unsuccessfully attempted, during the peace negotiations of 1781-1783, to prevent the thirteen colonies from obtaining the land west of the Alleghenies, now held Louisiana. From there they were in collusion with the Creeks and Cherokees to bind them close to Spain and to use them as instruments to stem the advance into the southwest. Their agents worked among the western leaders, men like George Rogers Clark (who offered his sword both to Spain and to France)¹⁶ Sevier, and Robertson, to foster movements for independence in order to form buffer states between the thirteen colonies and the Mississippi. To the people of the West, for their general and economic welfare, an outlet to the Mississippi had become a paramount necessity. Spain had designs on the western territory west of the proclamation line of 1763.¹⁷ The secret treaty of Fontainbleau of 1762, had given her a fair basis for such designs.

Having reached the "Western Waters" with his family and outfit, the emigrant's first interest was to secure further transportation. As a general rule, he would purchase a boat. After the voyage down stream, it could be sold, after which it would be knocked to pieces and used

¹⁶ Faulkner, op. cit., p. 190.

¹⁷ Ramsey, op. cit., p. 523.

in the construction of a house.

Pittsburg holding a strategic position in the Ohio Valley, became a town of "boat building, boat buying, and boat selling, to the extent that half of its population was engaged in this industry".¹⁸ This pursuit attracted the sawmill industry which simplified boat building greatly.

On February 13, 1788, this typical advertisement appeared in the Pennsylvania Journal of Philadelphia:

BOATS OF EVERY DIMENSION MAY BE HAD AT ELIZABETH-TOWN, IN THE COURSE OF NEXT SPRING AND SUMMER, AT AS REASONABLE TERMS AS AT ANY PLACE ON SAID RIVER.¹⁹

With the coming of the sawmill, there was gradually evolved the craft which best answered the emigrant's needs. It was variously known as an "ark", "broad horn", "Kentucky boat", "New Orleans boat", "flatboat", "sneak box", and "raft". One navigator estimated the cost of a "Kentucky boat" convenient for a family, between thirty and forty feet in length, from one dollar to one dollar and a quarter per foot, making perhaps thirty-five dollars for a comfortable family boat. Of course accessories, such as a roof, cable, pump, and a fire place would cost ten or fifteen dollars more.²⁰

The gradual inland movement of the population and the settling of lands back from the edges of the river had

¹⁸ Mississippi Valley Historical Review, No. I (Lincoln, Nebraska, June, 1920), vol. vii, p. 31.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

finally compelled them, however, to give more attention to the means of land transportation. Rude earth roads were built to replace the old Indian trail through the forest. These roads were unspeakably poor--sloughs of mire during the thaws of winter and spring, and thick with dust in summer; but bad as they were, they carried a large traffic and their use was steadily growing. The Forbes or Pennsylvania road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and the wilderness road over which the early settlers of Kentucky had threaded their way up the Shenandoah Valley and through the Cumberland Gap to the southern banks of the Ohio River was traveled by thousands of emigrants starting for the lands on the Ohio, and by long trains of pack-horses and wagons bringing such of the produce of western Pennsylvania as could afford the cost of carriage to the markets of Philadelphia.²¹ In the South the roads were poorer than they were in the North. Tobacco and cotton were much lighter than the grain and other products of the northern farms and could be transported with greater ease. Much of the tobacco was hauled over "rolling roads", shafts attached to the ends of the hogshead, and a horse used to roll it over a rough, narrow track to some wharf on an inlet or river.²²

²¹ Emery Richard Johnson and Collaborators, History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States, (Washington D. C., 1915), vol. 1, p. 204; American State Papers, Walter Lowrie and Walter S. Franklin Ed., Miscellaneous, (Washington, 1834), vol. 1, p. 724.

²² Ibid.

Inland towns were beginning to grow up at the focusing points of the country roads. The owners of the general stores at such places, where sugar, tea, molasses, coffee, cloth, hardware, metals, and earthenware were freely bartered for grain, meat, poultry, cheese, butter, candles, fruits, vegetables, and rude articles of domestic manufacturing, derived large profits out of their position as middlemen between the producing farmer and the importing merchant at the nearest seaport.

Lancaster, Pennsylvania was the largest inland town not situated on a waterway, and the highway between it and Philadelphia probably carried more traffic than any other road in the country. This highway, by 1792, had been converted into a turnpike, the first in the United States. Winchester, Virginia had several grist mills grinding up the wheat of the surrounding farms, and teams were constantly employed in the transportation of flour to Alexandria eighty miles away, at a cost of carriage of one dollar and twenty-five cents a barrel.²³

The transportation of the time, however, was entirely inadequate to the needs of the country, and the lack of better means for getting products to market was a serious impediment to internal development. Tench Coxe, writing in 1792, graphically pictured the plight of the people when he said:

²³ Ibid.

To a nation inhabiting a great continent not yet traversed by artificial roads and canals, the rivers of which above their natural navigation have been hitherto very little improved, many of whose people are at this moment closely settled upon lands, which actually sink from one-fifth to one-half of the value of their crops in the mere charges of transporting them to seaport towns, and others of whose inhabitants cannot at present send their produce to a seaport for its whole value, a thorough sense of the truth of the position is a matter of unequalled magnitude and importance.²⁴

Especially was the communication between the Ohio Valley and the outside world difficult and expensive. Washington, recognizing the desirability of means of cheap transportation across the mountains, had in 1785, succeeded in securing the meeting of a commercial convention to settle problems of river navigation preliminary to the construction of a canal between tributaries of the Potomac and the Ohio Rivers.²⁵ The negotiations of this convention, however, had been diverted to a larger and more important matter than that for which it was originally called, and the question of a canal between the eastern and western country was temporarily forgotten. Agitation for such a canal had been renewed during 1789 and 1790, but nothing was done at this time.

The internal commerce of the country was handicapped by the fearfully high cost of transportation. An era of turnpike building that was to last for forty years began in 1790. The problem of land carriage for those regions

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 206-207.

²⁵ Ibid.

close to the seacoast or the navigable streams of the East had been almost eliminated but turnpikes were unable to afford cheap carriage for long distances. The charges to send goods by wagon were enormous.

To haul a ton from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, an all-land route, cost \$125....To move a bushel of salt three hundred miles over any road cost \$2.50....Taking the country through, it may be said that to transport goods, wares, or merchandise, cost \$10 per ton per one hundred miles. Articles which could not stand these rates were shut off from the market and among these were grain and flour, which could not bear transportation more than one hundred and fifty miles. The cause of these rates were the terrible state of the roads and the high rates of tolls.²⁶

The western states found the outlet of their produce in one direction and the source of their supplies in another, the difficulties of transportation giving to the commerce of the Ohio Valley a peculiar triangular character, which was retained for a half century.²⁷

The only products of the farmer, the marketing of which was not greatly interfered with by the excessive costs of land transportation were his livestock. The whiskey rebellion had given a great impetus to the business of stock raising in the western Pennsylvania, and the industry had already taken root in all parts of the Ohio Valley. The abundance of mast in the large forests and later the cheapness of corn made hog-raising in particular a profitable occupation in Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana. Many of

²⁶ Johnson and Collaborators, op. cit., p. 210.

²⁷ Ibid.

the cattle and hogs were driven to Baltimore and Philadelphia to be slaughtered for the domestic and foreign trade and to supply hides for the manufacture of leather goods in New England. It was estimated that over 100,000 hogs were driven east annually from Kentucky alone; herds of several hundred cattle and droves of four thousand to five thousand hogs were no uncommon sight to travelers on the highways leading across the mountains to the eastern markets.²⁸

Shut off as they were from commercial intercourse from the rest of the country, the inhabitants of the inland communities were forced to rely upon their own efforts for the production of nearly everything that they used. In the interior counties of all the southern states the house-hold manufactures consumed were much greater in amount than those imported.²⁹ Out of one hundred and thirty families in Pittsburg in 1790, there were thirty-seven "manufacturers". Clothing, hats, and shoes were made in nearly all homes. Iron furnaces were opened in the vicinity, and in a few years nails, wire, guns, and agricultural implements were being manufactured in western Pennsylvania. In 1796 Brownsville had twenty-four grist, saw, oil, and fulling mills, as well as one mill for the manufacture of paper, and each year one hundred boats of twenty tons each were built for

²⁸ Ibid., p. 211.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 206.

emigrants to Kentucky. By reducing their raw material to a manufactured state, the people were able to avoid the importation of many wares, and in the face of heavy transportation charges to the eastern markets could export some of their surplus. After the suppression of the whisky rebellion, many Pennsylvania farmers turned their attention to raising cattle and hogs, which could furnish their own transportation to the market and thus afford a way of disposing of otherwise useless grain.³⁰

The natural outlet for the surplus products of the Ohio Valley was the Mississippi River. During the Revolutionary War the Spanish government had given the people of the United States the right of free navigation of the river. In 1778,³¹ the merchants of New Orleans, who had grown to be of some importance, were granted special privileges by the Spanish Government on account of the loyalty and courage shown by the Louisiana troops, who had, under Governor Galvez, captured Baton Rouge, Pensacola, and other important points, and driven the British out of West Florida. In return for their courage and loyalty, New Orleans was granted the privilege of sending each year so many shiploads of goods to France instead of being compelled to ship all its products to Spanish ports. This marks the opening of the Mississippi to the commerce of the world. Previous

30 Ibid.

31 House Executive Documents, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., vol. xx (Washington, 1889), I, pp. 180-181.

to this grant there was no freedom whatever. Under Crozat,³² under the French and afterwards under the Spanish, the trade was regulated and controlled by the government; the people were not allowed to ship where they wanted, and no vessel of foreign power, whether friendly or not, was allowed to enter the river for commercial purposes.

In the meanwhile a settlement was growing up on the Ohio and its tributaries that soon changed the future of the possessor of the Ohio basin. As the legatee of Great Britain the total white population of that vast region was only a few thousand, almost wholly of French origin, and engaged more in hunting than in agriculture.³³ About the time that the Revolutionary War opened a new immigration set in from the English colonies on the Atlantic over the Alleghenies into the valley of the Ohio. The story of Daniel Boone and the settlement after the first white American was settled in the basin of the Ohio shows its population was producing large surplus crops of all kinds and seeking for an outlet by which they could be shipped to market. During the Revolutionary War the United States had stationed an agent in New Orleans for the purchase of guns and ammunition for the Continental forces and their shipment up the river to Pittsburg and thence overland to Philadelphia. Prior to the year of

32

Binger Herman, Louisiana Purchase, 56th Cong., 1st Sess., House Doc. 708 (Washington, 1900), p. 14; Crozat was a rich merchant of Paris who received the Louisiana Grant of Commerce from Louis XIV.

33

House Executive Documents, op. cit.

1778, the river trade had increased gradually, and the Philadelphia merchants had found it profitable to establish themselves in New Orleans for the purpose of handling this trade, which amounted at that time to some \$225,000 a year.³⁴

From the year of 1778 to 1784, quite an increase in trade had been recorded, and the western tension had been somewhat relaxed, because of the restrictions being removed by the Spaniards; but in 1784, Spain discovered the secret clause of the Treaty of Versailles,³⁵ and the right to the free navigation of the Mississippi river was immediately withdrawn. In addition to the withdrawal, exorbitant tolls had been imposed on vessels descending from the United States. The people of the West, enraged at being deprived at what they considered their natural right, protested furiously at the action of the Spanish government and appealed to the Congress for protection. Their appeals were in vain; Congress not only failed to take steps to open the river again, but in 1786, under the domination of the commercial interest of the East, was on the point of bartering away, for a period of twenty-five years, all claims to a right to navigate the Mississippi, in return for Spanish concessions in regard to Florida boundary.³⁶ Fortunately, this deal was never made, but the river remained closed in spite of the protest and

34

Ibid.

35

William M. Malloy, Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Between the United States and Other Powers, (Washington, 1910), vol. 1, pp. 586-587.

36

Johnson and Collaborators, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 206-207.

threats of the western farmers. The only market left for them was in the cities of the eastern coasts. Peltries, ginseng, and whisky were almost the only products of the West that would pay their cost of transportation overland to Philadelphia, and the proceeds derived from the sale of these were sufficient only to purchase a few things of first necessity such as salt, gunpowder, and some indispensable articles of iron.³⁷ When the new government placed the excise tax on whisky, which was practically the only form in which the farmers of western Pennsylvania could take their grain to eastern markets, a storm of rebellion arose in Fayette, Washington, Westmoreland, and Allegheny counties that indicated how precarious their situation really was and how slender were the bonds that united them to the rest of the country. The prices of the agricultural products of the west were absurdly low, a cow and a calf being given in exchange for a bushel of salt.³⁸

Soon after the ratification of the definitive Treaty of 1783, Congress turned their attention to commercial intercourse with foreign nations, and instructed the American Minister particularly, in any negotiation with Spain, not to relinquish or cede, in any event whatsoever, the right of freely navigating the Mississippi River to the ocean.

Spain still persisting in her extensive claims east of that river and to its exclusive navigation, appointed

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

Don Diego Gardoqui, her minister, to go to Philadelphia to adjust the interfering claims west of the two nations.³⁹

Jay, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, was appointed to treat with him on the part of the United States, and exhausted all contentions in his arguments but failed.⁴⁰ Gardoqui refused to yield and stated that the king did not regard the Treaty of 1783 as binding. Jay asked Congress for new instructions and proposed in return for liberal commercial privileges. His statement is as follows:

Circumstanced as we are, I think it would be expedient to agree that the treaty should be limited to twenty-five or thirty years, and that one of its articles should stipulate that the United States would forbear to use the navigation of that river below their territories to the ocean.⁴¹

Jay also stated that the navigation of the Mississippi River was not important at that time; and if we had to go to war for it, we were not prepared; and in that case France would no doubt join Spain.

A resolution was submitted to Congress, repealing Mr. Jay's instructions of August 25, 1785. The forbearance resolution was rescinded due to so much opposition. The Spanish Minister still refused to admit the United States to any share in the navigation of the river below the boundaries claimed by the monarch, on any terms or con-

³⁹ Don Diego Gardoqui appointed by Spain in 1785 and arrived in Philadelphia the same year.

⁴⁰ Ramsey, op. cit., p. 524.

⁴¹ Ibid.

ditions whatsoever.

As it was, the bare rumor of what had been proposed, relative to the surrender of the navigable rights of the Mississippi River, in the Jay-Gardoqui controversy, the western sentiment became aroused furiously. Meetings were held at different places. One of these represented a "commercial treaty with Spain to be cruel, oppressive, and unjust".

The prohibition of the navigation of the Mississippi has astonished the whole western country. To sell us, and to make us vassals to the merciless Spaniards, is a grievance not to be borne.⁴²

A copy of these and similar proceedings, was laid before Congress, and in September of 1788, that body contradicted the rumor, and resolved:

That the free navigation of the river is a clear and essential right of the United States, and that the same ought to be considered and supported as such.⁴³

To quiet the apprehensions of her western inhabitants, how upon the point of carrying into effect the dismemberment of the parent state, and the formation of the State of Franklin, the delegates from North Carolina in September of 1788 submitted to Congress the following resolutions:

Whereas, many citizens of the United States, who possess lands on the western waters, have expressed much uneasiness from report that Congress are disposed to treat with Spain for the surrender of their claims to the navigation of the Mississippi River;⁴⁴ In order, therefore, to quiet the minds of our fellow-

42

Ibid., p. 530.

43

Ibid.

44

Ibid.

citizens, by removing such illfounded apprehensions,

Resolved, That the United States have a clear, absolute inalienable claim to the free navigation of the Mississippi River; which claim is not only supported by the express stipulations of treaties, but by the great law of nature.⁴⁵

Virginia, too, had adopted similar resolutions. These decided measures tranquillized, for a time, the growing discontents of the western settlements, and provided that alienation of feeling which, at one time, led them to repudiate their dependence upon their Atlantic countrymen, and to look forward to a connection of some kind with their Spanish neighbors.

At this time, France and Spain were at war, and French emisarries sought through prejudice, that had been aroused against the Spaniards relative to the navigation question, to instigate an invasion of Louisiana and Florida by the people of the United States, and if practicable, even a separation of the western states, and an alliance with Louisiana under the dominion and protection of France. To carry into effect these purposes, M. Genet, the Minister of the Republic of France was sent to the United States.⁴⁶ He arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, early in April, 1793, and according to the best judgment of the Executive Council of the newly organized Republic of France, was instructed to comply with the following: First, to solicit the advance payment of the remaining debt, which then

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 535.

amounted to \$2,461,513, the same to be expended by France in the United States, in purchasing provisions, naval stores, and the fitting out of privateers from the West to invade Louisiana.⁴⁷ Second, to strengthen the Americans in the principles which implied them to unite themselves to France, to make them feel that they could have no ally more natural and more disposed to treat them in a brotherly way. Third, to take every measure compatible with his position to stimulate the growth of principles of liberty and independence in the province adjacent to the United States. Fourth, to maintain agents in Kentucky and send some to Louisiana.

Genet's first act on arriving at Charleston was to shock the modesty of Jefferson, and embarrass President Washington beyond the degree of mild criticism. First, he set up prize courts at Charleston, South Carolina for condemnation, and the sale of prizes. Second, he began to fit out other prizes as new French privateers to go out and capture British ships off the American coasts. Third, he left to the French consul at that port, Mangourit, the execution of his plans for the raising of two armies of American frontiersmen, in Georgia and Kentucky respectively, to march against the Spanish provinces on the Gulf of Mexico.⁴⁸ Fourth, he brought along commission blanks for the purpose

⁴⁷ Samuel Flagg Bemis, On Thomas Jefferson, The American Secretary of State, and Their Diplomacy (New York, 1927), vol. II, pp. 83-84.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

of enlisting American citizens, and of commissioning of officers in the French army. Similar French Commissions were ready for American sea captains who might wish to take command of French privateers equipped in American harbours.⁴⁹

Besides using the United States as a basis for an attack on the British commerce, Genet proposed to utilize American territory for the purpose of organizing expeditions to seize Spanish and British lands to the south and to the north. He had little difficulty in securing the aid of prominent characters in South Carolina and Kentucky, or in enlisting men for these proposed expeditions. His trouble consisted in finding money necessary to procure supplies and to pay the wages of those whom he employed.⁵⁰

Before Genet had even been presented to the President, he had already raised several perplexing problems for Jefferson to settle.⁵¹

He proceeded overland to the national capital (Philadelphia). All along the way he was acclaimed by the Democratic Clubs and pro-French Republican sympathizers, who far outnumbered the conservative members of society. At Philadelphia, an enthusiastic popular reception was tendered him. Washington treated him coolly, since his unexpected official acts were weaving a web of European entanglement precipitating a crisis.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

While finding ready listeners throughout all the back-country, Genet was rudely shocked by the discovery that President Washington was indisposed to lend the power of the young republic to his plans of war against Great Britain and Spain, the arch enemies of republican France. Signs of party strife had already begun to appear, and the friends of France were soon loud in their condemnation of Washington and all others who showed their friendship to the British by refusing to come to the rescue of the French. About this time, certain prominent opponents of Washington's policy organized in Philadelphia a Democratic Society,⁵² modelled after the powerful and violent Jacobin clubs of France.

Its purpose was to help France combat the combined monarchies of Europe and to prevent America from next falling prey to these powers, which had sworn to crush liberty, but its real purpose was to weld together the rising opposition to Washington and to the Federalists. Discontented elements readily seized the idea, and before the end of the summer there were a dozen Democratic Societies scattered over the country.⁵³ There were no more fertile field in all the land for such a society than in the West, and especially in Kentucky. Here dissent was wide spread and

⁵² John B. McMasters, History of the People of the United States, (New York, 1913) vol. ii, pp. 109-110 and 175-178. He says the society was organized in a week after Genet arrived in Philadelphia.

⁵³ Ibid.

intense; the Mississippi still remained closed to navigation, and the Federal government was doing little, apparently, to force Spain to open it. Ordinary methods of protest seemed to avail nothing; a new way would now be devised. John Bradford, who had set up the Kentucky Gazette six years earlier, proposed to a number of citizens of Lexington that they organize a Democratic Society, and on August 22, 1793, a preliminary meeting was held, which resolved that such a society ought to be formed, "embracing the laudable objects of the Philadelphia Democratic Society". At this meeting a committee was appointed to draw up articles of organization. Six days later the Kentucky Democratic Society was created, with John Breckenridge, one of the leaders of the State, as chairman and Thomas Bodley and Thomas Todd as clerks. As a result of common interest, able leadership, and a constantly growing need, such organization crystalized the sentiment of the West, with Kentucky taking the lead.⁵⁴

The general purpose of these societies was naturally in keeping with that of the parent organization at Philadelphia; but the definite impulse which had set them going was the desire to use every possible method of opening the Mississippi to navigation. They stirred up enthusiasm by erecting liberty poles, wearing tri-colored cockade, and assuming the other customs and trappings characteristic of

the French.

Genet's influence found potential ground in the West, and the societies were fast becoming threats of grave interest to the nation. The inevitable conclusion was that the federal government was unwilling for the West to have the navigation of the Mississippi. The East was jealous of the West, and feared for it to become prosperous. Petitions and memorials had loaded the tables of Congress but without avail.⁵⁵

John Breckenridge, with his influence as a leader had done effective work as chairman for the Kentucky Society, crystalized the motives of the western sentiment in his address:

The Democratic Society of Kentucky having had under consideration the measures necessary to obtain the exercise of your rights to the free navigation of the Mississippi, have determined to address you upon that important topic. This measure is not dictated by party or faction; it is the consequence of unavoidable necessity. It has become so from the neglect shown by the General Government, to obtain for those of the citizens of the United States who are interested therein the navigation of the river....

Experience, has shown us that the General Government is unwilling that we should obtain the navigation of the river Mississippi. It can hardly be necessary to remind you that considerable quantities of beef, pork, flour, hemp, tobacco, etc., the produce of this country, remain on hand for want of purchasers, or are sold at inadequate prices. Much greater quantities might be raised if the inhabitants were encouraged by the certain sale which the free navigation of the Mississippi would afford....Let not history record that the inhabitants of this beautiful country lost a most invaluable right, and half the benefits bestowed upon it by a bountiful Providence, through your neglect and supineness. The present crisis is favorable. Spain is engaged in a war which requires all her

forces. If the present golden opportunity be suffered to pass without advantage, and she shall have concluded a peace with France, we must then contend against her undivided strength....

Remember that it is a common cause which ought to unite us, that that cause is indubitably just, and that it is only by union that the object can be achieved. The obstacles are great, and so ought to be our efforts. Adverse fortune may attend us, but it shall never dispirit us. We may for a while exhaust our wealth and strength, but until the all-important object is procured we pledge ourselves to you, and let us all pledge ourselves to each other, that our perseverance and our friendship will be inexhaustible.⁵⁶

Genet's frigate went by the sea from Charleston to Philadelphia and took several prizes, one of which was the British ship, Grange, within the Delaware Bay. This irregular action brought a sharp protest from the British Minister, Hammond. Jefferson thus had to acknowledge the justification of Hammond's protest, which resulted in the calling of the cabinet meeting and it was decided to require restitution of the Grange, on the ground that the Delaware River was a part of American territorial waters and damages were paid to the amount of \$143,426.⁵⁷

Genet so outraged the American federal government that it demanded his recall; and his successor, Fouchet, taking better counsel of the times and circumstances, terminated the expedition on March 6, 1794,⁵⁸ and in June of the same year Congress passed the Neutrality Act, the purpose of which was to set forth rules for neutral con-

56

State Papers, op. cit., pp. 929 and 930.

57

Bemis, op. cit., pp. 83-84.

58

Historical Review, op.cit., vol. ii, p. 384.

59

duct among nations.

Not only did Hammond win his point of protest and convince Jefferson that he was right, but Great Britain still held possession of much of the western country and was savagely inciting the Indians to pillage and slaughter on the north while Spain was depriving the West of its dearest rights on the south. And what had the federal government done, except, indeed, to add outrage to injury, by sending John Jay, the bitterest enemy of the West, to make a treaty with Great Britain. She should be vigorously proceeded against for her barbarous conduct toward the western country, and Spain should be handed an ultimatum on the Mississippi River question, as stated by the discontented westerners.⁶⁰

Due to the conduct of Genet, as Minister of France, in treating with the masses rather than the President and Congress, according to the instructions from his superiors, United States was brought to the brink of war with England. It became a necessity to avert trouble, and John Jay was hurried to London for immediate steps of arbitration to terminate the differences that so suddenly precipitated such a grave crisis.

A treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation was consummated on November, 1794, between England and the United

⁵⁹ Bemis, op. cit.

⁶⁰ Historical Review, op. cit., vol. 11, pp. 384-385.

States. Article III,⁶¹ dealt with the navigation of the Mississippi, and gave to England and the United States treaty rights in the use of the river. While Article VII,⁶² practically surrendered our commercial rights on the high seas, which was our main contention for immediate settlement. The result of this treaty was bitterly protested by the American government, Jay was ridiculed for his act, and due to the leniency of such a treaty, Spain had just reasons to believe that England would, perhaps, unite with the United States.

At length, Spain, embarrassed in European wars, and still apprehensive of invasion of her American possessions by the pioneers of the West, intimated her willingness to negotiate on the points in controversy.⁶³

It is apparent that the first aim of Spanish policy was to form an alliance with the United States, with a mutual guarantee of territory and river rights which had kept the western settlers in heated fury and in increasing threats against Louisiana. The unknown terms of Jay's Treaty were feared by the Spanish to contain an agreement by the United States and Great Britain to support each other in maintaining, perhaps by force, the free navigation of the Mississippi River as guaranteed in the definitive Treaty

⁶¹ American State Papers, Foreign Relations, Article III (Washington, 1853), vol. 1, p. 520; Jay's Treaty.

⁶² Ibid., Article VII, p. 521; this article brought to Jay much criticism.

⁶³ Ramsey, op. cit., pp. 536-537.

of 1783.⁶⁴

Following the declaration of amity in Article I, it is stipulated in Article II that the southern boundary of the United States:

Shall be designated by a line beginning on the River Mississippi at the Northeast part of the thirty-first degree of latitude north of the Equator, which from thence shall be drawn due East to the middle of the River Apalachicola, or Cattahouche, thence down the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint. Thence straight to the head of St. Mary's River, and thence down the middle thereof to the Atlantic Ocean.⁶⁵

All garrisons and troops of either party within the territory of the other should be evacuated within six months or sooner after the ratification of the treaty, they being permitted to take with them all the "goods and effects". This same stipulation was made in the Anglo-American Treaty of 1783.

While Article III, has a provision for a joint military detachment to survey lines so designated in Article II.⁶⁶

The Mississippi navigation Article (Article IV) which had been the objective in the controversy for western relief is as follows:

It is likewise agreed that the western boundary of the United States, which separates them from the Spanish colony in Louisiana, is in the middle of the channel or bed of the river Mississippi, from the

64 Samuel Flagg Bemis, Pinckney's Treaty, (Baltimore, 1926), p. 167.

65 State Papers, Foreign Relations, op. cit., p. 547.

66 Ibid.

northern boundary of the said States to the completion of the thirty-first degree of latitude north of the equator. And His Catholic Majesty has likewise agreed that the navigation of the said river, in its whole breadth, from its source to the ocean, shall be free only to his subjects and citizens of the United States, unless he should extend this privilege to the subjects of other Powers by special convention.⁶⁷

With all the efforts on the part of Pinckney, there still remains the question; is Article IV, a grant, or a right? Will it solve for all time the economic problem of the West? While Article XXII, the entrepot provision will no doubt clarify Article IV. As actually worded the Article read:

His Catholic Majesty will permit the Citizens of the United States for the space of three years from this time to deposit their merchandise and effects in the Port of New Orleans, and to export them from thence without paying any other duty than a fair price for the hire of the stores, and his Majesty promises either to continue this permission if he finds during that time that it is not prejudicial to the interest of Spain, or if he should not agree to continue it there, he will assign to them another part of the bank of the Mississippi an equivalent establishment.⁶⁸

It seems that this point is not clear. Did the King of Spain reserve the right to revoke the entrepot provision at the termination of the three year period as stipulated in Article XXII? It may be admitted that this point is somewhat ambiguous and indefinite. The last provision, which is, Article XXIII, concerns ratification within a period of six months time.

When word reached the discontented settlers of the

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 547.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

West, much joy was manifested over the success of Pinckney, and for a brief period these courageous pioneers were again to see prosperous days in clearing the staled markets through the outlet of the Mississippi River.

CHAPTER III

THE OPENING OF THE MISSISSIPPI FROM 1795 TO 1803

The result of the Treaty of 1795, between the United States and Spain, opening the Mississippi to the commerce of the Western Settlers, not only allayed the rebellious minds of the crafty pioneers, but it gave them immediate relief as well as a brief period of economic prosperity. Migration from the East (Atlantic seaboard) increased rapidly thus enlarging the volume of production and commerce.

The river trade suddenly sprang forward with startling rapidity, and reached what was deemed in those days an immense figure. It is interesting to note the traffic, then, so as to see what advance there had been in the past hundred years. The exports of New Orleans at the time were estimated by an expert who made a careful examination of the matter, to be as follows:

Cotton (200,000 pounds)-----	\$ 50,000
Furs-----	100,000
Boxes (For sugar 200,000)----	225,000
Sugar (40,000,000 pounds)----	320,000
Indigo (100,000 pounds)-----	100,000
Tobacco (200,000 pounds)-----	16,000
Timber-----	50,000
Rice (2,000 barrels)-----	50,000
Western Produce (flour, tobacco, etc.)-----	<u>500,000</u>
TOTAL-----	\$1,411,000 ¹

The furs came from the upper country; so did some of

¹ House Executive Documents, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., 1887-1888, vol. xx (Washington, 1889), I, pp. 181-182.

the cotton; the sugar, indigo, rice, and timber from the Spanish possessions in Louisiana; the rest from Kentucky and Ohio. In 1798 the receipts of produce from the American settlements in Ohio reached \$975,000 and were increasing some \$300,000 a year with the new population pouring into the country. The three years during which New Orleans had been agreed on as the depot for western produce, according to the treaty between Spain and the United States, which had elapsed.² The attention of the Spanish Government was called to this, and it was urged by the Kentuckians that if Spain desired to make a change, another point be selected; but nothing was done. It remained for the Spanish Intendant, Morales, to interpret the treaty as meaning that with the lapse of these three years the Americans lost all right of deposit at New Orleans or any other point in the Spanish possessions, and that the Lower Mississippi was thus virtually closed to them.³ This was a fatal decision for Spain, and if Senor Morales had seen the consequence or understood the feeling that his action aroused in Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee, he would never have been guilty of it, for his decision lost Louisiana to his government. The neutrality and freedom of the Mississippi became at once the aim of American diplomacy, and the United States was convinced that the stability of the government and the commercial necessities of the West re-

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

quired the possession and control of the Mississippi. For the next four years the Mississippi problem and the purchase of Louisiana were the chief subjects of discussion in Congress, and American statesmen at home and abroad worked and intrigued zealously to prevent the Mississippi from falling from the hands of a weak power like Spain into those of a strong one like England or France, both of whom had their eyes on this rich, fertile, and productive valley, whose wealth was just beginning to be recognized.

AS for the Western people, the Kentuckians and Tennesseans, they were wild with fury when they heard that their only outlet to market was closed to them by Morales's order. An expedition to New Orleans to capture the city and drive the Spanish out of the Mississippi Valley was seriously discussed. An account was taken of the men available for military service, the number being estimated at twenty thousand, and the preliminary organization had begun, when the President sent three regiments to the Ohio to prevent such a filibustering expedition, and assured the people that the matter would be settled by diplomacy.⁴ Petitions poured into Congress demanding that it take some action to open the Mississippi to the commerce of the Western Territories. The following, which is one of the petitions presented at the time, gives an idea of the Western sentiment on this subject:

Petition Of The People Of Kentucky To Congress, 1798

4

Ibid.

The Mississippi is ours by the law of nature; it belongs to us by our numbers and by the labor which we have bestowed upon these spots, which before our arrival were desert and barren. Our innumerable rivers swell it and flow with it into the Gulf of Mexico. Its mouth is the only issue which nature has given to our waters, and we wish to use it for our vessels. We do not prevent the Spanish and French from ascending the river to our towns and villages. We wish, in our turn, to descend it without any interruption to its mouth, to ascend it again, and to exercise our privilege of trading on it and navigating it at our pleasure. If our most entire liberty in this matter is disputed, nothing will prevent our taking possession of the capital (of Louisiana), and when we are once masters of it, we will know how to maintain ourselves there. If Congress refuses us effectual protection, if it forsakes us, we will adopt the measures which our safety requires, even if they endanger the peace of the Union and our connection with the other States. No protection, no allegiance.⁵

There is no doubt that this threat of secession was very popular among some of the pioneers of the West. It must be remembered that the Federal Union was less than ten years old; that the settlers along the Ohio were cut off from the Atlantic sea-coast by mountains through which no roads of any kind ran; that their sole dependence was the Mississippi, and their crops were of no value without the use of that stream.

The Government recognized the justice of these complaints and Mr. Madison himself, while Secretary of State, in writing to the American minister at Madrid, said of the Western people:

The Mississippi River to them is everything, it is the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomac, and all the navigable waters of the Atlantic States formed into

one stream.⁶

In the meanwhile this embargo had caused considerable trouble in New Orleans, where it threatened to create a famine. The lower river country as today raised articles like indigo, sugar, and cotton, mainly for export, and not enough provisions for the supply of the population. As a consequence of the stoppage of the shipments from the Ohio, there was a dearth of flour and other Western produce in New Orleans.

The discussion over the trade of the Mississippi found its way into Congress, and served as the chief subject of debate. Mr. Ross, of Pennsylvania, representing the Western element, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, that we have an indisputable right to the free navigation of the river Mississippi and to a convenient place of deposit for the produce of the country and its merchandise in the island Orleans.

Resolved, that the President be authorized to take immediate possession of the country and to call into service the militia of the Western States.⁷

The interpretation of the Spanish intendant, Morales, and the failure to renew the three year clause in the Treaty of San Lorenzo, precipitated a serious crisis on the part of the Federal Government in averting serious disruption of the Western settlers.

On October 1, 1800, France by secret treaty acquired Louisiana from Spain. The treaty is known as that of San

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

Ildefonso.⁸ According to it France should procure "an aggrandizement" for the Duke of Parma, the son-in-law of the king of Spain. This aggrandizement might consist of Tuscany or some other well rounded state which would increase his subjects to the number of one million. And the Duke was to be given all the rights of royal dignity and the title of king. Six months after these details had been arranged Spain agreed to deliver Louisiana to France,

with the same extent that it now has in the possession of France, and such as it ought to be in conformity with the treaties subsequently concluded between Spain and other states.⁹

The untouched resources of the Mississippi and the name of Louisiana appealed to the imagination of the French. Napoleon's ambition included the rebuilding of a colonial empire. In the Treaty of San Ildefonso he had accomplished the first step. The signing of the preliminary articles of peace at London, October 1, 1801, constituted the second step. The third step consisted in subjugating San Domingo. That island held the key to the rebuilding of the French colonial system in the West Indies and in Louisiana.¹⁰

The island of San Domingo was of strategic and com-

⁸ American State Papers, Foreign Relations (Washington, 1832), vol. 11, p. 511.

⁹ William M. Malloy, Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements, 1876-1909 (Washington, 1910), vol. 1, p. 506.

¹⁰ Charles E. Hill, Leading American Treaties (New York, 1931), pp. 78-84.

mercial importance to France with her designs on the Louisiana territory. The imports and exports were valued at more than one hundred-forty million dollars, mostly sugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton. The population was more than one-half million people of whom almost all of them lived in slavery. But the greatest source of uneasiness sprang from the jealousy of the free mulattoes who had the conviction that a trifling difference in blood or color was an unreasonable basis for the social barriers.

Among this group was a born leader, Toussaint Louverture, who had the same abnormal physical and mental energy of Bonaparte; and he was always present where he was needed. He was the undisputed ruler of the island, owing only nominal allegiance to France. The combination of fear and ambition caused him to declare himself the "Bonaparte of San Domingo".¹¹

In January, 1802, Napoleon sent his brother-in-law, Leclerc, with ten thousand troops to take over the island and wrest the power from the black leader who had been courting the allegiance of the United States. In less than three months Toussaint swept away the French army and destroyed the industry of the island. With the loss of 17,000 French soldiers at the hands of Toussaint, and 7,000 more with the yellow fever, Napoleon changed his mind about taking over the island of San Domingo. This upset his

¹¹ Ibid.

plans materially with designs on Louisiana.

These events together with the rumors about Louisiana made Thomas Jefferson suspicious. He wrote to Robert R. Livingston, the American minister in Paris, on April 18, 1802:

The cession of Louisiana and the Floridas by Spain to France, works most sorely on the United States. On this subject the Secretary of State has written to you fully, yet I cannot forbear recurring to it personally, so deep is the impression it makes on my mind. It completely reverses all political relations of the United States, and will form a new epoch in our political course. Of all the nations of an consideration, France is the one which, hitherto, has offered the most points of a communion of interests. From these causes, we have ever looked to her as our natural friend, as one which we could never have an occasion of difference. Her growth, therefore, we viewed as our own, her misfortunes ours. There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market, and from its fertility it will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce, and contain more than half of our inhabitants. France, placing herself in that door assumes to us the attitude of defiance. The day that France takes possession of New Orleans, fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. It seals the union of two nations, who, in conjunction, can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment, we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation.¹²

In the same letter Jefferson instructed Livingston to broach Napoleon on the subject of the possible purchase of "the island of New Orleans and the Floridas" by the United States.

Early in 1803 Congress authorized the President to direct the governors to call out eighty thousand militiamen and to hold them in readiness. Congress appropriated

¹² Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Lib. Ed. (Washington, 1904), vol. x, pp. 311-313; Hill, op. cit., p. 83.

\$2,000,000 for the purchase of the island of Orleans and adjacent lands.¹³ A considerable number of Congressmen wanted to seize New Orleans outright and appropriate \$15,000,000 for contingencies, but the moderate policy of Jefferson prevailed. Moreover, Livingston reported that Tallyrand had assured him that in Louisiana, France would strictly observe the treaties existing between the United States and Spain. This report had a quieting effect upon the members of the two houses and especially upon those from Kentucky and Tennessee.

President Jefferson nominated James Monroe as minister extraordinary to aid Livingston in buying New Orleans and the Floridas. The Senate confirmed the nomination, and Jefferson wrote to Monroe January 13, 1803:

The measure has already silenced the Federalists here. Congress will no longer be agitated by them; and the country will become calm as fast as the information extends over it. All eyes, all hopes, are fixed on you; and were you to decline, the chagrin would be universal, and would shake under your feet, the high ground on which you stand with the public.¹⁴

Monroe accepted the appointment, but did not sail until he received instructions, March 2, 1803.¹⁵ For New Orleans and West and East Florida, Monroe and Livingston

¹³ State Papers and Correspondence, "Purchase of the Territory of Louisiana", 57th Cong., 2nd Sess., (Washington, 1903), vol. 92, p. 84.

¹⁴ Writings of Thomas Jefferson, op. cit., vol. viii, p. 344.

¹⁵ American State Papers, Foreign Relations (Washington, 1910), vol. ii, p. 540.

could offer any amount up to \$10,000,000.¹⁶ French citizens, vessels, and merchandise should be treated for ten years in this ceded territory on the same basis as American citizens, vessels, and merchandise; thereafter, the most favored nation principle should apply to the French.

Frenchmen might have the right to deposit at New Orleans for ten years.¹⁷ The navigation of the Mississippi below the thirty-first parallel was to be free to the vessels and citizens of both parties, but

no other nation shall be allowed to exercise commerce to or at the same, or any other place on either shore below the said thirty-first degree of latitude for the term of ten years.¹⁸

The object of this provision was to give France the advantage over Englishmen and their vessels in the navigation of the river. However, there was no intention on the part of the United States to cancel Great Britain's right under the Treaty of 1783 to navigate the river above the thirty-first parallel.¹⁹ If France were to insist that her part of the cession from Spain be guaranteed to her, then Monroe and Livingston might as a last resort acquiesce. If France were disposed to sell only a part or parts, "then the Floridas, together, are estimated at one-fourth the

¹⁶ Hill, op. cit., p. 85.

¹⁷ American State Papers, Foreign Relations (Washington, 1832), vol. 11, p. 542.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

value of the whole island of New Orleans, and East Florida at half that of West Florida".²⁰

While Monroe was still on the ocean, Napoleon consulted with Talleyrand about selling Louisiana to the United States. Talleyrand did not approve. Napoleon consulted, thereupon, with his minister of finance, Barbe Marbois, who made his opinion that of his master.²¹ On Easter Sunday Napoleon attended religious services at St. Cloud. That afternoon he had a conference with Marbois. He feared Great Britain would seize Louisiana as the first act of war; and he proposed to cede it to the United States.

I can scarcely say that I cede it to them, for it is not yet in our possession. If, however, I leave the least time to our enemies, I shall only transmit an empty title to those republicans whose friendship I seek. They only ask me one town in Louisiana; but I already consider the colony as entirely lost; and it appears to me that in the hands of this growing power it will be more useful to the policy, and even to the commerce of France than if I should attempt to keep it.²²

Livingston became insatiably anxious to reap the fruits of his labor alone, without the assistance of Monroe. For hours he waited his opportunity to see Talleyrand; and when he did succeed, that Prince assumed a coy attitude.

He told me he would answer my note, but that he must do it evasively, because Louisiana was not theirs. I smiled at this assertion, and told him that I had seen the treaty recognizing it. --He still persisted

²⁰ Ibid., p. 544.

²¹ Hill, op. cit., p. 85.

²² Ibid., p. 86.

that they had it in contemplation to obtain it, but had it not.²³

The thought of buying an empire kept Livingston from going to sleep. Instead, he wrote a long despatch to Madison of which occurred the following:

The field open to us is infinitely larger than our instructions contemplated, the revenue increasing, and the land more than adequate to sink the capital, should we even go the sum proposed by Marbois, --nay, I persuade myself that the whole sum may be raised by the sale of the territory west of the Mississippi, with the right of sovereignty, to some power in Europe whose vicinity we should not fear. I speak now without reflection and without having seen Mr. Monroe, as it was midnight when I left the Treasury Office, and it is now near three o'clock. It is so important that you should be apprised that a negotiation is actually opened, even before Mr. Monroe has been presented, in order to calm the tumult which the news of war will renew, that I have lost no time in communicating it. We shall do all we can to cheapen the purchase; but my present sentiment is that we shall buy.²⁴

Livingston was right in the gravity of the situation of which he was facing, but it is not hard to tell from the tone of his letter that he wanted credit for the whole purchasing program before the arrival of Mr. Monroe, which was in the late hours of the evening of April 11, 1803.²⁵

All the documents of the treaty bear the date of April 30, 1803, but the treaty of cession was not actually signed until May 2, and the agreement on the American claims May 8 or 9.

²³ American State Papers, Foreign Relations, op. cit., p. 552.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 554.

²⁵ Hill, op. cit., p. 88.

The introductory article to the treaty mentioned that the motive is to remove all source of misunderstanding relative to objects of discussion mentioned in the second and fifth articles of the Convention of September 30, 1800, relative to the rights claimed by the United States in virtue of the treaty concluded at Madrid the 27th of October, 1795.²⁶

With the second article of the convention of September 30, 1800 the Treaty of 1803 had nothing whatsoever to do. Article II provided for the transfer of public property and the archives. Article III, the United States promised to incorporate the inhabitants of the ceded territory and admit them as citizens of the United States. Articles IV and V provided for the delivery of the territory by France to the United States. The treaty was proclaimed on October 21, 1803; but not until November 30 was the Spanish flag hauled down at New Orleans and the tri-color of France hoisted in its place. For twenty days did Louisiana remain under the jurisdiction of France with Laussat as governor. His act of greatest consequence consisted in the reestablishment of the French legal system. On December 20, 1803, Governor Claiborne and General Wilkerson took over the province for the United States.²⁷

Article VI stipulated that the United States would

²⁶ Ibid., p. 508.

²⁷ Hill, op. cit., p. 94.

observe the treaties entered into between Spain and the Indians until the United States and the tribes could make other agreements.²⁸

Article VII secured to French ships coming directly from France or her colonies and laden with French products and similarly Spanish ships coming directly from Spain or her colonies laden with Spanish products the right to enter New Orleans and all other ports of entry in the ceded territory for a period of twelve years on the same basis as American ships and merchandise.²⁹ Article VIII provided that after the twelve year period the commerce of France should revert to the most favored nation basis.³⁰ Article IX stipulated that the convention providing for the payment of debts due American citizens under Article V of the convention of 1800 was approved as it had been a part of the treaty. Article X provided for ratification. The treaty was signed by Robert R. Livingston, James Monroe, and Barbe Marbois.³¹

The cost of Louisiana territory with its indefinite boundaries was \$15,000,000, of which \$3,750,000 was in the assumption of claims and bonds were issued to the extent of \$11,250,000 bearing interest at the rate of six per cent. The initial payment of bonds was to be made fifteen years

²⁸ Malloy, op. cit., p. 510.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

after the exchange of ratifications and the amount should not be less than three million dollars; and the payments were to continue annually thereafter.³²

³² Binger Herman, Louisiana Purchase, 56th Cong., 1st Sess., Doc. 708 (Washington, 1900), p. 13.

SUMMARY

During that whole period of political excitement, it is worthy of remark, and highly creditable to the good sense and patriotism of the people of the West, that they were, in no case, seduced into an abandonment of their rights and duty, nor of allegiance to their own country, and fidelity to their republican principles. The masses of them remained true and incorruptible. Isolated instances of individual defection, did occur. Prominent and ambitious men were found in different sections, sustained it may be, by here and there partizans, not unwilling to elevate themselves at the imminent hazard of the welfare and permanent interest of the country.³³ Among these there was little unanimity, and no well-digested concert of action. They gave rise, however, for the time being, to the following parties, as enumerated by Monette:

1. In favour of forming a separate and independent republic, under no special obligation of

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Harry Innis, District Judge of the United States for District of Kentucky, American State Papers (Washington, 1834), vol. i, p. 922;

Genet, French Minister to the United States, Ibid., p. 931;

General James Wilkinson, Ibid., p. 936;

George Rogers Clark, of Kentucky, accepted a brigadier generalship under Genet, to lead a legion of his followers down the Mississippi to capture New Orleans.

Samuel Flagg Bemis, Thomas Jefferson, The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy (New York, 1927), vol. ii, p. 78;

Aaron Burr, Ibid., p. 159.

union, except as might be most advantageous.

II. In favour of entering into commercial arrangements with Spain, and of annexing themselves to Louisiana, with all the advantages offered.

III. Opposed to any Spanish connection, and in favour of forcing the free navigation of the Mississippi by the arms of the United States, with the invasion of Louisiana and West Florida.

IV. In favour of soliciting Republican France to claim a retrocession, or make a reconquest of Louisiana, and to extend her protection to the western settlements.

V. The strongest party, however, was in favour of new independent state organizations in the west, leaving it with the Federal Government to regulate the Mississippi and boundary questions with Spain.³⁴

To estimate properly the virtue, the patriotism, the loyalty and the republicanism of the western people, when, with a noble disinterestedness and self-sacrificing devotion to the Union, they resisted these artful and powerful appeals to their sectional and local interests, let it be remembered, that the several communities to whom these appeals were made, had penetrated through a vast wilderness of desert and mountain--that their own courage had expelled a savage enemy--their own rifles had achieved their conquest--their own efforts had made their fortunes, provided them a home, and the benefit of a simple, but stable government--their own enterprise had planted and defended their settlements--that with little assistance from the old states, almost none from the General Government, the wilderness, under their own industry and culture, "blossomed as the rose"; and that the fertile banks of the navigable streams in the distant valleys, in whose

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James M. Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee (Chatanooga, Tennessee, 1926), pp. 538-540.

bosoms they dwelt, were rewarding with a luxuriant harvest of rich fruits, their own labour, upon their own fields; that the intervention of hundreds of miles and great mountain ranges, insulated them from the commerce of their Atlantic countrymen, and that for the products of the whole West, there was but one great outlet to the ocean and to the markets of the world--the Mississippi River; and that the right of free navigation of that stream, though guaranteed to them as a result of that Revolution which they had assisted in effecting, and of those victories achieved in part by their valour, was still withheld from them, under such circumstances of admitted neglect, disappointed expectation, deferred hope and accumulated wrong, to remain constant, and faithful, and loyal to the Union, is alike a rare instance, and evidence, of all that is heroic in forbearance, lofty in patriotism, and majestic in national virtue. Western purity remained unseduced by the coquetry of monarchical intrigue, and the stern virtue and primitive integrity of the simple hearted pioneer and hunter, resisted the art and baffled the designs of the diplomats and the emissary.

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The negotiation on the subject of boundaries, and of the right of navigating the Mississippi, extending, as it did, through many years, has been thus presented in one general view. It will serve to explain and illustrate some smaller incidents, detailed on other pages, as they

took place, connected with the early settlements of the West.

This great business deal, Louisiana Purchase, consummated by treaty agreement, meant that the western people were no longer to be objects of piracy and intrigue, but were soon to become citizens of state and national governments where they would enjoy the rights and privileges incorporated in the Bill of Rights, the protection of society, the general and economic welfare, and become wards of the Federal Government at the bar of international justice.

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This thesis was typed by Clem Reynolds