

dark again, with fortunes changing hands; Lawrence seemed to be trying to evade recognition and thought of this thing with its seal of agony that hung so unflinchingly before his eyes. Now and then he forsook that haunted home and his wife there for weeks without a word, vouchsafing no explanation on his return—his absence to her a misery, his return a thing to dread. The splendid color left her cheek, the bright light left her eye; he could no longer call her mere flesh—she was developing a soul, a soul born with great throes out of sorrow. If, seldom, he remembered that the fault was his, his more than hers, and bore himself toward her with some unaccustomed tenderness that made her heart bound and her tears start—to such pass had she come—then in the midst of it that face came floating before his eyes, and it was all naught again. “The man is mad!” she said.

So day followed day, year followed year. They were years, indeed, long years—ten long years—in which Valeria was tortured, as he was, like victims at a slow fire. In that time she buried her mother, felt herself as alone in the world, as one lost in a wilderness, and saw Gueltan Place go under the hammer.

Are there any of us quite outside the possibility of forgiveness? Are agonized devotion and patience and long unspoken pain no reparation, no cleansing, for sin? If Valeria sinned, she suffered, and faith and determination never once forsook her. Only when Gueltan Place had gone did her long faith and patience do their work—did that haunting face cease to hover before Lawrence's eyes.

“Is it worth the toss-up?” he said; for white and statuesque and sad as Niobe, in her black clothes, the sight of her had lately softened him. “Would you lay it down now?” he exclaimed, defiantly, “or would you begin life again at thirty-five, and without a penny?”

“Begin!” said Valeria.

He glanced up in amazement at the bright ring in her voice—in amazement, too, at the flush that his unwonted address had brought to her colorless cheeks.

“Shall you begin with me?” he said, after a strange hesitation. In his ruin he turned to the one thing that had not deserted him.

“With you?” she cried, the smothered fire of years breaking out. “Oh, I will live in a hovel, sleep on ashes, eat crusts, if you forgive me the wrong I did, the work I wrought, and give me only a kind look now and then!”

So they went out over seas into the wide world together—the aunts and uncles still living, but living to themselves, as of old. Effort brought success. Valeria's smile never faltered, her tender word never failed him. After all, hers was the stronger nature; trial had strengthened it for nobler use; and her fate had been more cruel than Emily's. In some dim sense Lawrence recognized it, and would have atoned to her for those dark years. “I was mad then,” he used to say. “There is a strange vein in my race.”

Dark years; but they were growing light. For when at last a little child was born to them, it seemed like Heaven's forgiveness, Heaven's blessing, and the apple of Sodom that they had plucked was not all ashes to their teeth.

## THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC.

[Tenth Paper.]

### GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION.

OF the five maps which illustrate the present paper, the first exhibits the acquisition of territory by the United States from 1776 to the present time. The second shows the areas actually covered by population at each alternate decennial census from 1790 to 1870. The third presents the movement of the centre of population, the “star of empire,” if the reader please, across the face of the country from east to west, upon the line of the thirty-ninth degree north latitude, from its first recorded position, twenty-three miles east of Baltimore, in 1790, to its resting-place in 1870, forty-eight miles east by north of Cincinnati. We said its resting-place: we should have said its last recorded position, for the time has not yet come for it to stand in its place above any favored town or city in the land. Its

course is still westward; and while we write it is pressing on with an equable motion of seventy or seventy-five feet a day in a direction generally west, but also slightly north. The fourth map is illustrative of interstate migration; showing the *habitat* at 1870 of the natives of New York and of South Carolina severally. The fifth exhibits in three degrees the density of population within the area settled at 1870 east of the one-hundredth meridian.

If we examine the first of these maps, we shall find ten divisions of the existing territory of the United States noted thereon; but these, for our present purpose, may be consolidated into seven, namely: the original thirteen States; the original Western Territory (embracing the territory northwest of the river Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, and the Mississippi Territory); the French cession of 1803 (called Louisiana);







the Spanish cession of 1819 (Florida); the Texan annexation of 1845; the Mexican cessions of 1848 and 1853; and last, though, perhaps unfortunately, not least, the Russian cession of 1868 (Alaska).

Of these the first comprises 420,892 square miles, and contained in 1870 about eighteen millions of inhabitants; the second comprises 406,952 square miles, with thirteen and a half millions of inhabitants; the third, 1,171,931 square miles, with five and a quarter millions of inhabitants; the fourth, 59,268 square miles, with less than two hundred thousand inhabitants; the fifth, 376,133 square miles, with about eight hundred and thirty thousand inhabitants; the sixth, 591,318 square miles, with about the same population as the fifth; the seventh, 577,390 square miles, with but four or five hundred white inhabitants.\*

Although the Spanish and Mexican cessions comprise towns which far antedate the earliest settlements within the original thirteen States, it is to the latter that we must first turn in any attempt to broadly grasp the history of population within the United States. But we shall fail to reach the full significance of the situation if we only give to ourselves, as reasons for treating this portion of territory first in order, its present population, exceeding that of any other section, its earlier political development, or its more conspicuous figure in American history. It is not more, but rather less, on account of these than on account of the actual contributions which this section has made to the population of each one in turn of the other geographical divisions of the United States, early or recent, that the writer on population must turn first to Jamestown and Plymouth, or he will read his theme backward. St. Augustine (1565) and Santa Fé (1582) were, indeed, planted before English Cavalier or English Puritan sought the more northern lands for settlement; but St. Augustine and Santa Fé were a barren stock, and the populations that to-day occupy the regions in which these were planted in the sixteenth century have poured forth from States founded in penury and neglect long afterward. When the great province of Louisiana came to us, in 1803, more than three centuries after the discovery of the main-land of America, it contained, from the delta of the Mississippi to Puget Sound, scarcely twenty thousand white inhabitants. That this vast territory now contains more than five millions of inhabitants, who will by 1880 be eight millions

or ten, is not due to the robustness of the stock which Jefferson annexed with the soil, or mainly to direct immigration.\* In like manner, when we received Florida from Spain by the treaty of 1819, not consummated, however, until 1821, the white population was but twelve or fifteen thousand, so slight had been the fecundity of the Spanish settlements. And when, in 1822, Congress directed the Postmaster-General to make provision for a post-route from St. Augustine to Pensacola, that officer was obliged to report the next year as follows:

"Diligent inquiry has been made, and it does not appear that there is a road between these places on the route designated on which the mail can be conveyed. There are Indian paths which pass through different Indian settlements, but none, it is understood, that extend for any considerable distance in the proper direction."

And so late as 1850, the first date for which we have the statistics of nativity in the United States, it was found that of the free inhabitants of Florida more had been born in the original thirteen States than in Florida itself, while less than six per cent. of the free inhabitants were of foreign birth. The Texan annexation, again, now contains about 830,000 souls; but when Texas revolted from Mexico, it contained probably not more than 40,000, of whom by far the greater part had come, in anticipation of "manifest destiny," from the States. In 1850, of the free inhabitants scarcely more than one-third, including, of course, an undue proportion of children, were natives of Texas.

In the same way the first Mexican cession, when taken possession of by the United States, embraced but a small white population. Of this tract it is true that, in the furious excitement caused by the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in 1848, it was settled more largely than any other had been by direct immigration. Yet of the first eighty thousand eager gold-hunters who pressed into the valleys of California, more than three-fourths were born in the East, of whom one-half, as nearly as might be, were natives of the original thirteen States, while probably not less than two-thirds of the remainder would be found to be cis-appalachian in their origin, could we go but thirty years further back.

Of the second Mexican cession, the Gadsden purchase of 1853, embracing the territory south of the river Gila, in Arizona and New Mexico, little can be said any way. Two or three hundred whites, insecurely guarded by perhaps as many soldiers, as yet

\* These statements of population are exclusive of Indians, who are not embraced in a census of the United States. On their account there should be added to No. 1 about six thousand souls; to No. 2 about twenty-six thousand; to No. 3 about one hundred and sixty thousand; to No. 5 perhaps thirty thousand; to No. 6 about eighty thousand; and to No. 7 about seventy thousand.

\* At the southeastern extremity only are the effects of direct immigration traceable in any marked degree. New Orleans has been to some extent supported by arrivals from Mexico and the West Indies, as well as from France, Ireland, and Germany.

† Indeed, the immigration into Texas had been largely for the very purpose of wresting the country from Mexico.



constitute the population of this treeless, trackless desert.

Twenty-three degrees to the north, under the very "shadow of the pole," lies, securely frozen up, the latest purchase of the United States, a region as large as Great Britain, France, Spain, and the German Empire combined, all the eligible portions of which are now devoted to the preservation in theory and extermination in fact of fur-bearing seal.

It is not so easy to show statistically the derivation of the people of the original territory of the United States from the original thirteen States, but it is, at the same time, less needful. Our history from 1763 onward is full of the migrations from the Atlantic slope into the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, at first through the passes of the Alleghenies, and later by the lakes and around the southern extremity of the great coast chain. And even of the vast immigration from Europe which has helped to build up these nine interior States between the mountains and the river, no small part, perhaps the greater part, has been received from the original States, not merely through their ports, but after a period of residence, acclimation, and often even of naturalization at the East.

So incessant had been the fresh supply of Eastern blood, so little had the "Great West" of two or three generations ago been left to the propagation of the stock then planted there, that, so late as 1850, seventy-five years after Kentucky was founded, more than one-fourth of the free inhabitants of these nine States had been born east of the mountains, while, if the adult inhabitants only had been taken into account, the proportion must have greatly exceeded one-third, if, indeed, it did not reach nearly to one-half.

If thus the early settlements in what we shall always know as the "Thirteen States" were vastly more prolific than those made by the Spaniards and French at the south and southwest, they also greatly surpassed in the vigor of their growth the settlements to the north and northeast, whether by the French or the English. In 1754, when the thirteen colonies aggregated of whites and blacks nearly a million and a half, New France, though planted at the same time with Virginia, had scarcely a hundred thousand people, mainly collected on the St. Lawrence, between Quebec and Montreal.

"At the time of Queen Elizabeth's death (1603)," writes the annalist of America, "which was 110 years after the discovery of America by Columbus, neither the French, Dutch, nor English, nor any other nation excepting the Spanish, had made any permanent settlement in this New World. In

North America to the north of Mexico not a single European family could be found."\*

Between 1607 and 1733 were founded all the original States of the American Union. The order of their settlement and the main facts of their growth in population while colonies of Great Britain are, if not essential, at least important to a comprehension of their history as independent States, and still more to an understanding of the origin of the twenty-four equal members of the Union which have come into existence since 1789.

#### 1607-1660.

By a natural grouping of the facts of our early settlement, one who chooses to regard the growth of population merely, irrespective of grants, charters, and political institutions, may consider the colonies in three classes—those of New England, the middle colonies, and those to the South, from and including Maryland.

The first permanent settlement within the territory of the original States was at Jamestown, Virginia, on the James River, 1607, by a colony of about 100 English. For twelve years the colony grew slowly, so that but 600 persons, men, women, and children, were counted among the inhabitants at the beginning of 1619. During the two years which followed, however, the number was increased nearly sixfold. At the outbreak of the civil war in England the population was estimated at 20,000, which was probably in excess of the true number.

Mr. Bancroft explains as follows the liability to "glaring mistakes in the enumerations" in the Southern provinces: "The mild climate invited emigrants to the inland glades;" "the crown-lands were often occupied on warrants of surveys without patents, or even without warrants;" "the people were never assembled but at muster."

The settlement of Maryland was closely connected with that of Virginia. In 1631-32 Captain William Clayborne established small settlements on Kent Island, in Chesapeake Bay, and also near the mouth of the Susquehanna. In 1634 a colony of about 200 English was planted at St. Mary's, on the mainland, under Leonard Calvert, brother of the proprietary, Lord Baltimore. Virginia and Maryland were the only colonies of the Southern group which were planted prior to the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660. At that date they were estimated to contain respectively 30,000 and 12,000 inhabitants.

Passing northeastward to New England, we find the first settlement made in 1620 by a body of about 100 English at Plymouth, within the present limits of Massachusetts, constituting what was, until 1692, known as the "Plymouth Colony." In 1643 this col-

\* Holmes's *Annals*, i. 123.



ony had grown to contain seven townships.

In 1628 a colony was planted at Salem, on Massachusetts Bay; in 1630 and 1633 large accessions were received; in 1634 the settlements were reported as extending thirty miles from the capital; 1635 was a year of rapid extension; by 1636 population had reached the Connecticut, and Springfield was settled. There were now twenty "towns," and the colony was divided into three "regiments." During the summer of 1638 twenty ships arrived with 2000 persons. The colony was divided into four counties. In 1640 it was at its highest point of prosperity within the period we are considering. "The number of emigrants who had arrived in New England before the assembling of the Long Parliament is estimated to have been 21,200; 198 ships had borne them across the Atlantic." Hildreth adds: "The accessions which New England henceforward received were more than counterbalanced by perpetual emigration."<sup>†</sup>

The Puritans in England, instead of fleeing before Acts of Conformity, were now engaged in reforming church and state to suit themselves.

In 1660 there were three towns on the Connecticut River within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

For the first settlement of New Hampshire, Mr. Bancroft assigns the date 1623, permanent plantations being then established on the Piscataqua. Dover and Portsmouth are among the oldest towns in New England. The province grew at first very slowly.

Of the first settlements within the State of Maine, Bancroft remarks (i. 331): "It is not possible, perhaps, to ascertain the precise time when the rude shelters of the fishermen on the coast began to be tenanted by permanent inmates, and the fishing stages of a summer to be transferred into regular establishments of trade. The first settlement was probably made 'on the Maine,' but a few miles from Monhegan, at the mouth of the Pemaquid." The probable date assigned is 1626.

In 1636 Providence, in the present State of Rhode Island, was planted by Roger Williams and five companions. In 1638 the "Rhode Island Colony" was established on the Isle of Rhodes by William Coddington and eighteen associates. Six years later Rhode Island and Providence plantations were united in self-government.

In 1633 trading posts were established within the limits of the present State of Connecticut, both by Dutch from New Netherlands (New York), and by English from

Plymouth, the former at Hartford, the latter at Windsor.

During 1635 removals took place from Massachusetts to Wethersfield and Windsor, and in 1636 these towns, with Hartford, were occupied, constituting the "Connecticut Colony." In 1645 there were eight taxable towns within the colony.

In 1633 a settlement was made at New Haven, which, with its adjacent towns, constituted the "New Haven Colony," until it was united with the Connecticut Colony by charter of Charles II. The consolidated colony contained nineteen towns, distributed among four counties.

We have thus shown the beginnings east of the Hudson of four of the original thirteen States, prior to 1660. At 1640 these contained twelve independent communities, with not less than fifty towns or distinct settlements; but before the Restoration a consolidation had taken place, which reduced the separate jurisdictions to six.\*

Of the central group of colonies New York was first settled. The Dutch had for some years maintained trade with the natives at Manhattan and up the Hudson River. In 1623-24 "New Netherlands" was planted, and a permanent settlement, called New Amsterdam, was made at Manhattan, the site of the present city of New York. By 1656 the village had been laid out into several small streets; 1660 found the Dutch still in possession, as well as disputing the title to Western Connecticut. The population at that date of New Netherlands, which in 1647 was hardly 2000 or 3000, even including the Swedes on the Delaware (Hildreth, i. 436), had risen to about 10,000, of whom 1500 resided in New Amsterdam.

One part of the present State of New York, however, has a history which directly connects its settlement both with New England and with the central group of colonies.

Long Island was first settled at its western end, under the protection of the Dutch, and a number of towns were a little later planted there by this people.† The eastern portion of the island was settled about 1640 by Puritans from Lynn, Massachusetts, and from the New Haven Colony, and these settlements grew rapidly to meet those advancing from the west. The island was partitioned by the treaty of 1650 between the Dutch and the English, and so remained until the fall of the Dutch power in 1664.

In 1631 a small settlement had been made by the Dutch near Lewistown, within the present State of Delaware, but the young

\* Hildreth, *United States*, i. 267.

† Anabaptist refugees from Massachusetts settled Newtown and Gravesend, under Dutch protection. So numerous were the English-speaking inhabitants of the Dutch part of the island that an English secretary was appointed.—Hildreth, i. 417.

\* Bancroft, *United States*, i. 415.

† *Hist. United States*, i. 267.



colony was entirely cut off by Indians a year later. In 1638 a company of Swedes and Finns, under the then renowned flag of Sweden, arrived in Delaware, and built a fort near the mouth of the creek, which they called Christiana. The Swedish settlements soon extended northward almost to the present site of Philadelphia. In 1655, however, the fear of Swedish arms had so far abated that the Dutch from Manhattan accomplished the subjection of Delaware to the dominion of Holland.

This completes the tale of colonies planted within the limits of the thirteen States prior to the Restoration. Thus at 1660 the only English colonies were those of New England, Virginia, and Maryland, estimated to contain in all not more than eighty thousand inhabitants.

#### 1660-1688.

Within a few years from the Restoration the Dutch colonists of New Netherlands (New York), as well as the Dutch, Swedish, and Finnish residents of Delaware, were brought under English dominion, and the colonies of New Jersey and Carolina were planted.

Settlements had been made in what is now New Jersey very early in the seventeenth century. Dutch, Swedes, and Finns, English, Dutch again, and again English, had successively appeared and disappeared in the course of the early contests for the sovereignty of the soil. "Here and there," says Bancroft,\* "in the counties of Gloucester and Burlington a Swedish farmer may have preserved his dwelling on the Jersey side of the river, and before 1664 perhaps three families were established about Burlington; but as yet West New Jersey had not a hamlet. In East Jersey.....a trading station seems in 1618 to have been occupied at Bergen. In December, 1651, August Herman purchased but hardly took possession of the land that stretched from Newark Bay to the west of Elizabethtown; while in January, 1658, other purchasers obtained the large grant called Bergen, where the early station became a permanent settlement. Before the end of 1664 a few families of Quakers appear also to have found a refuge south of Raritan Bay."

In 1664 the settlement of New Jersey began under conflicting grants. There were soon four towns—Elizabeth, Newark, Middletown, and Shrewsbury. In 1676 New Jersey was divided as East and West New Jersey, the latter being purchased by the Quakers, who settled Burlington the following year. In 1682 the towns of East Jersey were supposed to have 700 families; those of West Jersey perhaps as many persons.

In 1663 Carolina was granted to eight

proprietors; but it would appear that Albemarle had been settled already\* by the growth southward of the Nansemond settlement just on the borders of the Virginia grant.

Two or three years prior to the grant, moreover, it would appear that a settlement had been effected by men from New England on the southern bank of Cape Fear River. Whatever remained of this settlement was, however, absorbed by a colony planted near the same spot in 1665 by the exertions of the proprietary, and which so prospered that in 1666 it embraced 800 persons.

In 1670 a company, brought out in three ships, settled on the Ashley River, at "Old Charlestown."

In 1671-72 Dutch both from New York and from Holland arrived at the Ashley River settlement. Subsequently, it would appear, to both these dates—perhaps 1679 or 1680—the colonists generally passed over to the west bank of Cooper River, and settled on Oyster Point, which became the city of Charleston.

In 1681 Pennsylvania was planted. The growth of this colony was rapid. In the first three years "fifty sail" arrived with settlers.

Thus, prior to 1688, the period of the great Revolution in England, we see settlements made within the territory of all the original thirteen States except Georgia. The whole population of the colonies at this time was about 200,000, "of whom," says Bancroft,† "Massachusetts, with Plymouth and Maine, may have had 44,000; New Hampshire and Rhode Island, with Providence, each 6000; Connecticut, from 17,000 to 20,000—that is, all New England, 75,000 souls; New York, not less than 20,000; New Jersey, half as many; Pennsylvania and Delaware, perhaps 12,000; Maryland, 25,000; Virginia, 50,000 or more; and the two Carolinas, which then included the soil of Georgia, probably not less than 8000 souls."

#### 1688-1754.

In 1733 Georgia was settled and Savannah founded by Oglethorpe, with about one hundred and twenty persons. In 1734 Augusta was laid out. The immigrants of this year were computed at six hundred. In 1835

\* "Perhaps a few vagrant families were planted within the limits of Carolina before the Restoration."—Bancroft, ii. 134, 135.

The historian Grahame charged that scarce any historian at his day had correctly given the facts relating to the early settlement of Carolina. "Even that laborious and generally accurate writer, Jedediah Morse, has been so far misled by defective materials as to assert (*American Gazetteer*) that the first permanent settlement in North Carolina was formed by certain German refugees in 1710."—*Hist. United States in North America*, ii. 111, n.

† *Hist. United States*, ii. 450.

\* *Hist. United States*, ii. 316.



a colony of Highlanders planted New Inverness, in Darien. In 1736 Oglethorpe brought out three hundred emigrants.

But though perhaps the most auspiciously founded of all the colonies except Pennsylvania, the growth of Georgia was not rapid, and more than twenty years after its settlement we find the Board of Trade estimating its white inhabitants at but 3000.\*

Meanwhile we find the other twelve colonies growing very unequally, both as we compare one colony with another and as we compare one epoch with another.†

In Virginia the number of "tithables" (i. e., free males above sixteen years, and slaves above that age of both sexes) had been estimated in 1691 at 14,000; in 1703 the number was computed at 25,023; in 1754 the "tithables" had increased to nearly 100,000.

In the Carolinas the growth had been rapid in both the white and the black population. In 1700 5500 white inhabitants were counted. In 1723 the white inhabitants of that part alone which became South Carolina were estimated at 14,000; the slaves (negroes and a few Indians) at 18,000.‡ In 1729 the crown, having bought out the proprietors, formed Carolina into two distinct royal provinces, North and South Carolina.

\* Grahame (*Hist. United States*, ii. 403, n.), referring to the many inconsistent statements of the population of the colonies at different dates, says: "Even writers so accurate and sagacious as Dwight and Holmes have been led to underrate the early population of North America by relying too far on the estimates which the provincial governments furnished to the British ministry for the ascertainment of the numbers of men whom they were to be required to supply for the purposes of naval and military expeditions." The reason suggested for the probable disparagement of the early population of the colonies has not a little force.

† In his *History of the United States*, vol. iv. p. 128, Mr. Bancroft expresses the opinion that "he who, like H. C. Carey, in his *Principles of Political Economy*, Part iii. p. 25, will construct retrospectively general tables from the rule of increase in America since 1790, will err very little." The writer must dissent from this opinion. The approximate regularity of increase from 1790 to 1860 was due to the fact that the accession by immigration bore a very small proportion to the total population. Thus, Professor Tucker places the foreign arrivals at 50,000 for the period 1790-1800, 70,000 for 1800-10, 114,000 for 1810-20, and this with an aggregate population rising meanwhile from four to nine and a half millions. Moreover, that immigration tended more and more to uniformity as between individual years. In the period before the Revolution, however, to which Mr. Bancroft refers, the average annual foreign arrivals unquestionably bore a much higher ratio to the existing population, and the immigration was very spasmodic and without system. Thus in 1760, when the total population of the thirteen colonies was, by Mr. Bancroft's estimates, a million and a quarter, we have an account of 5317 persons arriving in that single year in the single colony of Pennsylvania; and in 1729, when the total population must have been about 650,000, we find 6208 persons arriving in the same colony. Where disturbing elements of such magnitude enter, subject to no law that any one can presume to state, such computations as Mr. Bancroft suggests become most fallacious.

‡ Hewatt, i. 308, 309.

In 1730 the negroes of South Carolina were estimated at 28,000. This sudden increase in the estimate of their number may have been in some measure due to the alarm aroused by a plot for a servile insurrection.\* In 1738 there was another attempt at servile insurrection, and the negroes were now estimated at 40,000.† Mr. Bancroft makes the number but little greater in 1754. Both the Carolinas meanwhile received large accessions of Irish and of French Protestants from Europe, of Puritans from New England, and of Dutch from New York, so that in 1754 the white inhabitants of the two colonies were estimated at twenty-two times the number stated for 1700.

If we follow Mr. Bancroft's classification, and place Maryland with the middle colonies, we find this group in 1754 exceeding New England in the ratio nearly of five to four. Of the middle colonies, Pennsylvania had, in the sixty years since its settlement, become by far the most populous.

New England, during the period we are considering, had increased nearly fivefold. Maine, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire had now considerable populations; and the beginnings of a new State, though not to be reckoned among the immortal "Thirteen," had been made, in 1724, by the establishment of Fort Dummer, on the site of Brattleborough, within the present State of Vermont.

It is natural that on the verge of the Seven Years' War, which broke the power of France on the American continent, the historian should pause to review the progress of settlement; and accordingly we find Mr. Bancroft summing up thus, for the year 1754, the population of the several colonies:

"Of persons of European ancestry perhaps 50,000 dwelt in New Hampshire, 207,000 in Massachusetts, 35,000 in Rhode Island, and 133,000 in Connecticut: in New England, therefore, 425,000 souls.

"Of the middle colonies, New York may have had 85,000; New Jersey, 73,000; Pennsylvania, with Delaware, 195,000; Maryland, 104,000: in all not far from 457,000.... To Virginia may be assigned 168,000 white inhabitants; to North Carolina scarcely more than 70,000; to South Carolina, 40,000; to Georgia not more than 5000: to the whole country south of the Potomac, 283,000....

"Of persons of African lineage the home was chiefly determined by climate. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Maine, may have had 3000 negroes; Rhode Island, 4500; Connecticut, 3500: all New England, therefore, about 11,000. New York alone had not far from 11,000; New Jersey about half that number; Pennsylvania, with Delaware, 11,000; Maryland, 44,000: the central colonies collectively, 71,000. In Virginia there were not less than 116,000; in North Carolina, perhaps more than 20,000; in South Carolina, full 40,000; in Georgia, about 2000: so that the country south of the Potomac may have had 178,000.‡

These estimates yield totals of 1,165,000 whites and 260,000 negroes.

\* Holmes, i. 547.

† Holmes, ii. 10, 11.

‡ *Hist. United States*, iv. 127-129.



1754-1790.

Pitt's war with France ensued. In 1763 his Most Christian Majesty by treaty relinquished to England all his rights to territory east of the Mississippi and north of thirty-one degrees north latitude. Population had gone on increasing all the time in spite of the war, but the triumphant conclusion was instantly followed by an extension of settlement in every direction. The presence of the French military posts in an unbroken chain from the Atlantic through the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, and the fear of the Indian allies of the French, had repressed in a degree even the adventurous courage of the English-Americans. When once this pressure was removed, population bounded forward with astonishing alacrity.

On the extreme Northeast, in Maine, where settlement had been retarded by six successive Indian wars, "old claims under ancient grants began now to be revived, and new grants to be solicited."\* The counties of Cumberland and Lincoln were erected in the year following the peace. Settlements stretched unrestrained along the coast toward the Penobscot, and population soon became almost continuous, even to Nova Scotia. To the North, the New Hampshire side of the Upper Connecticut witnessed a rapid immigration; while the other bank, contested then between New York and New Hampshire, became the scene of a petty warfare between rival patentees, possession and law being generally invoked against each other. Population also began to seek the borders of Lake Champlain, and to force its way through the forests to the lakes of Central New York.

To the South again, Georgia and South Carolina were now increasing in population and extending their settlements with unexampled rapidity. In 1752 the population of Georgia had been computed at 9000. In 1775 it was estimated to be 75,000. About the latter date the colony was divided into eight counties—four along the coast and four up the Savannah River.

But it was to the West, between the parallels which embraced the colonies of North Carolina and Virginia, and upon lands included within their charters, that the greatest movement in this period took place. Notwithstanding the exclusively agricultural character of the industry of these colonies, inviting a wide extension of population, the Blue Ridge had been, so late as 1731, the western boundary of settlement. From that time forward, however, settlers gradually penetrated the mountains north of the James River, and found homes in the

valleys beyond, until in 1751-52 the furthestmost wave of population had reached the base of the Alleghanies, and here for a time was stayed. But the Virginians and North Carolinians of that day knew better what lay beyond that mountain barrier than did the British Board of Trade when they sent Captain John Smith up the Chickahominy to discover the Pacific Ocean. By the explorations of Colonel Wood in 1654-64 several of the branches of the Ohio River had been made known, though for fifty years it still remained the general belief that the Alleghanies themselves were impassable. In 1714, however, Lieutenant-Governor Spottiswoode, of Virginia, led in person, "with great parade and solemnity," an expedition for the discovery of a passage across the mountains, which was crowned with such complete success that Spottiswoode was hailed by the Virginians with acclamations "of grateful and, indeed, hyperbolic praise, which exalted him to an approach to the glory of Hannibal."\*

The statesmen of Virginia early saw that the long French line might be thrust through with fatal effect if settlements properly covered with military force were pushed across the mountains. It was the attempt of Governor Dinwiddie to seize the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela in 1754 which brought on the war which ended in the conquest of the Ohio Valley.

Yet even after the peace of 1763, which gave all this country into the undisputed possession of England, subject only to Indian claims (and curiously enough, and in this connection importantly enough, it happened that no Indian tribe at any time had title to the territory immediately west of Virginia, which subsequently became the State of Kentucky), the home government persistently discouraged emigration to the West; and by proclamation of October 7, 1763, "it was ordered that, except in Quebec and West Florida, no public lands should be taken up *beyond the heads of the rivers which flow into the Atlantic.*" Thus the Alleghanies were set as the boundary of American enterprise; and the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi were to be locked against the intrusion of the pioneer.

But little did the pioneer reck of proclamations. His axe and rifle were his patent, and, looking down on the richest soil of the world, he was not likely to be long hindered by minutes from the Board of Trade.

Hardly was the proclamation issued when the banks of the Monongahela were occupied by emigrants from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. In 1768 James Robertson planted his North Carolina colony on the Watanga, in the present State of Tennessee, and soon the Clinch and Holston valleys

\* Hildreth, *Hist. United States*, ii. 510.

\* Grahame, iii. 69.



experienced the influx of emigrants from across the mountains.

In 1769 began the romantic exploits of Daniel Boone upon the "dark and lonely ground" later to be known as the State of Kentucky. Boonesborough, Harrodsburg, and Lexington appear to have been founded by 1776. In 1788 the settlement of Ohio was begun by the establishment of Marietta on the left bank of the Muskingum. In two years 20,000 persons were reported to have passed the Muskingum on their westward way.\*

The surrender by France of the territory east of the Mississippi had brought within the jurisdiction of England in 1763 not a few settlements whose age, while it can not always be precisely ascertained, gives them still most respectable standing among the present towns of the United States.

There was Detroit, in the present State of Michigan, reported, though erroneously, to contain in its immediate vicinity as many as 2500 Europeans, destined to become in the very year of the surrender the prime object of the famous "conspiracy of Pontiac."

The non-Indian population within the present State of Illinois was, according to Mr. Bancroft, not more than 1358 persons, of whom more than 300 were Africans.

Indiana had but one settlement, Vincennes, of nearly equal age with Detroit, with 400 to 500 inhabitants.

To the loyalty of the people thus transferred by the fortune of war, Mr. Jefferson bears the following testimony :

"Having been Governor of Virginia when Vincennes and the other French settlements of that quarter surrendered to the arms of that State twenty-eight years ago, I have had a particular knowledge of their character. . . . I have ever considered them as sober, honest, and orderly citizens, submissive to the laws, and faithful to the nation of which they are a part."—*William M'Intosh, January 30, 1808.*

Nor was the settlement of the newly acquired territory limited to the northern portions. President Stiles preserves account of extensive migrations in 1773 to reinforce the existing settlements on the Mississippi at and about Natchez.

But while population was thus spreading over the vast territory opened up by the peace of 1763, the older settlements, especially at the South,† were also growing rapidly, and even the war did not suffice to check the progress of population in communities where but a small proportion of the fertile lands was yet taken up, and where every added man was added strength to the State.‡

\* Holmes's *Annals*, ii. 370.

† Mr. Hildreth calls the years immediately succeeding 1763 "the golden age of Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina."

‡ Our fathers very early set themselves to figuring out their coming greatness through this rapid increase of population. The works of Franklin and Jefferson abound in allusions to the growth of the past and pre-

"From many returns and computations," says Mr. Bancroft, "I deduce the annexed table as some approximation to exactness:"

Year.	Whites.	Blacks.	Total.
1750	1,040,000	220,000	1,260,000
1754	1,165,000	260,000	1,425,000
1760	1,385,000	310,000	1,695,000
1770	1,850,000	462,000	2,312,000
1780	2,383,000	562,000	2,945,000

At the first glance it will seem incredible that in the decade which bore almost the entire brunt of the Revolutionary struggle against England population should have held its own not only, but have made an advance of nearly thirty per cent. Yet much can be said in favor of this estimate for the period 1770–80. 1770–73 witnessed a rapid and continuous immigration, especially from Ireland and Germany, which provided a great resource during the long-continued drain which followed in the years of war. In 1773 especially we have accounts of wholesale immigration from Ireland into Pennsylvania, New York, and the Carolinas.\*

The outbreak of the Revolution and the union of the colonies, which, in 1776, declared themselves States, required that the population of each should be at least approximately ascertained for the apportionment of the fiscal burdens of the war. The numbers, as then settled, "exclusive of slaves at the South," is given in Pitkin's *Statistics* (p. 583) as follows :

New Hampshire	102,000	Delaware	37,000
Massachusetts	352,000	Maryland	174,000
Rhode Island	58,000	Virginia	300,000
Connecticut	202,000	North Carolina	181,000
New York	238,000	South Carolina	93,000
New Jersey	138,000	Georgia	27,000
Pennsylvania	341,000		
Total	2,243,000		

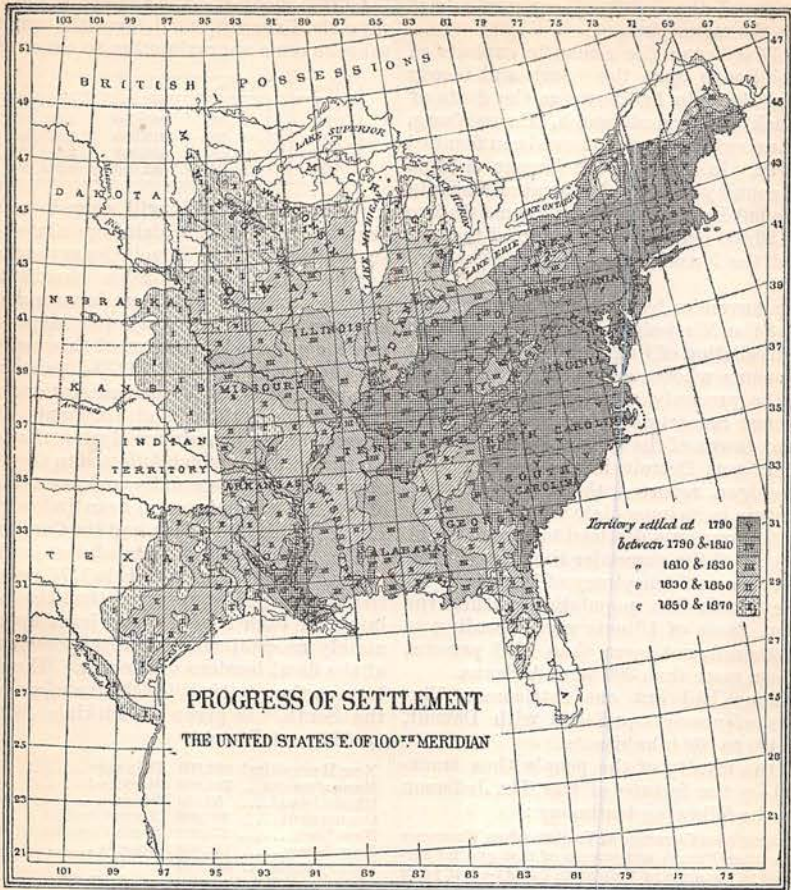
The slaves being then estimated at 500,000 (*ibid.*), the total estimated population at this time was 2,750,000. In the Convention of 1787, which framed the present Constitution of the United States, it became necessary to use the estimated population of each State for another purpose, namely, that of determining provisionally its representation in Congress pending an actual enumeration.

ditions of corresponding growth in the future. Mr. Jefferson especially delighted to dwell on the possibilities of increase. "A duplication in little more than twenty-two years," he writes in his first annual message as President after the second census. "In fifty years more the United States alone," he writes to Humboldt in 1813, "will contain fifty millions of inhabitants." In 1815 he states it to Mr. Marry as forty millions in forty years, and in sixty years eighty millions. The time is already up, but the eighty millions are not forth-coming. The truth is that no expectation is so unreasonable respecting a geometrical ratio of increase as that it will continue.

\* Holmes's *Annals*, ii. 183.

† New Hampshire complained that her number was too high, and in 1782 caused an actual enumeration to be made, by which it appeared that the number of her inhabitants was only 82,000. Congress, however, refused to alter her proportion of taxes on that account.—*Pitkin's Statistics.*





Mr. Curtis, in his *History of the Constitution* (vol. ii. p. 168, 169), gives the following table as that "made and used in the Federal Convention, according to the most accurate accounts they could obtain:"

New Hampshire .....	102,000
Massachusetts* .....	360,000
Rhode Island .....	58,000
Connecticut .....	202,000
New York* .....	238,000
New Jersey .....	138,000
Pennsylvania .....	360,000
Delaware .....	37,000
Maryland, including three-fifths of 80,000 negroes .....	218,000
Virginia,* including three-fifths of 280,000 negroes .....	420,000
North Carolina,* including three-fifths of 60,000 negroes .....	200,000
South Carolina, including three-fifths of 80,000 negroes .....	150,000
Georgia, including three-fifths of 20,000 negroes .....	90,000
.....	2,573,000
Add for negroes omitted .....	208,000
Total estimated population .....	2,781,000

\* Massachusetts, it will be remembered, then comprised the territory which in 1820 became the State of Maine; New York that which in 1791 became the State of Vermont; Virginia that which in 1792 became the State of Kentucky; North Carolina that which in 1796 became the State of Tennessee.

1790-1870.

The first census of the United States was taken in 1790, fourteen years after the Declaration of the Independence of the States, and determined the population to be 3,172,006 whites, and 757,208 blacks.

Pretty much as a matter of course, great disappointment was felt at the result, and dissatisfaction at the methods of enumeration was loudly expressed. Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, in sending copies of the published tables to our representatives at foreign courts, was careful to impress it on the minds of his correspondents that the returns fell far short of the truth, and even went so far as to supply the omissions which he assumed by entries "in red ink" (see letters to William Carmichael, August 24, 1791, and to William Short, August 29, 1791). The results of later censuses, however, substantially establish the accuracy of the first enumeration, and show that the dissatisfaction felt by patriotic Americans in 1791 was but the inevitable disappointment of overstrained anticipations.



Where was this population found to be? The following table (anticipating the formation of State governments in Maine, Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee) exhibits the result by States:

Maine.....	96,540	Delaware.....	59,096
New Hampshire..	141,885	Maryland.....	319,728
Vermont.....	85,425	Virginia.....	747,610
Massachusetts....	378,787	North Carolina...	393,751
Rhode Island.....	68,825	South Carolina...	249,073
Connecticut.....	237,946	Georgia.....	82,548
New York.....	340,120	Kentucky.....	73,677
New Jersey.....	184,139	Tennessee.....	55,691
Pennsylvania.....	434,373		

The general position of these settlements along the sea-board is well known to all our readers. The second map we present exhibits the areas actually covered by a population of two inhabitants or more to the square mile at each alternate decennial census. The deepest shading (No. 5) indicates the settlements of 1790. The aggregate area covered by population at that time was 239,935 square miles,\* which, with the population then returned, would yield an average of 16.4 inhabitants to the square mile. This inhabited area stretched from the thirty-first degree north latitude in the south of Georgia to the forty-fifth degree north latitude in Maine, while its extent inland was comparatively insignificant. The following table shows the number of miles on each parallel of latitude occupied by population at each alternate decennial census, measuring from the Atlantic coast westward, and leaving out of account all tracts vacant of population. The measurements only extend to the 100th meridian, to correspond to Map No. 2.

Degree of North Latitude.	1790.	1810.	1830.	1850.	1870.
47	0	0	0	79	209
46	0	0	15	50	230
45	30	392	392	437	858
44	226	279	299	404	777
43	339	425	485	816	1137
42	234	568	691	984	1243
41	238	471	663	1107	1325
40	358	584	912	1140	1252
39	270	565	1038	1043	1224
38	425	707	871	1032	1193
37	344	706	797	1018	1134
36	462	652	878	1057	1057
35	384	391	961	1030	1030
34	302	362	707	938	938
33	173	230	554	989	1055
32	30	227	742	929	1008
31	10	240	634	860	991
30	0	150	323	725	785
29	0	0	0	255	372
28	0	0	0	80	140
27	0	0	0	0	25
26	0	0	0	0	65

Examining the figures for 1790, we find the average settlement inland, along the fifteen degrees of latitude on which there was then population, to be but 255 miles, while if we exclude the forty-fifth and the thirty-

\* *Statistical Atlas of the United States, 1874*: article, "The Progress of the Nation." We shall, from this point forward, freely use the statements made in that article without the affectation of an acknowledgment.

first and thirty-second degrees, which were most scantily populated, we shall still have an extent inland of but 313 miles, one-half at least of which, the writer is disposed to believe, had been covered with population\* since 1763.

We have said little of charters and constitutions, and have sought to carry forward our account of the growth of population in the American colonies without much regard to the greater or the smaller politics of the time. But one effect, of a political character, due to the geographical relations of the population just noted, fairly comes within the scope of this paper. It is that, by reason of the location of settlements coastwise, the tendency toward a union of the colonies under a common government had, from the first, been reduced to a minimum. If, on the other hand, we imagine the colonies to have been originally planted on the Mississippi and its principal tributaries, the Red, Arkansas, Missouri, and Ohio, we can not but be struck with the reason, and almost the imperative necessity, for an early union, which would have been found in their geographical relations alone. Especially as we recall how quickly the free navigation of the Mississippi became a vital issue with the first few thousands of pioneers who pushed across the Alleghanies after the peace of 1763 to make their homes in the valley of the Ohio, how constantly ever after, until the final adjustment of the question, that region was embroiled by contests arising out of disputed rights, and how ready these sons of Massachusetts, of Virginia, and of Carolina were reputed to be to fling away even their allegiance before submitting to be "cabined, cribbed, confined, bound in," by the grasp of another sovereignty upon their only outlet to the sea, it becomes scarcely possible to believe that the thirteen colonies, had they been planted in any order within the great Mississippi system, could, even under the tempering and controlling supervision of the crown, have remained for so much as one human generation at peace with each other without some common form of government representing their own free and perennial consent. War must, in spite of all the restraining influence of the crown, have furnished the only relief for the stifling sensations of the interior colonies, or else, as with English good sense and good feeling would have been more likely, some form of union for general purposes would at an early date have been resorted to.

But the colonies were not planted upon the Mississippi, which for more than two hundred years after the discovery of the main-

\* That is, to the degree necessary to allow of its representation on this map, namely, with at least two inhabitants to the square mile.



land remained, we can not say unknown, but avoided by immigration, its difficult approaches and its tedious navigation below the Isle of Orleans giving it the unpromising name of "Malbouchia." It was on the coast, from Georgia to Maine, that colonies were planted in the seventeenth century. Now the Atlantic slope is made up of scores of distinct river basins, within each of which colonies might have been planted in practical independence of each other. As matter of fact, the malignant force of circumstances\* and the more effectual ignorance and stupidity of the home government combined to involve the colonies in many disputes; yet still it remained true that each colony had its own coast-line and harbors and its own water-courses, sufficient to enable it to maintain its communication with the outer world without the leave of any other colony. Massachusetts and Connecticut did, indeed, quarrel for a while (1647-50) over the dues levied at the mouth of the Connecticut River (Saybrook) on goods destined for Springfield, and retaliatory measures were for a short time resorted to. New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey might quarrel, as, indeed, they have, in a feeble way, even since the adoption of the Constitution,† over the navigation of the waters of New York Bay. Virginia and Maryland had cause of dispute, traditions of which survive even to our day, in the petty war of oyster-men over their conflicting rights upon the Chesapeake, Potomac, and Pocomoke; and several of the colonies had reason to complain that their neighbors took advantage of superior power and better geographical location to tax their products.‡ But in none of these, or other instances that might be cited, were the actual or possible injuries of a vital character, tending to destroy the existence,§ or even in an appreciable degree to impair the growth, of the colonies suffering them.

\* Such as the cutting into two of the Massachusetts and Connecticut grants by the Dutch occupation of New York.

† Over the matter of the exclusive right of certain patentees of New York to navigate the waters of New York with vessels propelled by steam. Mr. Webster summed up the situation as it existed in 1824 as follows: "The North River shut up by a monopoly from New York; the Sound interdicted by a penal law of Connecticut; reprisals authorized by New Jersey against citizens of New York."—*Argument in "Gibbons and Ogden."*

‡ Virginia had taxed the tobacco of North Carolina; Pennsylvania had taxed the products of Maryland, of New Jersey, and of Delaware.—Curtis, *Hist. Const.*, i. 290.

§ Delaware would seem to afford an instance in contradiction of this remark. But Delaware originally formed a part of Pennsylvania, being known as "the lower counties on the Delaware." From 1703 it enjoyed a separate Legislature; but it continued to have the same Governor as Pennsylvania—a fact which generally sufficed to prevent that antagonism of interests which otherwise might have arisen from the geographical relations of the two colonies.

It is in this attitude of natural independence that we find the explanation of the fact that no popular sentiment in favor of an American nationality appeared in the early days of our colonial history. Even the ever-dreaded hostility of the French and their Indian allies was insufficient to furnish a motive to union. Virginians were content to be Virginians, Carolinians to be Carolinians, New Yorkers to be New Yorkers. None seemed to aspire to be Americans. The partial confederation of New England in 1643, an occasional joint expedition or contribution,\* and the abortive convention at Albany in 1754 were all that came of the common needs and common dangers of the colonies, until the one overwhelming necessity of a common resistance to the wrongs of the mother country, which should have been the common protector, assembled the Continental Congress of 1774.

#### THE EXTENSION OF SETTLEMENT SINCE 1790.

Group No. 4 on the map already referred to exhibits the settlements of 1810; group No. 3, those of 1830; group No. 2, those of 1850; and group No. 1, those of 1870. The following table shows the areas which are thus represented on the map, reduced to figures, in square miles. For 1850 and 1870 we have, however, for convenience of comparison, added the settled areas west of the 100th meridian, which are not on the map.

Year.	Total Area of Settlement.	Population.	Average Density of Settlement. Persons to a square mile.
1790	239,935	3,929,214	16.4
1810	407,945	7,239,881	17.7
1830	632,717	12,866,020	20.3
1850	979,249	23,191,876	23.7
1870	1,272,239	38,555,371	30.2

This table excludes the nearly eighteen hundred thousand square miles of territory belonging to the United States (without reckoning the area of Alaska), which have either no population at all, or else are so sparsely populated that the settlements can not be exhibited on the scale taken for our map. The following table shows the degrees of latitude and longitude within which the *solid body* of settlement was at each period comprised, the plan of constructing it being to exclude all patches of settlement, or even considerable tracts, which were separated from the main body by vacant spaces, leaving thus only the solid mass of continuous settlement reaching from the Atlantic westward to the frontier for the time being.

Year.	EXTENT OF CONTIGUOUS SETTLEMENT.	
	North Latitude.	West Longitude.
1790	31°—45°	67°—83°
1810	29° 30'—45° 15'	67°—88° 30'
1830	29° 15'—46° 15'	67°—95°
1850	28° 30'—46° 30'	67°—99°
1870	27° 15'—47° 30'	67°—99° 45'

\* Maryland was the most southern colony which contributed to the defense of New York in 1695.—Bancroft, iii. 34.



## CITIES.

The population of 1790 was very largely rural. Of the 226,085 square miles which were covered with population, 166,782 had between 2 and 18 inhabitants to the square mile; 59,282 had between 18 and 45; and but 13,871 had over 45.

Of cities of 8000 or more inhabitants, there were at this date but six: Philadelphia, with a population of 42,520; New York, with 33,131; Boston, with 18,038; Charleston, with 16,359; Baltimore, with 13,503; Salem, with (in round numbers) 8000.

Of the six cities named only three had been the first-chosen seats of population. Salem had been settled in 1628 in preference to Boston; Calvert's company sought St. Mary's, and not Baltimore; "Old Charlestown" had to be abandoned to found modern Charleston.

Of the six, Philadelphia, though founded nearly sixty years after New York, early took the lead, remaining the chief city until nearly 1810. As early as 1696 it is described as containing 1000 houses, mostly of brick, and doubtless all then as decorous in aspect, and appearing as incapable of being out of the way, as their successors at the present time. At 1750 the population of the city is put at 13,000.\*

New York, which had grown out of a few trading huts on Manhattan Island, had come in 1677 to be a smart village of 350 houses, with perhaps 3000 inhabitants. In 1696 the

account. It was described in 1754 as containing "about 150 houses, all wooden ones, very small, and mostly old."\* The beginnings of Detroit have already been spoken of. Mobile, New Orleans, and St. Louis were as yet foreign territory. Mobile was little more than a Spanish garrison. The site of New Orleans, a pestilential swamp, had been cleared in 1718 by the Mississippi Company, under "the reign of Law" in France. In 1769, after the transfer of Louisiana to Spain, New Orleans was found to contain 1801 whites, 99 free colored, 60 domiciliated Indians, 1225 slaves.† St. Louis had been founded in 1764 as the emporium for the fur trade of the Missouri and Mississippi valleys. President Jefferson, writing of it to Colonel (afterward President) Monroe, May 4, 1806, says, "St. Louis, where there is good society, both French and American, a healthy climate, and the finest field in the United States for acquiring property."

The aggregate population of the six cities at 1790 was 131,472, being 3.4 per cent. of the total population of the country. There are now twenty-nine cities which have a larger population than the largest at 1790; 226 cities and towns as large as Salem then was; the aggregate city population of today is 8,071,875, being 20.9 per cent. of the total population.

The following table shows the growth of the city system from 1790 to 1870:

Year.	8000	12,000	20,000	40,000	75,000	125,000	250,000	500,000	and over.	Total.
	to 12,000.	to 20,000.	to 40,000.	to 75,000.	to 125,000.	to 250,000.	to 500,000.			
1790	1	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	6
1810	4	2	3	1	2	..	..	..	..	11
1830	12	7	3	1	1	2	..	..	..	26
1850	36	20	14	7	3	3	1	1	1	85
1870	92	63	39	14	8	3	5	2	2	226

number of houses had increased to 594. In 1759 there were 2000 houses, with perhaps 12,000 inhabitants. By the colonial census of 1773 the population was determined to be 21,363.

Boston had a rapid growth at first, which was checked by the almost entire cessation of immigration about 1670. In 1700 1000 houses are reported; in 1765 the number had increased only to 1676, the number of inhabitants being 15,520.

Baltimore had not been laid out until 1729. It was incorporated 1745. It remained, says Hildreth, but a petty village for twenty years afterward (ii. 414).

Of cities now noted, Providence, Portland, Albany, and Richmond were then smart towns. Newport, though past its greatest prosperity, was still a considerable place. Norfolk was coming to be known for its export trade. Savannah was as yet of little

The next table exhibits the aggregate city population at each specified date, in comparison with the total population of the country:

Year.	Population of United States.	Population of Cities.	Inhabitants of Cities in each 100 of the total Population.
1790	3,929,214	131,472	3.4
1810	7,239,881	356,920	4.9
1830	12,866,020	864,509	6.7
1850	23,191,876	2,897,686	12.5
1870	38,568,371	8,071,875	20.9

Speaking roundly, it may be said that at 1790 one-thirtieth of the population was in cities; at 1810, one-twentieth; at 1830, one-sixteenth; at 1860, one-eighth; at 1870, one-fifth and more.

## THE CENTRE OF POPULATION.

It has been said that the average extent inland of population at 1790 was 313 miles, if we exclude the three parallels then most

\* *European Settlements in America*, ii. 254.

\* Hildreth, ii. 454.

† Bancroft, vi. 296.



scantly populated. If the density of population over the settled area had been every where uniform, the centre of population\* would have been easily found. But, in fact, so irregular was the settlement of the Atlantic slope, so far as it was occupied at all, that very elaborate calculations require to be made in order to ascertain even approximately the point at which the population would, so to speak, have *balanced*. Entering into these calculations, we find the denser settlements immediately on the coast, and especially the sea-port cities, drawing the centre of population far to the east of the geographical centre of the then populated tract, and fixing it about twenty-three miles east of Baltimore. Since that date the centre of population has moved a total distance of 399 miles, being, as nearly as possible, an average of fifty miles every ten years. The following table exhibits the position, by latitude and longitude, of the centre of population at the beginning of each decennial period, with its location approximately by reference to important towns, and the number of miles traversed in the westward movement of the preceding decade:

The table following exhibits the ratio of increase, by ten, twenty, and thirty year periods, from 1790 to 1870:

Year.	INCREASE PER CENT.		
	In Ten Years.	In Twenty Years.	In Thirty Years.
1800	35.1	....	....
1810	36.3	84.2	....
1820	33.1	81.5	145.1
1830	33.5	77.7	142.3
1840	32.6	77.2	135.8
1850	35.8	80.2	140.7
1860	35.6	84.2	144.4
1870	22.6	66.2	125.9

#### THE GEOGRAPHICAL PROCESS OF THE NATIONAL GROWTH.

We find in a recent review so good a generalization of the process of our national growth geographically that we can not do better than quote it, premising that the description has reference to a series of maps like No. 5 of the present series (following), one for each census of the United States, showing the location and density of population at each date by shades of the same color. The writer says:

"The feature which this series of plates brings to view most strikingly is the constant tendency to the formation beyond the general frontier line of detached

Year.	POSITION OF CENTER OF POPULATION.			Westward Movement during preceding Decade.
	North Latitude.	West Longitude.	Approximate Location by important Towns.	
1790	39° 16.5'	76° 11.2'	23 miles E. of Baltimore.	
1800	39° 16.1'	76° 56.5'	18 " W. of Baltimore.	41 miles.
1810	39° 11.5'	77° 37.2'	40 " N.W. by W. of Washington.	36 "
1820	39° 05.7'	78° 33'	16 " N. of Woodstock.	50 "
1830	38° 57.9'	79° 16.9'	19 " W.S.W. of Moorefield.	39 "
1840	39° 02'	80° 18'	16 " S. of Clarksburg.	55 "
1850	38° 59'	81° 19'	23 " S.E. of Parkersburg.	55 "
1860	39° 00.4'	82° 48.8'	20 " S. of Chillicothe.	81 "
1870	39° 12'	83° 35.7'	48 " E. by N. of Cincinnati.	42 "
				Total..399 "

The tremendous leap from 1850 to 1860, eighty-one miles, is due to the sudden transfer of a considerable body of population from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, consequent on the gold discoveries, twelve individuals in San Francisco exerting as much pressure at the pivotal point, say, the crossing of the 83d meridian and the 39th parallel, as forty individuals in Boston.

The third map exhibits to the eye the movement of population which is stated in figures in the foregoing table.

#### THE ARITHMETICAL PROCESS OF THE NATIONAL GROWTH.

The arithmetical process of the national growth has been so fully set forth by a score of writers on population that we shall give but little space to its exposition here.

\* By the phrase "centre of population" is commonly intended the point at which equilibrium would be reached were the country taken as a plane surface, itself without weight, but capable of sustaining weight, and loaded with its inhabitants, in number and position such as they are found at the period under consideration, each individual being assumed to be of the same gravity as every other, and consequently to exert pressure on the pivotal point directly proportioned to his distance therefrom.

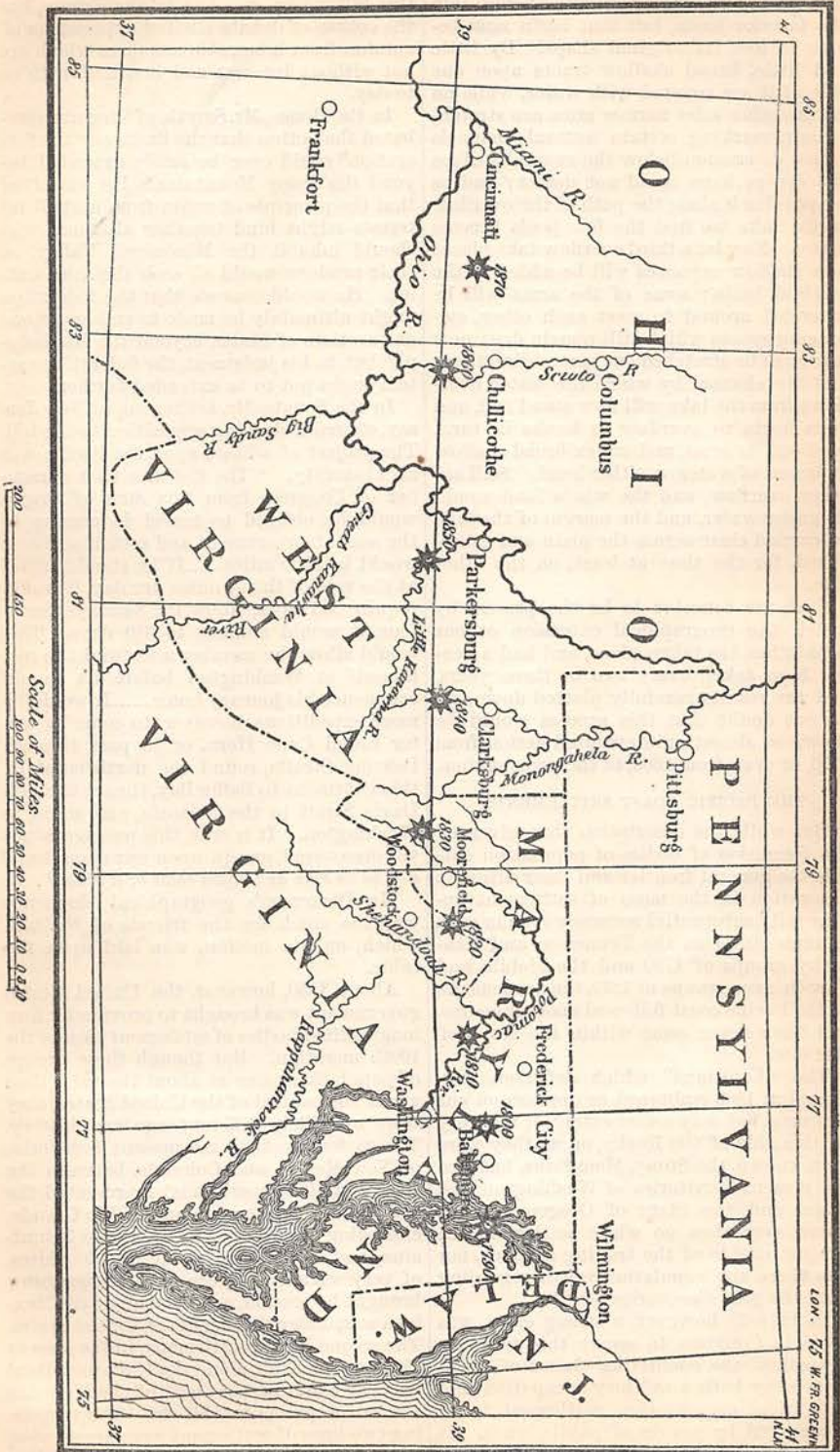
patches of color in localities favorable to population, at first of insignificant proportions, but increasing during each decade; the subsequent projection of branches toward the main body, which itself seems to develop sympathetically in the direction of these outlying masses; the formation of a broad connecting band; and finally the complete absorption of the outlying groups by the advancing main body, which in the mean time has been deepening in tint simultaneously with the extension of its area. The foregoing process, in continuous action, seems to be the normal law of growth of our population, and its operation can be distinctly discerned to-day in the feelers cautiously thrown out from the east along the lines of the Missouri, the Platte, and the Arkansas rivers toward the Rocky Mountain settlements in Colorado and New Mexico."

The process may perhaps be illustrated by supposing an overflow from one of the banks of a lake of a definite volume of water, the overflow then to cease. The ground beyond the bank may seem to be level, but the water quickly discovers a slight depression through the middle of the plain, and flows out along this as a channel until, sooner or later, it finds a shallow basin, into which it drains, leaving perhaps here and there a small pool along its former channel.

Now let us suppose a second overflow to

\* *International Review*, Jan.-Feb., 1875, p. 133.







take place: the water pours as before into the interior basin, but that basin now begins to lose its original shape. By little and little, broad shallow tracts upon one side of it are covered with water, while on all the other sides narrow arms are stretched out, marking certain natural channels whose depression below the general surface the eye perhaps could not detect; and as we pass back along the path of the overflow to the lake we find the few pools become many. Now let a third overflow take place: new shallow expanses will be added to the original basin; some of the arms will be extended around to meet each other, embracing spaces which still remain dry; new arms will be stretched out in new directions, and the channel by which the water overflows from the lake will now stand full, and even begin to overflow *its* banks in turn, send out its arms, and annex broad shallow expanses of water on either hand. Still another overflow, and the whole land would lie under water, and the margin of the lake be carried clear across the plain and established, for the time at least, on the other side.

Such we conceive to be the process by which the geographical extension of our population has taken place, and had a census been taken every two or three years, and the results carefully plotted down, we do not doubt that this process would be shown in almost uninterrupted action from 1776, or even from 1660, to the present time.

#### THE PACIFIC COAST SETTLEMENTS.

But while the description thus given of the formation of bodies of population outside the general frontier and their ultimate absorption in the mass of settlement applies with substantial accuracy even in such extreme cases as the Tennessee and Kentucky groups of 1790 and the Mobile and New Orleans groups of 1810, the settlements on the Pacific coast followed another course, and have never come within the scope of this law.

The "Louisiana" which Jefferson purchased in 1803 embraced, as appears on our first map, not only a vast extent of territory on this side of the Rocky, or, as they were then known, the Stony, Mountains, but also the present Territories of Washington and Idaho and the State of Oregon beyond. There were then no white settlements in Oregon outside of the trading stations, nor was there any population worth regarding until the gold discoveries of 1848.

In 1824-25, however, a strong effort was made in Congress to secure this territory as against the conflicting claims of Great Britain by both a military occupation and a political organization, settlement to be encouraged by grants of public lands. It is not our purpose to trace the history of

this bill, which was lost in the Senate, but the course of debate elicited expressions of opinion from honorable members which are not without interest and instruction to us to-day.

In the House, Mr. Smyth, of Virginia, combated the notion that the limits of "the federation" could ever be safely extended beyond the Stony Mountains. He conceived that the principle of union from mutual interests might bind together all those who should inhabit the Mississippi Valley, as their produce would all seek the same outlet. He would concede that the federation might ultimately be made to embrace "one or two tiers of States beyond the Mississippi," but, in his judgment, the federative system ought not to be extended further.

In the Senate, Mr. Dickerson, of New Jersey, offered a slashing opposition to the bill. The project of a State upon the Pacific was an absurdity. "The distance that a member of Congress from this *State of Oregon* would be obliged to travel in coming to the seat of government and returning home would be 9200 miles.....If he should travel at the rate of thirty miles per day, it would require 306 days; allow for Sundays, forty-four, it would amount to 350 days. This would allow the member a fortnight to rest himself at Washington before he should commence his journey home.....It would be more expeditious, however, to come by water round Cape Horn, or to pass through Behring Straits, round the north coast of this continent to Baffin Bay, thence through Davis Strait to the Atlantic, and so on to Washington. It is true, this passage is not yet discovered, except upon our maps, *but it will be as soon as Oregon shall be a State.*"

Mr. Dickerson's geographical eloquence was too much for the friends of the bill, which, on his motion, was laid upon the table.

About 1850, however, the United States government was brought to provide for four longitudinal bodies of settlement west of the 100th meridian. But though these groups of population came at about the same time under the control of the United States, they were of widely different age and history. The easternmost (in the present Territories of New Mexico and Colorado, between the 103d and 105th meridians) represented the old Spanish settlements on the Rio Grande, extending to its source in the Rocky Mountains, and containing about 50,000 whites, of very various degrees of whiteness, now brought by cession, as the result of the Mexican war, under the flag of the United States. The second line of settlement (in the present Territory of Utah, along the 112th meridian) was the result of the flight of the Mormons across the plains in 1847-48. The remaining two lines of settlement were drawn west of the Sierra Nevada, close by each other,



being scarcely distant a degree in longitude, the one at the foot of the Sierra, the other at the base of the coast range. These settlements were the result of the gold discoveries in California in 1848. Two years sufficed to fill the valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin and the Willamette with a population of 100,000 of all races and conditions of men. Though these two lines of settlement were in their general course distinct, they were yet united by one broad band of population reaching from San Francisco to Sacramento and Stockton.

Such were the settlements west of the 100th meridian in 1850. They then comprised about 33,600 square miles, occupied by a population of an appreciable degree of density. Ten years later their population had risen to about 620,000, covering about 100,000 square miles. In 1870 the population west of the 100th meridian had risen to a full million, covering about 120,000 square miles. Each of the four lines of settlement still remains distinct, though each has grown greatly since 1850. The easternmost now stretches from the Mexican border, across the whole extent of New Mexico and Colorado, into Wyoming, in a narrow, irregular fashion, embracing in all about 140,000 souls. The Utah group now extends from the northern border of Arizona, a little way across the northern boundary of Utah, into Idaho. The population, Saints and Gentiles, has now risen to 90,000. The two California groups have extended themselves longitudinally—the westernmost from the thirty-ninth degree of latitude south to the thirty-third; the other from the thirty-fifth parallel, with but slight interruption, northward to Puget Sound.

In addition to these four longitudinal belts of population there are at the present time perhaps 150 patches of settlements, comprising each from 100 to 300 souls, with a few of even greater importance, scattered over the face of the vast region west of the 100th meridian. A little ingenuity and the use of a somewhat heroic method of treatment would undoubtedly suffice to refer nearly all of these to one or another of the seven longitudinal zones or chains of mineral deposits\* which are recognized by our explorers and geologists.

\* This generalization was first made by Professor Blake, and has been more minutely brought out by Mr. Clarence King, as follows:

"The Pacific coast ranges upon the west carry quicksilver, tin, and chromic iron. The next belt is that of the Sierra Nevada and Oregon Cascades, which upon their west slope bear two zones—a foot-hill chain of copper mines and a middle line of gold deposits. These gold veins and the resultant placer mines extend far into Alaska, characterized by the occurrence of gold in quartz, by a small amount of that metal which is entangled in iron sulphurets, and by occupying splits in the upturned metamorphic strata of the jurassic age. Lying to the east of this zone, along the east base of the Sierras, and stretching southward

#### THE POST-OFFICE.

Perhaps no better illustration could be found of the increase of population and the extension of settlements than is afforded by the history of the Post-office in the United States.

In 1692 a royal patent constituted Thomas Neale Postmaster-General of Virginia and other parts of North America. Holmes says that under Neale's patent nothing whatever resulted, on account of the "dispersed situations of the inhabitants."\* Hildreth says, "A colonial Post-office system, though of a very limited and imperfect character, was presently established under this patent."† In 1695, says Bancroft, letters might be forwarded eight times a year from the Potomac to Philadelphia.‡

In 1710 Parliament passed "an act for establishing a General Post-office for all her Majesty's dominions." The Postmaster-General was authorized to keep "one chief letter office in New York, and other chief offices at some convenient place or places in each of her Majesty's provinces or colonies in America." A line of posts was established from the Piscataqua to Philadelphia, "irregularly extended a few years after to Williamsburg, in Virginia, the post leaving Philadelphia for the South as often as letters enough were lodged to pay the expense. The postal communication subsequently established with the Carolinas was still more irregular."§

In 1753 Dr. Franklin was appointed Postmaster-General for America, and held the office till 1774. Of his administration of the office he writes in his autobiography:

"The American office had hitherto never paid any thing to that of Britain. . . . Before I was displaced by a freak of the ministers, we had brought it to yield three times as much clear revenue to the crown as the Post-office of Ireland."

In 1774 William Goddard, a printer, of Baltimore, proposed a plan for a "Constitutional American Post-office," and, after much agitation of the subject, a service was actually inaugurated under Goddard's management; but it had brief continuance.

After the outbreak in 1775 the colonies were for a time driven to their own individ-

into Mexico, is a chain of silver mines, containing comparatively little base metal, and frequently included in volcanic rocks. Through Middle Mexico, Arizona, Middle Nevada, and Central Idaho is another line of silver mines, mineralized with complicated association of the base metals, and more often occurring in older rocks. Through New Mexico, Utah, and Western Montana lies another zone, of argentiferous galena lodes. To the east, again, the New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana gold belt is an extremely well defined and continuous chain of deposits."

\* *Annals*, i. 444.

† *Hist. United States*, ii. 181, 182.

‡ *Hist. United States*, iii. 34.

§ Hildreth, ii. 263.

|| At first jointly with William Hunter.



ual efforts for maintaining the Post-office.\* On the 26th of July, 1775, however, the Continental Congress resolved that a Postmaster-General be appointed for the "United Colonies," who should hold his office at Philadelphia, where the Congress was sitting. The phraseology of the resolution fixing the general scope of the postal service is most significant, and we ask special attention to it:

"That a line of posts be appointed, under the direction of the Postmaster-General, from Falmouth, in New England, to Savannah, in Georgia, with as many cross posts as he shall think fit."

Could any expression more strikingly signalize the situation of the colonies, on which we have previously commented, as stretched along the coast, with but little extent inland, than the language of this resolution?

The same month we find the New York Provincial Congress making the following representations to the Continental Congress: "We conceive our present eastern riders proceed too far to the eastward..... We are frequently obliged to send messengers to Albany, which a regular post to the northward would prevent."

In 1790 the number of post-offices in the United States was seventy-five; the aggregate length of the post-roads, 1875 miles; the amount paid for transportation of the mails, \$22,081; the gross postal revenues were \$37,935, and the expenditures \$32,140. Mails were conveyed but three times per week between New York and Boston in summer, and twice in winter, occupying five days in transit.† Only five mails per week were exchanged between New York and Philadelphia, requiring two days in each direction, the weight rarely, if ever, exceeding the capacity of horseback mails. The number of letters transported during 1790 probably did not exceed 300,000, and the annual transportation (counting every trip) was about 350,000 miles. In 1870 there were 23,492 post-offices; the length of post-roads was 231,232 miles; the amount paid for transportation was \$10,884,653; the postal revenue was \$19,772,220; the expenditures, \$23,948,837. In 1870 the number of letters carried in the mails was not less than 590,000,000, and the aggregate of distances traveled amounted to 97,024,996 miles.‡ In

\* The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, May 13, established a postal system, with routes from Cambridge to Georgetown, in Lincoln County, Maine; to Haverhill; to Providence; to Woodstock (Connecticut) by way of Worcester; and from Worcester, by way of Springfield, to Great Barrington; and to Falmouth, in Barnstable County. Fourteen post-offices were set up. New Hampshire, May 15, established an office at Portsmouth. In June, Rhode Island established post-routes and post-offices.

† In 1792 we find Mr. Jefferson, as Secretary of State, writing to Colonel Pickering respecting the practicability of sending the mails 100 miles a day. Op., iii. 344.

‡ Rep. Postmaster-Gen., 1870.

1870 the letter-carriers of Manchester, New Hampshire, delivered more letters than constituted the whole burden of the postal service in 1790.

In 1835 the total steamboat transportation of the mails aggregated 906,959 miles, the railroad transportation, 270,504 miles.\* In 1850 the steamboat transportation was 2,659,656 miles, the railroad transportation, 604,396. In 1870 the steamboat transportation had risen to 4,122,385 miles, the railroad transportation to 47,551,970 miles.

The following table exhibits the growth of the postal system, by five-year intervals, from 1790 to 1870:

Year.	Number of Post-offices.	Length of Post Routes in Miles.	Year.	Number of Post-offices.	Length of Post Routes in Miles.
1790	75	1,875	1835	10,770	115,176
1795	453	13,207	1840	13,468	155,739
1800	903	20,817	1845	14,188	143,940
1805	1858	31,070	1850	18,417	178,672
1810	2300†	36,406	1855	24,410	227,906
1815	3000	43,748	1860	28,498	240,594
1820	4500	72,492	1865	20,550§	142,340
1825	5677	94,052	1870	28,492	231,232
1830	8450	112,774			

#### THE CONSTITUENTS OF OUR POPULATION.

It will have been noted that the result of the national enumeration at 1790 showed the proportion of whites to blacks to be a little more than five to one. The following table shows the number of parts in each 100 of the total population sustained by the colored element at each successive census under the Constitution, and, secondly, the decennial rate of increase within the colored element itself:

Year.	COLORED.	
	Percentage of total Population.	Percentage of Increase during preceding Decade.
1790	19.3	
1800	18.9	32.32
1810	19	37.05
1820	18.4	28.68
1830	18.2	31.44
1840	16.8	23.40
1850	13.3	26.60
1860	14.1	22.07
1870	12.7	9.21

\* Transportation by four-horse post-coaches and two-horse stages, 16,874,050 miles; on horseback and in sulkies, 7,817,973 miles.

† We find General Jackson's Postmaster-General, Amos Kendall, engaged in 1835 in the same warfare with the railroads which so enlisted the passions and the energies of Mr. Creswell. Mr. Kendall, in his report of that year, informs Congress that he does not purpose to pay the exorbitant rates demanded by the companies. "He will sooner put post-coaches or mail-wagons on the old roads, and run them there until public opinion or the force of superior authority induces the associations which have been permitted to monopolize the means of speedy conveyance on their routes to abate their terms."

‡ This and the two following entries have much the appearance of guess-work, and are perhaps explained by the following somewhat remarkable expression occurring in the report of the Postmaster-General for 1823: "As near as can be known from the records of this department, there are about 5142 post-offices established. Means have been taken to ascertain the exact number."

§ The reduction is explained by the war of secession.



The rapid falling off in the rate of increase from 1860 to 1870 is the feature of this table which will at once arrest attention. Unfortunately we can not know how much of this is due to the effects of war from 1860 to 1865, when a violent and unprepared emancipation was wrought, not so much by the proclamation of the Executive as by the operations of armies, drawing after them vast bodies of the blacks to be crowded into camps and cities, uninstructed and unprovided, to perish by disease and privations in uncounted thousands; how much to the effects of emancipation upon habits of life, occupation, diet, and location during the period following the return of peace. Had Congress in a proper view of the prodigious change which had passed upon the United States, and of the especial need of statistical information for directing the reconstruction, social, political, and industrial, of the South, provided for a census in 1865, we should have been able to see just where and in what condition the war left this race, and where and how the state of peace took them up. But that opportunity has gone by.

The number of colored persons counted in the census of 1870 was 4,880,009. Few of these were found north of the forty-first degree of latitude.

#### OUR FOREIGN ELEMENTS.

The statistics of the foreign elements in the United States are historically very incomplete. For only three censuses, 1850-70, has the "place of birth" been returned with enumeration. From the former of these dates backward to 1820 we have only the tables compiled from the passenger lists of vessels bringing immigrants—data notoriously imperfect. Before 1820 we have only scraps of evidence on the subject.

In one sense, substantially all the white inhabitants within the present United States were at one time foreigners. But in the days when the population was mainly recruited by immigration the word "foreigner" was never applied to an Englishman, nor generally to a Scot or Welshman, nor always to an Irishman. Thus we find it recorded of the Rhode Island Colony in 1680: "We have lately had few or no new-comers, either of English, Scotch, Irish, or foreigners."<sup>\*</sup>

The population of the thirteen States was mainly composed of Englishmen. Mr. Bancroft (vol. vii. 355) speaks of the colonies in 1775 as inhabited by persons "one-fifth of whom had for their mother-tongue some other language than the English." The order in which other nationalities contributed to the numbers of that population the same writer indicates as follows: "Intermixed with French, still more with Swedes, and yet more with Dutch and Germans."

The French were mainly Protestant refugees. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, William III. dispatched to the colonies large numbers of those who had sought a home in England. A few of these came to Massachusetts,\* where some of the most illustrious names of subsequent history speak of the virtues of the Huguenots. In 1690 a large number of these refugees were sent out to Virginia, and in the same year many arrived in Carolina. In 1698 another considerable body arrived in Virginia. Even prior to these dates the French had appeared in New York. "When the Protestant churches in Rochelle were razed," says Mr. Bancroft (ii. 302), "the colonists of that city were gladly admitted, and the French Protestants came in such numbers that the public documents were sometimes issued in French as well as in Dutch and English."

The persons of Swedish stock referred to by Mr. Bancroft as found in the colonies in 1775 were largely the descendants of those who settled Delaware. Of these Mr. Bancroft says, in another part of his history (ii. 297, 298): "The descendants of the colonists, in the course of generations widely scattered and blended with emigrants of other lineage, constitute probably more than one part in two hundred of the present population of our country. At the time of the surrender they did not much exceed seven hundred souls." The fecundity which Mr. Bancroft thus assigns these Swedes is only surpassed by that which Mr. Hildreth (i. 267) assigns to the twenty-five thousand, or fewer, original emigrants into New England prior to 1640—"a primitive stock from which has been derived not less, perhaps, than a fourth part of the present population of the United States." Mr. Hildreth must have formed his notions of the average capabilities of the early New Englanders from the contemplation of exceptional cases like that of Obadiah Holmes, the Anabaptist, who was publicly flogged about 1651, and is reputed to have had five thousand descendants in 1790.

But of all the European nations outside the British Isles, "the chief migration," says Mr. Bancroft (i. 450), "was from that Germanic race most famed for love of personal independence."

The commercial enterprise of Holland had already planted many thousands of her subjects in the "New Netherlands" when the dominion of the last of the colonies passed to England; nor did Dutch or German emigration cease, but it rather increased, when

\* Holmes cites an act of the Legislature of 1692 prohibiting any of the French nation to reside in any of the sea-ports or frontier towns within the province without license, the reason assigned for the rule being that with the French Protestants "many of a contrary religion and interest" had obtruded themselves.—*Annals of America*, i. 441.

\* Chalmers, i. 282-284.



New York lost scout, burgomaster, and schepens, to gain mayor, aldermen, and sheriff.

We have said that South Carolina, in its earliest settlement, received accessions of Dutch both from New York and from Holland. Before the downfall of the power of Holland on the Continent the Dutch had also appeared in Connecticut, and for a time disputed with the English the sovereignty of the soil even to the Connecticut River, but their few colonists were overwhelmed by the rapid invasion of the English.

To Pennsylvania the Germans resorted, until, in 1764, Durand, in a report to Choiseul, wrote that "Germans weary of subordination to England, and unwilling to serve under English officers, openly declared that Pennsylvania would one day be called Little Germany." "Like Pennsylvania and the Carolinas," says Mr. Hildreth of New York in 1749, "it contained a great admixture, but those of Dutch origin still constituted a majority."

Of all the German states, the misfortunes of the Palatinate made it the largest contributor to the population of the New World. When Hunter came out in 1710 as Governor of New York, we find notice of his bringing with him 2700 of this unfortunate people. Large numbers of the Palatines settled also in Carolina, upon the Roanoke and Pamlico, and many were cut off by the Tuscaroras in the savage rising of 1712. "We shall soon have a German colony," wrote Logan of Pennsylvania in 1726, "so many thousands of Palatines are already in the country."

Even after the adoption of the Constitution, and the removal of the seat of government to the banks of the Potomac, we find a proposition seriously entertained for bringing over Germans to furnish the labor for building up Washington city.\*

The Swiss also appeared in considerable force among the early settlers of America. Newbern (as we now write it), on the Neuse, speaks of old Bern, on the Aar. In 1730 Swiss immigrants founded Purysburg, the first town on the Savannah; and Grahame speaks of considerable accessions to the same State from the same source in 1733.

"Asylum for the oppressed," of all nations and all religions, as America had become, the Moravians found their way in large numbers to our shores. Of Oglethorpe's 300 recruits in 1736 more than one-half were of this faith, to which their brethren who preceded them had already witnessed by raising their "Ebenezer" on the banks of the Savannah. Pennsylvania, however, was their chosen country of refuge during the eighteenth century.

It will readily be believed that help in building up so many youthful colonies, from whatever quarter it came, was eagerly wel-

comed by the English population, and that foreigners were not long excluded from the full privileges of citizenship. The first colonial naturalization act of which we find notice was that of Maryland in 1666. Virginia followed in 1671. Pennsylvania naturalized the Swedes, Finns, and Dutch of Delaware. Carolina naturalized the French refugees she received in 1696.

The English Privy Council was long troubled by the scope and effect given to the colonial acts of naturalization, by which aliens were vested with the power of exercising functions which they were disabled from performing by the Navigation Acts. At last, by act of Parliament in 1746, a uniform system of naturalization was established, on the basis of seven years' residence, an oath of allegiance, and profession of the "Protestant Christian faith."

Of the inhabitants of the British Isles by far the largest contribution, next to that of England, was from Ireland. This immigration, though somewhat spasmodic, had reached a vast though indeterminate total before the Revolution. The Irish settled all the way from New Hampshire, where Londonderry was founded in 1719 by a colony of about 100 families from Ulster, to Carolina, where a colony of 500 arrived as early as 1715.\* The author of *European Settlements in America* speaks of the population of Virginia in 1750-54 as "growing every day more numerous by the migration of the Irish, who, not succeeding so well in Pennsylvania as the more industrious and frugal Germans, sell their lands in that province to the latter, and take up new ground in the remote counties of Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina.† These," he adds, "are chiefly Presbyterians from the north of Ireland, who in America are generally called the Scotch-Irish" (ii. 216). It is probably to some colony thus planted that Jefferson referred when he wrote (Op., vi. 485) of "the wild Irish who had gotten possession of the valley between the Blue Ridge and the North Mountains, forming a barrier over which none ventured to leap, and could still less venture to settle among."

But Pennsylvania was still the especial centre of attraction to the Irish before the Revolution. In 1729 there was a large Irish migration to Pennsylvania. The years 1771-73 appear also to have witnessed a wholesale movement of population from Ireland, especially the northern counties, into this province. Of these large numbers found their way to the region of the Monongahela and the Alleghany, and formed the pioneers of a vast population in Western and South-

\* A small colony under Fergusson had preceded them, arriving as early as 1683.—Bancroft's *Hist. United States*, ii. 173.

† Especially in the northwestern counties.—Hildreth, ii. 416.

\* *Washington's Works*, xii. 305, 306.



western Pennsylvania. We get a lively impression of the importance of this element a little later, when we find in the letters of that vehement Federalist, Oliver Wolcott, Jun., the formidable "whisky insurrection" of 1794 attributed almost wholly to the Irish of Pittsburg and vicinity. Thus: "The Irishmen in that quarter have at length proceeded to great extremities;"\* "Pennsylvania need not be envied her Irishmen,"† etc. They might be in a strange land, but in making war upon the excise they found no unfamiliar or uncongenial occupation.

The Scotch were then, as they are now, every where, though not largely in New England, nor generally in colonies any where.

In New Jersey,‡ Georgia, and North Carolina we find, perhaps, the most prominent mention of the Scotch as a distinct element of the population. One exception to the rule that the Scotch did not tend to settle in colonies was found in the case of Highland soldiers of the British army discharged from service in America.

New York, as the only considerable State of the thirteen which was originally formed under any other flag than that of England, might be supposed to have possessed the largest foreign element, proportionally, of all; and, indeed, from the first, not only was New York "a city of the world," with a citizenship "chosen from the Belgic provinces and England, from France and Bohemia, from Germany and Switzerland, from Piedmont and the Italian Alps,"§ but the Hudson, from the bay to Albany, was settled with a most motley population.

But Pennsylvania long disputed with New York the honor of having the most curiously and variously composed population, and at the date of the Revolution indisputably carried off the palm. Chalmers says that Penn found the banks of the Delaware inhabited by 3000 persons, Swedes, Dutch, Finlauders, and English. Those he brought with him and drew after him were only more widely assorted. "The diversity of people, religions, nations, and languages," says the author of *European Settlements*, "here is prodigious. Upward of 250,000 people," is his summary for 1750, "half of whom are Germans, Swedes, or Dutch."

At a little later date within the century General Washington wrote: "Pennsylvania is a large State, and from the policy of its founder, and especially from the great celebrity of Philadelphia, has become the general receptacle of foreigners from all countries and of all descriptions" (Op., xii. 324).

\* Gibbs, *Adm. Washington and Adams*, i. 153.

† Gibbs, i. 157.

‡ In 1686, in defending their charter, the proprietors of East Jersey urged that they had sent out several hundreds of persons from Scotland.

§ Bancroft, ii. 301. The Bohemians survive unto this day.

The large accessions from other countries than England, received by the Southern colonies from Maryland to Georgia, have already been sufficiently noticed. The States which now represent these colonies are those which have fewest foreigners.

On the other hand, of all the colonies, those of New England received the smallest proportional accessions from nationalities other than pure English, and earliest experienced the cessation of immigration, even from England.

"The policy of encouraging immigration from abroad," says Hildreth (ii. 312, 313), "which contributed so much to the rapid advancement of Pennsylvania and Carolina, never found favor in New England. Even the few Irish settlers at Londonderry became objects of jealousy."

In 1796 we find Washington writing to Sir John Sinclair as follows (Op., xii. 323, 324):

"Their numbers are not augmented by foreign emigrants; yet from their circumscribed limits, compact situation, and natural population, they are filling the western parts of the State of New York and the country on the Ohio with their own surplusage."

It is to this long cessation of immigration into New England that Madison refers when, writing after the fourth census (1820), he says:

"It is worth remarking that New England, which has sent out such a continued swarm to other parts of the Union for a number of years, has continued at the same time, as the census shows, to increase in population, although it is well known that it has received but comparatively few emigrants from any quarter" (Op., iii. 213).

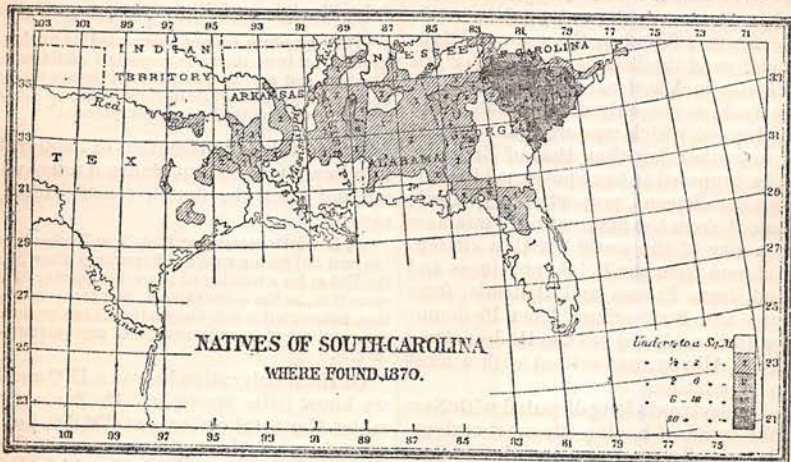
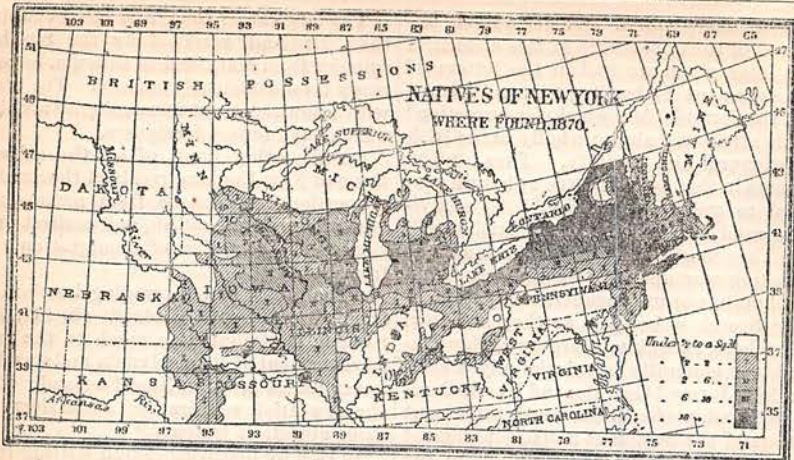
Of the immigration between 1790 and 1820 we know little precisely. Dr. Seybert estimates the total arrivals at 250,000, but the very form of the estimate reveals the inadequacy of the data from which it was constructed. With 1820 begins the record of arrivals at our ports. The following table shows the immigration for the period 1820-50:

Year.	Total.	From Germany.	From British Isles.
1820-30	151,000	8,000	82,000
1830-40	599,000	152,000	283,000
1840-50	1,713,000	435,000	1,048,000

With the seventh census begins our exact account of foreigners in the United States. From this it appears that of the total population at 1850 nine and a half per cent. were of foreign birth, at 1860 thirteen per cent., at 1870 fourteen per cent. At the several dates named the several specified nationalities contributed as follows to the total foreign population:

Nationality.	1850.	1860.	1870.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Irish	43.5	38.9	33.3
Germans	26.4	30.8	30.4
English and Welsh	13.9	11.5	11.2
British Americans	6.7	6.0	8.9
Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes	0.51	1.7	4.4





The foreign immigrants to the United States have placed themselves mainly between the thirty-eighth and the forty-sixth degrees of latitude.\* The meridian of the western boundary of Pennsylvania divides this foreign population into an eastern and a western half.

**THE FECUNDITY OF THE FOREIGN ELEMENTS.**

In addition to the 5,500,000 foreigners residing in the United States, there are

\* The geographical relation of the foreign and colored elements of the population is complementary in a high degree. Taking the States of Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri as constituting a central zone neutral to the two elements, we have the following numerical proportions for each 1000 of the population:

	Colored.	Foreign.
Northern and Northwestern States.....	14	197
Central States.....	182	91
Southern and Southwestern States.....	415	22

Some of the foreign elements are themselves in turn complementary in their location. Thus two-thirds of the Germans are found west of Buffalo, two-thirds of the Irish east of it; the Scandinavians are mainly west of Lake Michigan, the British Americans east of it.

4,167,616 both of whose parents were foreign, 786,388 more who had a foreign father and a native mother, 370,782 who had a native father and a foreign mother, and by consequence there are 5,324,786 who have one or both parents foreign.

Very grave statistical blunders have been committed by some very pretentious writers on population, who have sought to establish the comparative sterility of the native white population of North America. The following sentence, quoted from a paper read before the British Association in 1856, contains in substance a doctrine which was for a long time generally accepted in Europe, and has even been repeated on this side the Atlantic:

“From the general unfitness of the climate to the European constitution, coupled with the occasional pestilential visitations which occur in the healthier localities, on the whole, on an average of three or four generations, *extinction of the European races in North America* would be almost certain, if the communication with Europe were entirely cut off.”

Our space would not serve for the discussion of this question did it require to be ar-



gued at length; but Dr. Edward Jarvis, of Massachusetts, has so completely exposed\* the successive mistakes in figures and fallacies in reasoning by which this most disparaging conclusion was reached that it is only necessary to refer to the subject here in order to assure our readers, who are liable at any time to meet statements of this character floating through the press or stranded in the proceedings of scientific associations, that there is not the shadow of a statistical reason for attributing to the native American population prior to the war of secession a deficiency in reproductive vigor compared with any people that ever lived upon the face of the earth.

#### INTERSTATE MIGRATION.

It will have been observed that the early colonists did not wait for a common form of government before inaugurating that system of internal migration which has been one of the most marked features of our national history. Almost as if from love of change, they moved up and down the coast by turns, or from a half-settled East to a wholly unsettled West. We have already had so many occasions to notice these movements of population that under the present title we will speak only of those wholesale migrations which are revealed by the census since 1850, when the "place of birth" came first to be recorded. The *Edinburgh Review* of July, 1854, so well summarizes the results of the seventh census in this respect that we condense the statement for insertion here.

1. In the Free States the movement was generally due west—from New York, for instance, to Michigan and Wisconsin, and from Pennsylvania to Ohio. And so strong was this passion that the West itself supplied a population to the further West. Ohio had sent 215,000 to the three States beyond her; Indiana had retained 120,000 from Ohio, but had sent on 50,000 of her own; Illinois had taken 95,000 from Ohio and Indiana, and given 7000 to Iowa.

2. The migration from the central Slave States had followed the same general law of a westerly movement; but it had taken also a partial northwest direction into the Free States.

3. In the planting States the movement had been mostly within themselves, taking a southwesterly and westerly direction.

4. The American-born population of Tex-

as had come principally from the Slave States; that of California from the Free States; that of the Territories more from the Free than from the Slave.

The census of 1870 shows the internal movements of population to be not less but more wholesale and incessant than at 1850. Our fourth map shows where the natives of New York and of South Carolina severally were found within the United States at the date of enumeration. The reader will be struck by the conformity to the rules laid down by the Edinburgh reviewer in his Nos. 1 and 3. A map showing the *habitat* of the Kentucky-born population, which our space does not allow us to introduce, shows that this one of the former "central Slave States" still conforms in its emigrations to the rule laid down in No. 2.

The following table shows by *even thousands* for each State at 1870 (1) the number of persons residing in the State who were born therein; (2) the number residing in the State who were born in other States and Territories of the Union; (3) the number born in the State who were residing in other States or Territories. The figures on the left indicate the rank of the States in population.

	State.	(1)	(2)	(3)
16	Alabama.....	744,000	243,000	230,000
26	Arkansas.....	233,000	247,000	55,000
24	California.....	170,000	181,000	12,000
25	Connecticut.....	350,000	73,000	137,000
34	Delaware.....	95,000	21,000	39,000
33	Florida.....	110,000	73,000	15,000
12	Georgia.....	1,034,000	139,000	274,000
4	Illinois.....	1,190,000	835,000	290,000
6	Indiana.....	1,049,000	491,000	321,000
11	Iowa.....	429,000	561,000	89,000
9	Kansas.....	65,000	253,000	11,000
8	Kentucky.....	1,081,000	177,000	403,000
21	Louisiana.....	502,000	163,000	63,000
23	Maine.....	551,000	27,000	149,000
20	Maryland.....	630,000	65,000	176,000
7	Massachusetts.....	905,000	201,000	244,000
13	Michigan.....	507,000	409,000	66,000
28	Minnesota.....	126,000	153,000	13,000
18	Mississippi.....	564,000	253,000	139,000
5	Missouri.....	874,000	625,000	171,000
35	Nebraska.....	19,000	74,000	5,000
37	Nevada.....	5,000	20,000	2,000
31	New Hampshire.....	242,000	46,000	125,000
17	New Jersey.....	875,000	142,000	149,000
1	New York.....	2,988,000	257,000	1,074,000
14	North Carolina.....	1,029,000	40,000	307,000
3	Ohio.....	1,842,000	450,000	807,000
36	Oregon.....	37,000	42,000	6,000
2	Pennsylvania.....	2,727,000	250,000	675,000
32	Rhode Island.....	125,000	37,000	45,000
22	South Carolina.....	679,000	19,000	246,000
9	Tennessee.....	1,028,000	212,000	404,000
19	Texas.....	389,000	368,000	26,000
30	Vermont.....	244,000	40,000	177,000
10	Virginia.....	1,545,000	91,000	584,000
27	West Virginia.....			
15	Wisconsin.....	450,000	240,000	97,000

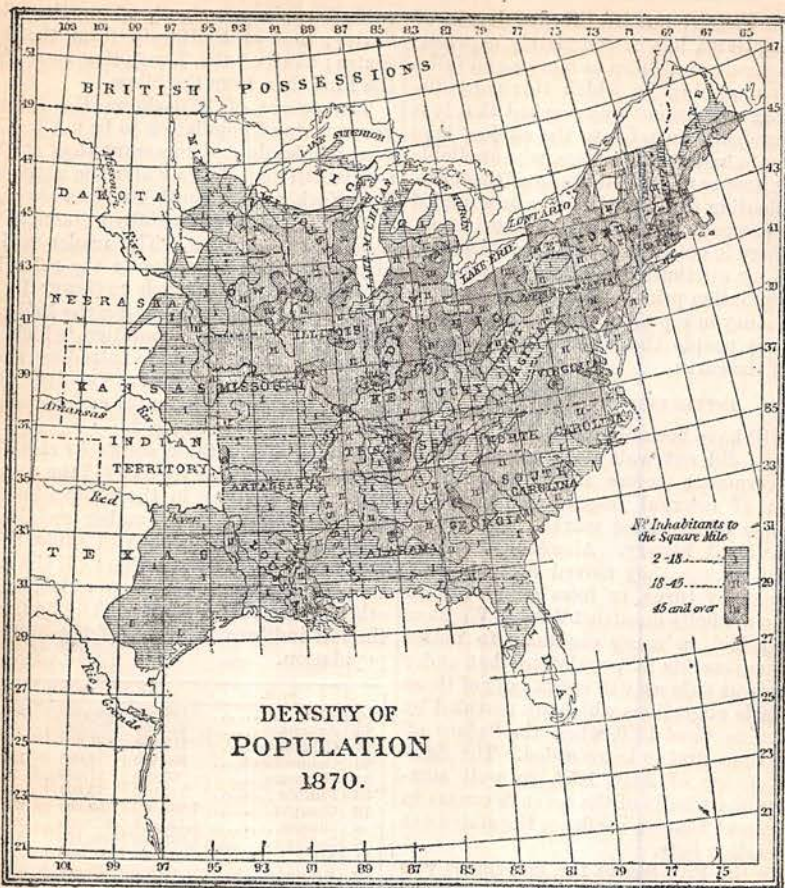
#### THE POPULATION OF 1870.

The *situs* of the thirty-seven and a half millions of our people who at 1870 were west of the 100th meridian is shown separately in our fifth map. The solid mass of continuous settlement here represented covers more than 1,150,000 square miles, lying between 27° 15' and 47° 30' north latitude,

\* *The Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1872.

† Mr. Frederick Kapp, formerly of New York, who has perhaps done more than any one else to give currency to these views in Europe, reached the conclusion that of the free population of 1850 but thirty-six per cent., and of that of 1860 but twenty-nine per cent., was American in the sense of being derived from inhabitants of the country at 1790. No result on this subject has been too monstrous to receive credence from the press of Europe.





and between  $67^{\circ}$  and  $99^{\circ} 45'$  west longitude. The average density of population over this vast tract is 32.7 inhabitants to the square mile. This population is, however, shown not as an average, but in three degrees of density of wide range. More than one-half—namely, 609,372 square miles—appears covered with a population of between two and eighteen inhabitants to the square mile; 470,529 square miles contain between eighteen and forty-five to the square mile; and 192,338 square miles contain forty-five inhabitants or more to the square mile.

Of the four great river systems, the Atlantic system, with 304,538 square miles, contains 14,207,453 inhabitants, or 46.6 to the square mile; the northern lake system, with 185,339 square miles, 4,399,604 inhabitants, an average of 23.7; the Mississippi or Gulf system, with 1,683,303 square miles, 19,111,804 inhabitants, an average of but 0.98 inhabitants to the square mile.

Such is the story of our population, told with more figures of arithmetic than figures of speech. Speculation on the future would here be alike impertinent and vain. Whether the writer who tells of the increase and territorial expansion of our population at the second centennial of independence shall describe the settlement of six hundred thousand, or twelve hundred thousand, or the whole of the vast domain yet uninhabited—whether the flag of the Union shall wave over fifty States and a hundred millions of people only, within our present borders, or over a territory co-extensive with the continent and populous as Europe, may be left in all trustfulness with the Power that hath thus far guided the career of this young nation. As I write, my eye falls on the motto of Connecticut, lifted up first in a savage wilderness, and lifted up since in many a day of battle: *Qui transtulit, sustinet*. Yea, and will sustain.

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