While the population of the United States has always been characterized by a certain freedom of movement, this mobility was less marked in the colonial period than in later times. Pennsylvania, however, occupied a unique position with reference to the extent of the emigration of her people to the other colonies, and was conspicuous among them as a distributing center of population. So pronounced was this movement and so profound were its effects upon the development of the country that it merits consideration as a significant phase of our history. Fiske speaks truly when he says:

One of the most interesting aspects in which to consider Pennsylvania is as the chief center of diffusion of the people who afterwards became pioneers of the democratic west . . . and this migration was so great, both in its physical dimensions and in its political and social effects, that Pennsylvania acquires a special interest as the temporary tarrying-place and distributing center for so much that we now call characteristically American.¹

To a greater degree than was the case in any of the other colonies, Pennsylvania was the camping ground of the German and Scotch-Irish immigrants, who numbered at least half the population of the province. It was also the headquarters of the Quakers, mostly English and Welsh, who, along with the Germans and Scotch-Irish, were distributed from Pennsylvania as a center to the regions southward and westward.

The parts of Pennsylvania which served as distributing centers of population, first to the South and later

¹ John Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, II. 329, 331.
to the West, were chiefly those where the Germans and the Scotch-Irish predominated. Prior to the Revolution the bulk of this emigration was from the German counties of Berks, Lancaster and York, and from the Scotch-Irish counties of Cumberland and Franklin. After the Revolution, when emigration from Pennsylvania was directed to the West rather than to the South, it was still the Germans and the Scotch-Irish who constituted the large majority of the emigrants. Both before and after the Revolution there was some emigration from the English counties of eastern Pennsylvania, but this was relatively small and consisted chiefly of Quakers. The English of Pennsylvania did not so readily seek the frontier as did the Germans and Scotch-Irish, nor did they, apart from the Quakers, emigrate in such numbers as to constitute a movement of any particular significance.

Here may be noted the causes which induced the large emigration of Pennsylvanians, especially to the South, in the early days. By 1730, the westward movement of population in Pennsylvania had reached the foothills of the Alleghanies, and, being hindered by the mountain barrier from advancing farther in that direction, was deflected southward along the line of least resistance into the valleys of Maryland and Virginia, and into the Piedmont region of the Carolinas. The uplands of the South had not at that time been reached by the tide of settlement advancing westward from tidewater, and the vacant lands invited occupancy. It was easier to move down into the southern valleys than to cross the formidable mountain barrier into western Pennsylvania. Furthermore the Proprietaries discouraged settlement west of the Alleghanies prior to the treaty with the Indians in 1768, and sold no land in that region until 1769. A further deterrent to settlement beyond the mountains was the inadequate protection afforded by the provincial government to the
Pennsylvania a Distributing Center of Population

frontier. The Assembly, being dominated by the peaceful Quakers, paid scant heed to the representations of the frontiersmen clamoring for protection from hostile Indians. Again, the southern colonies had a much more liberal land policy than obtained in Pennsylvania, sold land at cheaper rates, and did more to encourage settlement. In 1732, lands in Maryland could be secured at less than one-third the cost in Pennsylvania, while the cost in Virginia and the Carolinas was nominal. With so many circumstances favoring emigration, it was inevitable that when eastern Pennsylvania had been filled up by a rapidly increasing population, the movement over the border should begin. Having begun, it grew in volume until it reached large proportions, productive of great and lasting results. The conditions invited emigration and nature had prepared routes of travel which pointed the direction of the emigrants.2

The first phase of the emigration of Pennsylvanians in any considerable numbers was the movement southward into western Maryland and the Valley of Virginia, and somewhat later into the Carolinas and Georgia. The swelling tide of population overflowed the Pennsylvania reservoir and peopled the uplands of the South.

The Pennsylvania Germans were among the pioneer settlers of western Maryland, where they soon became the most numerous element of the population. Following a route that had been blazed by missionaries, they entered Maryland about 1729, and settled near the Monocacy River. This route, which became known as the Monocacy Road, was a link in the chain of highways from the East to the South and Southwest. The first

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settlement made by the Pennsylvania Germans in Maryland was the village of Monocacy. The very liberal terms upon which land was offered, in 1732, by Charles, Lord Baltimore, encouraged settlement in western Maryland, and many Pennsylvania Germans located there. Gradually they spread throughout that region. The first comers were Reformed and Lutherans, but, in 1748, a number of Moravians settled at Graceham, which became a strong center of Moravian influence. In 1762, Jonathan Hager, a Pennsylvania German, founded Hagerstown. By the end of the colonial period the Germans had effected settlements at Middletown, Creagerstown, Sharpsburg, Tanneytown, Hauver's, Tom's Creek, Owen's Creek, Mechanicstown, Union Bridge, Emmettsburg, and Woodburgh, all of which were in Frederick County. They spread as far as Conococheague Creek, and were the predominant racial element throughout western Maryland. Not all of them came from Pennsylvania, however, as some came direct from Germany; but it appears that the Pennsylvania Germans were in the majority. Baltimore also attracted some Pennsylvania Germans, though these were few in number. At the time of the Revolution, German was spoken more generally on the streets of Frederick and on the farms roundabout than was English, and was the language used in the church services of the Lutherans, Reformed, Moravians and Mennonites, throughout all that region.\(^3\)

While western Maryland was settled chiefly by Germans, other racial stocks were also represented there to some extent. Among these were a few Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish, who at an early period settled in Frederick County and elsewhere in the colony. About 1730,

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some Quakers from Nottingham, Pennsylvania, settled near Monocacy. Western Maryland and Baltimore received from Pennsylvania a few Huguenot settlers, among whom were the ancestors of Admiral Winfield Scott Schley and of Honorable Joshua Levering.\(^4\)

Of greater significance than in the case of Maryland was the emigration of Pennsylvanians to Virginia, not only because of its larger volume, but also because of its more important results. The entire Valley of Virginia, extending a distance of about three hundred miles, was practically unoccupied when the great immigration from Pennsylvania set in and peopled it largely with Germans and Scotch-Irish. A majority of the early settlers of this valley came from Pennsylvania, beginning about 1726, and continuing in a steady stream for two generations. While the overflow of Pennsylvania's population into Virginia was directed chiefly to the Great Valley, it also found its way into the counties east of the Blue Ridge and into the rugged region west of the Alleghanies. Very few settlers from eastern Virginia entered the valley prior to 1760, and by that time the immigration from Pennsylvania had occupied it in such numbers as to become the determining factor in its life and to give tone and direction to its subsequent history. Hence there has always been a perceptible difference between the racial and social structure of the people of the valley and those of tidewater Virginia, though of course the modifying influence of later years has tended to diminish this difference.

The upper part of the Great Valley of Virginia is the famous Shenandoah Valley, which embraces the present counties of Frederick, Clarke, Shenandoah,
Warren, Page, Rockingham and Augusta, in Virginia; and Berkeley and Jefferson, in West Virginia. This region, fertile and unoccupied, invited settlement, and thither came the emigrating hosts of Pennsylvania to seize the land. The Pennsylvania Germans occupied the northern portion of the Shenandoah Valley, and the Scotch-Irish the southern portion, as the predominant racial elements. With these were mingled some English and Welsh Quakers and Huguenots from Pennsylvania, together with a few settlers from eastern Virginia and from Europe. In the remainder of the Great Valley the racial elements were much the same, except that the Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania outnumbered the Germans.\(^5\)

The Pennsylvania Germans entered the Shenandoah Valley about 1727, and this immigration, growing in volume with the passing years, continued briskly until the Revolution and did not cease until about 1800. The advance guard, which settled in Jefferson County, Virginia, in 1727, founded the town of New Mecklenburg, later known as Shepherdstown. With Morgan ap Morgan, the Welshman who settled in the same year in the adjoining county of Berkeley, these share the distinction of being the first Pennsylvanians to locate on the Virginia side of the Potomac. Another pioneer was Adam Miller, of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, who settled in present Page County, probably in 1727. Being joined by some of his former neighbors, Miller and others secured a grant of land and, in 1730, formed the Massanuten settlement in Page County. In 1729 or 1730, Jacob Stauffer (Stover) obtained a large grant of land and founded the village of Staufferstadt (now Strasburg), a picturesque town in Shenandoah County, around which grew up a thrifty settlement.\(^6\)

The real beginning of the movement of Pennsylvania Germans to the Shenandoah Valley, however, dates from the settlement founded, in 1732, by Jost Hite and his associates on the banks of the Opequon in Frederick County, within five miles of the present town of Winchester. John and Isaac Van Meter obtained grants of forty thousand acres in the Shenandoah Valley, and, in 1731, sold some tracts to Hite and his company, which numbered sixteen families. By 1734, this settlement had increased to about forty families, located near Winchester.  

As the fertility of the Shenandoah Valley became more widely known, an increasing tide of Pennsylvania Germans swept in and largely peopled its more northerly portion. Except in the case of a few large landholders, like Hite and Stover, they ordinarily purchased small tracts ranging from a hundred to several hundred acres. Not many Germans settled in Berkeley and Jefferson counties, and still fewer in Clarke; but in Frederick, Shenandoah, and Rockingham counties they were much the largest racial element, and were perhaps the chief element in the settlement of Page and Warren counties. They predominated in the region extending from Winchester to Staunton, but south of that point were greatly outnumbered by the Scotch-Irish. In the Shenandoah Valley as a whole, however, it appears that they constituted in colonial times, and even later, the majority racial group. Their influence is seen in the fact that at least eighty-two names of towns and villages in this region are of German origin. Even today about seventy per cent of the population of Shenandoah, Page and Rockingham counties, and about half that of Frederick and Augusta counties, are of German descent. Their influence is further seen in

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the founding of Roanoke College, at Salem, Virginia, by the Lutherans, and of Bridgewater College by the German Baptist Brethren.⁸

Below the Shenandoah Valley the Pennsylvania Germans slowly gravitated farther south into the Great Valley of Virginia, but never in such numbers as to become the predominant racial element. With the thickening of population in the regions already occupied, some drifted farther down the valley, while others came to southwestern Virginia directly from Pennsylvania. Thus by the time of the Revolution and the decade following, the southern portion of the Great Valley received a German population of respectable numbers in the counties of Augusta, Rockbridge, Botetourt, Roanoke, Craig, Montgomery, Pulaski and Wythe.⁹

As the upper portion of the Great Valley of Virginia became more thickly settled, the Pennsylvania German immigration overflowed the Blue Ridge into Piedmont, Virginia; and the Alleghanies, into West Virginia. In the Piedmont region a considerable number of Germans located in the counties of Loudoun, Rappahannock, Fauquier, Madison, Greene, Albemarle, Louisa, Orange, Culpeper and Prince William. Though a minority element in these counties, it was sufficiently strong to make itself felt in given localities. In what is now West Virginia, the Pennsylvania Germans were not only early in the field in Jefferson and Berkeley counties, but overflowed the Shenandoah Valley into the neighboring region embraced in the present counties of Mineral, Hampshire, Hardy, Morgan and Pendleton, and into parts of Grant and Tucker.¹⁰

⁸ Henry Howe, Historical Collections of Virginia, pp. 461, 468; Wayland, op. cit., pp. 91-94; Kercheval, op. cit., p. 61.
⁹ Faust, op. cit., pp. 195, 196; Wayland, op. cit., p. 344.
Even more important than the emigration of the Pennsylvania Germans to Virginia was that of the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish, who started about the same time, traversed the same routes, and occupied much the same territory. Like the Germans, they settled chiefly in the Great Valley of Virginia, though they settled farther down the valley than did the Germans and tended to spread farther afield. Pennsylvania was their early camping ground, and the Cumberland Valley was their seed-plot and nursery. More restless and mobile than the Germans, it peculiarly suited their genius to seize and develop the virgin soils of the South and West, and this they did in large numbers. The Cumberland Valley, the great reservoir of their race in America, overflowed continually into the vast open spaces of the South and West. Barred at first by the mountains to the westward, restive under the weak protection given the frontier by the Quaker assembly, and seeking economic advantage in the fertile inexpensive uplands of the South, they were diverted into the unoccupied lands of the Valley of Virginia, and thither they flocked in increasing numbers from about 1730 until the Revolution. The Scotch-Irish counties of Pennsylvania lay west of the German counties and formed the very gateway to the Valley of Virginia, and it was natural that they should avail themselves of the opportunity which beckoned so invitingly. In the great emigration which followed they became the dominant factor in peopling the southern highlands, and today their descendants are very numerous throughout all that region.¹¹

It appears that before the real movement of the Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania had gotten under way, a few pioneers of this race had settled in Berkeley County, Virginia, in the vicinity of the present town of

Martinsburg, as early as 1719. Here they established the Presbyterian congregations of Falling Water and Tuscarora. It was not until 1732, however, that they began to feel crowded in the Cumberland Valley and to emigrate southward in large numbers. Like the Germans, they sought first the Shenandoah Valley, and when this was fairly well settled they advanced farther down into the Great Valley of Virginia, where they constituted the dominant racial element. In the Shenandoah Valley they were much less numerous than were the Germans in the counties of Frederick, Shenandoah, Rockingham and Page; but south of this region they predominated by a large majority. Augusta and Rockbridge counties were overwhelmingly Scotch-Irish, and Augusta is Virginia's largest county. Not all the Scotch-Irish in the Valley of Virginia came from Pennsylvania, to be sure, since some came from Delaware, New Jersey and Maryland, and others direct from Ireland; but Pennsylvania was the chief source of this immigration.\textsuperscript{12}

Some of the company associated with Jost Hite in the settlement of Frederick County were Scotch-Irish, and were among the pioneers in that region. Other Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania were among the first settlers along Back Creek and the Opequon, and in Winchester and vicinity. In fact, all through that portion of the Shenandoah Valley where the Germans predominated would be found Scotch-Irish settlers in greater or less numbers.\textsuperscript{13}

Augusta and Rockbridge counties, however, were settled almost entirely by the Scotch-Irish, and here they planted their race and their institutions as firmly as did the Germans in the northern part of the valley.


\textsuperscript{13} C. Bolivar, \textit{The Scotch-Irish Settlers in the Valley of Virginia}, p. 9; Howe, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 451; Foote, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 102.
The pioneer settlers of Augusta County were Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania, the first of whom was John Lewis, of Lancaster County. He was followed by a host of settlers from Pennsylvania, almost exclusively Scotch-Irish. In 1734, Robert Harper, a Scotch-Irishman, settled at the junction of the Shenandoah and the Potomac and established a ferry, thus originating the town of Harper's Ferry. In 1736, Governor Gooch issued a patent to William Beverly, John Robinson, and John and Richard Randolph, for 118,491 acres of land. This grant, embracing about one-fifth the present county of Augusta, was soon taken over by Beverly individually and is known as the Beverly grant. Settlement now began in earnest and proceeded rapidly. As early as 1737 the settlers were present in sufficient numbers to enable them to form several Presbyterian congregations. Churches and schools multiplied, and a thrifty and intelligent community was planted.  

Rockbridge County, Virginia, was even more strongly Scotch-Irish than was Augusta. In fact, it has been called the most distinctively Scotch-Irish county of America, as it is one of the most overwhelmingly Presbyterian. Ephraim McDowell, who emigrated from Pennsylvania to this county in 1737, was one of the pioneers and was soon followed by many others. In 1736, Governor Gooch made a grant of 500,000 acres to Benjamin Borden on condition that he settled one hundred families on it before receiving his title. This condition was met and the title granted by November 8, 1736. Much of the initial settlement under this grant, a part of which lay in Augusta County and the remainder in Rockbridge, was by direct immigration from Ulster and was induced immigration to meet the conditions under which the patent was issued. The

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main body of settlers in Rockbridge County, however, was that of the Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania. The immigration which began in 1738, under the Borden grant, was followed by a continuous stream which flowed, chiefly from Pennsylvania, until the Revolution. Thus it is seen that south of the German mass settlement in the northern part of the Shenandoah Valley was a group of Scotch-Irish, forming a compact and homogeneous settlement extending for a distance of over sixty miles, occupying the large counties of Augusta and Rockbridge and founding towns like Staunton and Lexington. Nowhere in America today is the Scotch-Irish race more strongly entrenched or their influence more clearly seen. Educationally, this influence manifested itself in the founding of Washington and Lee University, which has been termed the "Scotch-Irish University of the South." This region became a second reservoir, which in its turn overflowed into southwest Virginia and into the Carolinas, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Old Northwest.\textsuperscript{15}

Partly from Augusta and Rockbridge counties and partly from Pennsylvania, the Scotch-Irish spread into the counties of Botetourt, Roanoke, Craig, Pulaski and Wythe; and, at a somewhat later date, into Tazewell County and the extreme limits of Southwest Virginia. They also spread over the Blue Ridge into Piedmont Virginia, and over the Alleghanies into West Virginia. The swelling tide of immigration, thus begun, gathered force and rolled ever farther southward and westward.\textsuperscript{16} To quote Fiske again:


It is impossible to understand the drift which American history, social and political, has taken since the time of Andrew Jackson, without studying the early life of the Scotch-Irish population of the Alleghany regions, the pioneers of the American backwoods. . . . Not . . . the whole of that population at the time of the Revolutionary war was Scotch-Irish, for there was a considerable German element in it, besides an infusion of English moving inward from the coast. But the Scotch-Irish element was more numerous and far more important than all the others. A detailed account of it belongs especially with the history of Pennsylvania, since that colony was the principal centre of its distribution throughout the South and West.17

It is not claimed that all the Scotch-Irish in the Valley of Virginia, or elsewhere in the colony, were immigrants from Pennsylvania, but only that a large majority of them were. Neither did all the Germans in Virginia come from Pennsylvania, though a large majority of them did. Nevertheless, it remains true that the most important factor in the settlement of a large area in Virginia was the emigration thither of the Germans and Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania.

Besides the Germans and the Scotch-Irish, there were other racial elements in Pennsylvania which shared in the settlement of the Virginia uplands. These were the English, Welsh and French, who followed the same trails and occupied the same territory, though in much smaller numbers. In 1732, Alexander Ross, a Scotch-Irish Quaker from Pennsylvania, obtained a patent for 100,000 acres on Opequon Creek in Frederick County and established there a Quaker community of English and Welsh settlers from Pennsylvania and Maryland. In 1735, the Hopewell Monthly Meeting was organized in this neighborhood under the auspices of the Chester, Pennsylvania, Quarterly Meeting. In 1733, other Quakers, mostly of English descent, emigrated from Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and settled in Loudoun County, Virginia, near the present village of Waterford. The Quaker migration from Pennsylvania, composed almost entirely of English

17 John Fiske, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, II. 390, 391.
and Welsh stock, continued a small but steady stream until the Revolution. Various Quaker meetings were established, chiefly in Frederick and Loudoun counties, but also in Culpeper County. As a result of the Quaker emigration from Pennsylvania, between 1757 and 1794, Quaker meetings were established in Campbell, Bedford, Pittsylvania and Halifax counties, Virginia.\footnote{S. B. Weeks, \textit{Southern Quakers and Slavery}, pp. 70, 71, 96–100; Rufus M. Jones, \textit{The Quakers in the American Colonies}, pp. 295, 296; Howe, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 354; Kercheval, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 47, 49–61.}

Pennsylvania also contributed a few settlers of French stock to Virginia, and these were the Huguenots who followed the trail of the Germans and the Scotch-Irish into the Shenandoah Valley. Among them were John Peter Roller, Jean Bonneauvant, Jacob Disponnet, and Lewis de Moss.\footnote{A. Stapleton, \textit{Memorials of the Huguenots in America}, pp. 135–137.}

Thus it is seen that the movement of population from Pennsylvania to Virginia in the colonial era, and down to about 1800, was a controlling circumstance in the settlement and progress of a large section of the Old Dominion. And not only so, but they formed new reservoirs of population which were to become the sources of a large migration to the Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia, and the Old Northwest. This was not all accomplished in one generation, to be sure, but was the result of a process which, having its original impulse in Pennsylvania, extended over a period of several generations.

The emigration from Pennsylvania to Maryland and Virginia, which we have traced to this point, was part of a movement which did not cease until it had gone far toward peopling the uplands of the South. The trail grows longer and more involved, but the source remains much the same and the racial stocks continue unchanged. Before proceeding to a discussion of this phase of the subject, however, attention is directed
further to the settlements effected by Pennsylvanians in West Virginia. By reason of the fact that this portion of the original domain of Virginia was cut off from the parent State, it seems advisable to give it somewhat special treatment. The settlement of a good part of it, furthermore, was not in line with the main southern movement, but proceeded under different conditions.

Attention has already been directed to the pioneer settlements, made in 1727, by the Pennsylvania Germans and Scotch-Irish in the present West Virginia counties of Berkeley and Jefferson. As the settlements in the Shenandoah Valley thickened, pioneers began to cross the mountains into West Virginia and to people the region drained by the South Branch of the Potomac. Others occupied the valleys of the New, the Greenbrier, and the Kanawha rivers. Those who entered West Virginia by way of the South Branch of the Potomac were the pioneers in the counties of Mineral, Hardy, Hampshire, Morgan, Grant, Tucker and Pendleton. They were largely the overflow of the Germans and Scotch-Irish from the Shenandoah Valley. This movement was neither large nor rapid, though by 1748 it had reached as far as present Pendleton County and represented about two hundred settlers.²⁰

In the New River region of West Virginia settlements began to be made about 1748. This immigration was owing mainly to the explorations of Christopher Gist, who traversed these wilds in 1750, and made a report which stimulated emigration from the Valley of Virginia and from regions farther north. Among the early settlers was Andrew Culbertson, of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, who located in present Summers County in 1753. Other pioneers from Pennsylvania

entered this region by way of the South Branch of the Potomac or by the valleys of the James and Greenbrier rivers.\textsuperscript{21}

In the northwestern portion of West Virginia the first settlements were made on the Monongahela River and its tributaries in 1754. In that year Dr. Thomas Eckarly and his two brothers removed from Pennsylvania, and settled at Dunkard’s Bottom in present Preston County. In 1758, Thomas Decker and others located in present Monongalia County near the mouth of Decker’s Creek. These settlements were effected by a few hardy adventurers, but there was no permanent settlement made between the Monongahela River and Laurel Ridge until 1768, in which year some immigrants located on Buchanan Creek, a tributary of Tygart River.\textsuperscript{22}

In 1769, a new wave of immigration started and extended to the Monongahela and Ohio rivers; and, after Dunmore’s War, there was a great inrush of settlers. In 1769, Colonel Ebenezer Zane and his two brothers, Pennsylvania Germans, became the pioneer settlers of Wheeling. In the following year they were joined by others from the South Branch of the Potomac, but the progress of the place was slow and, as late as 1784, the village consisted only of a fort and several log cabins. In the region centering around Clarksburg, in present Harrison County, there was a considerable inrush of settlers after 1774. In 1784, Alexander Parker, of Greene County, Pennsylvania, received a grant for the land on which the present city of Parkersburg is located.\textsuperscript{23}

The overflow of the great central reservoir of Germans and Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania, which sent

\textsuperscript{21} Callahan, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 2, 18, 19.

\textsuperscript{22} W. De Hass, \textit{History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia}, pp. 73-75; Callahan, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 19, 20.

\textsuperscript{23} De Hass, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 79; Callahan, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 25, 26, 38.
forth its stream of immigrants in Maryland and Virginia, did not cease with this accomplishment. Gathering force with the passing years, it extended into the Carolinas, and even into Georgia.

The emigration of Pennsylvanians into North Carolina, beginning in 1740 and getting well under way by 1750, continued steadily until the Revolution. As a result of this movement, compact settlements were made in the present counties of Alamance, Guilford, Davidson, Rowan, Cabarrus, Stanley, Iredell, Catawba, and Lincoln; and to some extent in the adjoining counties. For several generations the Pennsylvania-Dutch dialect was spoken throughout this region with a prevalence equal to that found in the same period in Berks County, Pennsylvania, or in Rockingham County, Virginia. Wherever they went, the Pennsylvania Germans carried their language, their religion, their customs and traditions.\(^24\) Bernheim, writing in 1872, says:

> On the blank pages of the old German Bibles of those first German settlers of North Carolina, we may frequently find the story of their colonization, stating that they were born in Pennsylvania at such a date, and that they emigrated to North Carolina and settled in such a county of that province. Besides, all the aged citizens of that section will tell you that their ancestors came originally from Pennsylvania, and here and there you may meet a family, like the Hillig family, who still keep up a friendly intercourse with some of their relatives in Pennsylvania.\(^25\)

There were, it is true, quite a number of Germans in North Carolina who came to the colony direct from Germany; but these settled in the eastern part of the province, whereas the Pennsylvania Germans, who were much the more numerous, occupied the central


\(^{25}\) Bernheim, op. cit., p. 151.
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and western regions. Finding the lands cheap and fertile, as well as practically unoccupied, the Pennsylvania-Germans, one of whose marked characteristics has ever been a fondness for fat soils, were attracted thither as to a magnet. Being mostly farmers, industrious and thrifty, they ordinarily avoided the towns and found in the rural sections the type of life suited to their needs and tastes.

One of the significant features in the migration of the Pennsylvania Germans to North Carolina was the settlement effected by the Moravians in Forsyth County. Having decided to make a settlement in that colony, the Moravian Church purchased 150,000 acres from Lord Granville, in 1751, and commissioned Bishop Spangenburg to locate and survey the land. The bishop, leaving the Moravian headquarters at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in August, arrived at the Catawba River in October, 1752. Having selected a site in Forsyth County to the east of the Yadkin, a tract containing 98,985 acres was surveyed and was named Wachovia in honor of Zinzendorf, who was lord of the Wachau Valley in Austria. On August 7, 1753, the deed for this land was conveyed to the Moravian Church and emigration from Pennsylvania began. Settlements were made and congregations were formed at Bethabara, Bethania, Salem, and Hope. The central congregation and house of worship was at Salem, where also was founded, in 1804, Salem College. This Moravian institution, originally known as Salem Female Academy, has had a continuous and highly honorable history. In 1803, the Moravian community of Wachovia numbered 1305 souls, and was in a flourishing condition. Most of the settlers in Wachovia came from Pennsylvania, though some came from other colonies and a few direct from Europe. The settlement centering around Salem (now Winston-Salem), North
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Carolina, remains today the headquarters of the Moravian Church in the South.\textsuperscript{26}

The emigration of the Scotch-Irish to North Carolina was no less noteworthy than that of the Pennsylvania Germans. Beginning about 1740 and becoming important within a decade, it continued strongly until the Revolution. The Scotch-Irish, who composed the largest single racial element in peopling the uplands of North Carolina, came mostly from Pennsylvania, though many came from Virginia, and some direct from Ulster. The numerous Pennsylvania contingent occupied a large area between the Catawba and the Yadkin. Glowing reports of the fertility of the soil and the excellence of the climate in this region proved a sufficient inducement to undertake the long journey as to a land of promise.\textsuperscript{27}

According to Campbell,

This movement from Pennsylvania to the Carolina Piedmont commonly involved two or three generations of pioneers, each new generation moving on a journey further into the wilderness. . . . In 1764 alone, over a thousand immigrant wagons are reported by Governor Tryon to have passed through Salisbury, North Carolina. To the southeast of the Blue Ridge, therefore, grew a second reservoir of population, fed not only from the north but from the south by later and lesser streams of transatlantic origin through the ports of Charleston and Wilmington. . . . The Carolina Piedmont was fed from many sources, the main stream flowing from Pennsylvania through the Valley of Virginia, while the lesser streams issued from the ports of Charleston and Wilmington.\textsuperscript{28}

The Scotch-Irish settled in large numbers in the North Carolina counties of Granville, Orange, Rowan, Mecklenburg, Guilford, Davidson and Cabarrus, and


\textsuperscript{28} J. C. Campbell, \textit{The Southern Highlander and His Homeland}, p. 25.
also in the extreme northwestern limits of the colony. In North Carolina, as in Virginia, they "tended to follow the valleys farther toward the mountains, to be the outer edge of this frontier," while the Germans were somewhat to the east of them.\textsuperscript{29}

The effects of the Scotch-Irish immigration upon the development of North Carolina were profound and lasting. They established schools and churches wherever they went, and were influential in shaping the history of the colony and State. They founded the Presbyterian Church throughout an extended region of the province, and were responsible for the establishment of Davidson College. At the close of the colonial era they were firmly entrenched, and were among the first to press farther west to settle the wilderness of Kentucky and Tennessee.\textsuperscript{30}

Contemporaneous with the migration of the Germans and Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania to North Carolina, was the movement of the Quakers to that colony. Their coming resulted in a rebirth of Quakerism in North Carolina, and led to the formation of Quaker meetings in Alamance, Chatham, Guilford, Randolph and Surry counties. The most important of these settlements was at New Garden, in Guilford County, which became the central meeting from which most of the others in this section sprang. The Quaker immigration continued steadily until the Revolution, when it suddenly ceased. Though a goodly number of these settlers were from Virginia, New Jersey and Maryland, the majority of them came from Pennsylvania. While they were mostly of English stock, there were some Welsh among them.\textsuperscript{31}

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Emigration of Pennsylvanians to South Carolina next claims our attention. Though there were some German settlers in this colony in the provincial period, these came direct from Germany for the most part and the Pennsylvania Germans did not locate there to any great extent. In fact, the number of Germans emigrating from Pennsylvania to South Carolina was so small as to be of no particular significance, and may be dismissed with this passing mention.32

The migration of the Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania to South Carolina, on the other hand, was large and influential. The majority of the Scotch-Irish in South Carolina did not enter that colony through the port of Charleston, but came by the route through the valleys of Virginia and North Carolina. Their first settlement was in the uplands known as "the Waxhaws" and the "Long Canes," and from there these Pennsylvania pilgrims crossed the Catawba and spread into the present counties of Lancaster, York, Chester and Fairfield.33

The advance guard of this settlement arrived on the Waxhaw in May, 1751, and consisted of six or seven families. About the same time, settlements were made by other Scotch-Irishmen from Pennsylvania on the western side of the Catawba on the waters of Fishing Creek. Between 1750 and 1756, eight or ten families from Pennsylvania settled on or near Fair Forest Creek. Prior to 1756, this immigration was small, but after that year, and especially after 1760, it assumed considerable proportions and continued briskly until the Revolution, when it ceased. In 1783, however, it was renewed, though with less strength. According to Ramsay, a thousand families arrived in the Piedmont

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32 Bernheim, op. cit., pp. 168, 169.
33 C. K. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America, p. 292.
region in 1763 alone, and this section soon became the most prosperous part of the colony.\textsuperscript{34}

As in the case of Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, the uplands of South Carolina were settled in the first instance by immigrants from the North rather than by people moving west from tidewater. In South Carolina a large majority of these frontiersmen were Scotch-Irishmen from Pennsylvania, and their initial settlements were about two hundred miles from Charleston. Many also came from those parts of Virginia and North Carolina which had been settled originally by Scotch-Irishmen from Pennsylvania.\textsuperscript{35}

McCrady, a very good authority, describes these early settlements in the uplands of South Carolina, as follows:

The defeat of Braddock, July 9, 1755, threw the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia at the mercy of the Indians; and these Scotch-Irish, thus exposed to the horrors of Indian war and without support from the wealthy Quakers of the East, abandoned Pennsylvania and came down, following the foot of the mountains, spreading themselves from Staunton, Virginia, to the Waxhaws, in what is now Lancaster county of this province. From this point they peopled the upper country of this state. . . . Around the old Waxhaw church . . . was formed the settlement which gave tone and thought to the whole upper country of the state.\textsuperscript{36}

From the Waxhaws the Scotch-Irish immigrants from Pennsylvania spread throughout the uplands of South Carolina, settling in large numbers in the present counties of Lancaster, York, Chester, Fairfield, Union, Newberry, Abbeville and Edgefield. Others settled in and around Spartanburg. They came in such numbers as to establish a social order of their own, distinct from that of the lower counties. Their influ-

\textsuperscript{34} David Ramsay, \textit{History of South Carolina}, I. 20, 21; George Howe, \textit{The Scotch-Irish and Their First Settlements on the Tyger River and Other Neighboring Precincts in South Carolina}, pp. 10–14.

\textsuperscript{35} Ramsay, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 207–210.

\textsuperscript{36} E. McCrady, \textit{The History of South Carolina under the Royal Government}, p. 312.
ence upon the development of South Carolina was tremendous, politically, economically and socially. A case in point is that of John C. Calhoun, whose ancestors were Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania.  

Some English and Welsh Quakers and an occasional Huguenot also came from Pennsylvania to South Carolina, but these were few. The majority of the group of Quakers settling along Bush River came directly from Pennsylvania. Between 1772 and 1777, there were fourteen members of the Bush Run Monthly Meeting who brought their certificates from Pennsylvania. Quakerism did not flourish in South Carolina, however, and there were but few arrivals. Andrew Pickens, a Huguenot of Paxtang, Pennsylvania, moved with his parents to South Carolina in 1752, where he founded the famous family of that name in the Palmetto State. David Ramsay, the historian, also moved from Pennsylvania to South Carolina.

From Pennsylvania came a few pioneers, chiefly of Scotch-Irish stock, to Georgia and the Old Southwest. Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas received a large part of their pioneer settlers from the Scotch-Irish of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Tennessee. These were in large measure the descendants of the Pennsylvania stock which had originally peopled the uplands of the southern seaboard states, and might be considered as in some sense a part of the story of the expansion of Pennsylvania. The connection is too slight, however, to warrant extended treatment within the restricted space at our disposal.

Of greater significance than in the case of the South-west was the contribution made by Pennsylvania to

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38 S. B. Weeks, Southern Quakers and Slavery, pp. 113–116; Stapleton, op. cit., p. 140.
the settlement of the New West, especially of Kentucky, and to this phase of the subject we now direct our attention. Tennessee and Kentucky began to be peopled in the Revolutionary era, and, as the first states west of the Alleghanies to be settled, the story of their beginnings is replete with interest. Our theme bears but lightly upon the early history of Tennessee, as Pennsylvania was not largely represented in the inrush of immigrants that laid the foundations of that commonwealth. Only a few of these pioneers came directly from Pennsylvania, though thousands of them were the descendants of the Pennsylvanians who had settled in the uplands of Virginia and the Carolinas. When viewed from this angle, Pennsylvania’s share in the settlement of Tennessee was by no means inconsiderable.40

While Pennsylvania made but slight direct contribution to the settlement of Tennessee, her influence upon the early settlement of Kentucky was of great significance. As early as 1750, a few explorers and hunting parties had penetrated the wilds of Kentucky, but real settlement of that region did not begin until 1775, when Boonesborough was founded and the Wilderness Road was begun. Boone and Harrod had revealed the beauty and fertility of Kentucky, and Richard Henderson had engaged Boone to mark out a road through the Cumberland Gap to Transylvania. This highway, commonly called the “Wilderness Road”, began at Block House in southwest Virginia, about five miles from the Tennessee line, at a point where the roads from the northeast and those from the southeast converged; and extended two hundred and twenty-five miles to Boonesborough, Kentucky.

With the opening of this road the real settlement of Kentucky began. For some years it was the only practicable route to Kentucky, and thousands of immigrants thronged it. Because of the dangers incurred at the hands of hostile Indians in Ohio, the Ohio River route did not become popular until later. For about a decade the Wilderness Road was used almost exclusively by immigrants to Kentucky, but after 1785 the river route became more popular and was ordinarily used by Pennsylvanians emigrating to the West.\(^1\)

For about ten years the Kentucky immigrants came chiefly from the backwoods settlements of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina. After 1785, however, there were many settlers from tidewater Virginia and these gave the country a different stamp from that of the earlier frontiersmen. Many Pennsylvanians followed the long overland trail by way of the Valley of Virginia and the Wilderness Road, but the Virginians and the North Carolinians constituted the bulk of this immigration. Quite a number of the immigrants from Virginia and the Carolinas were of Pennsylvania ancestry, however. An illustration of this may be noted in the case of Daniel Boone himself and also of Abraham Lincoln, the forbears of both of whom emigrated from Berks County, Pennsylvania, to the South, and thence into Kentucky.\(^2\)

Beginning about 1780, there was an increasing number of immigrants who entered Kentucky by the Ohio River route. The movement from Pennsylvania was much larger by this route than by the Wilderness Road,

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and it was also used largely by the immigrants from Maryland and from northern Virginia. After the Revolution there was a brisk emigration of Pennsylvanians to Kentucky. Embarking either at Redstone Old Fort (Brownsville), on the Monongahela, or at Pittsburgh, they went down the Ohio in canoes, pirogues, keel-boats, and flat-boats to Limestone (Maysville), and thence sought the interior of Kentucky. The number of boats carrying passengers down the Ohio increased rapidly after 1785. In 1788, over eighteen thousand immigrants descended this river, which for many years was alive with traffic. It appears that when Kentucky was admitted to statehood about one-half its inhabitants were from Virginia, and that the remainder came chiefly from Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina. The immigrants from Pennsylvania probably constituted fifteen per cent of the population of Kentucky in 1792; and of this number the Germans and the Scotch-Irish, especially the latter, were the chief racial elements furnished by the Keystone State. Of even more significance than in the case of Kentucky was the contribution made by Pennsylvania to the settlement and progress of Ohio, and to this we now direct attention. 43

The influence of Pennsylvania upon Ohio was of great importance, politically, economically and socially. The movement of Pennsylvanians across the Ohio River was much later than that which had so largely peopled the Southern Piedmont, and was somewhat later than that which had contributed to the settlement of Kentucky. Beginning in 1769, southwestern Pennsylvania was settled rapidly by immigrants from the eastern side of the Alleghanies. By 1790, this region had a population of 63,000, and had developed into a

predominantly Scotch-Irish community in the present counties of Bedford, Somerset, Fayette, Westmoreland, Allegheny, Washington and Greene. As this population thickened, a new reservoir was formed which overflowed into Kentucky and Ohio, especially the latter. Besides this source of emigration to Ohio, thousands from the older counties of eastern Pennsylvania sought the fertile plains of the new Territory. As early as 1778, ten years before the settlement of Marietta by the New Englanders, Pennsylvanians had begun to emigrate to Ohio, and this movement continued with increasing force for many years.44

Thousands of Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania migrated to Ohio between 1780 and 1820, coming chiefly from the Cumberland Valley and from southwestern Pennsylvania, the two special camping grounds of this racial group. They had effected settlements on the Mingo bottom before 1780, and at the mouth of the Scioto River by 1785. In 1799, there was an inrush of Pennsylvanians, mostly Scotch-Irish, from Washington and Fayette counties into Ohio, especially into Harrison County. In 1799, Major Stites led a colony of twenty-five persons from Brownsville, Pennsylvania, into Ohio. This group settled on Symmes' tract, and founded the town of Columbia at the mouth of the Little Miami River. After the War of 1812, there was a considerable influx of Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania into Coshocton County, Ohio. The Scotch-Irish were scattered all over eastern and central Ohio, and were largely instrumental in planting Butler, Warren, Preble, Darke, Greene and Ross counties, in the southwestern part of the State. Their numbers were large and their influence upon the development of Ohio was

one of the most significant factors in the history of that commonwealth.\textsuperscript{46}

The Pennsylvania Germans also emigrated to Ohio in large numbers, and were an influential element in the settlement and progress of that state. Prominent among these was Ebenezer Zane (Zahn), of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, who founded Zanesville on the upper Muskingum and, in 1797, laid out New Lancaster (now Lancaster), Ohio. The first German newspaper west of the Alleghanies, \textit{Der Lancaster Adler}, printed in the Pennsylvania-Dutch dialect, appeared at New Lancaster in 1807, and was the organ of the Pennsylvania-Germans throughout that region. The Germans from Pennsylvania settled chiefly in the counties of Stark, Tuscarawas, Wayne and Holmes, which they occupied in predominant numbers. Here they planted their distinctive language and institutions in much the same way as they had done at an earlier period in given sections of Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina. Their settlements, which covered a broad belt of good farming land some fifty miles wide, did not get well under way until about 1800. While this region was the center of the Pennsylvania-German occupation and influence in Ohio, other parts of the state also attracted them in considerable numbers. They settled in the Ohio Valley and in the Miami Valley, and were strongly represented in the regions around Zanesville, Lancaster, Chillicothe and Circleville. Many of the Hessian prisoners who had settled in Somerset County, Penn-

Pennsylvania, after the Revolution, emigrated to Harrison County, Ohio. After 1800, there was a brisk movement of Quakers from Pennsylvania to Ohio. The immigrants represented all sections of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Before meetings were organized in Ohio it was customary to deposit certificates of membership with the Redstone and Westland Meetings in western Pennsylvania, which served as midway stations for Quakers moving westward. Quaker settlements were effected along Short Creek, a few miles west of the Ohio River, and along the Miami. The Miami Monthly Meeting was established in 1803, and a strong Quaker center was formed at Maynesville. The bulk of the Quaker immigration to Ohio and the West, however, was from Virginia and North Carolina. Of the twenty thousand Friends west of the Alleghanies in 1820, it is probable that Pennsylvania contributed about three thousand.

Pennsylvania exerted a profound influence on the settlement and progress of Ohio. Jeremiah Dunlavy, the first Judge, and William McMillan, the first territorial delegate from Ohio, were Pennsylvanians by birth; as also was Jeremiah Morrow, the first state representative, as well as governor and United States senator, from Ohio. Twelve natives of Pennsylvania, of whom ten were Scotch-Irishmen, were governors of Ohio prior to 1860. In 1817 the majority of the members of the lower house of the Ohio legislature were from Pennsylvania. President McKinley, Vice-President Hendricks, and Marcus A. Hanna were of Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish stock. Joshua Giddings, General Porter, Gen. William Lytle, Gen. Thomas L. Hamer,

47 Rufus M. Jones, Later Periods of Quakerism, I. 389, 397, 404-406, 411, 413.
and John A. Bingham were natives of Pennsylvania, as also was the mother of General Grant. Between 1827 and 1840, Pennsylvania furnished a large part of the Ohio legislature, the proportion ranging from 26 to 37 per cent in that period, as compared with from 9 to 25 per cent from all New England in the same years. Of sixty-two Ohio Representatives in Congress before 1840, eighteen came from Pennsylvania, eight from Virginia and eight from Connecticut. Ten of Ohio’s counties were named after Pennsylvanians; namely, Wayne, Logan, Ross, Mercer, Darke, Crawford, Butler, Fulton, Allen and Morrow. In 1850, there were living in Ohio over 200,000 natives of Pennsylvania, which was more than twice the number from any other state and several times the number from New England. Massachusetts and Connecticut combined furnished only one-fifth as many as Pennsylvania.  

Pennsylvania’s influence on Ohio was also of great significance economically and socially. Thousands of Pennsylvanians occupied choice rural sections of the state and contributed largely to its agricultural development, and others sought the towns and aided in building up trade, transportation, and industry. Jeremiah Morrow was president of the first railroad into Cincinnati. Dr. John McMillan, founded Franklin College; and Col. John Johnson, one of the founders of Kenyon College and author of Indian Tales of Ohio, was the first president of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society. John Filson, a native of the Cumberland Valley, author, surveyor and Indian fighter, was one of the founders of Cincinnati; and W. H. McGuffey, author of school readers, was president of Athens University. Other Pennsylvanians were instrumental in founding many churches and schools in Ohio, 


To a less extent than in the case of Ohio, Pennsylvania sent her sons to share in the settlement of Indiana and Illinois. The Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania tended to migrate to Indiana; but the Pennsylvania-Germans preferred Illinois. The Scotch-Irish were among the pioneers in Fayette and Rush counties, Indiana, while the Germans founded some distinctive settlements in Illinois; and Pennsylvania Quakers were represented in respectable numbers in each of these states. It is apart from our purpose, however, to trace the migrations of Pennsylvanians farther afield, especially as there was nothing distinctive in Pennsylvania’s contributions to the settlement of the states farther West. Like the other states of the Union, she sent many of her people to the Mississippi Valley, and shared in the general westward movement to the Pacific; but the special significance of Pennsylvania as a distributing center of population belongs to the earlier period which we have discussed, covering approximately a hundred years, from 1730 to 1830.\footnote{B. A. Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest*, p. 284; E. B. Greene, *Pioneers of Civilization in Illinois*, pp. 7, 8; Scotch-Irish Proceedings, VI. 116; Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, I. 420, 433, 434.}


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