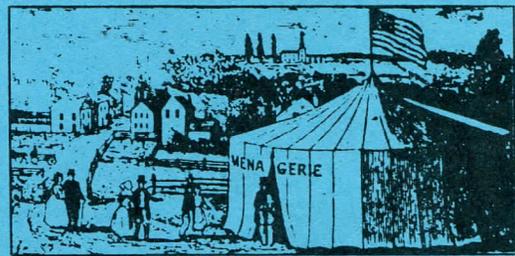
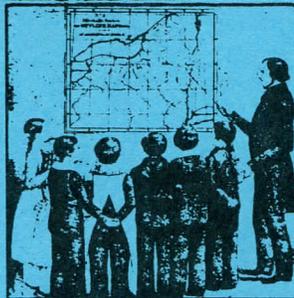
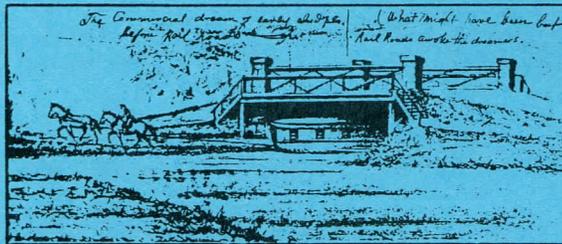
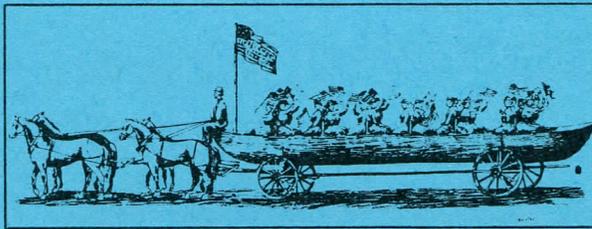


INDIANA, The Early Years

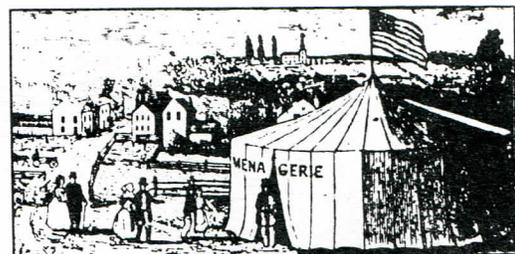
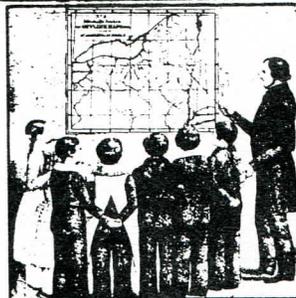
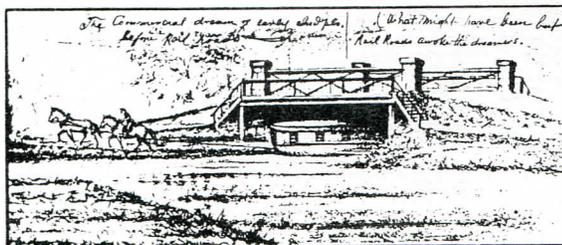
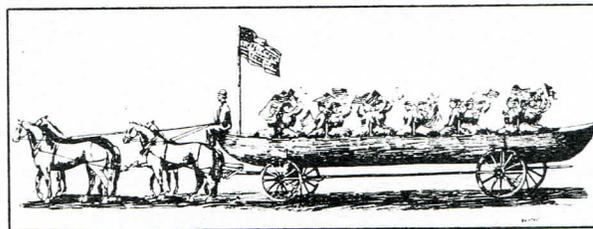
Resource Guide



BROADSIDES

INDIANA, The Early Years

Resource Guide



BROADSIDES

Indiana Historical Bureau
Indianapolis, Indiana
1987

Indiana Library and Historical Board

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This publication has been produced as part of a program with funding from the Indiana Committee for the Humanities with the cooperation of the the National Endowment for the Humanities.

This publication is available for \$5.00 plus \$1.50 postage and handling from the Indiana Historical Bureau, 140 North Senate Avenue, Indianapolis, IN 46204; 317-232-2537. Student document packets are available in bulk for 17 cents each by mail or 10 cents each over the counter.

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BROADSIDES: Indiana, the Early Years, 1816-1850 was developed to provide supplemental Indiana history materials for classroom use. A need for such materials was evident from the numerous requests received by the Education Department at Conner Prairie where Jane Staton and I were colleagues in 1983. In order to pursue Jane's idea to reproduce early Indiana documents for student packets, it was necessary for us to seek independent funding and sponsorship. Fortunately we found the Indiana Historical Bureau and the Indiana Committee for the Humanities to be eager collaborators. Unfortunately Jane's early death prevented her from seeing those first ideas transformed into reality. *BROADSIDES* is a legacy of her enduring strength, dignity, and spirit.

Dani Pfaff
Project Director

Acknowledgments

A project of this scope and magnitude is possible only with a great deal of help. I am especially indebted to the following organizations and individuals for their generous offerings of resources, time, and talents.

Sponsoring Agencies

Indiana Committee for the Humanities and Indiana Historical Bureau

Advisory Board

Joan Schreiber, Ball State University; Mary Fortney, Indiana Department of Education; Claudia Hoone and Victor Smith, Indianapolis Public Schools; John Larson, Purdue University; David Vanderstel, Conner Prairie; and Michelle Dietrich, Indiana University Social Studies Development Center.

Pilot Teachers

Claudia Hoone, Alan Stein, Mary Beth Dowell, Eleanor Roach, Gloria Jones, Marshi Johnson, Debbie Walker, Margaret McKeon—all of the Indianapolis Public Schools.

Indiana State Library

Marybelle Burch and Noraleen Young

Indiana Historical Society Library

Carolyn Autry and Eric Mundell

Indiana Historical Bureau

Pamela Bennett, Sheryl Vanderstel, Shirley McCord, Robert Barrows, Lisa James, Joyce Lester, Mwandishi Yusuf, Gerald Greider, Scott Teal, and Janice Anderson.

Goals

In addition to providing Indiana primary history materials where none previously existed, BROADSIDES set out

- to introduce both teachers and students to the creative use of primary source materials in the classroom,
 - to develop a Resource Guide for teachers which provides easy access to detailed information, activities, and resources about the pioneer time period in Indiana, and
 - to provide a model by which teachers and other educators and their students might explore and utilize primary resources in their own communities.
-

Student Document Packets

Primary sources, such as letters, diaries, newspapers, and advertisements, have been reproduced for each pupil in Student Document Packets for each of five broad subject areas: Commerce, Trade, and Agriculture; Daily Life; Education; Politics; and Transportation and Communication.

Each Student Document Packet contains the following:

- five reproductions of Indiana documents with photographs on the reverse,
- an introductory letter for students,
- descriptions of the documents with a glossary,
- document timeline, and
- an Indiana map locating the packet items.

The documents in the Student Document Packets are reproductions from originals located in the Indiana State Library and the William H. Smith Library of the Indiana Historical Society. The documents were carefully selected to provide information and the opportunity to explore a multiplicity of facets of the pioneer period in Indiana, while at the same time displaying the variety of documents in existence during that time and available now for study. Every effort was made to include documents produced by and for children.

The Resource Guide

The Resource Guide has been developed to complement the documents in the Student Document Packets; it provides background information, student activities, and pertinent resources for teaching pioneer Indiana history at grade levels from upper elementary on through high school.

The Resource Guide contains the following:

- brief essays on each of the five subject areas,
- background information on each of the documents in the Student Document Packets and transcriptions,
- student activities,
- supplemental documents and transcriptions,
- additional resources for teachers and students,
- maps for reproduction,
- bibliographies, and
- indexes of subjects and curriculum areas.

The documents together with the background information provided in the Resource Guide have been developed to present an accurate indication of not only the feasts and frolics of pioneer

life but also the toil and tears. Please note, however, that written documents, particularly diaries and letters, present the views and lifestyles of those who could read and write—a very small percentage of Hoosier settlers—and are not necessarily representative of those larger numbers of illiterate settlers who also helped to transform the forests into farmland.

Suggestions for Teachers

Claudia Hoone, Broadsides Advisory Board member and pilot teacher, makes the following suggestions for introducing documents into the upper elementary classroom:

Puzzling out

A good first approach to a document is to allow the class to decipher together the words of the document. By using a transparency of the document on an overhead projector, the class can work together through the act of transcribing, or puzzling out, the text of the document. This activity also works well in small groups after students become familiar with the process. Transcribing a document is like solving a riddle, or working a puzzle. For this reason students are eager participants. Through this activity students can begin to learn the historian's method of approaching and analyzing primary sources. The document transcription from the teacher's material may be provided to the class after the class interpretation of the document is complete.

Color coding

Students may color code document materials, a learning experience which facilitates ease of handling the documents. Example: Direct students to place a red dot in the corner of the Lincoln sumbook page (Document 31P) and its reverse. Instruct students also to place a red dot in each of the following places:

1. student information sheet - paragraph describing Lincoln document
2. timeline - 1820
3. map - Lincoln City
4. document transcription if teacher elects to reproduce this for students

Repeat the process with a different color for each packet document. Students are able to do this on their own after some practice.

Self-awareness/Personal growth

When students see letters, school work, scrapbooks, etc., from the past being showcased and studied, they begin to value their own efforts. Students begin to understand that the events of their lives, recorded in their own journals, are significant—their feelings and opinions are worth recording. Students who routinely discard their daily work and award certificates begin to develop their personal collections, and even to frame and display things that reflect their lives.

Other introductory exercises, such as a personal timeline and a letter to parents, are located in the Supplementary Materials section. Mrs. Hoone also suggests that researching family trees can be a meaningful class experience but she recommends this as a voluntary exercise due to religious and family sensitivities.

Involving families and especially older friends can, however, provide both instructive class sessions as well as better understandings between home and school. For example, parents who have contributed personal memorabilia for a class project show more interest in their children's class in general. This was an unexpected benefit of Mrs. Hoone's experience.

● *BROADSIDES* documents work best if each student has a packet of his/her own. These materials do not duplicate well and packet cost is modest.

● While it would be possible to use the Student Document Packets with the Resource Guide as an entire curriculum, *BROADSIDES* documents are intended to be used as supplements when and where they fit into each teacher's existing curriculum in various subject areas.

● Because of the size of this Resource Guide, teachers will find the several tables of contents and the two indexes very helpful in developing customized lesson plans. These aids make it possible to design lessons based on:

- types of documents—letters, broadsides, account books, etc.,
- historical topics—children, travel, Indiana politics, etc.;
- disciplines—math, language arts, science, etc.; and
- skills—critical thinking, map and research skills, etc.

● While local and community history such as that showcased by *BROADSIDES* documents is extremely important and revelant in and of itself, it is also possible to use these documents as new approaches to teaching early national political and social trends in a U.S. history class. (See Some Events for Context, p. 333)

Some Points to Remember

Why Documents? Some Notes about Primary Sources

Educational Objectives

Historical records provide a unique method for meeting major educational objectives. By exposing students to primary source materials an educator can help them gain experience in a variety of historical, social, and critical thinking skills necessary to becoming an informed participant in modern society.

Using original sources students acquire a more realistic understanding of history. By reading documents students obtain first-hand facts as well as first-hand opinions. Weighing and interpreting this evidence a student can then develop an ability to draw informed conclusions. When students discuss these conclusions with classmates, they begin to understand the complexity of life issues and the conflicting views that can develop out of identical experiences.

Social skills are developed as students learn to make political or ethical choices using accounts of earlier events or experiences. Past exposure of most students to history has been limited to textbooks, and many students thus have the distorted view that all historical events have been clearly defined and are precise. Primary source material gives a human perspective to historical events, one more attuned to reality. Learning to weigh values and consequences aids in recognizing and solving the complex issues that will face the student in the future.

Community identity can also be gained by use of documents. Examining the diversity of cultures represented in a community as well as the effect those cultures may have had on the character of that community can give students a new sense of understanding. This knowledge can help them define their role within their current community as well as enable them to find their place in a future community.

Interpreting Resources

What might be seen as drawbacks to the use of primary sources can be used to great advantage by the educator. Unfamiliar terminology, obsolete vocabulary, or unusual spelling or grammar can be used as learning experiences. Students can be directed to written sources, such as dictionaries and atlases, or to human resources, such as craftsmen, older residents, or professional people, for the answers to many of the puzzles. By doing this a student begins to develop research skills as well as the ability to learn independently.

As students begin to "puzzle out" historical documents, they also begin to analyze their discoveries. By weighing the information as they gather it, the students begin to draw conclusions about the situation being studied. As these skills develop, students may then begin to apply their skills and experiences to contemporary problems.

Adapted from Kathleen Roe, *Teaching with Historical Documents* (Albany, New York: State Education Department, 1981)

Personal Papers

In the course of daily life people produce an array of personal papers ranging from letters and diaries to bills and legal documents. Extensive collections of personal papers are held by libraries, historical societies, and archives. Students may delve into the lives of common citizens from an earlier time through the study of such collections. Sharing in the occurrences of daily life, understanding the thoughts, feelings, and ideas of others, brings an understanding of not only history but of social and cultural systems and values otherwise lost. Letters and diaries provide just such an intimate look into history. Everyday documents such as recipes, household accounts, and scrapbooks add to students' abilities to understand, assess, and compare their world to the experiences of others.

Business Records

Records generated by business, whether a small town grocery or a large manufacturer, provide students with information on economic conditions, production methods, and the lives of workers. Advertisements supply information about consumers and products as well as language usage and even value systems. Early ledgers and account books provide a look into alternative payment systems unknown to modern students, while business records afford insights about transportation, currency, and agricultural and industrial expansion, as well as labor relations, wages, and job skills.

Local Government Records

Unique information concerning citizens of the past is provided in local government records. Every governmental unit, town, township, or county, has kept records concerning the operation of that government unit and the citizens within its jurisdiction. Town and county records provide information on public and private property, licenses, taxes, bonds, wills, and schools. All of these records provide insights into lives often far different from our own. These records reflect how society has grown and has been ordered and supervised, as well as how communities coped with their environment.

Maps

Maps provide important visual and factual information on any given location. Maps were a necessary part of the settlement process, and early hand-drawn survey maps can be found in libraries, historical societies, and archives. An abundance of printed maps—including survey, insurance, county, town, township, topographical—and atlases are easily obtainable. U.S. Geological Survey maps provide an accurate look at the land as it currently exists and are especially helpful for comparison to earlier maps. Use of maps in the classroom provide an accurate gauge for comparisons and understanding growth patterns and for increasing students' understanding of their own environment.

Photographs and Drawings

Photographs and drawings provide a visual understanding of the past. The use of these documents in the classroom gives substance to students' understanding of the past by giving them a more realistic view of early life. Whether a street scene or family portrait is depicted, an accurate sense of the physical environment is communicated to the student. Life in the city or the country, in factories or on the farm, and in the homes of the upper, middle, and working classes becomes a reality for the class to study and understand. Once again the ability to assess this visual information sharpens needed skills.

Broadsides

Broadsides, early advertisements posted to provide information on a variety of topics, afford the teacher with a rich visual and verbal document source. The forerunner of the modern poster, broadsides informed the general public of current events ranging from battle accounts to epidemics as well as community activities such as public entertainments or public land sales. They were vehicles for political statements, promotion of local activities, or commercial advertisements. Broadsides contain clear, concise information that illustrates for a class printed communication in the days prior to electronic media as well as providing an exciting tool for teaching historical facts and social and cultural attitudes and how they have evolved into the present.

Census Records

Census records are an excellent information source for teachers and generally are easily available at libraries and historical societies. A valuable source for large quantities of information, they are especially useful in doing analytical and comparative studies. Federal population census records begin in 1790 and are available at ten year intervals to date. Censuses provide information concerning individuals, agriculture, commerce, property, education, mortality, and many other areas. Censuses also have changed through the years and provide especially useful ways to approach many topics.

In 1816 Indiana became the nineteenth state, but the process of settlement continued for several decades as wave after wave of immigrants established new homes on this fertile western land. These settlers brought to Indiana a variety of traditions, occupations, and institutions, all of which added color and character to the developing Hoosier culture.

French fur traders were the first Europeans in the area in the eighteenth century. The English took control in 1763 and their influence remained until after the American Revolution. The 1779 victory of George Rogers Clark over the British at Fort Sackville and the subsequent concessions of the Treaty of Paris in 1783 opened this rich area to American settlement.

Settlement

The new United States government quickly realized the potential for expansion in this new territory and acknowledged the increasing numbers of settlers moving west. The Land Ordinance of 1785 called for an orderly survey of the new lands prior to occupation. The Ordinance of 1787—called the Northwest Ordinance—established a temporary government for this Northwest Territory and established a procedure for the admission of new states from this area on an equal footing with the original states of the Union. The Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery within the Northwest Territory and encouraged the formal education of its new citizens.

The first authorized white settlement in the Northwest Territory was Clark's Grant (1781), an area of 150,000 acres around Clarksville in present-day Indiana. When Virginia ceded its western lands to the Union in 1784, Clark's Grant was confirmed as a benefit to the soldiers who fought with George Rogers Clark in his expeditions against the British at Vincennes. The remainder of the present state still belonged to various Indian tribes: Miami, Eel River Miami, Potawatomi, Delaware, Shawnee, Wea, Kickapoo, Piankashaw, Kaskaskia, Ottawa, Chippewa, and Wyandot. These traditional occupants of the land resisted American advances with decreasing effect. The Treaty of Greenville, 1795, following General Anthony Wayne's victory at the Battle of Fallen Timbers opened up most of Ohio and a small piece of southeastern Indiana to the flow of United States settlers.

In 1800, Indiana Territory was formed by the United States Congress from the Northwest Territory and included the lands of the present states of Illinois and Wisconsin and parts of Michigan and Minnesota. William Henry Harrison was appointed governor of the territory; the capital was Vincennes. Harrison pushed for a new land act in 1800 which helped more settlers buy land by reducing the minimum purchase; in 1804 the minimum was further reduced. Settlers came in increasing numbers to the lands along the Ohio River and its tributaries. On December 5, 1804, Indiana Territory entered the second—or representative—stage of territorial government, and its first elected representatives met in Vincennes in February, 1805. By 1810, Illinois and Michigan territories had been split off from Indiana.

Indiana Territory

In this first decade Governor Harrison had obtained treaties to extinguish most Indian land claims in the southern third of Indiana Territory. Some residents prematurely applied for statehood in 1812 with a population of 35,000, but Congress refused the appeal. The continuing spread of settlers in the southeast, however, forced the relocation of the capital to Corydon in 1813. By 1815 there were 62,897 people living in Indiana—more than the 60,000 required by the Northwest Ordinance to petition Congress for admission to the Union.

The required constitution was written by a convention of delegates at Corydon in 1816. The document achieved was an amalgamation of the U.S. Constitution and the constitutions of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky. It continued the Northwest Ordinance prohibition of slavery in the new state and called for a free system of schools open to all from primary through college level—a recognition of government's obligation to education that unfortunately went unfulfilled for generations.

The Nineteenth State

An estimated 42,000 people moved into Indiana just in 1816. There were only fifteen counties, all established along the Ohio River, the Whitewater, and the west fork of the White River. The land of southern Indiana was wooded and hilly, cut by creeks and streams and filled with a variety of game. This idyllic scene was broken occasionally by towns and villages such as this Swiss settlement described in Samuel Brown's *Western Gazetteer* in 1817 (Lindley, 155):

Vevay.—Half a mile above the upper vineyards, was laid out in 1813, but was a forest in 1814, till the first of February, when the first house was built.

During the same year forty four others, four stores, and two taverns were erected, and the village selected as a suitable place for the seat of justice for Switzerland county. There are at present eighty-four dwelling houses, besides thirty four mechanics' shops, of different professions. The court house, jail, and school house are of brick. A brick market house and church are building. It has eight stores, three taverns, two lawyers, two physicians, and a printing office printing a weekly newspaper, called the *Indiana Register*. There is a library of 300 volumes; and a literary society in which are several persons of genius, science, and literature.

The marks of Vevay's development are evident also in its accessibility to travelers and to news: "several roads diverge from the settlement. Three mails arrive weekly."

In contrast, however, Richard Lee Mason described a farm in 1819 not far from Paoli (Lindley, 236):

In the midst of one of those long and thick pieces of woods, we passed one of the most miserable huts ever seen—a house built out of slabs without a nail; the pieces merely laid against a log pen such as pigs are commonly kept in, a dirt floor, no chimney. Indeed, the covering would be a bad one in the heat of summer, and, unfortunately, the weather at this time is very severe for the season of the year. This small cabin contained a young and interesting female and her two shivering and almost starving children, all of whom were bareheaded and with their feet bare. There was a small bed, one blanket and a few potatoes. One cow and one pig (who appeared to share in their misfortunes) completed the family, except for the husband, who was absent in search of bread.

What was it that motivated people to risk such hardships? Why did the population of Indiana double between 1820 and 1830 to 343,031 and then double again by 1840? The simple answer is land. "The emigrant who has a capital may obtain good land at a very cheap rate, and the rise of property will eventually make him rich; in the mean time if he is industrious, he may have an abundance of substantial food, indeed most of the necessaries of life; and he may have them too for one half the labor that would be necessary to obtain them at the east; but the luxuries, comprising many things which he has been accustomed to all his life, and which most people esteem as almost necessary to the comfort of life, are not easily obtained." (*IMH*, 30:103)

Since the beginning of the settlement of the North American continent, land had been the key factor in the expansion of population. In the seventeenth century, as rents and tenancy increased in the Atlantic communities, colonists sought new land in the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, and newer colonies like Georgia. Immigration from Germany and Ireland, and renewed internal migration after the Revolutionary War pushed settlers into Tennessee and Kentucky. With the close of the War of 1812 with Great Britain and the successful repression of Indian hostilities, the Old Northwest was the next logical move for an exploding population.

Government land was cheap, and the availability of easy credit and high prices for surplus agricultural products added further impetus to the migration. After an initial auction sale designed to bring maximum revenue, federal lands in the southern third of the state were sold at a fixed price through land offices located in Cincinnati, Ohio, and then in Jeffersonville, Brookville, and Vincennes, Indiana. Before 1820 the price was \$2.00 per acre; 160 acres was the smallest possible purchase. After 1820 the price fell to \$1.25 per acre with an 80 acre minimum.

The following description by Sandford Cox of a land sale on December 24, 1824, at the Crawfordsville office gives an idea of the process and the attitudes of settlers (*Readings*, 189):

The land sales commenced here to-day, and the town is full of strangers. The eastern and southern portions of the State are strongly represented, as well as Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania.

There is but little bidding against each other. The settlers, or "squatters," as they are called by speculators, have arranged matters among themselves to their general satisfaction. If, upon comparing numbers, it appears that two are after the same tract of land, one asks the other what he will take not to bid against him. If neither will consent to be bought off, they then retire, and cast lots, and the lucky one enters the tract at Congress price—\$1.25 per acre—and the other enters the second choice on his list.

A few days of public sale have sufficed to relieve hundreds of their cash, but they secured their land, which will serve as a basis for their future wealth and prosperity, if they and their families use proper industry and economy.

Jacob Schramm, in a letter dated April 10, 1836, gives a different view of the process: "What people in Germany believe and what they read in innumerable articles about the newly surveyed land is not true, that is, that it sells for only \$1.25 per acre, and that a person can choose the best and finest." The best land sold for \$5 to \$20 per acre and went first to the highest bidder; the land office sold the remainder at \$1.25 per acre. Schramm noted that the La Porte auction in November, 1835, netted \$400,000. (*Readings*, 190, 191)

Long before southern Indiana land had been sold and settled, ambitious Americans pressed for even more room. In 1818 the

Treaty of St. Mary's was concluded with the Delaware, Miami, Wea, Potawatomi, and Kickapoo tribes extinguishing Indian titles to the central third of the state. With the opening of this "New Purchase" immigration swelled once more and continued. It was described in the Indianapolis *Indiana Journal*, September 17, 1829 (*Progress*, 520):

With the commencement of fall, the tide of emigration seems as usual to be flowing to the west. Our streets begin already to be crowded with families, and waggons, and stock. We saw, at a single view yesterday, not less than eight families passing through town; and such is the case more or less every day, and will continue to be the case during this month and the month of October. Their destination is generally to the Wabash and the country between here and there. The whole country, comprising what has heretofore been called the "New Purchase," has been settled, and continues to settle, with a rapidity which is almost unparalleled. The upper Wabash country, particularly, seems to be populating and improving with unexampled rapidity. Counties there, which, three or four years ago, were but a trackless wilderness, contain now five, six, and seven hundred voters—and in each of these is a thriving county seat. . . . The settlement and improvement of the interior country are also progressing with a rapid and steady pace. Populous counties and flourishing villages are to be seen in every part of the country.

The Pioneers

Who were these immigrants, and from where did they come? For the first forty years of the nineteenth century the majority of settlers in Indiana came from the Upland South, an area roughly defined as the hill regions of Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia. The cultural heritage of these southerners was a combination of English Chesapeake Tidewater, German, Scotch-Irish, and English Pennsylvanian elements. The settlers were generally farmers and mechanics or craftsmen, who came with their families including young children. From the South two routes were used to reach the West—the overland route, via the Cumberland Gap and the Wilderness Road, and the water route down the Ohio River from Wheeling.

Early travelers through the western country were numerous, and their descriptions and impressions of the people of Indiana provide the best pictures we have of early pioneer life. Richard Lee Mason, who traveled through southern Indiana in 1819, was not complimentary (Lindley, 235-236):

Slept in a house without glass in the windows and no fastenings on the doors. The inhabitants imprudent and lazy beyond example. Supped on cabbage, turnips, pickles, beets, beefsteak made of pickled beef, rye coffee and sage tea. The people of Indiana differ widely from Kentuckians in habits, manners and even dialect. Whilst hospitality, politeness and good sense characterize the Kentuckians, ignorance, impudence and laziness has stamped the Indianians.

Morris Birkbeck, an Englishman, had more politely drawn similar conclusions as he traveled through Indiana in 1817 (Lindley, 185):

The Americans have no central focus of fashion, or local standard of politeness; therefore remoteness can never be held as an apology for sordid dress or coarse demeanour. They are strangers to rural simplicity; . . . This, no doubt, is the effect of political equality, the consciousness of which accompanies all their intercourse. . . .

In viewing the Americans, and sketching in a rude manner, as I pass along, their striking characteristics, I have seen a deformity so general that I cannot help esteeming it national, though I know it admits of very many individual exceptions. . . . Cleanliness in houses, and too often in person, is neglected to a degree which is very revolting to an Englishman.

America was bred in a cabin: this is not a reproach, for the origin is most honourable; but as she has exchanged her hovel of unhewn logs for a framed building, and that again for a mansion of brick, some of her cabin habits have been unconsciously retained.

On the other hand, early Hoosiers could take comfort in exaggerated praise like that of James Hall in the *Western Monthly Magazine* in 1834 (Buley, 1 :380):

The people of those States [six Western states] have subdued the wilderness, have framed constitutions, enacted laws, organized civil institutions, introduced the useful arts, and cultivated the social principles, in great harmony and with signal success by the aid of their own *uncultivated virtues*. They have now in complete organization the whole complex machinery of law and government; and they number among their citizens, gentlemen who make and who expound laws, clergymen, physicians, merchants, artists, and farmers, who are as capable as those of other states, and possess as much general intelligence.

Two groups of settlers in Indiana during the early years deserve special mention. The first of these is the Quakers, members of the Society of Friends, which had its origin in England in the mid-seventeenth century. Religious intolerance in England motivated William Penn and others to establish a Quaker colony in what is now Pennsylvania. In time Quakers moved south through Virginia to the Carolinas seeking land like other settlers. The Quakers came to Indiana shortly after 1800, beginning to settle the Whitewater region in the eastern part of the state. They came north from the Carolinas to exploit the fertile soil and cheap land and to escape the practice of slavery, which their religion condemned. According to R.C. Buley, by 1816 there were perhaps 10,000 Quakers in eastern Indiana.

Quakers and Black Settlers

Blacks in early Indiana were controversial out of all proportion to their numbers. The 1787 Northwest Ordinance prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude in the Northwest Territory; however, there were already slaves in Indiana, and laws were passed circumventing the Ordinance by means of indefinite indentures. In 1800 there were 135 slaves listed on the territorial census. In 1810 there were 237 slaves listed and 393 free non-whites excluding Indians. The 1816 state constitution prohibited slavery but had no provisions for civil rights for blacks.

William Forster, a Quaker minister on a mission to the Vincennes area in 1821, commented on the dangers that blacks faced even in a free state (Lindley, 257-258):

I am sorry to say there are many slaves in the town—I suppose mostly such as were held under the territorial government; but the State Legislature had made provision for their freedom. We hear sad stories of kidnapping. I wish some active benevolent people could induce every person of colour to remove away from the river, as it gives wicked, unprincipled wretches the opportunity to get them into a boat, and carry them off to Orleans or Missouri, where they still fetch a high price. I have been pleading hard with a black man and his wife to get off for some settlement of Friends, with their five children; and I hope they will go.

The migration of free black persons into the state of Indiana paralleled the southern migration into the state and was often intertwined with Quaker movement. Many Quakers invited free blacks to join them on the trek to new lands. By the 1850s there were twelve to fifteen well-defined black settlements in Indiana, often situated close to Quaker settlements in the southern and

eastern sections of the state. The Quakers were instrumental in providing schooling for not only their own children but for blacks as well.

Ironically, free blacks suffered more discrimination as the spreading abolitionist movement raised the possibility of increased black immigration. In 1831 the state passed a law requiring incoming blacks to post a cash bond, which presumably few could raise, in order to settle in Indiana. In 1843, public schools supported by the state and previously open to all residents were restricted to white pupils only. Finally, a new constitution written in 1850 prohibited blacks from entering or settling in the state, it prohibited making new contracts between blacks and whites, and it provided that all fines collected for violations of these provisions be put into a fund for the emigration and colonization of blacks in Africa.

Communal Experiments - The Rappites and Owenites

There were also some attempts at highly structured communal lifestyles in Indiana during this time. The Harmonists, who had their origin in Germany, arrived in 1802 with their leader, George Rapp. Rapp and his followers first went to Pennsylvania where they established their farms and homes. By 1813 their settlement was highly successful and life was too easy, so Rapp decided to move farther into the wilderness—to southwestern Indiana Territory where he began the Harmony settlement in 1814. The Rappites contributed much to the early development of the state. William Hebert, a Londoner, described the people of Harmony in 1822 (Lindley, 330):

As you may suppose, the utmost regularity and decorum subsists amongst them. They work easily, but their hours of labour are of the usual length of the labourer's day, being from sunrise to sunset. They are an exceedingly industrious race of people, being occasionally busy long before sunrise in some departments of their establishment, such as their Distillery, Brewery and Mills, which sometimes require their attendance through the night. It is understood that they subsist upon a principle of fellowship, or of united labor and capital, all deriving their food and clothing from the common stock The Harmonians are, however, an extremely regular and sober-minded people, whose happiness is certainly the happiness of ignorance, the pursuits of literature being wholly neglected or prohibited amongst them. . . . As a society they are extremely wealthy. . . . Mr. Rapp is alike their spiritual teacher and temporal director.

Even though the Indiana experience was highly productive and successful, George Rapp decided to move his flock back near Pittsburgh. In January, 1825, Rapp sold his holdings in Harmony to Robert Owen, a Welsh socialist who wanted "to introduce an entire new state of society; to change it from an ignorant selfish system to an enlightened social system which shall gradually unite all interests into one . . ." (Buley, 2:604). Over the next two years, Owen and his fellow socialists in New Harmony attempted to form a new society based on enlightened ideas concerning wealth and property and science and education. These high ideals never merged into the society that Owen dreamed of and after two years of squabbling and financial difficulties, he bade the experiment farewell. The legacy of his grand plan included a free public school and library, a trade school, a kindergarten, and a women's club. A German, Karl Bernhard, talked with Owen on a visit to New Harmony in 1825 (Lindley, 428):

I had an ample conversation with Mr. Owen, relating to his system, and his expectations. He looks forward to nothing less than to remodel the world entirely; to root out all crime; to abolish all punishments; to create similar views and similar wants, and in this manner to avoid all dissension and warfare. When his system of education shall be brought into connection with the great progress made by mechanics, and which is daily increasing every man can then, as he thought, provide his smaller necessaries for himself, and trade would cease entirely! I expressed a doubt of the practicability of his system in Europe, and even in the United States. He was too unalterably convinced of the results, to admit the slightest room for doubt.

Despite the diversity of character among the early Indiana settlers, their economic activities were remarkably similar. Corn and hogs formed the basis of the rural economy in the nineteenth century—even as they do in Indiana today. Practically the first task of the settler was to clear some land for a crop of corn. Corn was a vital ingredient of frontier living. Practically every meal included corn or cornmeal in the form of dodgers, johnnycake or Indian pudding. Corn was used as fodder for livestock, the husks were used to fill mattresses and make toys, even the cobs were used to scrub dishes and floors. Hogs were allowed to roam the woods in search of sustenance and generally took care of themselves until time for market. Indiana's lands were fertile and her forests were rich, so there was usually surplus corn and pork to be sold commercially.

The Economy

The single greatest obstacle to prosperity for Indiana's farmers was transportation. Indiana's roads were little more than dirt trails containing tree stumps and gaping mudholes. Indiana's rivers, with the exception of the Ohio and parts of the Wabash, were navigable only at certain times of the year and then only by flatboats. Steamboat travel on interior waterways was never more than an exotic occasional attempt.

Transportation

The following letter, written in 1830 by S.A. O'Ferrall, is an example of the state of travel conditions (McCord, 140):

From Versailles, we took the track to Vernon, through a rugged and swampy road, it having rained the night before. The country is hilly, and interspersed with runs, which are crossed with some difficulty, the descents and ascents being very considerable. The stumps, "corduroys" (rails laid horizontally across the road where the ground is marshy) [,]swamps, and "republicans," (projecting roots of trees, so called from the stubborn tenacity with which they adhere to the ground, it being almost impossible to grub them up), rendered the difficulty of traversing this forest so great, that notwithstanding our utmost exertions we were unable to make more than sixteen miles from sunrise to sunset, when, both the horse and ourselves being completely exhausted, we halted until morning.

To secure relief from these transportation problems, the General Assembly in 1836 passed a Mammoth Internal Improvements bill designed to improve trade by building a series of roads and canals to cross the state. The feasibility of still largely untried railroads was also studied. Unfortunately, a severe nationwide economic depression, political infighting, and outright corruption brought a slow and embarrassing end to the internal improvements program. The state itself went broke, and the no-debt provision of the 1850 Constitution was a direct result of this financial disaster.

While transportation improvements faltered, settlers carried on trade of agricultural products by several methods. Corn and hogs

were often loaded on flatboats which the farmers floated downriver to New Orleans. Surplus corn was also used to fatten hogs which were then walked to butchering centers, such as Cincinnati or Madison. Many times surplus corn was also distilled into whiskey, for which there was a ready market everywhere. Finally, local surpluses were often sold to new arrivals or to immigrants bound farther west, feeding the westward movement itself.

Indian Removal

Eventually the progress of white immigration collided with the claims of resettled Indians confined, by 1840, to the northern half of the state. Therefore, settlement in northern Indiana was tied intimately to the forced migration of the remaining Indians.

Throughout the 1820s and 1830s the federal government continued negotiations with the Potawatomi and Miami tribes. Finally in 1836, the Potawatomi signed a treaty relinquishing their rights to their northern Indiana lands. On September 4, 1838, a long procession of Yellow River Potawatomi began their migration beyond the Mississippi, a trip that has become known as the "trail of death." Lacking adequate supplies, shelter, and transportation, many died along the way. Estimates of the number of deaths vary from 43 to as high as one fifth of the approximately 850 Indians. Father Petit accompanied the removal and described the march to Bishop Brute in a letter of November 13, 1838 (*Readings*, 256):

The order of march was as follows: the United States flag, carried by a dragoon; then one of the principal officers, next the staff baggage carts, then the carriage, which during the whole trip was kept for the use of the Indian chiefs; then one or two chiefs on horseback led a line of 250 or 300 horses ridden by men, women, children in single file, after the manner of savages. On the flanks of the line at equal distance from each other were the dragoons and volunteers, hastening the stragglers, often with severe gestures and bitter words. After this cavalry came a file of forty baggage wagons filled with luggage and Indians. The sick were lying in them, rudely jolted, under a canvas which, far from protecting them from the dust and heat, only deprived them of air, for they were as if buried under this burning canopy—several died thus.

Expansion North

The newest removal of the Indians brought about the entry of more white settlers. This time the settlers came from the East—Ohio, western Pennsylvania, upstate New York, and even New England. The major routes of migration were also different. The Great Lakes, the National Road, and the Ohio Canal system were the main routes used by these farmers and craftsmen. These easterners brought with them a cultural baggage which contrasted sharply with that of the earlier southern settlers. Unlike the southern frontiersman, these Yankees were stereotyped as zealous reformers with a mission and destiny, preaching religion, education, and moral reform as the cures for society's ills.

While transportation of agricultural products continued to hamper the economic growth of the entire state of Indiana, settlers in the northern third faced different problems in cultivating their lands. Northern Indiana was much flatter than the rest of the state, with treeless prairies flooded by water for six months of the year. The immigrants' first task was to find ways to drain these swamplands, break the heavy soil, and transport timber for cabins, barns, and fences. These northerners cultivated fruit trees, built livestock

shelters, grazed dairy cattle, and built straight board fences—all a continuation of habits from their former homes adapted to prairie conditions.

The trans-Appalachian settlers, both northerners and southerners, quickly founded the cities and towns that were a necessity to even primitive rural life. Towns were the centers of trade. Equally important to frontier development were political, cultural, and social institutions that flourished mainly in towns. The mad scramble for good farmland also brought the land speculators whose interests were in locating the most likely spots for future population centers—and thus profits. Towns and villages were platted, advertised, and inhabited almost overnight. Some grew and prospered, many more withered away. Most were situated on or near rivers and roads or along proposed canal and railroad routes, hoping to prosper from future improvements.

Indianapolis was intended to be the metropolis of the Hoosier state. The site was chosen by state commissioners because the location was close to the geographic center of the state. The choice for the site of the new capital was ratified by the Legislature in January, 1821. Buley describes the rapid development of the city in that year (1:37-38):

A planning commission designed the circle and avenue plan for this city that was to spring up in the woods, and in October more than three hundred lots were sold at an average price of \$113. Axes were busy and cabins rose as if by magic; some persons even pretended to frame houses. By late winter forty dwellings and several shops had been erected, as well as a gristmill and two sawmills. Carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, tanners, four physicians, and seven innkeepers served the community. Before long neighbors were enjoying dinner parties, teas, and quiltings; and politics . . . was brewing merrily.

A decade later, in 1833, Hugh McCulloch, on his way to settle in Fort Wayne, provided a look at the problems of city development (McCord, 142):

It [Indianapolis] had been laid off by the surveyors on a magnificent scale, with rectangular streets ninety feet, and avenues radiating from the centre one hundred and twenty feet in width. Ample provision had been made for parks to enclose the public buildings, and the plan of the city upon paper was attractive and artistic, but upon paper only. Little resemblance, indeed, did the place itself bear to the plat. The parks, in which were the State House, just then completed, and the court-house, had been enclosed with post and rail fences, but nothing had been done to the streets except to remove the stumps from two or three of those most used. . . . There were no sidewalks, and the streets most in use, after every rain, and for a good part of the year, were knee-deep with mud.

Indianapolis—like any western city—was a study in contrasts. Churches, Sabbath schools, and public schools quickly followed the initial settlement of the town. Newspapers, subscription libraries, and literary societies also sprang up. Benevolent organizations appeared to feed and clothe the poor and to nurse the sick. Reform-minded individuals, reflecting eastern intellectual trends, initiated societies to abolish slavery and colonize blacks, to import female teachers to the West, and to prohibit spirituous liquors. Yet these cultural achievements were wrought from a city with unpaved, stump-filled thoroughfares, no police force or street lights to speak of, and no sewage system save the hogs which roamed the streets until the middle of the century.

Conclusion

By 1850 many things about Indiana had dramatically grown and matured, but others remained changed little from the first days of settlement. Most roads were still impassable much of the year. Settlers were still clearing trees or draining prairies, and were dependent upon the agricultural demands of the South and Europe for their economic livelihood. Many Indiana counties still did not have a public grade school, let alone a seminary for higher levels of education. In spite of examples set by New Harmony and the Quakers, as much as one seventh of the state population could not read or write their names.

Historians often describe Indiana as the northern state with the largest southern population, and population studies bear out this assertion. The rural areas of the southern two thirds of the state continued to display the Upland South traditions and folkways while Yankee culture gradually overtook the cities, particularly in the central and northern parts of the state. That these two streams of culture, North and South, joined together in shaping the new state of Indiana, is fact. Just how this dynamism worked, how it affected and was affected by the frontier, and what hybrids it produced are questions that are still being studied and debated.