Historical Geography Research Series
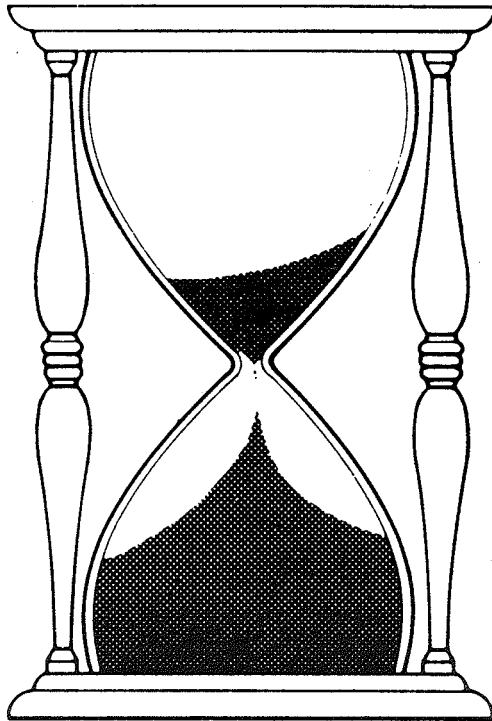
The Appalachian Frontier:
Views From The East And The Southwest

Robert D. Mitchell and Milton B. Newton

Number 21 July 1988

THE APPALACHIAN FRONTIER:

VIEWS FROM THE EAST

AND THE SOUTHWEST

By

Robert D. Mitchell

(University of Maryland)

and

Milton B. Newton, Jr.

(Louisiana State University)

CONTENTS

THE APPALACHIAN FRONTIER:

I. THE VIEW FROM THE EAST
ROBERT D. MITCHELL

INTRODUCTION

They tried to fit you with an English song
And clip your speech into the English tale.
But, even from the first, the words went wrong,
The catbird pecked away the nightingale.

The homesick men begot high cheek-boned things
Whose wit whittled with a different sound
And Thames and all the rivers of the kings
Ran into Mississippi and were drowned.

Stephen Vincent Benet

PREFACE:JOHN BROWN'S BODY

Stephen Benet's metaphor of the Mississippi, representing
America, swallowing up the Thames, representing England, is a
powerful one that has long characterized American Frontier
historiography in one form or another.(1)   This opportunity
to explore "the Appalachian frontier" allows us to pit our
increasing knowledge of early America against such imagery
and to assess its utility.   Although America eventually did
differentiate itself from England, this was not the initial
intent.   The process of "Americanization" was a gradual,
sometimes imperceptible, and often unconscious one.   The
Appalachian zone was a significant element in this
transformation because its occupance occurred during a period
of major change in mid-eighteenth-century America.

     We have made considerable progress in our understanding
of the American past since 1960 when Andrew Clark
reintroduced historical geographers to curious but skeptical
historians.(2) Our subsequent appreciation by historians and
students of the landscape in general has been tempered
somewhat by the philosophical differences we have seen fit to
publicize.(3)   In   particular   we   have   witnessed   an
illuminating debate between geographers and historians
concerning the social origins of early America,(4) while
disagreeing among ourselves about the most fruitful ways to
interpret the geography of the past.   Such disagreement is
evident in part in these two essays on the Appalachian
frontier.   Different modes of interpretation as well as
contrasting spatial perspectives create both diversity and
congruence in our evaluation of that important phase of
American settlement history, the "second frontier" as some
have termed it.(5)

     If   our   immediate   objective   is   a   geographical
comprehension of "the Appalachian frontier," and we take that
to mean an exploration of the settlement experience and its
results in the Appalachian zone of interior expansion from
the late 1720s until the beginning of the nineteenth century,
the time seems ripe for an attempt at a new synthesis of
current perspectives on the earliest American settlement
landscapes.   I have suggested one possible synthesis in my
essay on early American cultural regions, and I would now
like to pursue a critique of that approach and some of its
implications.(6)   A "view from the East," however, contains
certain inherent biases and limitations.   It is a view that
stresses transformation within the contexts of precedence and
continuity, or origins and diffusion, and of adaption to
perceived New World conditions.

     My thesis is that for almost two decades Andrew Clark's
emphasis on "geographical change," on the differences within
and between places through time, set the tone for most of our
inquiries into American frontiers.   The result has been a
tendency to interpret the pioneer settlement experience as a
novel or sequential process with little connection to
previous experiences.   We have, consequently, lost sight of
the continuity of frontier settling and especially the
persistence of form in the transfer of culture from place to

place. Where change occurs it is rarely a sequential or radical break with the past but a cumulative, developmental process, built upon forms and symbols transmitted from previous generations.

Accepting such a perspective requires some rethinking of our recent disparate paths of geographical inquiry. There are three dimensions to this. First, there is the matter of integration. We need to identify not only links between social and economic interpretations of the past and reconstructions of material culture, but also to connect institutions and structures and not view them as unrelated elements. Historiographically-inclined scholars have tended to regard material artifacts as of merely passing interest in their quest for understanding the great forces and processes of history. Those concerned with landscape interpretation have been too eager to use diffusion to explain form without delving deeper into the thoughts, values, and institutional contexts within which particular forms have emerged.(7) Second there is the question of scope. There is a recognition that we need to extend our recent interest in social institutions, such as family, local government, and church, that have a bearing on understanding geographical variation. The time is long past when we can afford the luxury of stating that we are "not concerned with explaining the inner workings of culture."(8) Third there is the problem of scale. We must be willing to operate, where appropriate, at local, micro-levels of analysis (household, neighbourhood, and county) in order to strengthen generalizations at regional and macrolevels where we have been trained to feel more comfortable.(9) Many of the self-evident truths accepted at regional scales of interpretation, such as the validity of colonial culture hearths, are being undermined by more detailed reconstructions.(10)

This perspective will be explored by interrelating the three principal themes that highlight our study of early America: the origins and transfer of ¨the values, institutions, and practices of people from place to place; the spatial organization and landscape manifestation of these elements in place; and their changing spatial and temporal dimensions through time. My "view from the East" requires an extended view across the Atlantic to identify particularly the English heritage relevant to understanding the transformation of the colonies and states, especially those located from the Chesapeake Bay north, between the seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries. Such a vantage point, it seems to me, evokes less a lament for "the world we have lost," in Peter Laslett's terms, than an appreciation of what we in America have gained.(11)

What were the most distinctive characteristics of early seventeenth century English society? What happened of geographical consequence as members of this society moved westward across the Atlantic? And how did the outcomes of that migration contribute to the move into and across the Appalachians initiated a century later? These are the questions that will guide this exploration of the Appalachian frontier.

THE ENGLISH HERITAGE

England at the beginning of the seventeenth century contained some four million people who, if equally distributed, would have covered the country at 90 persons per square mile (by contrast, densities in the settled parts of the Appalachian zone rarely exceeded 15 persons per square mile by 1800). Higher densities were confined mainly to London, the southeast, the Midlands, and Lancashire (Fig. 1). England was above all a provincial, rural, and agrarian place in which only one person in eight lived in urban settlements. Even by the end of the century, when total population had increased to six million despite famines, plagues, fires and civil wars, 85% of the inhabitants still lived in the countryside.(12)

This provincial English population shared a basic set of symbols, values, and institutions. The symbols were those associated with nature and the pastoral, with seasonality, agricultural activities, communal living, Christianity, and nationality. The values were those related to social order, hierarchy and inequality, aristocracy and patriarchy, and individual responsibility and reciprocity. The institutions that reflected these characteristics were those of family and kin, neighbourhood and community, local government, church and parish, manor, landed property, and civil and common law.

Alan Everitt chose to view this provincial world from the perspective of the changes which it was undergoing during the seventeenth century.(13) He couched his discussion in terms of three themes: diversity, insularity, and continuity. It is difficult to generalize about seventeenth-century England because of the great variety of ways in which its population had integrated familiar symbols, values and institutions. English life at the beginning of the century was organized into 40 shires or county communities, over 700 boroughs, and some 9,000 rural parishes. Geographers have long appreciated the complex spatial variations that existed in patterns of provincial life, and this has only been strengthened by the findings of the last twenty years.

The standard regional division employed is that between the lowland zone of the south and east, characterized by nucleated villages and hamlets, and open-field, arable farming, and the highland zone to the west and north with its dispersed farms ad hamlets, enclosed fields and more pastoral pursuits (Fig. 1). But this categorization is inadequate for our purposes because considerable regional differentiation occurred within the two zones. Indeed it is clear from recent research that such elements as settlement patterns, agriculture practices, field systems and manorial organizations did not always mesh neatly in the landscape into clearly defined regions.(14)

East Anglia, which contributed about 12% - 15% of English immigrants to the American colonies during the seventeenth century, is a good example of the internal diversity to be found in a major English region (Fig. 1).(15) In the north and east a mixed sheep-corn (barley, rye, and wheat) husbandry
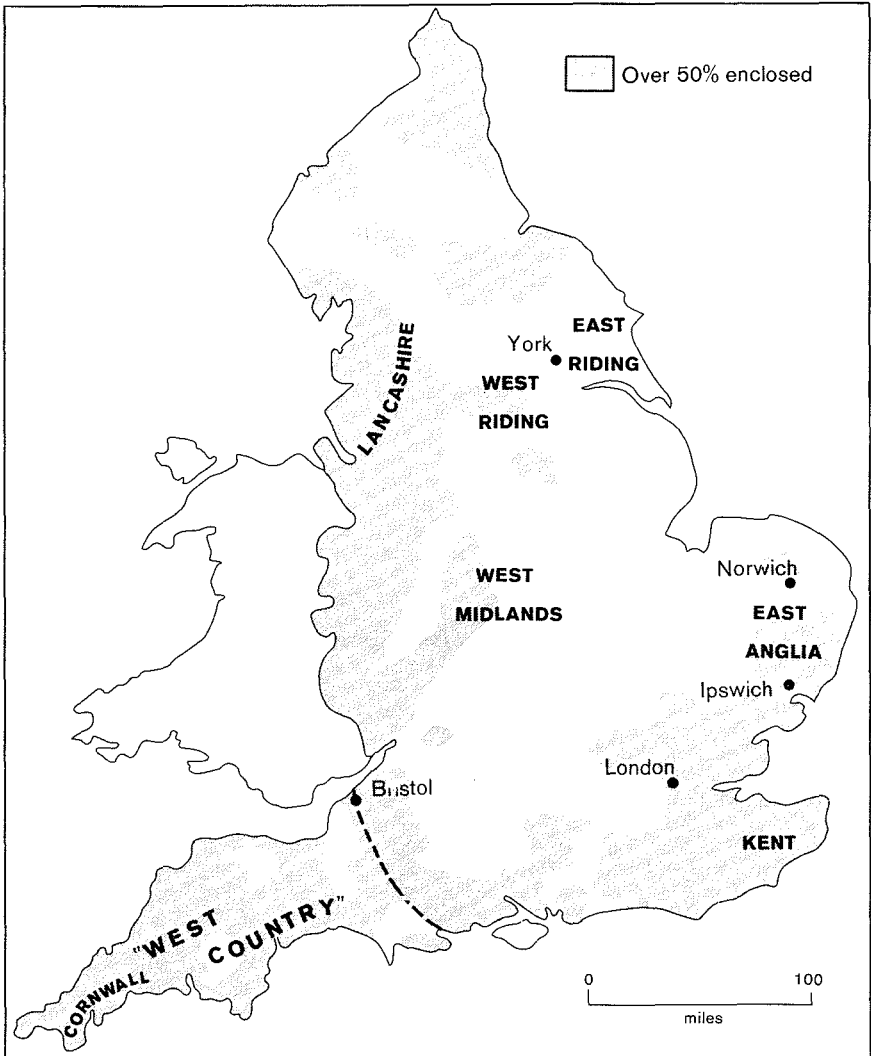
Figure 1. England in 1600

prevailed on sandy loams. Over 70% of the area was still cultivated under an open-field pattern but one that differed from adjacent areas of eastern England in that farmers' strips were consolidated in one particular arable area rather than scattered throughout the open fields. Life was organized around a manorial system with its nucleated villages, communal living patterns, and marked social distinctions. It was a changing region, however, with parts undergoing enclosure, increasing their proportions of freeholders, and experimenting with new crops and practices.

The fenland to the north west presented a variation on this pattern. Here village life and communal traditions were also strong but agriculture was more oriented to livestock rearing, including pig breeding; common grazing lands were more extensive and largely unregulated; and manorial organization and class hierarchy were weaker. Village and neighbourhood were the most common points of reference. Another sub-region of strong pastoral traditions existed in the south west closer to London. Livestock fattening, dairying, and pig breeding were widespread; over 75% of farms were enclosed; large villages and towns devoted to woollen and linen cloth production dotted the landscape; and a more commercial economy existed amidst a weak and declining manorial organization. Along the south coast the poor sandy soils supported a limited sheep-corn farm economy, settlements were more dispersed, and fishing and coastal trade led to a diversified existence.(16)

The central wood-pasture region stood in contrast to these patterns. This area of limited arable farming supported landscapes of hedgerows and extensive deciduous woodlands, dispersed farmsteads and small villages, and dairy, pig, and horse production. Manorial organization was weak, family freehold farms were common, and social classes less differentiated. The large towns of Norwich and Ipswich on the margins of this region further contributed to local diversity with their borough organization, food processing and cloth industries, and strongly independent mercantile classes.

There was an intimacy and long association with place in East Anglia as elsewhere in England, that was clearly lacking in the early American colonies. Hence the persistence of such regional identifications as "East Anglia," the "West Country," and even Cornwall and Kent (Fig. 1). This diversity occurred, moreover, within regions over distances of a few miles. Longevity and small-scale intimacy contrasted with the colonies where the newness of settlement, the sparse population, and the relatively vast areas of forested land that were occupied created cruder regional identifications such as "New England" and "the Chesapeake." Both longevity and vastness, however, could foster insularity.(17)

By insularity Everitt meant intense localism and provincialism, a protection of one's own locale and neighbourhood from outside national and even regional intrusions. This inwardness or introversion was based upon the tenacity of local attachments to birthplace, family and kin, neighbourhood and community, and the parish church. Most

English people seldom strayed far from their familiar environment of farm, village, and market town. Geographical mobility among the lower classes was officially discouraged; and travel, confined to roads and waterways, was slow and limited.

Family loyalty, commitment to community affairs, participation in church activities, belief in reciprocity, and limited contacts with the rest of the country fostered this strong local attachment. Country folk showed little interest in national politics. They were neither clearly pro-monarchy nor pro-parliament during the civil war of the 1640s. The aristocracy and more powerful gentry had their landed and political bases firmly grounded in local county communities. Family-inherited estates, political offices, and trading connections were common and lend continuity to the local scene.(18)

Continuity for Everitt meant particularly the English sense of history and preoccupation with the past. This was fostered most consciously by the aristocracy through their concern with the perpetuation of family names, the frequency of cousin marriages, and the interest in genealogy and heraldry. These sentiments were partly expressed on the landscape through the persistence of medieval-style manor houses which, rather than being replaced, were modified externally and internally to accommodate to the changing needs and status requirements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.(19)

The continuity of landowning classes was also apparent among the gentry even in areas of significant land turnover during the late Tudor period. It was the gentry who supplied continuity at the county level by filling most of the positions in county and parish government. For the yeomen, husbandmen, and people of lesser sort who comprised most provincial populations, the fragility and uncertainty of life made them generally willing to accept authority, patriarchy, and inequality as values that shaped the operations of everyday life.(20) On the other hand, vulnerability to catastrophe and change could lead also to social unrest, institutional experimentation, and religious revivalism. The spread of puritanism was one measure of all three characteristics in provincial life.(21) Continuity with past tradition and custom, therefore, was the base line from which to measure the significant social and demographic changes that were affecting seventeenth-century England.(22)

Many of these characteristics reappeared on the other side of the Atlantic. The intent almost everywhere, from the Virginia Company at Jamestown to the Massachusetts Bay Company at Boston, was to reproduce as much of a familiar English life as possible. That the process of transfer was seldom one of complete duplication of English precedent and that the initial interest of the early colonial founders did not materialize were the result of several factors. The "filtering process" was influenced by the family context of migration, the

"middling" and upwardly mobile social classes involved, the specific regions from which migrants originated (especially from southern, eastern, and south western England), and the timing of their emigration relative to long-run social changes occurring in England.

The degree to which the traits diffused were duplicated, selectively borrowed, and reintegrated in the colonies was influenced by another set of factors: the unusual opportunity for renewal and reorganization in the absence of fixed precedents, the general similarity of ecological conditions for the transfer of English agricultural systems and resource practices, and direct and indirect contact with native Indian populations. Many institutions and practices were streamlined to fit New World conditions, but the continuity of English forms is striking, including the nuclear family, local institutions of goverment, country and parish systems, private land tenure, freehold farming, and English common and civil law, to name the most important.

The distribution of these English forms throughout the colonies by the 1680s gave unity to early settlement experience. The modification made in these forms within the colonies rather than any fundamental changes of forms themselves, help to account for early geographical variation along the Atlantic seaboard. It is important, for example, to recognize the continuity in transfer of the family as an institution, although it was undergoing internal changes in England and although it was reconstituted differently in Massachusetts and Virginia.(23) These trends were in the direction of creating the "closed domesticated nuclear family" in which the values of personal autonomy and affective ties were especially strong. Family changes were manifested in spatial reorganization at the household level. Vernacular housing in England was being restructured in order to accommodate the reduced numbers and greater privacy of the more inward oriented nuclear family.(24) Hence the shift to hall-and-parlour arrangements and the increasing numbers of specialized rooms in the houses of the gentry and prosperous yeomen. These social and structural changes were diffused differentially to the American colonies. The family-constituted world of southern New England created a more faithful reproduction of these trends than the servant-constituted world of the tidewater Chesapeake where experimentation and innovation were more typical.(25)

TRANSATLANTIC TRANSFER

Cole Harris, in his interpretation of transatlantic transfer, has attempted to answer our second question about colonial origins.(26) He has taken issue with those who have suggested that the selection process for trait transmission to the colonies was preadaptive, which is to say that it occurred primarily in Europe as a partial representation of the traditions of the mother country. Harris chose to view transfer as a simplification process more through adaptation to

the locational characteristics of early colonial frontiers. The creation of new colonial societies was a levelling process that meant beginning again from scratch. Colonists based their decisions on the creation of nuclear families, easy access to land, and limited access to markets. Where these conditions prevailed egalitarian societies developed marked by few inequalities and class distinctions. Such societies perpetuated themselves until greater differentiation set in when either access to land became more restricted or access to markets was achieved.

Although this argument has geographical appeal it simplifies how people behave culturally and it misses the more important point about continuity. The processes of societal formation operated on both sides of the Atlantic. By following a preadaptation interpretation we would fail to appreciate the reintegration of cultural and social forms in early America. By following Harris's reductionist argument and looking for drastic change we would miss the importance of the English heritage and the transatlantic continuity of forms.

DIVERSITY

The continuity of transatlantic diffusion patterns meant above all the transfer of geographical diversity to the American colonies. Yet apart from the general recognition of a tripartite division of the colonies into northern, middle, and southern subregions or their further abstraction into New England, Midland, and Chesapeake "cultural hearths", geographers have been slow to appreciate this diversity. It is true that long association with place in England had created many local subregions and that the frontier character of seventeenth-century America fostered fewer immediate regional associations. On the other hand, when we begin to analyze the settlement of the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century colonies the larger regional nomenclature appears oversimplified and even inaccurate. In our approach to this first frontier, therefore, I would like to suggest three themes in addition to diversity that appear crucial in understanding how these coastal societies helped to shape the configuration of the Appalachian frontier after the 1720s. These are dispersion, inequality, and pluralism.

"New England", principally Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, has retained the highest regional profile of any colonial area and has been examined in most detail. The result has been a series of particularistic social case studies lacking, for the most part, any comparative perspective.(27) Hence the emphasis on diversity and persistent localism, the "little commonwealths" and "Peaceable kingdoms" that hark back to Everitt's theme in insularity.(28) Yet one must remain skeptical of how far localism was a creation of the researchers rather than the settlers. Tendencies towards privatism and family-centredness were juxtaposed with concerns about links with neighbourhood, commodity, and the wide colonial world.(29)

The internal geographical diversity of early New England, however, is not in doubt. Sumner Chilton Powell in his landmark study, <u>Puritan Village</u>, described in detail the formation of Sudbury, Massachusetts, by settlers from four different regions in England and the compromises that were made to create a new society.(30) It is not surprising that in this non-conformist, puritan settlement Powell emphasized themes of innovation and simplification. Settlers decided, in view of the small population, to reduce the complexities of the manorial court system, to streamline the operations of local government, and to eliminate the ponderous hierarchy of the established church. But what is equally striking is his emphasis on the persistence of English traits: the patriarchal nuclear family, a functional sense of community, private land ownership, open-field agricultural practices, a town form of local government, a town church, and English common law.

The strongest evidence linking continuity and diversity is David Allen's study of five pioneer Massachusetts towns, entitled <u>In English Ways</u>.(31) Colonists in all five towns attempted to reproduce as much of their familiar English ways of life as possible. The result was a complex regional mosaic. Rowley, north of Boston, reproduced the open-field agricultural system, orderly social and church institutions, and rigidly defined social structure of the East Riding of Yorkshire; nearby Newbury reflected the agricultural diversity, social mobility, and religious upheaval of its settlers from southern England; while Ipswich to the south recreated the individual farmstead, urban artisan-mercantile world of the Ipswich area of East Anglia where charismatic puritanism was especially prominent. Another recent study of five towns in eastern Massachusetts and southern Maine corroborates this varied pattern,(32) and together the two studies pose problems for the conceptualization of a homogeneous culture hearth in seventeenth-century Massachusetts.

The early Chesapeake would appear to generate a less complex and ambiguous profile because continuity seems less evident. The commercial orientation of the initial settlement venture placed Virginia and Maryland under a slave plantation system based on maize or subsistence and tobacco for export. Each of these traits was an innovation lacking clear English precedents. But this system did not appear all at once, nor was commitment to it equally consistent throughout the area. It was perpetuated, moreover, by a planter elite that fashioned itself after the English gentry and maintained close commercial and social ties with England.(33)

Although we have fewer detailed studies of the Chesapeake to match those for New England, it is clear that at least three sub-regions existed in the Chesapeake by the end of the seventeenth century: tidewater Virginia, southern Maryland, and the Eastern Shore across the Bay.(34) This regional division is maintained whether we examine Indian-European relations or the development of the commercial plantation economy. The

Virginia tidewater region was the first area of sustained settlement and contact with native populations. The results produced a difficult set of circumstances for the Virginia Company. Not only were the earliest settlements poorly planned and managed; the settlers had to deal with problems of malnutrition, disease, labor shortages, and Indian hostilities on a scale unknown in New England. Indian-European relations in this first contact arena were competitive and violent.(35) In southern Maryland, on the other hand, the Maryland colonists attempted a more peaceful policy and were aided initially by the desire of local Indian groups to gain an ally against the Susquehannocks at the head of the bay (36). On the Eastern shore, a contact zone some three decades after Jamestown, Indian groups attempted to avoid contact and dispersed to the north rather than be confined on reservations.(37)

Both the Virginia company at Jamestown and the Calvert family in Maryland created incompatible goals for their new societies: commercially successful colonies established along traditional, stable manorial lines. By the time that the Maryland colony was founded Virginia's settlers had already created a syncretic society in the tidewater based on a strong sense of individualism, a reconstituted family structure, private land ownership, clear class distinctions, a tobacco economy, indentured servitude, a (weak) Anglican church, county and parish forms of local government, English common and civil law, and a law-formulating general assembly.(38) Lord Baltimore's plan to introduce feudal tenures, manorial courts, a landed aristocracy, a more authoritarian family structure, a stronger religious community, nucleated settlements, and a mixed farming economy failed to materialize in the face of Virginia's competition. Despite a commitment to a commercial plantation system, however, southern Maryland created its own regional distinctiveness.(39) Because of the proprietor's control over land grants landownership was more concentrated than in Virginia. Disagreement over proprietary prerogative created a more volatile and divisive political organization. As a Catholic colony Maryland provided a mixed blessing for its English followers. Although it permitted them freedom of worship and encouraged an active Jesuit presence, Baltimore's commitment of religious toleration proved to be compromising to the Catholic gentry. This was rendered more difficult by the social cleavage that existed between gentry and their dependent Protestant servants.

The servant-dependent character of early Chesapeake life had important social consequences.(40) Marriages were delayed until periods of indenture were completed. Many Chesapeake families, therefore, were created in the colonies after emigration, rather than before as in New England, in an environment of fewer rules and sanctions, greater autonomy and independence, and with fewer direct ties to English family traditions. It was the gentry who retained the closest family and economic ties to the mother country.

It was also the gentry, as members of the middling and large planter classes, who transformed the Chesapeake world during the last two decades of the century. Their decision to shift to the use of African slaves instead of English servants was governed by the changing patterns of price and supply that favored the use of slaves over servants.(41) By the beginning of the eighteenth century slaves outnumbered servants by about 4 to 1 in the labour system of the Chesapeake. But there were variations in the commitment to slavery and the plantation system by this time. The area least affected was the Eastern Shore where the fluctuating success of the tobacco economy had encouraged some planters to shift from tobacco to wheat and livestock as cash items. Consequently, this isolated region of smaller landholdings and fewer social distinctions committed itself less to the use of slaves than either tidewater Virginia or southern Maryland.(42)

James Lemon has placed less stress on diversity in his studies of south eastern Pennsylvania and more emphasis on the independent freeholder world of "liberal individualism".(43) The early Pennsylvania he portrays, especially in The Best Poor Man's Country, was inhabited principally by farmers displaying acquisitive, materialistic, and opportunistic behaviour and creating a stable society committed to economic growth and geographical expansion. These were values brought by upwardly mobile immigrants from England and allowed to flourish rapidly in the more "open" environment of Pennsylvania. Such values, Lemon maintained, were shared by farming populations along the Atlantic Seaboard and carried westward across the Appalachians to the Middle West during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This reduced what patterns of geographical diversity existed in eighteenth-century America.

Lemon, moreover, goes farther than any other interpreter in arguing not only tht patterns of regionalism were relatively unimportant but that settlers' senses of place and community were weak.(44) The power of government, he contends, was weak at all levels in Pennsylvania (provincial, county, and township) and the parish system was absent. Individualism rather than a communal sense of reciprocity lay at the root of colonial values and weakened community institutions. This could be observed in attitudes towards the pursuit of land.(45) Land was viewed an an exchangeable commodity to be bought, sold, and leased in the open market. The role of the free market and the protection of property rights were the basis of a Lockean notion of individual freedom. Stewardship of nature became a trait of the English past. The pursuit of landownership further weakened community by creating highly unequal distributions of material wealth. In Chester County, for example, the upper 10% of taxed individuals held 24% of the county's wealth at the end of the seventeenth century and 3% at the end of the eighteenth. Increasing social differentiation further loosened the bonds of neighbourhood and community. In religious practices Lemon found early Pennsylvanians to demonstrate patterns of denominational pluralism and

individualistic notions of piety and salvation. The lack of strong church leadership and the predilection for forming splinter groups prevented churches from creating communities larger than the size of their memberships. Finally, the high rates of geographical mobility and turnover demonstrated by early Pennsylvanians precluded the early colonists from forming strong attachments to place, further weakening traditional bonds with land and nature. In brief, continuity for Lemon foundered quickly in the New World as opportunities for individual and family advancement presented themselves.(46)

DISPERSION

The most striking settlement feature of the early colonies before the 1720s was the ubiquity of dispersed rural settlement based on single-family farms located on lands held under fee simple tenure. Plans to create compact nucleated settlements as reflections of an orderly, stable society failed consistently. This is most obvious in the Chesapeake colonies of Virginia and Maryland where the strong desire for individual ownership of land, the relative self-sufficiency of plantation units, and the control of the tobacco consignment system by London merchants operated against settlement concentration.(47) No settlement in the Chesapeake contained more than 300 residents by 1700. In Pennsylvania, William Penn envisioned a strong social nexus expressed on the landscape in agricultural villages and planned townships. His fellow Quakers, however, sought individual family farms with dwellings located centrally within patterns of contiguous fields.(48)

Despite the innumerable town studies of early New England most researchers have been reluctant to appreciate the dispersed settlement patterns that were established in the region. Even those who have remarked on the process of dispersion have failed to address it directly.(49) The image of the New England village with its tight social network remains strong. Yet it now appears that only about twenty agricultural villages were formed in southern New England in the seventeenth century and many of them lasted less than a generation.(50) Even those that did survive, particularly in the Connecticut Valley, were seldom nucleated around the meeting house or a village green but organized in two or three-acre home lots arranged loosely along a broad street. Dispersion was clearly the rule by the mid-seventeenth century. The village, not as an agricultural settlement but as a commercial non-farm unit, became an expression of southern New England life only during the early nineteenth century.

A similar pattern of dispersion may be seen in the distribution of rural service centers and the decentralization of trade in early America. We are most aware of these characteristics in the Chesapeake and the Carolinas.(51) Because of the dispersal of plantations, the strong tendencies of planters toward basic self-sufficiency, and the emergence of independent planter-merchants, service functions were not

associated directly with population size but were related to the location of county courthouses, country stores, mills, and wayside taverns. This seems to be equally true of southern New England, except for port towns, where many "urban" functions were not particularly concentrated and where commercial activities were seldom duplicated in market towns and fairs as in seventeenth-century England.(52) Although town centers often had a meeting house and a tavern, such services as retail stores, crafts, and mills were widely distributed throughout the townships and thus may have exhibited patterns not unlike those of Southern tidewater counties.

These patterns of dispersion strongly reflect settlers' values of personal autonomy and independence. They were associated with the early English migrants in their desire for freedom of opportunity to acquire private land holdings. Although this particular spatial arrangement may have induced initial social isolation and loss of community, it was carried persistently into the interior by settlers from coastal areas or by immigrants directly from Western Europe.

INEQUALITY

Land was neither free nor easy to acquire in the seventeenth-century colonies, contrary to Harris's assertion about "easy access to land". Access to land occurred within a social context in which accommodation was usually made to an immigrant's economic and social status when he left England. It is true that in some New England towns land allotment and access to commons were assigned on an equal basis, but for every town where this was originally practiced there were four where it was not. Thus, in Sudbury, Massachusetts original grants ranged from 4 to 7 acres; in Dedham landholdings averaged 210 acres and in Watertown 86 acres. By the end of the first generation in Rowley the top 10% of landowners held 45% of town land; in Hingham it was 36%; and in Waterloo it was almost 50%.(54) These trends tended to duplicate patterns of landholding, hierarchy, and power in England, except for the fact that most early heads of household in New England were landowners.

The pattern of unequal access to land was even clearer in the Chesapeake where land grants were used liberally to induce settlement, particularly to those who could afford to pay the quit rents (another measure of English tradition).(55) Great disparities occurred within landholding groups, with powerful families often acquiring between 5,000 and 10,000 acres of land. Even greater inequalities existed between those who owned land and those who worked it, although many indentured servants were able to acquire land after their freedom at least until the end of the seventeenth century.(56) A majority of Virginia's freeholders by 1705 owned between 200 and 400 acres, and in south eastern Pennsylvania by 1710 the average size of holding was about 250 acres.(57)

These were enormous holdings by most English standards and this encouraged many farmers to enter the land market where they bought, sold, leased, and speculated in real estate on a scale unknown in England even during the sale of monastic lands. Land speculation thus became endemic to early American frontier life and contributed to the unequal distribution of wealth in many newly settled communities. Access to land and its resources became the most widespread creator of social and economic inequalities in seventeenth-century America.(58)

We can add the function of the market in the exchange of goods and services as a contributor to inequality. Commercialism, the differential response to market demands, created further disparities in income and wealth distribution and initiated regional specialization in commodity production.(59) Although farmers in newly settled areas had of necessity to be subsistent, individual response to market demand for surplus goods, and imported items fostered early commercialism. Settlements and communities could not remain isolated for long, and the creation of road networks provided links to the outside world, especially to coastal ports and trading places. It is difficult to believe that this did not occur in southern New England as it did elsewhere. Charles Grant's portrait of the individualistic and commercially oriented Connecticut frontier town of Kent during the early eighteenth century seems to be a more realistic world than the persistent localism that is still claimed for towns in eastern Massachusetts even a few miles from Boston!(60)

At the local level deference to those with wealth, power, and influence probably pervaded most local communities not only in the Chesapeake, where it appears most obvious, but also in New England. At the regional level perceptions of inequality were translated into a resistance to central colonial authority through, for example, objections to paying taxes and quit rents and persistent claims of being under-represented in colonial legislatures. In these matters, inequality and localism may have accompanied each other. But this may require geographers to think in more specific terms about class issues in seventeenth-century America than they have done hitherto.(62)

PLURALISM

Probably no more than 8% of the 245,000 Europeans in the American colonies at the end of the seventeenth century were of non-English origins. The colonies of the Chesapeake and New England were overwhelmingly "English" in population composition. But this was much less true in early New York and New Jersey where the initial settlements of the New Netherlands and New Sweden added important dimensions of ethnic and cultural pluralism to an otherwise relatively homogeneous world.(63) The Dutch and other early ethnic groups, however, have tended to be viewed by geographers either as cultural

isolates occupying "cultural islands" protected from external influence(64) or as having little relevance for understanding the dominant patterns of colonial life.(65) Yet non-English pluralism was primarily a New World novelty that involved groups whose adaptation to a new environment also necessitated an accommodation (in both acculturative and assimilative terms) to contemporary English institutional and symbolic frameworks in ways that we have barely begun to appreciate.(66)

The appearance of German-speaking national and sectarian groups in Pennsylvania during the late seventeenth century, followed soon after by the large-scale immigration of Scotch-Irish settlers, added a new dimension to the colonial settlement experience. Although the impact of ethnic and national groups on seventeenth-century settlements was minimal outside of the Hudson and Delaware valleys, such groups were to become increasingly more important during the eighteenth century. Not only did non-English settlers comprise at least 25% of total colonial population by 1775, they were highly mobile geographically. From the coastal parts of the middle colonies they mingled, moved, and migrated to the interior after 1720, allowing us to identify pluralism as one of the distinctive themes of the Appalachian frontier.

THE APPALACHIAN FRONTIER

What are we to make of the Appalachian frontier in the light of these observations? (Fig. 2) Three answers to this question already exist in print. James Lemon's thesis that the values and symbols associated with "liberal individualism" were shared throughout the colonies accommodates themes of dispersion and inequality but acknowledges diversity only in general terms and denies the importance of pluralism. Acquisitive, commercially-minded, geographically mobile settlers as they moved into and through the central Appalachians reproduced the landscape and society of south eastern Pennsylvania as faithfully as possible. The result was a continuity of pattern and form that served as the prototype for the regional society that emerged in the Middle West during the early nineteenth century.(67) The South, by inference, maintained its traditional plantation society as a second regional variant that influenced developments in the southern Appalachians.

A second response has come from Milton Newton who has evoked the culture hearth concept of an "upland South" to explain the settlement experience within and beyond the Appalachians.(68) Newton's answer is especially sensitive to dispersion and initial pluralism; he is less concerned with inequality and virtually negates the importance of diversity. He has placed considerable emphasis on the initial continuity of experience between the coastal settlements and the upland South through his use of the idea of "Cultural preadaptation".
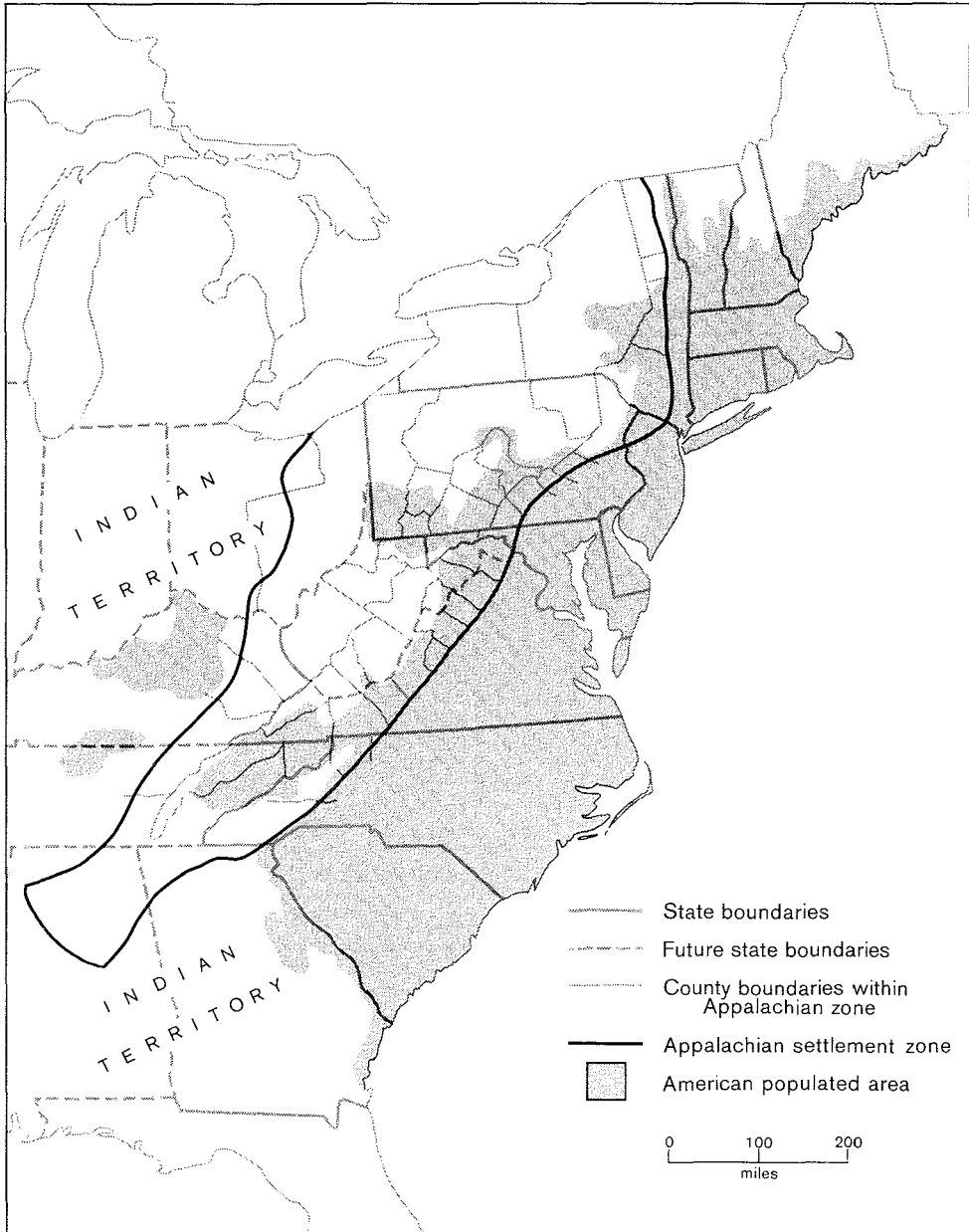
Figure 2. The Appalachian Settlement Zone in 1790

The most important adjustments to the Appalachian frontier, in his view, occurred before entering the region. Continuity of form was maintained by settlers whose previous adaptations allowed them to settle the Appalachian environment with minimal adjustment. The locus of this new upland South emerged between 1725 and 1775 in the cis-Appalachian and Appalachian zones between south eastern Pennsylvania and east-central Georgia. Its most distinctive characteristics were dispersed settlement, the county unit, a courthouse-town focus, an open class system, a generalized but commercially-oriented stockman-farmer-hunter economy, log construction based upon a modular (pen and crib) structure, an extremely productive and varied food-and-feed complex, and evangelical Protestantism coupled with antifederalism.(69) In so far as Newton's interpretation of the period before the 1720s is accurate, we have observed some of these traits in the seventeenth-century colonies. Newton, on the other hand, has argued that these characteristics were a product of a melting pot cultural situation in the interior whereby Anglo-American, German-speaking, and Scotch-Irish settlers created a hybrid American society which was so effective that it spread without significant modification all the way to the Great Plains. The end result differs little from Lemon's thesis in its underestimation of the importance of the Appalachian frontier.

A third response has been my own examination of the formation of what I termed early American cultural regions.(70) My approach emphasized continuity and diversity; dispersion, inequality, and pluralism were treated indirectly as subthemes. The major objective of the study was to evaluate the regional consequences of interior migration and diffusion patterns after the 1720s. Certain areas within or on the margins of the Appalachian zone that were influenced by the fusion of traits from two or more areas of seventeenth-century settlement seemed to be especially promising places for examining continuity and diversity. These areas were, in chronological order, the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, the western piedmont of North Carolina, south western Pennsylvania, and west-central New York (Fig. 3) A weakness of the study, as with Newton's approach, was the reliance on the culture hearth concept as a prerequisite for examining the results of migration and diffusion within the Appalachians. It is now clear that the concept is too crude and abstract a tool to deal with the intense regionalism of early New England, the prolonged evolution of the Chesapeake plantation slave system, or the differential diffusion of the seventeenth century characteristics into the Appalachian zone during the eighteenth century.(71)
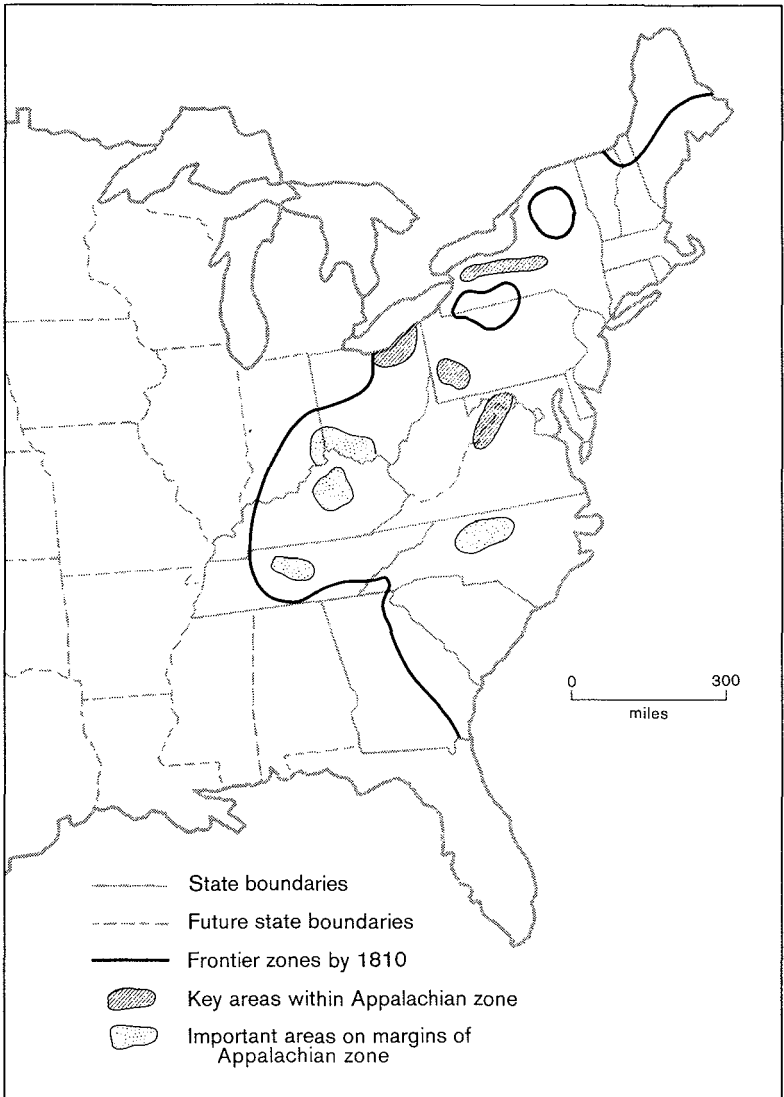
Figure 3. Critical Settlement Areas by 1810

SETTLEMENT HISTORY AND CONTINUITY

John Caruso, in his descriptive study entitled The Appalachian Frontier, began with the following observation: "In the first half of the eighteenth century stream after stream of German and Scotch-Irish immigrants poured into the frontier known as the Old West (Appalachians). Here in the back country... they had to adapt to a pattern of life entirely isolated from European influences. Here they formed the first pioneer society with characteristics which are regarded as typically American."(72) Despite the neo-Turnerian quality of this statement it cannot be dismissed entirely for the Appalachian frontier did have some impact on the evolution of pioneer societies during the eighteenth century.(73) A more accurate view perhaps is that of Malcolm Rohrbough: "Many societies from similar institutions."(74) The continuity between Atlantic and Appalachian frontiers was provided by the interior spread of the institutionl frameworks established in the provincial communities of the seventeenth century. The changes that occurred in pioneer societies during the eighteenth century were the result of three principal elements: the geographical characteristics of the Appalachian zone itself, the characteristics of the settlers who occupied the zone, and major historical events that coincided with the settlement of the zone.

The process of occupying the Appalachians was an extremely uneven one. During the 1720s only a few hundred families and individuals moved into the mountainous interior of the Middle Colonies. By 1790 at least 450,000 settlers occupied the Appalachian frontier from the Mohawk Valley in the north to the upper Tennessee Valley in the south (Fig. 2).(75) This represented some 15% of the population of the new nation. About 85% of these Appalachian inhabitants, 384,000 people, lived in the states of New York (80,000), Pennsylvania (160,000), and Virginia (144,000).(76) Settlement had progressed along the Mohawk Valley and through the Catskill Mountains in New York. In Pennsylvania settlement had penetrated well up the Susquehanna Valley and westward to the Ohio Country. Western Virginia was occupied all the way south to Cumberland Gap and westward into the Alleghenies. Yet this also meant that less than half the Appalachian zone in New York and Virginia was occupied in 1790 and barely half in Pennsylvania and far western North Carolina. The Appalachian section of Kentucky had been virtually avoided in favour of the Bluegrass region farther to the west.

The most nearly ubiquitous element of continuity in this evolving Appalachian frontier was the English language. The dialect differences that had emerged among the English communities of the seventeenth century continued westward into the Applachian zone during the eighteenth century. We have not yet gone far beyond recognizing the distinctions between Midland speech patterns from western Maryland northward, and

Southern speech patterns from western Virginia southward. We
do know, however, that some of these patterns became fossilized
in isolated regions of the Appalachians during the nineteenth
century to provide us with some of the distinctive speech
patterns of contemporary Appalachia.(77)

There is no doubt that the nuclear family continued to form
the basis of frontier societies. We do not know much about the
evolution of the institution on the Appalachian frontier,
however. The only detailed study, Mary Ryan's Cradle of the
Middle Class, emphasizes the continuity in family patterns
between seventeenth-century Massachusetts and Connecticut and
late eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Oneida County in
the Mohawk Valley of New York.(78) Early New England
traditions were reproduced faithfully in Oneida between the
mid-1780s and 1820: the stem family system whereby family
property continuity was maintained by the eldest or the
favorite son; close proximity to kin; rights of dower to at
least one-third of the family estate; and large-sized
households often containing extended families. Ryan argues
that the pioneer community was dominated by values of
individualism and privacy. Change came only during the 1820s
when decreasing birth rates, declining man-land ratios, the
onset of industrialism and religious revivalism in this the
Burned-Over District (Fig. 3), transformed the family system
into a more "modern" one.(79)

This interpretation appears overstated in view of the
earlier evidence indicating the primacy of the nuclear family
from the beginnings of English colonization. On the other
hand, others have suggested that the easy availability of land
on the Appalachian frontier and the high rates of geographical
mobility had a disruptive, even a shattering effect on the
formation of families and communities.(80) Closer observation
is likely to indicate, however, that continuity of family
structure was maintained especially by those sons who inherited
family land and had sufficient resources to transfer much of
this land in place intergenerationally.

The family freehold farm on its own contiguous land unit
continued to dominate agricultural settlement on the
Appalachian frontier. Land grants were still large by western
European standards. Between 65 and 75% of the original land
grants made in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia during the
eighteenth century were between 100 and 400 acres. This
created continued settlement dispersal and property
inequalities, as well as increased land speculation and
organized land company activity on a scale unknown during the
seventeenth century.

In the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, settled mainly
between 1730 and 1775, about 70% of the original land grants
comprised 100 to 400 acres.(81) In the upper half of the
valley, controlled by the commonwealth of Virginia, 87% of land
grants made during the 1730s and 1740s were between 100 and 400
acres in size; during the 1770s, 51% of the remaining vacant
lands were in this range. By the early 1760s, 52% of the
landowners in the lower half of the valley (controlled by Lord
Fairfax) owned between 100 and 400 acres but almost 50% of all

taxable households were landless. In the upper valley, the proportion of landowners with 100 to 400 acres was 70%, while about 30% of all taxable households were landless. By 1800, just over half of all taxable households in the valley owned no land. The median acreage held by those who did own land was about 180 acres. At least 20% of all taxable households were tenants.(82)

Tenancy was not unknown in seventeenth-century America, especially in the Chesapeake, but it appears to have increased within the Appalachian zone as a reflection of the increasingly unequal opportunities available for land ownership. How one writer described pioneer Kentucky, "almost from its very beginning, an area of landlords and tenants as well as of small farms in fee simple," could apply to many areas on the Appalachian frontier.(83) In western New York, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, most settlers appear to have acquired between 120 and 320 acres often located in tract-like plots laid out by large land speculators and representatives of land companies.(84) But many speculators were not eager to sell and leased much of their land instead. This created rates of farm tenancy not far below levels in the Hudson Valley during the colonial period.(85)

In western Pennsylvania, an area settled initially between 1770 and 1800, Robert Harper calculated that the pioneer generation received grants ranging from 100 to 400 acres.(86) The median acreage was almost 200 acres. By the end of the century between 30% and 40% of all taxable householders owned no land and at least 20% were tenants. A more recent study of tenancy corroborates and even extends these proportions.(87) Similar patterns were established in eastern Ohio between 1790 and 1810. Large land grants and the activities of profit-making companies helped to produce a situation in which only 45% of recorded taxable householders owned land, and about 80% of those who did owned between 100 and 400 acres, with a median holding of 150 acres.(88) In early Frederick County in Maryland, of which western Maryland initially was part, land grants were predominantly in the 150-200 acre range with little evidence of tenancy except in the few areas controlled by planters west of the Blue Ridge.(89)

Systems of local government were extended into the Appalachian zone after the 1730s as provincial authorities slowly recognized the increase in the number of people west of the mountains and their need for territorial organization and public services. The county unit became the most important mode of local organization throughout the region. In Virginia and New York, the Blue Ridge and its extension northward formed the eastern boundary of county systems created entirely within the Appalachian zone (Fig. 2) In Pennsylvania, sections of the third tier of counties out from Philadelphia extended into the mountains thus giving them a more dualistic outlook.

The internal organization of the county differed between the northern and southern Appalachians. In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York counties were subdivided into functionally significant townships as well as various district subdivisions for specific purposes. From Maryland southward, however, the county unit remained the prime source of local government focused on the county seat.(90) This tradition continued into Kentucky and Tennessee. In eastern Ohio, however, the new federal township and range system established after 1785 encouraged a complex overlapping of jurisdictions below the county level in the form of towns, townships, school districts, road subdivisions and the like.(91) This in turn, created a much larger corpus of govermental officials than was to be found in a Southern county.

Accompanying the county and its subdivisions was the administering of English common and civil law. This was achieved through a three-tiered system of county, district, and circuit courts. This hierarchical structure was founded, especially in Virginia, upon a Justice-of-the-Peace jury system at the county level and, at district and circuit levels, by a well-trained bar and bench "conservatively dedicated to English legal traditions."(92) After the American Revolution a considerable turnover in office holders occurred at state and county levels. In Pennsylvania and New York a decentralization of local power was created with the inauguration of boards of county commissioners to replace the county court system.(93) In Virginia and Kentucky, on the other hand, only minor alterations were made and greater continuity was maintained. The creation of a federal court system in 1789 added another level of administration and justice empowered, nevertheless, "to obey scrupulously the formalities of the English legal tradition".(94)

It was the parish system associated with the Anglican Church that suffered most from the Appalachian experience. The parish system was inconsequential in upstate New York, a region settled mainly by immigrants from Massachusetts and Connecticut, and in Pennsylvania, a state which had no tradition of parish institutions. Only in western Virginia did some continuity exist in the form of overlapping county and parish networks. The system was resented by many of the non-conformist immigrants who occupied the back country after 1730. It functioned best in the lower Shenandoah Valley where a sufficient number of eastern Virginia planters resided after 1770 to provide support for the parish church and its institutions.(95)

ELEMENTS OF CHANGE

Settlers who crossed the Blue Ridge after 1720 encountered a different world physically and locationally than their ancestors had experienced along the Atlantic coast a century before. This was an environment of rolling to rugged mountain

topography located from 50 miles (in southern New York and northern New Jersey) to over 300 miles (in eastern Tennessee) from the Atlantic coast (Fig. 2). Although the Appalachians were not a serious barrier to frontier settlement(96) they provided a sufficiently varied face to the new migrants as to constitute some novelty in the settlement experience.

The general north east to south-west alignment of the principal ridges and valleys within the Appalachians made movement from east to west especially difficult while penetration southward through the Great Valley was relatively easy. This helped to influence the early direction of settlement through south-central Pennsylvania, western Maryland, and western Virginia. Almost all the major colonial highways in this section were oriented north to south. The ease with which settlers could establish farms in isolated valleys away from the main areas of settlement together with the strongly-felt individualism of the pioneering generations produced a new form of American insularity. This was expressed among rural communities, particularly in Virginia west of the Great Valley, in eastern Kentucky, and in the high southern Appalachians, by a desire to be left alone and to avoid regular contact with the outside world. This helped to foster inward-looking, inbred, tradition-bound communities in these regions that were influenced only by the religious fundamentalism of the early nineteenth century.(97)

The presence of large, well-established Indian groups on the Appalachian frontier made colonial settlers directly aware of potentially hostile natives for the first time since the 1670s. The aura of struggle and violence that emerged on the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers during the French and Indian and Revolutionary wars reproduced the tensions of the earliest Atlantic frontiers that were to reappear in the trans-Mississippi West during the mid-nineteenth century.(98) The only areas not directly affected by Indian activities, western Maryland and the Shenandoah Valley, were among the first Appalachian regions to be settled. Elsewhere, the presence of the Iroquois in upstate New York delayed the settlement of western New York until after the American Revolution and made the pioneer settlement of central and western Pennsylvania occasionally a precarious experience. In the southern Appalachians, in western Carolina and eastern Tennessee, the presence of the Cherokee provided a somewhat similar situation, although an active trading relationship existed between the Cherokee and traders from the Carolinas.(99)

Early settlers in the Great Valley, keenly aware that they had moved many miles from the coast and from centers of government, quickly petitioned colonial legislatures for roads to link valley settlements with ports and county seats. This was followed by demands for political representation and the creation of frontier counties. Although dispersion remained a dominant theme in Appalachian settlement, towns appeared quite rapidly in most areas. In New York and Pennsylvania, because towns as governmental and transactional centers had been basic settlement features since the founding of these colonies, there

was an urban, small-town continuity between Atlantic and
Appalachian frontiers.(100)   But in western Maryland and
Virginia the appearance of "back country" towns after 1740 was
something of a novel settlement experience.(101)

        The emergence of frontier urbanism in Maryland and Virginia
was related in part to economic and social influences emanating
from south eastern Pennsylvania as well as to the differential
diffusion of Chesapeake tidewater economies in the interior.
By the time that western Maryland was being settled during the
1750s tobacco was no longer a very profitable commodity.   A
mixed farming economy, based on wheat, corn, rye, oats, and
cattle, in the virtual absence of slavery, was much more
characteristic of the Maryland frontier.(102) In Virginia, a
tobacco-slave-plantation-based economy and society was well
established on the piedmont by the mid-1750s.   But only in the
lower Shenandoah Valley after 1700 did such a pattern appear in
the Appalachians.   It barely survived the wheat boom of the
1790s.(103)   Towns emerged along the Great Wagon Road to
Philadelphia to collect agricultural produce for export to
Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Richmond.   The differential growth
of these back-country towns depended especially on their
success in capturing the importation of goods from coastal
trading centers.(104)

        Part of the reason for the emergence of mixed farming
economies and small-town life in the Appalachian frontier was
because of the characteristics of the pioneer settlers.
Although Anglo-American settlers of English origins were
prominent throughout the mountains, one of the most distinctive
features of the Appalachians was the presence of unprecedented
numbers of non-English settlers from Ulster and the
German-speaking areas of central Europe.   The Appalachian
frontier was much more heterogeneous ethnically and culturally
than the Atlantic frontier had been.   Between 1730 and 1775,
German-speaking and Scotch-Irish settlers comprised at least
50% of the inhabitants of south western New York, 65% to 70% of
those on central and western Pennsylvania, 65% in Maryland, and
65% to 70% in the Shenandoah Valley.(105)

        Although these settlers generally conformed to the
English-derived legal governmental institutions imposed west of
the mountains, they added some special dimensions to the
Appalachian experience.   They accommodated quickly to private
land ownership, dispersed farmsteads, and commercial
agricultural activities.   But they introduced new housing
techniques, more diversified farming practices, non-conformist
religious affiliations independent political opinions and, in
the case of the Germans, a strong attachment to their native
language.

        Log construction was not unknown in the colonies prior to
the 1720s but it was confined mainly to the Delaware Valley.
It took a new significance among pioneer communities in the
heavily forested Appalachians, to the extent that it became,
together with the "rugged frontiersman," the very symbol of the

Appalachian frontier. For settlers in contemporary Virginia east of the Blue Ridge the log cabin typified the simplicity and crudity of Appalachian life (termed "Cohee") in comparison with the more sophisticated "Tuckahoe" world of the tidewater. Tidewater characteristics such as the English cottage form, frame construction, hall-and-parlour arrangements, and simple English barns seldom diffused west of the Blue Ridge.(106) And, as Pennsylvanian influences in house and barn forms faded southward in the middle Shenandoah Valley, distinctive innovations emerged in house and barn types and in corner-timbering techniques in south western Virginia and eastern Tennessee perhaps before the beginning of the nineteenth century. These developed from modified V-notch cornering techniques and modular construction units based on "single-pen" log houses and "transverse crib" barns.(107) Log construction, however, rarely lasted more than two generations except in more isolated areas. In longer settled and more developed regions log houses were increasingly replaced by the so-called English "I" house and by frame constructions.(108) By the early nineteenth century modified "I" houses were common throughout the central and northern regions of the Appalachian zone.

Many of the Scotch-Irish and German settlers who occupied the Appalachian frontier prior to 1775 intended to reproduce as much of their familiar agricultural worlds as possible. They were quick to adopt corn as a new addition but otherwise relied on a familiar array of small grains, (wheat, rye, oats, barley, and occasionally buckwheat), flax, hemp, garden vegetables, fruits, horses, and pigs. Labour was supplied by the family and an occasional indentured servant or hired hand. North of Maryland settlers encountered no serious challenge to this mixed farming economy because it had become well established by the late seventeenth century. To the south, however, and especially in Virginia, settlers from western Europe and from the Middle Colonies encountered the influence of a more specialized tobacco-slave-plantation economy. By 1770 they could already observe the impact of this system in the lower Shenandoah Valley, the only Appalachian region seriously affected by it.(109) Available evidence from western Maryland and Virginia indicates that, while some settlers of Scotch-Irish origin participated in the cultivation of tobacco and hemp with the use of slaves, German-speaking settlers rarely adopted these practices.(110)

Part of the reason for the weakness of the Anglican parish system on the Appalachian frontier was the presence of large numbers of religious non-conformists represented by the Scotch-Irish, German-speaking settlers and, in a few areas, English Quakers. Traditional religious affiliations remained strong until the so-called Second Great Awakening between the mid-1780s and the early nineteenth century. Religious Scotch-Irish settlers found Presbyterian churches while many German settlers had either established church (Lutheran, German Reformed) or sectarian (Moravian, Mennonite, and Dunker) affiliations. In Virginia, despite the demand for tithes to

support the established Anglican Church and the few upwardly-mobile non-conformists who became members for reasons of prestige or status, frontier settlers resisted pressures to acculturate.(111)

These patterns changed significantly with the advent of the American Revolution and the subsequent second wave of evangelicalism that swept through the new nation. No geographer has yet ventured to analyze the geographical consequences of these major events on frontier communities. But a few tentative observations seem in order. Frontier settlements were almost always under-represented in colonial legislatures. The problem was most acute in western New York by 1775 where each frontier legislator represented more than 7,000 persons compared with 2,000 to 3,500 persons in longer-settled coastal settlements.(112) Although it is true that frontier settlers tended to be antifederalist, their votes for ratification of the federal constitution were highly uneven. Ratification was unanimous in northern Pennsylvania, western Maryland, western Virginia, and western North Carolina (after a second ballot). Voting solidly against ratification were settlers from frontier New York, central and western Pennsylvania, eastern Kentucky, and eastern Tennessee. A tie vote resulted in Washington County, Pennsylvania (Pittsburgh).(113)

Representation disparities in state legislatures were less pronounced after the Revolution, but the imposition of federal tax laws did create considerable unrest in the Appalachian zone. The most significant uprising was the so-called Whiskey Rebellion centered on western Pennsylvania in 1794 but having repercussions as far south as Tennessee.(114) This was caused by the duties levied on the distillers of domestic liquors, which attacked one of the most important commercial enterprises in Appalachian frontier areas. The result was the decline of small local distillers, the rise of large commerical firms, and the smouldering resentment of Appalachian settlers to what they perceived as an unwarranted intrusion by the new federal government.

The relationship between the American Revolution and evangelicalism is a complex one. We have not yet analyzed the effects of competing value systems associated with political and religious upheaval on the changing ethos of post-Revolutionary frontier societies.(115) But it seems clear that the concern of many Appalachian settlers was with religious and political liberty, "liberal republicanism" as it is termed, through the disestablishment of existing English-derived forms.(116) The popularity of Baptist, Methodist, and evangelical affiliations after 1780 transcended existing ethnic lines and produced some reformulation of interest groups by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Scotch-Irish and German churchgoers, and even German Sectarians, joined these new affiliations in large numbers, making pluralism a more complex theme to explore by 1800.

The results of these religious and political changes seem to have affected frontier ethnic groups in different ways. The assimilation of the Scotch-Irish by the early nineteenth century was one of the most dramatic results. Many German communities, however, survived as viable social and cultural units within the Appalachian zone. In the Shenandoah Valley the German language remained a mainstay of many homes and churches among the region's 23,000 settlers of German origins. They made requests for German schools and for the printing of state laws in German.(117) In western Maryland many German communities, both church-associated and sectarian, maintained strong cultural identifications by creating community institutions, particularly the church and the school, to provide symbolic forms for the maintenance of the individual, the family, and the language. Material success through land acquisition and participation in the market created social and political elites that appear to have operated as "cultural liaisons' between German communities and the outside Anglo world.(118) If we have demonstrated in our research that ethnic groups were rarely segregated spatially from other colonial groups, we have not been able to erase the fact that, for many rural Germans in the Appalachians at least, social segregation and differential accommodation to English institutional norms allowed them to survive assimilative pressures well into the nineteenth century.

CONCLUSION

Frontiers are transitory elements, initial phases in the development of place. This phase in the Appalachian zone was characterized by diversity in space and time. Some areas, such as the Cumberland Valley in central Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah Valley in Western Virginia, were first settled during the 1730s and 1740s. Other areas, such as western New York and south eastern Tennessee, received their first pioneers during the 1790s. The most widely disseminated interpretations of such frontiers is that they were characterized by "newly settled, struggling, and unstable communities"(119) and by young, male-predominant, egalitarian societies practicing subsistent economies.(120) For Jedidiah Morse, writing in the early 1790s, frontiers were occupied successively by three "species" of settler: refugee frontiersmen from the east who revolted against the imposition of law; small farmers with some property but who were indifferent to established civil and religious institutions; and family men of good character and property who were often aided by inherited wealth.(121)

Whatever truth there may have been in Morse's contemporary observations it is his third species that persisted on many frontier regions and imparted distinctiveness to place. The Appalachian frontier was also distinctive because it was the "second" frontier. If many early settlers had not quite inherited wealth they had at least inherited experience. There is increasing evidence that a majority of settlers on Appalachian frontiers, including immigrants from Western

Europe, had lived in eastern communities for several years prior to settling in the Appalachian valleys.(122) These settlers already came with a familiarity with colonial life, agriculture, and trade that allowed them to develop established societies and commercial economies in the interior. Interpretations of subsistent economies and egalitarian societies may be applicable only to the first decade of pioneer settlement and to more isolated valleys where settlers were less concerned with regular outside contacts. Inequalities among landowners decreased as areas became more populated and land more subdivided. But inequalities between those who owned land and those who did not increased substantially during the eighteenth century so that in many older Appalachian regions more than half of all taxable householders owned no land by 1800. Frontier settling became less strenuous and development more rapid as the experiences of frontiering became cumulative. We need to study successive Appalachian and trans-Appalachian frontiers with this in mind.(123)

English visitors would have discovered both familar and unfamiliar elements in the Appalachian landscapes and societies at the end of the eighteenth century. They would have been aware most of all of the "unfinished" state of things after scarcely seventy-five years of settlement. The region would have displayed a wild, more forested, less pastoral, and less neatly organized appearance than the visitors would have been used to. Americanization had clearly set in. Log houses symbolized the newness and the rudeness of this Appalachian frontier. Settlements were more dispersed and farther apart than in England. Landholdings were larger but less cultivated. The lack of manuring and the casual breeding of livestock would have been deplored; the cultivation of maize and tobacco would have been viewed with interest. The presence of slaves of African origins on some central and southern regions would have evoked both curiosity and discomfort. Towns were more widely distributed, more loosely arranged internally, and lacked the familiar regime of weekly markets. The visitors would also have marvelled at the mobility of Appalachian inhabitants and the multitude of taverns and inns to accommodate to travellers' needs.

Yet much "progress" had been made. Just as the Scottish Highlands had been tamed by 1800 so also would the Appalachians. The visitors would not have been conscious, for example, of the native Indian life which had preceded that of their English ancestors. They would have comprehended the sanctity of private property, the participation in a market economy, and the importance of common civil law. A visit to local county seats to observe the operations of local government would have evoked general expressions of recognition. The quarter sessions would have seemed familiar if more simplified and less formal than in England. Even the bewildering array of ethnic groups and associated Protestant denominations would have produced widespread participation in Sunday services especially in Baptist, Methodist, and evangelical congregations. Only the Episcopalians would have been disturbed by the weakness of their familiar parish system.

Change was a significant feature of the Appalachian frontier, but Europe had not been rudely cast aside. Continuity was also evident. In our search for America, therefore, we would have found it in the mountains. But the course of the Thames on its journey to the Mississippi was more complex and more varied than Benet would have us believe.

NOTES

1. For a recent summary see M. Walsh, The American Frontier Revisited (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1981).
2. A.H. Clark, Geographical change - a theme for economic history Journal of Economic History 20 (1960) 607-617.
3. E.M. Cook Jr., Geography and history: spatial approaches to early American history. Historical Methods 13 (1980) 19-28; J.D. Prown, Mind in matter: an introduction to material culture theory and method Winterthur Portfolio 17 (1982) 1-19.
4. See especially R.C. Harris, The simplification of Europe overseas Annals of the Association of American Geographers 67 (1977) 469-483; J. Henretta, Families and farms: mentalite in preindustrial America William and Mary Quarterly 35 (1978) 3-32; J.T. Lemon, Early Americans and their social environment Journal of Historical Geography 6 (1980) 115-131; J.T. Lemon, Comment on James A. Henretta's Families and farms: mentalite in preindustrial America (with a reply by Henretta) William and Mary Quarterly 37 (1980) 688-700.
5. D.W. Meinig, The continuous shaping of America: a prospectus for geographers and historians American Historical Review 83 (1978) 1186-1205 (and Comments 1206-1217); Lemon, "Early Americans' op.cit. 115-131.
6. R.D. Mitchell, The formation of early American culture regions: an interpretation. In J.R. Gibson (ed.) European settlement and development in North America (Toronto 1978). 66-90.
7. This is the problem, it seems to me, with such studies as F. Kniffen, Folk housing: key to diffusion Annals of the Association of American Geographers 55 (1965) 549-577, and T.G. Jordan, Alpine, Alemannic, and American log architecture. Annals 70 (1980) 154-180.
8. P.L. Wagner and M.W. Mikesell (eds.), Readings in Cultural Geography.(Chicago 1962) 5. For a critique see Lemon, 'Early Americans' op. cit. 115-131.
9. See, for example, J.T. Lemon, Household consumption in eighteenth-century America and its relationship to production and trade Agricultural History 41 (1967) 59-70; D.B. Rutman, Community study Historical Methods 13 (1980) 29-41; L. Simler, The township: the community of the rural Pennsylvanian Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 106 (1982) 41-68.
10. For example, R.D. Mitchell, American origins and regional institutions: the seventeenth-century Chesapeake Annals of the Association of American Geographers 73 (1983) 404-420.

11. P. Laslett, The World We have Lost: England before the Industrial Age (New York 1965).

12. F.V. Emery, England circa 1600, In H.C. Darby (ed.) A New Historical Geography of England (London 1973), 248-301.

13. A. Everitt, Change in the Provinces: the Seventeenth Century (Leicester 1972). Everitt appears to be sympathetic to Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution 1603-1714. (Edinburgh 1961).

14. G.C. Homans, The explanation of English regional differences. Past and Present 42 (1969) 18-34, and J.A. Yelling, Common Field and Enclosure in England 1450-1850. (London 1977).

15. This description is derived principally from Darby op. cit. 6 and 7; J. Thirsk (ed.), The Agrarian History of England and Wales: Volume IV 1500-1640. (Cambridge 1967); and A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin, Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles. (Cambridge 1973).

16. Kent, one of the most distinctive areas of southern England, has been especially well studied. See C.W. Chalklin, Seventeenth-Century Kent (London 1965), and P. Clark, English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500-1640 (Cranbury, N.J. 1977).

17. The persistence of this theme of insularity and localism can be appreciated in the report of life in a twentieth-century East Anglian village in Ronald Blythe, Akenfield: Portrait of an English village, (London 1969). See also W.M. Williams, The Sociology of an English village: Gosforth (London 1956), and Williams, A West Country Village, Ashworthy: Family, Kinship and Land (London 1963).

18. See Sidney and Beatrice Webb, English Local Government: The Parish and the County. (London 1906); J. Goody, J. Thirsk, and E.P. Thompson (eds.), Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe 1200-1800 (Cambridge 1976); L. Stone, The family, sex, and marriage in England 1500-1800. (New York 1977). But note the controversial interpretation of A. Macfarlane, The Origins of English Individualism: The Family, Property and Social Transition (New York 1978).

19. W.G. Hoskins, Provincial England (London 1963), especially ch. VII, and E. Mercer, England Vernacular Houses (London 1975).

20. M. Campbell, The English Yeoman: Under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts. (New Haven 1942); G. Batho, Noblemen, gentlemen, and yeomen in Thirsk (ed.), op. cit. 276-306; and C. Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled Englishmen 1590-1642 (New York 1968), 3-118.

21. Hill, op. cit.; P.S. Seaver (ed.), Seventeenth-century England (London 1976), esp. 1-70; and Bridenbaugh op. cit. 355-393.

22. Everitt op. cit. See also the remarks on London and the provincial towns as centers of change and destinations of rural migrants in C.W. Chalkin and M.A. Havinden (eds.), Rural Change and Urban Growth 1500-1800 (London 1974); P. Clark (ed.), County Towns in Pre-industrial England (Leicester 1981); and Bridenbaugh op. cit. 119-200.

23. Stone op. cit. and Mitchell 'American origins' op. cit.
24. Mercer op. cit. 1-73.
25. See, for example, P. and J.M. Benes (eds.), New England
    Meeting House and Church 1630-1850. (New York 1979); A.L.
    Cummings, The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay 1625-1725
    (New York 1979); A.F. Downing and V.J. Scully, The
    Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island 1640-1915
    (New York 1967); H. Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle
    Virginia. (Knoxville, Tenn. 1975); W.M.S. Rasmussen,
    Designers, buildings, and architectural traditions in
    colonial Virginia Virginia Magazine of History and
    Biography. 90 (1982) 198-212; and D.T. Upton, Early
    vernacular architecture in southeastern Virginia (unpubl.
    Ph.D. dissertation, Brown Univ., 1980).
26. Harris 'Simplification' op. cit. 469-483, and R.C. Harris
    and L. Guelke, Land and society in early Canada and South
    Africa. Journal of Historical Geography 3 (1977) 135-153.
27. See the critique in Rutman 'Community Study' op. cit.
    29-41.
28. See, for example, J. Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family
    Life in Plymouth Colony. (New York 1970); M. Zuckerman,
    Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth
    Century. (New York 1970); and T.H. Breen, Persistent
    localism: English social change and the shaping of New
    England institutions. William and Mary Quarterly 32 (1975)
    3-23.
29. M. Zucherman, The fabrication of identity in early
    America. William and Mary Quarterly. 34 (1977) 1383-214.
    Compare J.T. Lemon, The weakness of place and community in
    early Pennsylvania, in Gibson (ed.) op. cit. 190-207.
30. S.C. Powell, Puritan Village: The Formation of a New
    England Town. (Middletown, Conn. 1963). Compare W.R.
    Prest, Stability and change in old and New England:
    Clayworth and Dedham. Journal of Interdisciplinary History
    16 (1976) 359-374.
31. D.G. Allen, In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and
    the Transferal of English Local Law and Custom to
    Massachusetts Bay in the Seventeenth Century. (Chapel
    Hill, N.C. 1981). An interesting study of the transfer
    of one institution is H.A. Pinkham, The transplantation
    and transformation of the English shire in America: Essex
    county Massachusetts 1630-1768 (unpubl. Ph.D.
    dissertation, University of New Hampshire, 1980).
32. A.E. Yentsch, Expressions of cultural diversity and social
    reality in seventeenth-century New England (unpubl. Ph.D.
    dissertation, Brown Univ., 1980). Compare P.J. Greven Jr.,
    Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial
    Andover, Massachusetts. (Ithaca, N.Y. 1970).
33. E.S. Morgan, American Slavery American Freedom: The Ordeal
    of Colonial Virginia. New York 1975); R.R. Menard, Economy
    and society in early colonial Maryland (unpubl. Ph.D.
    dissertation, Univ. of Iowa, 1975); T.W. Tate and D.L.
    Ammerman (eds.), The Chesapeake in the seventeenth century
    (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979); R.R. Menard and L.G. Carr, The
    Lords Baltimore and the organization of Maryland, in D.B.
    Quinn (ed.), Early Maryland in a wider world (Detroit
    1982) 167-215; and Mitchell 'American Origins' op. cit.

34. While researchers in New England have focussed on the township as the unit of study, the county has been the focus of Chespeake studies. See for example, L.G. Carr, County government in Maryland 1689-1709 (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation Harvard Univ. 1968); K.P. Kelly, Economic and social development of seventeenth-century Surrey county, Virginia (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Washington 1972); R.A. Wheeler, Lancaster County, Virginia 1650-1750 (unpubl, Ph.D. dissertation, Brown Univ., 1972); R.E. Grim, The absence of towns in seventeenth-century Virginia: The emergence of service centers in York County (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Maryland, 1977); and L.S. Walsh, Charles County Maryland 1585-1705: a study of Chesapeake social and political structure (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State Univ., 1977).

35. For contrasting interpretations see J.F. Fausz, The Powhatan uprising of 1622: a historical study of ethnocentrism and cultural conflict (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, College of William and Mary, 1977), and A.T. Vaughan, 'Expulsion of the Savages': English policy and the Virginia massacre of 1622. William and Mary Quarterly 35 (1978) 57-84.

36. J.H. Merrell, Cultural continuity among the Piscataway Indians of colonial Maryland William and Mary Quarterly 36 (1979) 548-570, and F. Jennings, Indians and frontiers in seventeenth-century Maryland, in Quinn (ed.), op. cit. 216-241.

37. F.W. Porter, Quest for identity: the formation of the Nanticoke Indian community at Indian River Inlet, Sussex County, Delaware (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Maryland, 1978), and Porter, A century of accommodation: the Nanticoke Indians in colonial Maryland. Maryland Historical Magazine 74 (1979) 175-192.

38. Mitchell 'American origins' op. cit.

39. Menard "Economy and society' op. cit., and Quinn (ed.) op. cit. 149-215.

40. D.W. Galenson, White Servitude in Colonial America: an Economic Analysis. (Cambridge 1981). Galenson points out that the indentured servitude system was derived from the English practice of hiring farm servants.

41. Morgan op. cit. and W.D. Jordan, White over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro 1550-1812. (Chapel Hill, N.C. 1968).

42. See S.M. Ames, Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century. (Richmond 1940); T.H. Breen and S. Innes, 'Myne owne ground': Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore 1640-1676. (New York 1980); and P.G.E. Clemens, From tobacco to grain: economic development on Maryland's Eastern Shore 1660-1750 (Unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Wisconsin 1974).

43. J.T. Lemon, The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early southeastern Pennsylvania. (Baltimore 1972); Lemon and G.B. Nash, The distribution of wealth in eighteenth-century America: a century of change in Chester County, Pennsylvania 1693-1802. Journal of Social History. 2 (1968) 1-24; and Lemon, 'Early Americans' op. cit. 15-31.

44. J.T. Lemon, 'The weakness of place' op. cit. 190-207.
45. Compare R.D. Mitchell, Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley. (Charlottesville 1977) 59-92 and Henretta 'Families and farms' op. cit. on this point.
46. As a quaker colony it is not surprising that the parish system failed to take root. But it seems to me that Lemon exaggerates the discontinuities created in settling a new land. On the basis of his argument concerning "liberal individualism" it could be anticipated that he would not emphasize the potential regionalism inherent in perhaps the most varied and pluralistic settlement area in the early English colonies. This may also be a problem of scale. See Simler 'The Township' op. cit.
47. C.V. Earle, The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland 1650-1783. (Chicago 1975); Earle and R. Hoffman, Staple crops and urban development in the eighteenth-century South Perspectives in American History 10 (1976) 7-78.
48. Lemon, 'Best poor man's country' op. cit. 98-117. Compare P.O. Wacker, Land and People: A Cultural Geography of Preindustrial New Jersey. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1975), chs. 4 and 5.
49. See, for example, D.R. McManis, Colonial New England: A Historical Geography (New York 1975) 41-85, and B.C. Daniels, The Connecticut Town: Growth and Development 1635-1790. (Middletown, Conn. 1979). Compare the more direct remarks of D.B. Rutman, The Husbandmen of Plymouth: Farms and Villages in the Old Colony 1620-1692. (Boston 1967) 14-23, and Demos, 'A little commonwealth', op. cit. 9-12.
50. J.S. Wood, The origin of the New England village (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State Univ., 1978), and Wood, Village and community in early colonial New England Journal of Historical Geography 8 (1982) 333-346.
51. H.R. Merrens, Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Historical Geography.(Chapel Hill, N.C. 1964), ch. VII; C.V. Earle and R. Hoffman, The urban South: The first two centuries, in B.A. Brownell and D.R. Goldfield (eds.), The City on Southern History: The Growth of Urban Civilization in the South. (Port Washington, N.Y. 1975) 23-51; and J.A. Ernst and H.R. Merrens, 'Camden's turrets pierce the skies!': the urban process in the southern colonies during the eighteenth century. William and Mary Quarterly 30 (1973) 549-574.
52. B. Barton, The creation of centrality. Annals of the Association of American Geographers 68 (1978) 34-44.
53. Harris, "Simplification' op. cit. 472-473.
54. Powell "puritan village' op. cit. 25-29, 171-177, 231-233; K.A. Lockridge, A New England Town, the First Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachusetts 1636-1736. (New York 1970), especially 70-78; Allen 'In English ways' op. cit. 21-22, 30-36, 46-47, 61-66, 109-115, 125-129, 160, 213-214.
55. B.W. Bond Jr., The Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies (New Haven 1919); E.S. Morgan, Headrights and head counts: a review article Virginia Magazine of History

and Biography 80 (1972) 361-371; and R.R. Menard, Immigration to the Chesapeake colonies in the seventeenth century: a review essay. Maryland Historical Magazine 68 (1973) 323-329.

56. See, for example, Morgan 'American slavery' op. cit.; G.A. Stiverson, Poverty in a Land of Plenty: Tenancy in Eighteenth-century Maryland (Baltimore 1972); and R.R. Menard, From servant to freeholder: status mobility and property accumulation in seventeenth-century Maryland William and Mary Quarterly 30 (1973) 37-64.

57. Mitchell, 'American origins' op. cit., and Lemon, "Best Poor Man's Country op. cit. 88-89.

58. See, for example, Allen 'In English ways' op. cit. 36-37, 63-65, 112-113, 129-131, R.R. Menard, P.M.G. Harris, and L.G. Carr, Opportunity and inequality: the distribution of wealth on the lower western shore of Maryland 1638-1705 Maryland Historical Magazine 64 (1974) 169-184; and L.S. Butler, The early settlement of Carolina: Virginia's southern frontier Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 74 (1971) 20-28.

59. Mitchell 'Commercialism and frontier' op. cit. preface; Rutman 'Husbandmen of Plymouth' op. cit. 23-24; Allen 'In English ways' op. cit. 59-61, 100-103, 227-231; and C. Bridenbaugh, Fat Mutton and Liberty of Conscience: Society in Rhode Island 1636-1690. (Providence, R.I. 1974) 57-59.

60. Compare C.S. Grant, Democracy in the Connecticut Frontier Town of Kent (New York 1961) with Lockridge 'A New England town' op. cit. and Breen 'Persistent Localism; op. cit.

61. Compare B. Bailyn, Politics and social structure in Virginia, pp 90-115 of J.M. Smith (ed.), 17th Century America: Essays in Colonial History. (Chapel Hill, N.C. 1959) with R.E. Jnr., Massachusetts Bay: The Crucial Decade 1640-1650. (New Haven 1972).

62. See, for example, T.H. Breen, Puritans and Adventures: Change and Persistence in Early America. (New York 1980); E.P. Thompson, Eighteenth-century English society: class struggle without class? Social History 3 (1978) 133-165; and G.B. Nash, Class and Society in Early America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1970) especially 1-14, 75-89, 133-165.

63. D.W. Meinig, The colonial period 1609-1775, in J.H. Thompson (ed.), Geography of New York State. (Syracuse, N.Y. 1966) 121-139, and Wacker 'Land and people' op. cit. ch. 3 See in general J.S. Olson, The Ethnic Dimension in American History (New York 1979).

64. See, for example, Wacker 'Land and People' op. cit. 121-189, 409-412, and S.G. Hinshalwood, The Dutch Cultural Area of the Mid-Hudson Valley (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers Univ., 1981).

65. J.T. Lemon, The agricultural practices of national groups in eighteenth-century south eastern Pennsylvania. Geographical Review 56 (1966) 467-496.

66. D. Merwick, Becoming English: Anglo-Dutch conflict in the 1670s in Albany, New York. New York History 62 (1981) 389-414.

67. Especially Lemon, 'Best Poor Man's Country' op. cit. preface, and Lemon, 'Early Americans" op. cit. 115-131.

68. M.B. Newton, Cultural preadaptation and the Upland South. Geoscience and Man (1974) 143-154, and Newton and L. Pulliam-DiNapoli, Log houses as public occasions: a historical theory Annals of the Association of American Geographers 67 (1977) 360-383.

69 Newton, 'Cultural Preadaptation' op. cit. 150-152.

70. Mitchell, 'Formation of early American cultural regions' op. cit. 66-90.

71. Mitchell, 'American Origins', op. cit.

72. J.A. Caruso, The Appalachian Frontier: America's First Surge Westward. (Indianapolis 1959), 13. Compare R.A. Berkhofer Jnr., Space, time, culture, and the new frontier. Agricultural History 38 (1964) 21-30.

73. For earlier interpretations of the Appalachian frontier see the works of T.P. Abernethy who took issue with Fredrick Jackson Turner on a number of points From Frontier to Plantation in Tennnessee (Chapel Hill, N.C. 1932); Western Lands and the American Revolution (New York 1937); Three Virginia Frontiers (Baton Rouge, La. 1940); and The southern frontier, an interpretation, in W.D. Wyman and C.B. Kroeber (eds.), The Frontier in Perspective (Madison, Wis. 1957), 129-142. See also C. Bridenbaugh, Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South (Baton Rouge, La. 1952), especially 118-196.

74. M.J. Rohrbough, The Trans-Appalachian Frontier: People, Societies, and Institutions 1775-1850. (New York 1978), 134. The most persistent arguments for the essential continuity of early American life, indeed for claims of reinforced Anglicization, is the work of John Murrin. J.M. Murrin, Anglicizing an American colony - the transformation of provincial Massachusetts (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Yale Univ., 1966), and R. Berthoff and J.M. Murrin, Feudalism, communalism, and the yeoman freeholder: the American revolution as a social accident, in S.G. Kurtz and J.H. Hutson (eds.), Essays on the American Revolution. (New York 1973), 256-288.

75. Population figures are estimates from the 1790 census returns as reprinted in E.B. Greene and V.D. Harrington, American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790. (New York 1932).

76. The approximate figures for the other states involved are New Jersey (12,500), Maryland (20,650), North Carolina (at least 8,000), Kentucky (7,500), and Tennessee (16,000).

77. H. Kurath, A Word Geography of the Eastern United States. (Ann Arbor, Mich. 1949); H. Kurath and R.I. McDavid Jnr., The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States. (Ann Arbor, Mich. 1961); and R.I. McDavid Jnr., The dialects of American English, in W.N. Francis, The Structure of American English. (New York 1958), 480-543.

78. M.P. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York 1790-1865. (Cambridge and New York 1981), 18-51.

79. Ryan, 'Cradle of the middle class' op. cit. 52-59.

80. A.G. Bogue, Social theory and the pioneer Agricultural History 34 (1960) 30-32, and R.W. Ramsey, Carolina Cradle: Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier 1747-1762 (Chapel Hill, N.C. 1964), 9-22, 200-204.

81. Mitchell, 'Commercialism and frontier' op. cit. 59-92.
82. Mitchell, 'Commercialism and frontier' op. cit. 119-121.
83. P. Watlington, The Partisan Spirit: Kentucky Politics 1779-1792. (Chapel Hill, N.C. 1972), 23.
84. N.A. McNall, An Agricultural History of the Genesee Valley 1790-1860. (Philadelphia 1952), 17-51 and W. Wyckoff, Joseph Ellicott and the western New York Frontier: environmental assessments, geographical strategies, and authored landscapes 1797-1811 (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse Univ., 1982).
85. McNall, 'Genesee Valley' op. cit. 52-64, and D.M. Ellis, Landlords and Farmers in the Hudson-Mohawk Region 1790-1850.(Ithaca, N.Y. 1946), 16-65.
   Tenancy was also present in northeastern New Jersey. See P.O. Wacker, The Musconetcong Valley of New Jersey (New Brunswick, N.J. 1968), 35-36, 60-67.
86. R.E. Harper, The class structure of western Pennsylvania in the late eighteenth century (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Pittsburgh, 1969), 20-75.
87. L. Soltow and K.W. Keller, Tenancy and asset-holding in late eighteenth-century Washington County, Pennsylvania. Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine 65 (1982), 1-15.
88. L. Soltow, Inequality amidst abundance: land ownership in early nineteenth-century Ohio. Ohio History 88 (1979) 133-151, and A.R.L. Cayton, The best of all possible worlds, from independence to interdependence in the settlement of the Ohio country 1780-1825 (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Brown Univ., 1981).
89. E.A. Kessel, Germans on the Maryland frontier: a social history of Frederick County, Maryland, 1730-1800 (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Rice University 1981), 110-150.
90. The hundred functioned in some ways like a township in western Maryland. See J.A. Wyland, The hundreds of Washington County. Maryland Historical Magazine 67 (1972) 302-306.
91. S. Elkins and E. McKitrick, A meaning for Turner's frontier Part I: Democracy in the Old Northwest. Political Science Quarterly. 69 (1954) 321-353, and A meaning for Turner's fronter Part II: the southwest frontier and New England. Political Science Quarterly 69 (1954) 565-602.
92. M.K.B Tachau, Federal Courts in the Early Republic: Kentucky 1789-1816. (Princeton, N.J. 1978), 15.
93. W.L. Bokelman, Continuity and change in revolutionary Pennsylvania: a study of county government and officeholders (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern Univ., 1969).
94. Tachau, 'Federal courts' op. cit. 195. See also R.M. Ireland, The County Courts in Antebellum Kentucky (Lexington, Ky. 1972).
95. See C.F. Cocke, Parish Lines, Diocese of Southwestern Virginia. (Richmond, Va. 1960), and R.D. Mitchell, Content and context: tidewater characteristics in the early Shenandoah Valley. Maryland Historian 5 (1974) 79-92.

96. See the origins of this idea in E.C. Semple, The influence of the Appalachian barrier upon colonial history Journal of Geography 1 (1897) 33-41, and Semple, American History and its Geographic Conditions. (Boston and New York 1903) 36-51. Note the commentary in H.R. Merrens, Historical geography and early American history. William and Mary Quarterly 22 (1965) 529-533.

97. See, for example, E.C. Semple, The Anglo-Saxons of the Kentucky Mountains: a study in anthropogeography Geographical Journal 17 (1901) 588-623; J.C. Campbell, The Southern Highlander in his Homeland. (New York 1921); H. Kephart, Our Southern highlanders. (New York, 1922); D.H. Davis, A study of the succession of human activities in the Kentucky Mountains, Journal of Geography 29 (1930) 85-100; R. Peattie, Mountain Geography. (Cambridge, Mass. 1936) 221-225; and, more recently, T.R. Ford (ed.), The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey. (Lexington, Ky. 1965); D.D. Bruce Jnr., And they all Sang Hallelujah: Plain-Folk Camp-Meeting Religion 1800-1845. (Knoxville, Tenn. 1974); and F.C. Bryant, We're All Kin: A Cultural Study of a Mountain Neighborhood. (Knoxville, Tenn. 1981).

98. R. Slotkin, Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860. (Middletown, Conn. 1973) 180-368, and R. Drinnon, Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building (Minneapolis 1980), 65-116.

99. G.C. Nammack, Fraud, Politics, and the Dispossession of the Indians: The Iroquois Land Frontier in the Colonial Period (Norman, Okla. 1969); A.F.C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca. (New York 1969); D.H. Concran, The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival 1740-62 (Norman, Okla. 1962); G.S. Woodward, The Cherokees (Norman, Okla. 1963; and L. DeVorsey Jr., The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies 1763-1775. (Chapel Hill, N.C. 1966).

100. Meinig, 'The colonial period' op. cit. 130-139, and Lemon, 'Best poor man's country' op. cit. 118-149.

101. Kessel, 'Germans on the Maryland frontier' op. cit. 324-344; Mitchell, 'Commercialism and frontier; op. cit. 189-201; and Earle and Hoffman, 'The Urban South' op. cit. 23-51.

102 Kessel op. cit. 110-190.

103. Mitchell, 'Commercialism and frontier' op. cit. 161-188.

104. Mitchell, 'Commercialism and frontier' op. cit. 189-229.

105. Meinig, 'The colonial period' and 'Geography of expansion' op. cit. 130-148; S.J. & E.H. Buck, The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania (Pittsburgh 1939) 127-174; Kessel, 'Germans; op. cit. 324-344; Mitchell, 'Commercialism' op. cit. 40-45; and L.J. Cappon (ed.), Atlas of Early American History: The Revolutionary Years 1750-1790 (Princeton, N.J. 1976) 24, 36-39.

106. F. Kniffen, Folk housing; Key to diffusion Annals of the Association of American Geographers 55 (1965) 549-577, and Kniffen and H. Glassie, Building in wood in the eastern United States: a time-place perspective. Geographical Review 56 (1966) 40-66.

107. H. Glassie, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States (Philadelphia 1968), 64-112, although these innovations may have developed before the early nineteenth century. H. Mednis, A study of the evolution of a rural settlement ensemble: southeastern Tennessee and the Upland South (unpubl. paper, Univ. of Maryland, 1976) and Newton, 'Cultural preadaptation" op. cit. 152.

108. Glassie, "Pattern in material folk culture" op. cit. 48-62; Kniffen, 'Folk housing' op. cit. 560-577; and E.A. Chappell, Acculturation in the Shenandoah Valley: Rhenish houses of the Massanutten Settlement. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 124 (1980) 55-89.

109. Mitchell, 'Commercialism' op. cit. 98-100, 178-188.

110. Kessel, 'Germans' op. cit. 110-190, and Mitchell, 'Commercialism' op. cit. 104-109.

111. Mitchell, 'Commercialism' op. cit. 104-108, and Cappon (ed.), 'Atlas of early American history' op. cit. 24 and 36.

112. Cappon (ed.), 'Atlas' op. cit. 25 and 62.

113. Cappon (ed.), 'Atlas' op. cit. 63.

114. See D. Whitten, An economic inquiry into the whiskey rebellion of 1794, Agricultural History 49 (1975) 491-504; D. Fennell, By Calculation Opressed: the whiskey excise and the decline of county distillers, unpubl. paper 1981, and her unpubl. dissertation, Univ. of Pittsburgh, 1980.

115. One example from east of the Virginia Blue Ridge in R.R. Beeman and R. Isaac, Cultural conflict and social change in the revolutionary South: Lunenburg County, Virginia Journal of Southern History 46 (1980) 525-550.

116. See especially, W.G. McLoughtin, The role of religion in the revolution, in Kurtz and Hutson (eds.), 'Essays on the American Revolution op. cit. 197-25; D.G. Matthews, The second great awakening as an organizing process 1780-1830: an hypothesis American Quarterly 21 (1969) 23-43; and W.R. Cross, The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York 1800-1850 (Ithaca, N.Y. 1950).

117. Mitchell, 'Commercialism' op. cit. 106-107, and J. Stewart and E.L. Smith, The survival of German dialects and customs in the Shenandoah Valley. Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, Report 31 (1963) 66-70.

118. Kessel, 'Germans' op. cit. 191-323. For a contrasting example of German acculturation in southeastern Pennsylvania within two generations see S.G. Wold, Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania 1683-1800. (Princeton, N.J. 1976).

119. E.M. Cook Jnr., The Fathers of the Towns: Leadership and Community Structure in Eighteenth-Century New England (Baltimore and London 1976), 181-182.

120. J.T. Main, The Social Structure of Revolutionary America (Princeton, N.J. 1965), 39-40, 45-49, 60-61, 277.

121. J. Morse, The American Geography. (London 1792), 313-318.

122. Mitchell, 'Commercialism' op. cit. 26-55, and Kessel, 'Germans' op. cit. 72-109.
123. For an overall "social science" perspective on these frontiers see J.E. Davis, Frontier America 1800-1840: A Comparative Demographic Analysis of the Frontier Process. (Glendale, Cal. 1977). Ongoing research on Appalachian frontiers is spotty. I am aware of the following projects in progress: two studies on the settlement history of upstate New York are R.C. McGregor, Settlement and development in the upper Mohawk Valley 1705-1790 (State Univ. of New York at Binghampton) and D.K. Richter, Societies on the eighteenth century New York frontier: the Mohawk Valley 1689-1784 (Colombia Univ.); Elizabeth Kessel is continuing her studies of western Maryland; Richard McMaster, Kalus Wust, and myself are studying cultural and ethnic pluralism in the Shenandoah Valley; and Curtis Wood and Tyler Blethen are focussing on the Scotch-Irish in the settlement history of western North Carolina. I am unaware of present research on Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio, but there is an embarrasing lack of basic economic and social research on the former two areas and the Western Reserve of Ohio has not been adequately researched since H. Hatcher, The Western Reserve: The Story of New Connecticut in Ohio (Indianapolis 1949).

II. THE VIEW FROM THE SOUTHWEST
MILTON B. NEWTON, Jr

Some years ago, several students of the American cultural landscape were discussing nuances of interpretation of the historic record of the very few years during which the frontier spread westward in the eastern United States. After having again heard my interpretation, they continued to disagree. They said that what I said was true enough, but only for the area of Louisiana and, perhaps adjacent parts of Mississippi. As an anthropologically and historically trained cultural geographer, I cannot believe that different processes work in one region or time from those in another region or time. In such discussions, however, I am very much aware of hidden agendas written up during the formative years of the various participants in the discussion. Regional background may provide one such list of unstated assumptions; doctrine of the terminal degree, personal ideology, disciplinary preferences, and other experiences or their deformation may contribute to the formation of those hidden agendas.

Whatever their source, the ways in which the ideas of scholars take shape should eventually be made explicit. To call for a view of the Appalachian Frontier from the south west is not to grant a licence to make provincial boasts or to claim to see differently from others. It is, instead, to try to grasp experience in a definite place and to use knowledge of this experience as a light for examining some other place. Authentic experience rightly explicated in any one place must give some guidance for knowing the experience of another. Understanding the experience of one time guides the understanding of that of another. To view an aspect of human experience, such as the passing of the frontier in one place is to gain added perspective on that same kind of experience in another. Let me explore one way in which a view from the southwest takes form and by that means cast additional light on the Appalachian frontier.

A SOUTHWESTERN PERSPECTIVE

Start with me in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of South Texas. To the east is the ocean; to the south, an alien land; to the west, increasingly rugged wilderness. To the north, however, lay an ever widening plain reaching, I felt sure, clear to the North Pole. Over that plain had come the settlers, moving south and bringing settled ways and ordered society. Over that plain, we travel at will distances of hundreds of miles - to shop, to date, to see a doctor, to go to the zoo, to attend an opera, and to go to college. That such a land leaves a taste for vast horizons is axiomatic; denizens of this plain find it easy to speak of a sweep of a million square miles.

True enough, we hear of values, cosy valleys, nestled villages, neighbours sharing generations of experience, but we hear of them in hymns, calenders, schoolbooks, novels, and magazines.(1) We even sometimes believe that we can place our own experience in such frames. How fervently we might try to be in the little white church in the vale! But living in Big Country gives us a different view from those who live in Little Countries.

BIG COUNTRY, LITTLE COUNTRY

Travelling to the east, say to a family reunion in East Tennessee or to a conference in Virginia or Ohio provides a new viewpoint that illuminates real differences in the geographical experience in different places. To go eastward from Big Country toward the Atlantic is to experience increasingly Little Countries. The horizon closes in, and particularly in Virginia and Pennsylvania, the experience of the details of a whole Little Country becomes possible; one can indeed see and know the little white church in the vale. The epitome of these Little Countries is Burkes Garden, where we can stand on any convenient elevation and survey at a glance the whole of our landscape, but in intimate detail.

Our second surprise is the feeling that these Little Countries are cradles; perhaps more accurately, they form a nursery of many hotbeds. From these special places came the transplants, some of which took aggressive, weedy hold of the countries to the west. The conditions in these successively larger lands of the west offered special opportunity for some of the sprouts in the nursey. Like honeybees, mullein, and Cherokee rose, the special (we are tempted to say "the select" or even "the elect") varieties flourished in the newer, bigger countries to the west of the Appalachian.

When we go to Europe, we find a further, proportional contraction of the circumscribing horizon. In the pays or the land, the small country finds even deeper, more complex expression. These small countries such as La Cluse northeast of Lyons, were also the forcing beds from which varieties were selected for the New World adventure.(2)

Standing again in Walter Prescott Webb's Great Plains (3) or Walker Percy's Midwest (4) - in both cases, lying between Winnepeg and Brownsville - the perspective itself inspires questions as to why vast uniformities emanated from small diversities. When we finally travel the length of the Plains and back again, we will very likely ask questions different from those asked by people who have one of several eastern vantage points. From growing up in a landscape where one cattle drive would cover more distance than a major Germanic migration in Europe, where the trek of one pioneer covered a distance equivalent to that of a major crusade, where one is reasonably at home anywhere in an area of a million square miles, the reasonable question asks how such broad similarities

arose. Precisely this matter of broad similarities across the mid-section of the country is what originally triggered `frontier studies (5).

To return to the East or to Europe, having now our southwestern perspective, is to leave a large place with a small diversity to go to a small place with a large diversity. Each successively westward region has, manifestly, fewer forms. We can indeed find many of the roots of the material culture of the west in the lands of the East, but only mixed in among many other forms that appear rarely or not at all in the west. Let us examine one familiar example.

EASTERN DOMINANCE OF THE WEST

The false-front store overwhelmingly dominated new construction of commercial buildings throughout the nineteenth century. Photgraphs of the period show that few other forms were built. The concept thoroughly dominated the West, but that preponderance does not in itself identify the region of origin. That was the error of Webb, Turner, Bemis, plus the determinist geographers. An Eastern form dominates the West. Such was the case in courthouse-town plans, covered bridges, classical town plans, log construction, upright-and-wing house, populist politics, Greek Revival architecture, four-square courthouses, and a whole host of traits that originated in the East - or even in the Old World - and came to dominate the West.(6)

To understand this dominance as we see it today or as we try to visualize it as of, say, 1790 requires an appreciation of the special conditions surrounding the time-place context and the character of fundamental, cultural processes,together with the peculiarity of historic time.(7) The cultural landscape of the area immediately west of the Appalachians was in 1800 confected of a limited list of items - culture traits, if you will - all drawn from the stores of traits found along the Atlantic states or in Europe. Little or nothing in significantly new traits appeared on the frontier during the span from 1770 to 1830; all had been in use in one or more of the Little Countries back east or in Europe.

The significance of the dominance of the trait complex that eventually emerged lay in the Old West's presenting a definite set of opportunities for only some of the traits of the East. Of the fraction of Eastern traits that could have found suitable settings in the Old West, only some were associated in complexes held by a coherent group. Thus was it that some traits that might have survived or flourished on the frontier did not in fact form part of the Frontier Culture.(8)

PIONEERING AS FASHION

One thoroughly neglected aspect of going west, regardless of the starting point, is the faddishness of the event. To an as-yet undetermined degree, the decision to become a colonist or a pioneer accompanied a decision to become a frontiersman, to do the things believed to make one such a person. This nearly unchronicled process of enlistment seems to have been repeated on each successive jumping-off place for each successive frontier.(9)

Failure to recognize the up-to-datedness of the Frontier Culture lies perhaps in a glib certainty that amounts to a huge prejudice. This bias states that the frontier was a region of renegades, derelicts, ne'er-do-wells, misfits, yahoos, and ignoramuses. The frontier was, it is supposed, the haven of the incompetent where the direct experience of the raw wilderness revitalized some people, inspiring them to emulate their betters to the east. This doctrine gained credence during the first half of this century, when it was for some reason believed that insanity kindled creativity.(10) It was fed by the actual poverty and callow unsophistication of the people of the frontier "survivals" in Appalachia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, after Reconstruction and after two or three generations of isolation caused at least partly by successive generations' decision not to venture out of their Little Countries.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, however, the people who went to the frontier followed many of the latest fashions and subscribed to some of the most topical notions. They also held in their consciousness some of the most fundamental learning of Britain and Western Europe. These characteristics determine much of what was to be the cultural landscape. Among the then most correct things for frontiersmen to do or know were a reasonable knowledge of the common law (11), an appreciation of tomatoes (probably as a dietary improvement)(12), Greek and Classical Revival architecture, the four-square courthouses (13), an aggressive Freemasonry, a redeemer republicanism (14), a concept of tiered sovereignty, a reasonably straightforward theory of private property, a semi-secular civil polity, and more.

All of these then liberal notions and preferences were built into the landscape. We cannot analyse that landscape without taking into account these ideas and weighing them in the scales of opportunity provided by the special settings of the Old West. The contrast between the incubator East and the Bigger Countries to the west shows admirably in a comparison of the Pittsburgh and Canton quarter-million quadrangles map sheets. These two maps seem almost not to belong to the same series, even though they join in the city of Pittsburgh. To the west, the Ohio breaks through the plateau, giving an ever widening promise of enhanced opportunity to those who have the character of profit from the wider horizons. To the east lie successive Little Countries separated by ridges.

COMMERCIAL CHARACTER OF THE FRONTIER

As some scholars have finally taught us, the frontier was more commercial than we had realized.(15) Somehow, the early fur traders, miners, cattlemen, planters, and commodity farmers became in scholarship disconnected from the experienced moment of settling. Wade, Mitchell, and others have, however, documented the means and extent of the pioneers' commitment to the market. By recognizing that they were so committed, we can also see that they were socially and geographically in position to share in the trends of the moment, even if the material expression of these trends was often rough-hewn.

As a consequence of their attunement to contemporary fashion (16), the pioneers of the Trans-Appalachian West of 1800 constructed raw-boned landscapes of republican virtue. Under the influence of the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the ratification of the Constitution, the insertion of the Bill of Rights, and the doctrines of Freemasonry, a new pattern was set forward for the making of new towns. As Eliade notes, the founding of a new house or a new town or a new country amounts to the refounding of the Cosmos.(17) To kindle the first fire, to erect the pole of civil order, to lay out a settlement is to celebrate and recreate the foundation of the world. To do so in full consciousness of the newness of one's own enterprise - as would have been the case among these people venturing into Bigger Countries - makes it all the more likely that the elements chosen to form the landscape were chosen with care and foresight. Later generations would with less thought replicate what had become a pattern.

THE SEMI-SECULAR CIVIL POLITY - A PATTERN

The county and the county seat have central standing in the semi-secular civil polity of the frontier. The new foundation of the world that gained expression in these western counties sought to give tangible expression of the new republican virtue. During the move from the Little Countries, the new doctrines of Classical Revival town planning gained sway over the public mind.(18) In New England Extended, somewhat later, there appear small, grid-planned New England towns (Talmadge, Ohio, for example), properly single confessioned, a holdover from the days of the Little Countries to the east.(19) In the South, some grid-planned towns have churches facing the courthouse square (an example is Centreville, Bibb County, Alabama).(20) In fact, the grid plan permitted either the older parochial polity or the newer semi-secular polity; the semi-secular polity, by contrast, required the Classical Revival, grid-planned town as its proper frame.

The distinction between North (New England and Mid-Atlantic) and South (Chesapeake and Carolina) had appeared by the time of the Revolution.(21) Some have attributed the cleavage to the presence of slavery. Such can hardly be the case; the separation has roots tapping into the Cromwellian period in Britain and emerging anew in the disputes between the Federalists and the Anti-federalists, the codification movement (Carter-Fields debate)(22), the Nullification movement, York and Scottish Rites of Freemasonry, and so forth. At base, two different conceptions of the nature and source of order in civil society ruled the divergent modes of laying out settlements. The county gave tangible expression to the Southern mode: representative (strict sense) government, land-based civil order, centrality of the common law court, a civil truce among denominations, local autonomy, and so forth. The laying off of a county seat in the form that became most common allowed these ideals to "take place".

The Classical town plan spread widely in the New World. Almost from Pole to Pole, the basic idea served to inform town planners in thousands of counties and municipios. The British and Latin peoples of the New World, however, put the idea into the service of differing conceptions of civil order. At New Orleans, St. Martinville, San Antonio, Rio Grande City, and numberless other places farther south, the civil and ecclesiastical governments had their joint control engraved in the landscape of the Place d'Armes or the Plaza, sharing that preferred, central location. In the British New World, two forms emerged, one much less numerous. In New England, the classical mode gave rectangular expression to the single confessioned community, again unifying the civil and religious sections in a single polity.(23)

In the South (Old Southwest) the Middle States, the Classical mode accompanied and enabled the establishment of the genuinely new order, the semi-secular civil polity. The grid of streets was familiarly laid off and the central block properly left to stand apart. The courthouse commonly occupied - or would occupy - the central block, giving tangibility to the concept of the rule of law. The juridical court, the commissioners' court, and the land records, the clerk of court, and the sheriff occupied the central position, the site of pre-eminence. The rule of law was to be neither the rule of laws nor the rule of law-makers, but the rule of the Natural Law as unfolded by actual human experience. The roles of religion and political philosophy were in principle to be limited and segregated. The restriction on doctrine gained landscape expression through the placement of churches at least one block away from the courthouse square.(24) The civil government, the merchants, and the Freemasons shared the panorama of the central square.

The civil theology (25) that informed these little republics in effect required at least some conformance to the modernist idea that religious matters, divisive as they tend to be, must be held at some distance from the seat of civil

authority. The nineteenth-century republican virtue required a
general religousity, but one that did not intrude
denominational distinctions into the running of the public
business. No religion beyond the deistic minimum endorsed by
Freemasonry could hold the center of the civil order. If the
workings of the common law led to conclusions similar to those
of the churches, well enough; the paths, however, would have to
be separate ones subject to their own disciplined traditions of
analysis of experience.

     To give explicit structure to the separation - and
protection - of religion, the original plans of a vast number
of courthouse towns called for at least two different churches;
provision was commonly made for three, four, or five different
denominations, none occupying the prestigious location on or
facing the square. Churches and, by implication, religion were
set in the area of private homes, the area surrounding the
courthouse and the business - a "proto Kiwanis" solution to
boosting the town and county.

     In a further move toward the segregation of functions, the
school and the cemetery were assigned places on the periphery.
Their character demanded, it seems, a setting of the grove, a
park-like area apart from the serious concerns of the civil
order. The differentiation inherent in the semi-secular order
recurred in the peripheral features of school and cemetery and
gained further expression in the tendency of planters and more
prosperous farmers to locate their houses on the edges of the
county town, along the roads leading outwards to their nearby
farms.

     Out beyond the town, along the web of routes that spread
the sovereignty of the law to the surrounding rural lands (26),
the immemorial pattern of single-confessioned settlements still
held sway. Each cluster of thirty or so homes had its own
church or chapel, and neighbouring clusters often disagreed
deeply over small points of doctrine.(27) The effect of such
differences was minimized by the semi-secular civil order of
the larger civilization ensconced in the county town and given
material expression in its plan and landscape.

                  CIS-APPALACHIAN CULTURE AREAS

     This semi-secular civil order was to come increasingly to
dominate the American landscape, evolving gradually into the
community-booster pattern that gained nearly complete sway over
the several wests. At the opening of the nineteenth century,
however, it was a radically new plan, a concept that, although
eastern in origin, could find opportunity for full expression
only in the relatively empty lands farther to the west. The
details of the tangible expressions of the ideal often departed
significantly from what theorists had expected. So too did the
material items, even while expressing fashions of the East,
depart in the details of their execution from the original
models. As long as the new societies remained open to the
testimony of experience, their forms continued to develop in
response to new opportunities presented by new countries.

YANKEE
MIDWEST
REDNECK
TIDEWATER
FRENCH
SPANISH
NATIONAL
* INDIAN BROKERS

1760

1790
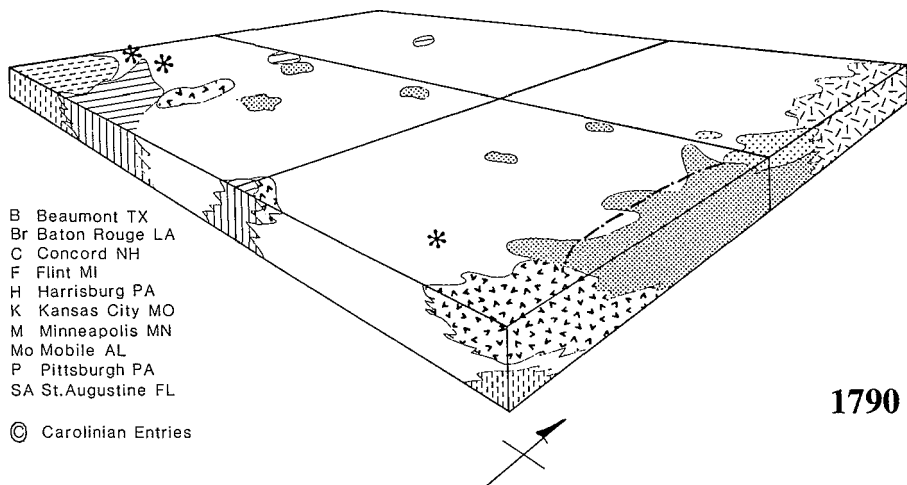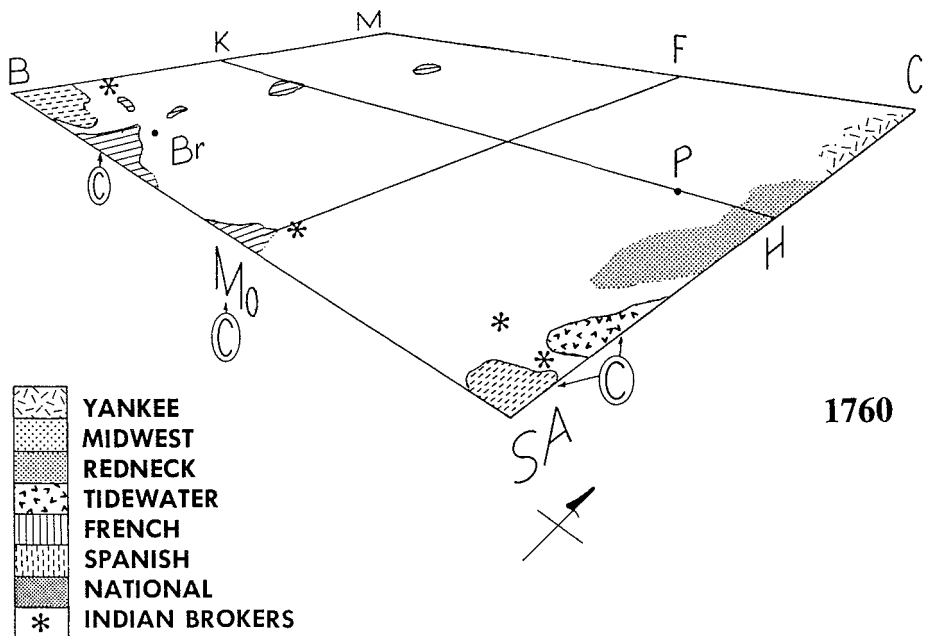
B   Beaumont TX
Br Baton Rouge LA
C   Concord NH
F   Flint MI
H   Harrisburg PA
K   Kansas City MO
M   Minneapolis MN
Mo Mobile AL
P   Pittsburgh PA
SA St.Augustine FL

© Carolinian Entries

Figure 4 (A)

YANKEE
MIDWEST
REDNECK
TIDEWATER
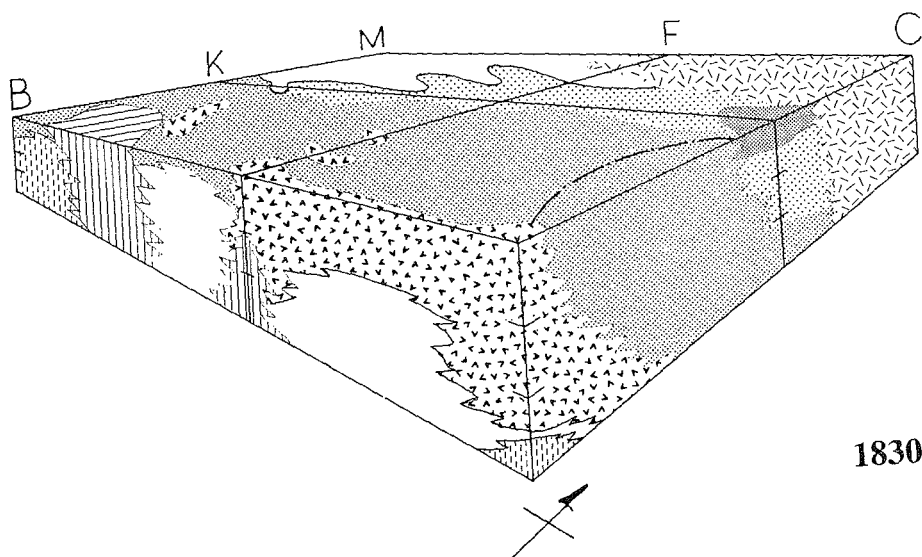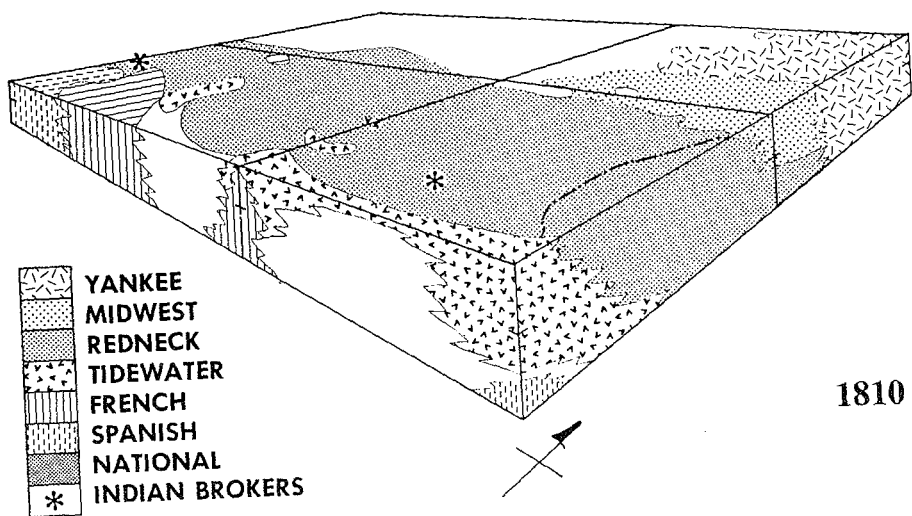FRENCH
SPANISH
NATIONAL
* INDIAN BROKERS

1810

1830

Figure 4 (B)

In the material sphere, no less than in the theoretical and theological spheres, contemporary fashion at the time of settlement or of renovation commonly had its origins elsewhere than just where we find them to have taken root. In about 1760, the most energetic culture group was, by far, a third force, one confected from elements from the Middle Atlantic, Chesapeake, and Carolina hearths, plus new elements introduced after 1725. Of all rural settlement regions, this Upland South Hearth was the most varied, complex, and aggressive. As traditional students of culture would suggest, the more complex the ethnic mix in an area, the more fecund it is likely to be in terms of cultural innovation. As far as can now be determined, almost every element that later made up the frontier culture occurred in this hearth by 1760. To the northeast lay New England, to the east, Chesapeake, to the south, Carolina, farther south, Florida and Louisiana; and to the west, the Indians, Spanish Texas, and ever larger countries.(Fig. 4).

From this southwestern perspective, one additional cultural element requires mention. Between British peoples in Carolina and Spaniards in Florida and between the Carolinas and the French at Mobile and between the French in Louisiana and the Spanish in Texas stood specially select Indian groups. In each case, the Indians served as brokers, mediating some of the transfers of traits among European groups. Most notable of these were the Cherokee, Creeks, Seminole, Chickasaw, and Choctaw in the Southeast and the Caddo group on the middle Red River. One remarkable group, the Tunica, migrated half the length of the Mississippi to position themselves in 1706 favorably relative to French, Spanish, and Indian trade sources, only to move again to Spanish territory on the lower Red River.(28)

Perhaps the northern parts of the Appalachian Frontier also had such brokers. The importance of the Southern tribes, in any case, lies in two principal roles. The Indians served as a new medium through which spread the Upland South culture. The frontier, in the sense of the culture complex characteristic of white pioneers, spread without interruptions through the Indians of much of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. Today, among the best exemplars of Upland South log houses and settlement patterns, for instance, are those of Cherokee(29). Their second function was, by fair means or foul, to transmit culture traits between European groups, most notably perhaps, many of the elements that would later form the western range livestock complex. All along the prairies and open pine forests of the Gulf Coast, Indians brokered traits between the Spanish and either British or French.(30)

Far to the west, along the Mississippi, lay meagre outliers of French settlement. Relative to our interest in the spread of the British frontier, these outposts added little more than local interest. Important interaction between the French and the British occurred almost only in the lower Mississippi. In this region between the Red and Sabine rivers, a new format of cultural complexity would renew the fervor of innovation, some parts of which would gain increasing expression in the Big Country next to be encountered.(31)

Along the Carolina coast, south around Florida, and west toward Texas, important traits entered from the Caribbean, notably after about 1740. These Creole traits, some British and others French-influenced, spread westward and northward across the so called Lower South and along the more important waterways. Certain Africanisms entered the American cultural mix mainly by the ports most in touch with the Caribbean, but normally only in the context of a new, syncretic, New World culture - thus the name Creole. These British and French Creole cultures, although dominantly European in traits, were genuinely new cultures confected of European, African, American, and even Asiatic traits. The traits include, inter alia, the Black French spoken by white Cajuns, the raising of houses off the ground on piers, full length-galleries, spice-and-rice cookery, strong motifs in oral literature, detached kitchens, and many other colorful elements of the cultural landscape.

The presence of these Creole culture elements gives the only validity that exists for delineating the so-called Lower South. Without these Creole traits, there would be no documentable distinction lying east-west through the South, except for the Tidewater (Chesapeake and Carolina) and the Latin (Spanish and French) fringes of the region.

THE DASH TO THE WEST

We may justly doubt whether anyone can claim to know why the frontiersmen wanted so adamantly to migrate westward. Scarcely can anyone claim that land hunger, soil depletion, political repression, religious intolerance, or any of the standard reasons account for the stunning migration that spanned a million square miles between 1775 and 1835. From the perspective of the East, it is fairly clear that these complaints were already better addressed in the Cis-Appalachian Back Country than they had been say, in Europe. Most colonial-period white pioneers had significantly bettered their status, relative to what they had had in the Old World.

The New World experience had, however, tapped a basic, natural human attribute - the nearly limitless capacity to consume, to use more tangible wealth. The bigger countries to the west across the Atlantic or across the Appalachians offered new and expanded opportunities, engulfed to be sure in risk, which introduced a differential into the attraction of the opportunity; only persons of generally optimistic frame of mind would choose freely to move to the frontier. As a result, each successive frontier elicited a population of ever more expansive boosters and concurrently left behind a succession of timidity relative to the opportunity presented by the land itself.

In any event, in the back country of Virginia and Carolina and, to a degree, of Pennsylvania was synthesized a complex that would carry westward the new, republican optimists. In

the north, a tongue reached out toward the Forks of the Ohio; in the middle, another pushed through western Virginia into Kentucky and Tennessee; in the south, a third lapped into the Old West by trails leading around the southern end of the mountains. (Fig. 2). The material culture of these three salients was essentially similar, except that the southern one carried a fair number of Creole traits.

The energy and vigour of the frontier movement in the Old West arose mainly from the speed with which Upland South people moved outward from these three tongues to grasp the places where their generalized stockman-farmer economy could gain commercial advantage. Prairies, brakes, flatwoods, and open woods where stock ranges, corn land, timber, water, and natural routes all coincided were the kinds of places sought. Where-ever such places existed, alliances of families marched as directly as reasonably possible.(32) Within two generations, by 1835, nearly all such places in the wooded eastern United States, south of the Great Lakes drainage, had colonies of at least a few Uplanders. They all sported open, country neighbourhoods of a few related families, each with its material complex characteristics of the frontier: corner-notched log house and outbuildings, rail fencing, parch agriculture, open range stock-raising, Anti-Federalist congregations of Evangelical Protestants, and so forth.

The speed and extent of the Upland South colonial efforts, however, made the settlement thin and, consequently, vulnerable to competitive settlements planted by adjacent cultures. Along the southern edge, outward thrusts from Carolina also preempted territory, especially where initial capital investment promised substantial reward. The plantation, ever a frontier institution, required from the outset full-bore commercial connections by water routes.(33) Thus did the Carolinians move slaves, money, and favourable connections in hand to the fertile lowlands traversed by navigable streams.

To the north, from the vicinity of Philadelphia toward the headwaters of the Ohio, there formed another pattern that was to become the Midwest.(34) This new pattern overlaid a landscape base that had formerly joined southwestward with the Upland South Hearth. Leaving it to others to document whether the distinction was well developed by 1800, we must at least note here that both a larger portion of new European immigrants and a notable fraction of Yankees joined the Pennsylvania stream as it spread westward. By contrast, the Upland South streams received few new Europeans after the turn of the century.

Along a line running from Pittsburgh to St. Louis, the new Midwest and the Upland South competed for space. While the Uplanders seem in many places along the Ohio to have entered first, they arrived in such small numbers and arrayed themselves in such dispersed fashion that they were rather easily swamped by village and town settlers characteristic of Pennsylvania and New England.

In any case, Uplanders were before 1800 placing their log houses and barns, corn patches, livestock operations, and other institutions as far west as the Mississippi. They were ensconced in Louisiana by 1790 and entering Texas and Oklahoma before 1800. In the most far flush examples the chief attractions seem to have been control of the land-water choke points on commercial routes, trade in livestock (especially at first, horses and mules), and an evangelical enthusiasm for spreading Protestant republicanism. At no time during this period from 1790 to 1810 did these outrunners lack a sense of the topical, the current fashion in philosophy, commerce, or architecture.

THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE OLD WEST

One remarkable aspect of the relatively brief history of the United States is the dominance in national myths of a succession of regions. Virginia, New England, Pennsylvania, Upland South, Great Plains, Midwest, New York, Far West, and now the Sun Belt each has had a turn at dominating the imagery of the nation as a whole.(35) It is desirable to remove all the layers until we uncover the cultural landscape of 1800. So doing, we find a striking uniformity across the Old West of that date.

Travel anywhere in the Upland South in 1800 or 1830 would have led you to encounter the same basic complex. The subtle deviations that did in fact exist were rarely found by travellers of that day. Other frontiers with other prevailing fashions would have different modes of landscape modification. The Old West, however, had its own , and it was the culture of the Upland South. Its chief traits include:

Log construction. There were two waves. The oldest featured half-dovetail notches, morticed loft joists, cantilevered roof supports, pens with no windows in their fronts, and rooms longer from side to side than from front to back. The younger had v-notches, wedged loft joists, shed-roofed additions, windows in their facades, and rooms that approached being square. The two waves were separated by about two decades, but they blended with both time and distance westward. Both kinds of houses were raised off the ground on piers.(37)

Two-pen houses. The three forms of two-pen house occurred all across the Upland South, the central-hall dominating in the southern and the central-chimney in the northern portions of the Old West. In any case, all areas had all three forms; merely the proportions varied.

Pioneer cabins. In all areas, the cabin - a temporary shack - was used as the initial shelter, soon to be replaced by a proper house. The cabin often served later as the detached kitchen, a pattern that seems to have dominated the southern reaches where the Creole traits had gained the greatest popularity.(38)

Crib-based barns. All parts of the initial Upland South had barns built on the crib plan. Single-, double-, triple-, and four-crib barns abounded; transverse-crib barns, becoming more common as sawmills were established. The larger and better of the double cribs often - again in all parts of the Old West - might have had cantilever-supported roofs.

Dispersed settlement. Throughout the Old West, the Upland South pattern of loose, open, country, neighbourhoods of allied families, organized on a kin basis dominated.(39) Furthermore, these clan areas knew their connections through several removes to other such clusters scattered back along the trail of migration.(40) They also maintained contact throughout the network, often for several generations; indeed, many still keep track of the clan, despite its vast expansion.(41) The dispersed rural settlement pattern yet survives, as can be seen from any flight over the region today. Further, the dispersed character extended to the formation of what amounts to dispersed hamlets and dispersed villages.(42).

The county. In all eastern states of the Old West where the county is the main form of local government, the Upland South Hearth provided the pattern of initial occupance. Where by contrast New England settlers gained dominance, the township provides the model of civil order. More than a mere convenience of government, the county was for the Upland South a microcosm, a model of what the world ought to be. During the turn of the nineteenth century, the prevailing social novelty was republicanism, and its local expression was the little republic and its semi-secular county town. Republicanism was expressed in Classical Revival frames of rectilinear rectitude, making the county seat the center of civilization.

On a Bicentennial monument erected before the courthouse in Greensburg, St. Helena Parish, Louisiana, appears a candid and telling expression of the formation of a new country, a new seat of republican virtue: "Erected to the memory of those Revolutionary War Patriots who not only helped win freedom for our country but also helped to carve a civilization within St. Helena Parish". The sensitive framers of the inscription correctly placed emphasis on the little republic by terming it "a civilization", a most telling choice or article.

Generalized stockman-farmer livelihood. Contrary to various scholarly efforts to identify parts of the Upland South with particular commodities, there was no preference for any crop, other than a strong bias toward livestock raising. Stock raising was, and still is, the preferred rural lifeway; it garnered more prestige and satisfaction and animated much of the quest for new lands. The Celtic heritage of these cowlords, while diluted and declining, found its greatest expression where the bigger countries toward the west offered renewed opportunity for a lifeway that was increasingly pressed by changing market relations.(43) Change toward more settled crop agriculture was, however, not completely inconvenient because the cowlords of the Celtic world had always shared

space with tiller and had themselves long managed firms that
included farming as significant components. In any case, the
people of the Old West repeatedly showed their willingness to
adopt plausible market crops and to change these according to
opportunity. No effort to characterize them with crop bias has
yet given an adequate account.(44) The same can be said for
efforts to identify traction preferences, such as reliance on
mules.

Other matters. Additional items that could be discussed
include eating tomatoes or grits for breakfast, use of monthly
trade fairs that emphasize (even today) trading animals,
dominance of York (rather then Scottish) Rite Freemasonry,
intuitive reliance on the English common law as a model for
private interaction, avoidance of religious manias, a rich and
virile oral literature, recognition that work is a baleful
necessity and labour is worse, reliance upon a virtual (rather
than nominal) class structure, preference for private justice
and a consequent rationalization of personal violence and
righteous rage, minimization of permanence in construction
seemingly in preparation for further migration, shifting
tillage supplemented by regular use of fire in land management,
a raucous disrespect for central authority, a tendency to form
casual alliances under local personalities, a vociferous and
ambiguous patriotism, and more. All of these non-material
traits and complexes had tangible expression in material
culture and the cultural landscape, but the tracing of those
manifestations would require a great deal more time and talent
than we now have to spend.

SUMMARY FROM THE SOUTHWEST

From the vantage point high above San Antonio in 1800 and
looking toward Baton Rouge, Nashville, and Pittsburgh, what
would have been seen as the pattern of settlement that was
characteristic of the frontier? We have little need to wonder
because the record is reasonably straightforward.

At the time, a reasonbly recognizable public fantasy
gripped the Spanish Texan mind. Despite a manifest shortage of
settlers in Texas and Louisiana, Spanish officals showed a
great ambiguity about letting Anglo-Americans enter the region.

As it turned out, the envisioned invasion by "Vikings"
from the Protestant-British north was more than justified. The
murder and mutilation of Thomas Jefferson's geographical spy,
Philip Nolan, in 1800 in central Texas would not stem the flood
of Upland pioneers. Already, the Spanish knew, the Rednecks
had taken Pittsburgh, Louisville, Nashville, Mobile, Baton
Rouge, Natchez, Nachitoches, and Memphis. Already, they were
entering western Louisiana, much of Texas, Arkansas, Missouri,
and even New Mexico. Over this vast expanse, they had set up
trade arrangements, seeking especially horses and mules, but
taking cattle as well. They seemed bound to speculate in
livestock and land and to promote still more immigration of
their own kind. They built log houses, had farm implements for

fences, scattered Protestant churches (which often served as Masonic meeting places, preached an anti-papist and anti-royalist sedition, and set up widely dispersed settlements of a few families - a pattern that made their quick extirpation nearly impossible. At that time, they exhibited an amazing ability to take in new recruits and to imbue them with the currently fashionable philosophical, religious, commercial, technical, and social ideals. Yet any competent Spaniard could see that, wherever these Uplanders gained landed presence, the value of land, the worth of commercial connections, the hope for rapid material betterment quickly increased. Small wonder, then, that Spaniards both in and out of power connived with the outrunners of the frontier to bring about American settlement in Spanish lands.(45)

When in 1811, Hidalgoist Bernardo Gutierrex went overland from the Sabine to Washington, D.C., he passed through a single, relatively uniform cultural medium, that of the Upland South, virtual sole possessor of the Old West. He would have found a vast, fertile land about the size of New Spain, occupied by armed and agile republican-Protestants, Freemasons all (as he was), milling constantly west and southwestward. After having entered the first log-built farmstead in Sabine Parish, Louisiana, he would have learned the cultural landscape of the entire million square miles that he was next to traverse, allowing of course for those whose prosperity had permitted them to make more polite versions of the same plan.

This, then, would have been the view of the Trans-Appalachian West from the southwest at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It should also be ours as we seek retrospectively to comprehend it.

POSTSCRIPT

In consequence of delivering this paper at Pittsburgh, several questions arose from discussion, during the session. Van Beck Hall and Dell Upton provided formal leadership for the discussion and focussed attention on several worthwhile questions. Of course some of these questions deal with matters that lie beyond the original commission of the session, while others concern desires for more and more complete work on the cultural landscape. Several matters, however, do seem to require particular attention:

Definition of region: The region that is under review, the region of the frontier or the place of the frontier experience, is the Upland South. Of course, cultures do not have discrete existence; they are not beings. They are instead modal patterns of net individual behavior that seem (especially to those hoping so) to have existence. The semblance of coherence and integrity of cultures arises from the continuity of critical traditions that, despite their internal coherence, nonetheless depend for continuation upon willful enlistment by successive individuals.(46) From this perspective then, the

region of the frontier is the area where people who have
adopted certain conventional arrangements live or move to.
Viewed from the southwest and from this end of history, we can
see that the region of the frontier is the area where people
did and made essentially identical things - account of their
enlisted in the same popular movement or critical tradition.
The region itself has no permanent coherence; rather, it
changes as the terms and conditions of the occupying group and
its contemporary fashion change.   "An environment is an
environment in terms of what it environs."(47)   The
relationship is one of "habit to habitat".(48)   The frontier
region was the area or areas that underwent new settling, and
at the turn of the nineteenth century, the pattern of behavior
that dominated vigorous, extensive landscape building was what
we now call the Upland South.

Definition of processes.   The exact details of how culture
changes properly lies in the sphere of anthropology, and
geographical studies cannot be held at fault for not presuming
to trespass that field.(49)   The geographical question is one
of areal association, why things are found together on the
surface of the earth.   It suffices for the geographer to
identify the distributions of associated phenomena and to point
to the processes that account for their association on the
earth's surface.   The pattern that dominated a million square
miles during the half-century that straddled 1800 has been
identified and verified.   The cultural geographic process that
accounts for it is diffusion of a preadapted pattern.   Further
analysis of the process of preadaptation shows it to consist of
little more than capabilities given opportunity.   As such, the
event of the Upland South's preemption of the Old West is best
seen in terms of historical theory; that is, as a succession of
non-recurring events the tangible results of which associate
how and where they do merely because of the unique
accommodation of minimal demands.   Things (log houses,
courthouse squares, and such) are where they are because they
can be.   The mysteries supposed to surround the "frontier
process" vanish when the event is viewed from "the other end"
of history, from the time before it happened.(50)   From that
position in time, we see many possible outcomes, many of our
forebears intending many different actions.   The ones that
actually survived, however, were those among the current
Seaboard ideas that were in practice able to endure the
different opportunities of the Big Countries to the west.
Things are where they are because they can be.

The problem of culture hearths.   Like all other regions,
culture hearths, lacking substantive existence, have no power
to engender.   It only seems that way when we acquire the habit
of viewing aggregates as beings.(51)   The utility of the
culture hearth, in this instance, that of the Upland South in
southeast Pennsylvania and the western parts of Virginia and
Carolina, lies in its having been the antecedent home of both
the people and customs that were later to spread across the Old
West.   It has already been shown to have been a socially

integrated region and one that held all crucial traits - among many others - that later served to enable pioneers to preempt the wooded eastern United States.(52)   It was the nursery of Little Countries from which only some of the forms "escaped" to spread over a hospitable land.   The hearth remains, in any case, the zone within which all of the important traits already existed in associated complexes on the eve of the leap westward.

Role of prior British experience.   It has been the immemorial habit of cultural geographers to look ever eastward to find the reasons for things that came to mark the American landscape. By long standing custom cultural geographers have presumed that diffusion accounts for much of the areal association of cultural phenomena.   Only the particular historic workings of the actors in particular places needs, it is commonly felt, to be discovered.   The difficulties surrounding the glance across the Atlantic, however, are two.   First, the New World is in fact new.   Few American vernacular forms have simple, direct homologues in the mother country.(53)   Despite the landing of selected European forms, these forms generally underwent transformations during and just after the Atlantic passage, a change that differed greatly according to the time, element, source country, destination, and class of the carrier.   The matter is far too complex to permit casual handling; it requires separate, disciplined inquiry.   Second, European scholars who might have been expected to provide the requisite scholarly treatments of the European cultural landscape simply do not bring the same questions to the facts that their American colleagues ask.   Few Europeans have tried to examine the New World dispositions of their own countries' culture elements.(54)   Conversely, few American students have spent their travel time in Europe looking for the material that interests cultural geographers.(55)   Similar statements pertain to Africa and Asia.(56)   Until this work is done, we must simply affirm that, by and large, the elements that make up early American landscapes come from the Old World.

The connection between the culture and landscape.   How one analyzes the relationship between culture and landscape depends, of course, upon one's philosophical disposition. There exists, however, a classic question in philosophy embracing the relation between culture and landscape.   The question deals with the relation between ideas and actions. Its analysis requires an ample literature (57); suffice it to say that,they belong to the same category of existence.   Ideas and actions both require the active participation of the will, acting in the light of experience and in terms of conventions acquired from one's fellows.   The will may be oriented toward any number of ultimate objects, the orientation largely determining what one seeks through ideas and his actions. Similarly, culture relates to landscape in that both belong to the same category, that of aggregate expressions of the joint operations of separate wills, again in the light of experience and convention. Inasmuch as the antecedent landscape (actually,

the items in one's surroundings with which he is able to
·interact) limits opportunity even while offering it, we can see
that the environs of human action also play a role in the
formation of the subsequent landscape. The resultant cultural
landscape is a matter of rhetoric, a tangible expression of
what its occupants believe ought to be, or what they, do with
their inherent power to act within the limits of available
options.(58) Thus, neither a landscape nor a culture is a
thing that, in the classical sense of the word, has a nature.
Lacking this, neither can be a direct instigator of other
things, but instead remains nothing more than a transient
aggregate. That noted, however, we must also say that these
two aggregates carry within them a collection of much of the
experience of humankind. To examine culture, landscape, and
cultural landscape is to examine accumulated experience and
utterances concerning right and wrong, good and bad, beautiful
and ugly, and all such matters as concern man the
expressionist. The frontier of 1775 to 1825 was the zone
preempted by people who were active, vigorous, up-to-date
enlistees in the great adventure of the day, that they laboured
under cosmological models no less than did any ancient or
tribal people, but that the new model was one of a semi-secular
civil society. We will further see that the experience
recorded in the early nineteenth century landscape of Louisiana
and Mississippi, rather than being peculiar, was in general the
experience of the whole frontier region of that time.

NOTES

1. D.W. Meinig, Symbolic landscapes: models of American
    community, in D.W. Meinig (ed.) The Interpretation of
    Ordinary Landcapes: Geographical Essays. (New York 1979),
    164-92.
2. F. Amber Washburn, personal communication, 1982. In
    addition, I examined these Little Countries first hand
    during the summer of 1980, finding that one can indeed
    easily walk throughout such a place in one day, meeting the
    whole country in some detail.
3. W.P. Webb, The Great Plains. (New York 1931), map following
    p. 224.
4. W. Percy, Love in the Ruins. (New York 1971); R. Ford,
    Walker Percy: not just whistling Dixie National Review 26
    (1977) 558-64.
5. F.J. Turner, The significance of the frontier in American
    history, in F.J. Turner, The Frontier in American History
    (New York 1920); R.D. Mitchell, The formation of early
    American culture regions: an interpretation, in J.R. Gibson
    (ed.), European Settlement and Development in North
    American: Essays on Geographical Change in Honor and Memory
    of Andrew Hill Clark. (Toronto 1978), 66-90.
6. L. Pulliam and M.B. Newton, Jr., Country and small town
    stores: legacy of the Greek Revival and the frontier
    Lousiana State University Museum of Geoscience Melange 7
    (1973).
7. W.J. Bock, Preadaptation and multiple evolutionary pathways
    Evolution. 13 (1959) 194-211.

8. M.B. Newton, Jr., Settlement patterns as artifacts of social structure, in M.E. Richardson (ed.), The Human Mirror (Baton Rouge, LA. 1974), 339-61; and Cultural preadaptation and the Upland South. Geoscience and Man. 5 (1974) 143-54.

9. Many guidebooks survive to tell us of the lists of hardware and enthusiasms that an "immigrant" would need to be a real frontiersman. Some of these have stood the test of time and experience. Taken as a group, they have a remarkably modern ring, much like the various how-to books that today advise modern enlistees on computers, gardening, income-tax preparation, or investment in stock options. The advice varies in quality, but they all share with the guidebooks of old an earnestness about being sharp and up-to-date.

10. During the early twentieth century some geographers attributed following fashionable notions - creativity, aesthetics, and philosophical commitment to madness or its proximate threat.

11. W.B. Hamilton, The transmission of English law to the frontier of America South Atlantic Quarterly. 57 (1968) 243-64.

12. M.B. Newton, Jr., Sliced tomatoes for breakfast Pioneer America 9 (1977) 11; and W.E. Roberts, Were tomatoes considered poisonous? Pioneer America. 11 (1979) 112-3.

13. M.M. Ohman, Diffusion of foursquare courthouses to the Midwest, 1785-1885 Geographical Review. 72 (1982) 171-89.

14. A.P. Whitaker, The Spanish-American Frontier, 1783-1795: The Westward Movement and the Spanish Retreat in the Mississippi Valley (Gloucester, MA, 1962) 90-97.

15. R.D. Mitchell, Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on The Early Shenandoah Valley. (Charlottesville, VA, 1977); and R.C. Wade, The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830. (Cambridge, MA. 1959).

16. F.B. Kniffen, Folk housing: key to diffusion Annals of the Association of American Geographers. 55 (1965) 551.

17. M. Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion (New York, 1959) 50-54.

18. Wade, op. cit. 30-39.

19. Akron East, OH 7.5' Quadrangle 1974; Kent, OH 15' Quadrangle 1901.

20. Centreville East, AL 7.5' Quadrangle 1974. The courthouse in Centreville is mislabelled a church.

21. A. De Toqueville, Democracy in America (1848) ed. by J.P. Mayer (Garden City, NJ. 1969), 34-36. While De Toqueville correctly distinguishes the North from the South, he failed to divide the South into its subcultures, recognize non Anglo-Saxon heritage there, allow that New England was not the microcosm of America as a whole, and acknowledge that the frontier movement was primarily a Southern cultural expansion.

22. J.C. Carter, Law: Its origin, Growth, and Function. (New York 1907).

23. R. Booth, Contrary New Hampshire. National Geographic. 162 (1982) 770-99.

24. The kernel of this concept came from Richard Pillsbury who drew my attention to the pattern of setting aside in county seats several lots for different denominations.

25. M.S. Samuels, The biography of landscape: cause and
    culpability, 51-88 of D.W. Meinig, op. cit.
26. J. Brunhes, Human Geography. (London 1920).
27. Newton, 'cultural preadaptation', op. cit.
28. J.P. Brain, On the Tunica trail. Louisiana Archaeological
    Survey and Antiquities Commision Anthropological Study 1.
    (1977).
29. R. Pillsbury, The europeanization of the Cherokee
    settlement landscape prior to removal: a Georgia case study
    Geoscience and Man. 23 (1983) 59-69.
30. A.K. Craig and C.S. Peebles, Ethnographic change among the
    Seminoles, 1740-1840 Geoscience and Man. 5 (1974) 83-96.
31. L.L'Herisson, Jr., The evolution of the Texas road and the
    subsequent settlement occupancy of the adjacent strip of
    northwestern Louisiana, 1528-1824. Master's Thesis,
    Louisiana State University, 1981.
32. The paths of settlers to the Courtoir Hills of southwest
    Missouri are traced in L.H. Clendenen, Settlement
    morphology of the southern Courtoirs Hills, Missouri,
    1820-1860. Doctoral dissertation, Louisiana State
    University, 1973.
33. S.B. Hilliard, The plantation in antebellum Southern
    agriculture Tall Timbers Ecology Conference Proceedings. 16
    (1979) 127-40; R. Chardon, Geographic aspects of plantation
    agriculture in Yucatan National Academcy of Sciences and
    National Research Council Publication. 876 (1961); and M.B.
    Newton, Jr., Louisiana geography: a syllabus. Louisiana
    State University School of Geoscience Syllabus Series
    (1976) 125-30.
34. Newton, 'Cultural preadaptation', op. cit. Note that the
    map here shows an area that was early settled by Uplanders
    who were later overwhelmed by settlers of Northern
    cultures; thus did the northern frontier of the Upland
    South retreat during the middle of the nineteenth century.
35. D.W. Meinig, op. cit. deals with the emergence of some of
    these national myths.
36. Mitchell's warning against over reliance on material
    culture relicts presents the geographer with a dilemma: are
    not these relicts irreducibly factual data the distribution
    of which it is the business of geographers to explain?
    Certainly, they provide a separate documentary corpus that
    serves both to engender new theories and to test old ones.
    See Mitchell, 'formation of early American culture
    regions', op. cit. 89, and Newton 'Louisiana geography',
    op. cit. 72.
37. M.B. Newton and L. Pulliam-Di Napoli, Log houses as public
    occasions: a historical theory Annals of the Association of
    American Geographers. 67 (1977) 360-83.
38. E.M. Wilson, The single pen log house in the South Pioneer
    America. 2 (1970) 21-28.
39. Newton, 'Settlement patterns as artifacts', op. cit., and
    'Cultural preadaptation', op. cit.
40. Clendenen, op. cit.
41. Examination of a seemingly endless stream of genealogies,
    as well as the addresses of persons involved in
    successions, or probates of estate, shows that the
    east-west expanse of the frontier movement remains in the
    vernacular consciousness.

42. Newton, 'Settlement patterns as artifacts', op. cit. and 'Cultural preadaptation', op. cit.
43. G. McWhinney and F. McDonald, The Celtic origins of trails of Texas. Typescript review of T. Jordon, Trials to Texas in the author's possession.
44. T.G. Jordan, Between the forest and the prairie. Agricultural History. 38 (1964) 205-16; and W. Zelinsky, Where the South begins: the northern limits of the cis-Appalachian South in terms of settlement landscape Social Forces 30 (1951) 172-78.
45. E. Williams, The Animating Pursuit of Speculation: Land Traffic in the Annexation of Texas (New York 1949).
46. Newton and Pulliam-Di Napoli, 'Log houses', op. cit. 362.
47. P. Wagner, Environments and Peoples. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ. 1972).
48. C.O. Sauer, Foreword to historical geography Annals of the Association of American Geographers. 31 (1941) 1-24.
49. Mitchell does, however, presume to trespass. Mitchell, 'Formation of early American culture regions, op. cit.
50. Bock, op. cit.
51. A.N. Whitehead, Process and Reality (New York 1957).
52. Newton, 'Cultural Preadaptation', op. cit.
53. Regarding the trans-Atlantic tranformation of culture traits and complexes, see L. Luelling, The historical geography of cranberry culture. Master's thesis, Louisiana State University, 1979; D.G. Jeane, The traditional Upland South cemetery. Landscape. 18 (1969) 139-42; and M. Kaups, Log architecture in America: European antecedents in a Finnish context. Journal of Cultural Geography 2 (1981) 131-54.
54. E.E. Evans, Cultural relics of the Ulster-Scots in the Old West of North America. Ulster Folklife. 11 (1965) 33-38; and The Scots-Irish: their cultural adaptation and heritage in the American Old West, in R.R. Green (ed.) Essays in Scotch-Irish History. (London 1969), 69-86.
55. For worthy exceptions, see T.G. Jordan, Alpine, Alemanic, and American log architecture. Annals of the Association of American Geographers. 70 (1980) 154-80, and J.F. Hart, The Look of the Land. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ 1975).
56. J.M. Vlack, The shotgun house: an African architectural legacy. Pioneer America. 8 (1976) 57-70.
57. A. McIntyre, A mistake about causality in social science Philosophy, Politics, and Society. 2nd Ser. (1962) 52-53.
58. Newton and Pulliam-Di Napoli, 'Log houses', op. cit. 363.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY RESEARCH GROUP

Objectives and aims

The objectives of the Historical Geography Research Group are to initiate and foster research in the field of Historical Geography; to promote discussion by means of meetings and conferences; to further cooperation between cognate disciplines and organisations; and to effect publication of monographs, collected papers and discussion materials. Membership is open to all who subscribe to these aims.

Historical Geography Research Paper Series

The Historical Geography Research Paper Series is produced by the Historical Geography Research Group. The Research Paper Series is designed to provide scholars with an outlet for extended essays of an interpretive or conceptual nature that make a substantive contribution to some aspect of the subject; critical reviews of the literature on a major problem; and commentaries on relevant sources. Eighteen issues have been published 1979 - 1987. Two or three numbers are produced annually. These can be purchased at a special annual subscription rate through membership of the Historical Geography Research Group (see below). Back numbers are available. Orders for libraries or for individual copies should be addressed to Dr. Charles Withers, Hon. Editor HGRG, Department of Geography, The College of St. Paul and St. Mary, Cheltenham, Glos. GL50 2RH, U.K. Published titles are listed overleaf.

Contributions are invited for the Series. Papers should not normally exceed 20,000 words in length, inclusive of notes, tables, and diagrams, and should be in English. Intending contributors should, in the first instance, send an outline of their proposed paper to one of the Co-Editors of the Series. Those in North America should contact Professor Aidan McQuillan, Department of Geography, University of Toronto, 100 St. George Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 1A1. Those in the UK and the rest of Europe should contact Dr. Charles Withers, Department of Geography, The College of St. Paul and St. Mary, Cheltenham, Glos. GL50 2RH, U.K. Those elsewhere may contact either.

Subscriptions

Two categories of membership are offered: Category A members (subscription currently £4.50 or $9.00 US/$11.50 Can.) receive copies of monographs in the Research Paper Series as they are published. Category B members (subscription currently £1.50 or $5.00 US/$6.50 Can.) do not receive these publications.

Both categories of members receive a Newsletter from the Hon. Secretary three times a year in which forthcoming meetings are advertised and matters of interest to members are reported.

Bankers' Order forms are available from the Hon. Secretary for those with U.K. bank accounts and their use is of great assistance in keeping administration costs to a minimum. Completed forms or subscription cheques should be sent to:

> Dr. Richard Dennis,
> Hon. Secretary, Historical Geography Research Group,
> Department of Geography,
> University College London,
> 26 Bedford Way,
> London. WC1H 0AP,
> England.