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A STORY IN FORM AND WORD



# A HOOSIER HISTORY

by  
DAVID LAURANCE CHAMBERS  
BASED ON THE MURAL PAINTINGS OF  
THOMAS HART BENTON

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INDIANA



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## DEDICATION

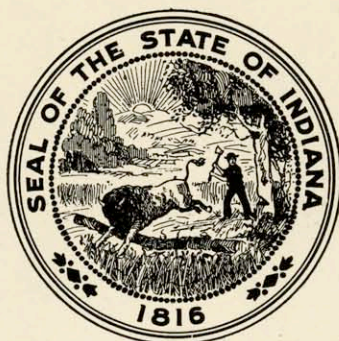


On these walls the story of our state is told—  
How to our crude frontier culture came and knowledge spread—  
How this Hoosier soil was brought to bear our bread and meat—  
How men learned skill and craftsmanship—  
Took from the earth of its abundant wealth—  
So wrought and gave this state commanding place  
In that material advance that builds the record of our nation.

The future stems from the past—  
The sweat of the pioneer is salt in the bread we daily eat.  
What of the future?  
If we maintain the same integrity—  
The strong and simple purpose that has been our heritage—  
We need not fear.  
The history of our state will move on down the long parade  
of centuries—  
Full of that same fruitfulness of man and earth  
That makes the story of our past so rich.

THOMAS HIBBEN





**I**N the lives of all men and women there come times of travail. The system of life which they have inherited inevitably develops a new series of problems that must be solved. Those who are strong look upon the necessary changes as a challenge to their ingenuity, their prowess and their integrity. They welcome the bitterness of the struggle for it is directed against man's own true enemy—himself.

In years that are gone the pioneers grew fields of produce where primeval forests once stood. They made farms out of the hunting-grounds of the fur-trappers. When the early settlers of the Northwest Territory heard the echoes of America's first revolution they organized under George Rogers Clark and drove the British back into Canada. There were many in those days who became discouraged. Confronted with the obstacles of nature and with bitter foes in the soldier from England and his Indian allies, they refused to lend their support to the plans of their leaders. But a minority, strong in character, assumed the burden of battle and privation. Their endurance and tenacity created Indiana out of a wilderness.

When the second revolution became unavoidable and civil war loomed on the horizon, the timid predicted the fall of the Union. There were those who ignored the achievements of the pioneer, and saw no hope for the future. Yet the war came, emergencies were met, the second revolution took place, and Indiana emerged from the strife, as did the United States, aware of a destiny of wider scope.

Decades passed and there came the great era of inventions. Time was conquered by speed, distance was bridged by electricity, and men left the earth to invade the sky. Indiana was no longer populated by groups of lonely and far-flung communities. Isolation vanished almost overnight, and the state looked out upon world problems

with the scope and swiftness of vision given to her by the radio, the telephone, the airplane, the newspaper, the camera, the automobile and the cinema.

Within the span of our lives the rapt pleasure in these new mediums of civilization wore away and doubt and fear crept into our thoughts, for we suddenly found ourselves in contact with economic conditions which we had thought were solved or far removed. We discovered that our new inventions were not toys, but violent weapons which would destroy us if put to ill use, or create anew for us if properly controlled. We learned but a few years ago that the days of pioneering were not over; that the struggle for the preservation of the ideals of those who founded this nation continues; that dangers to American unity as great as British conquest or civil conflict still exist. To-day we are confronted once again by battles which we thought long ago were lost or won and which must be refought on vastly larger fields.

It is particularly fitting that the people of Indiana and of America should celebrate at this time a Century of Progress. In all the history of the nation there have been no days more critical or calling for more tenacious will power than those through which we are now living. We must give attention to what mankind has been able to gather together for his own inspection at this Exposition for the world is taking an inventory. Those who come with optimism must temper their enthusiasm with keener understanding of the grimness of the future. On the other hand those who come harboring timidity must gain new determination and strength of purpose from the gigantic achievements which they will see. Courage will overcome any crisis that this nation can encounter.

*Paul M. ...*





KAUFMANN-FABRY PHOTO

### THE FEDERAL BUILDING

The creators of the World Exposition at Chicago designed the State and Federal buildings in order that they might express the unity of state and national governments. The triple towers of the Federal building overshadow the Court of the States and the Indiana Halls.



# FOREWORD

By **RICHARD LIEBER**

**Director, Indiana's Commission**

**I**N the portrayal of Indiana's part in a Century of Progress some important and indeed startling facts are revealed, of which these are a few:

That the so-called Middle West has been and is the backbone of the nation ever since George Rogers Clark captured Fort Sackville and by his master stroke made certain the end of British sovereignty so far as these United States are concerned.

That this Middle West of old was the back door of the young and struggling Republic which had to hold and did hold lest the fighting colonies on the Atlantic seaboard would be reduced to a state of abject submission under foreign rule.

That the deciding event took place within the present Indiana.

That without Clark's brilliant achievement there would be no Northwest Territory, none of its component states—no Chicago, in fact no United States as we know them.

The designation of state boundaries necessarily is an arbitrary device for the purpose of governmental administration. In most cases state lines offend against economic growth, interest and development. Yet, as a whole, the old Northwest Territory shows a virile homogeneity unsurpassed by any other national grouping. It commands a variety of natural wealth. It enjoys an equable climate and great diversity in landscape. Of this whole domain Indiana is perhaps the most typical. It was the last pioneer state. The wealth and variety of its natural resources make it practically self-subsisting. It enjoys a rare diversity of charming scenery and is populated by real folks.

So much for the facts. What of the portrait? We have tried to make it typical and by doing so reveal the forms evolved in this state through economic and social growth which is common to many of our sister states and even to the mother state, Virginia.

We have bethought ourselves of the important part in history which our section played in the building of an empire, of the heroic labors of our settlers and pioneers, men and women alike, of the devotion of teachers, preachers, of folks of science, and have never forgotten the brave struggle of those who tilled the soil, built the homes and schoolhouses and advanced culture in this, our new land of material promise, against often terrifying odds.

*Per aspera ad astra!*

Our presentation, therefore, is one of the will and deed of the people. Inferentially the observer will recognize leaders in the murals but only one, the greatest of them all, is truly portrayed. All else is the rhythmic sway of pain, labor, hope, failure and final triumphant accomplishment in which incessant toil has held the organ point of destiny.

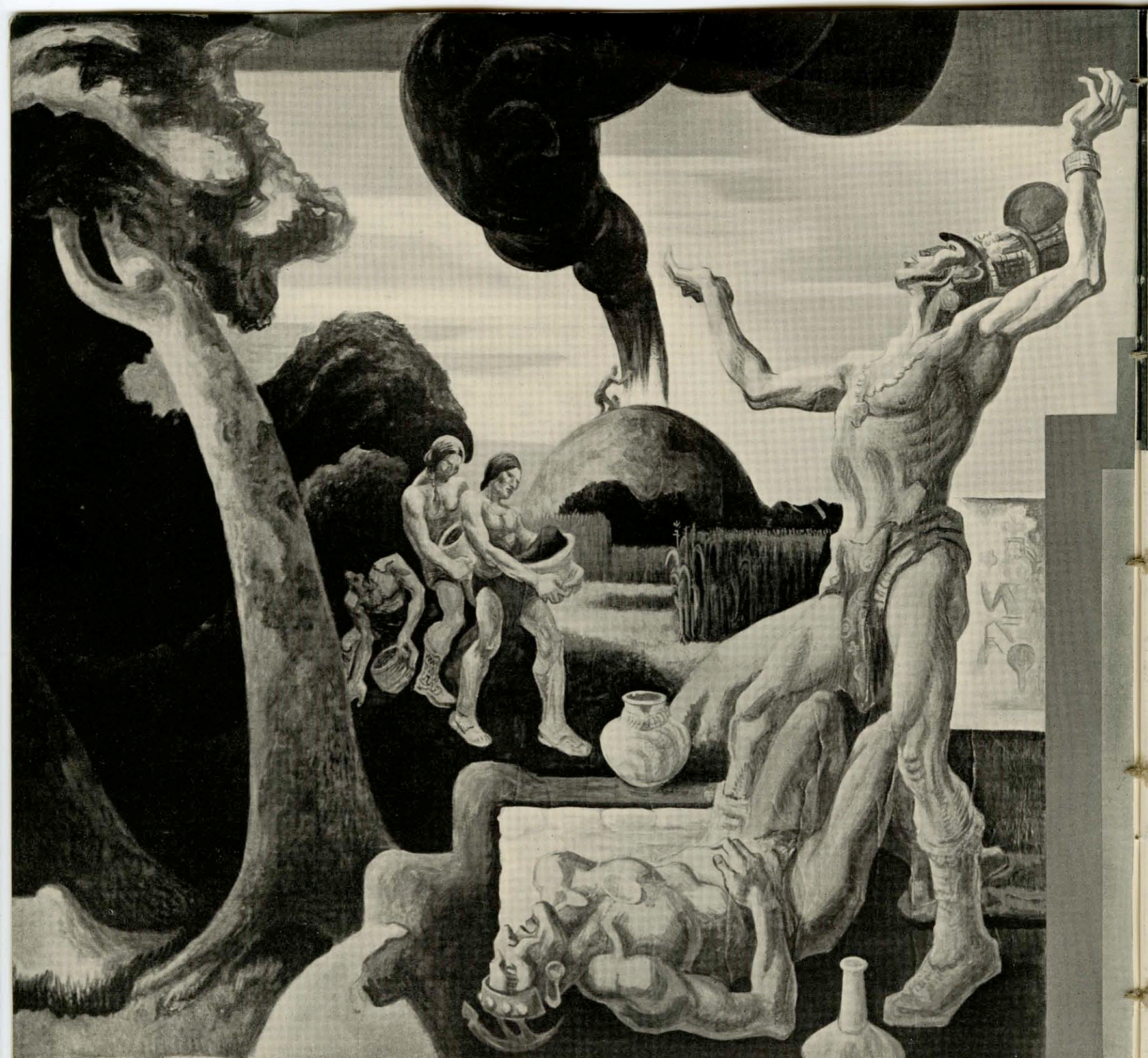
Who could depict all of this? It was necessary to find one who possessed a national point of view if the progress of the people in the land called Indiana was adequately to be reviewed. It was essential to find one who interpreted life vitally and with broad vision. Tom Hibben suggested to us Thomas Hart Benton. We knew him through his work in the New School for Research and in the Whitney Museum of American Art. Not that particular subject—for much is raw and repellent in the life of great cities—but rather the profound understanding of souls and passions attracted our attention. Benton, himself, is a product of the Middle West. By tradition and inheritance and by his own development he speaks the language of the mid-westerner. His conception, his treatment and execution are those of a genius.

All art is a form of communication between the creative artist and the beholder who receives an impression from it. The function of art is this very communication; its subject-matter is the knowledge and the understanding of the contents of the world in which we live and the artist's statements about these things. It is impossible then for an art to exist solely for itself. It must grow from a need of expression and must fulfill this function of statement. It is equally true too that no American art can arrive from European concepts. Our art must be the product of our soil and be concerned with it. It may not be judged on the merits of technical proficiency but only upon the degree of the artist's understanding of life and his ability to communicate this knowledge.

It is not necessary always to agree with Benton. Great works are often damned as much as praised, but no one may deny that the fragrance of the broken soil, the tang of the burned clearing, the sweat of the face, that the flight of roaring ambitions, that depth of pain and despair as well as exultation of success are not contained in his earnest presentation of the growth and power of our state.

We here have the cultural and material history of Indiana. The first great mural painting produced by a son of the Middle West and inspired by its native culture.





CULTURAL PANEL 1

## The Mound-Builders . . .

The first inhabitants of Indiana were Mongoloid—of one race with Mayas, Incas, Toltecs, Aztecs, Pueblos, cliff-dwellers and historic Indians. Some of these Stone Age aborigines built mounds, for burial, domicile or defense. Their imposing cones and geometric works line the Ohio, the Wabash, the Whitewater and many other streams of the state. The Mound-Builders tilled the soil, grew large fields of maize, that great gift of the Indian race to the world; cultivated tobacco and the ritual of the pipe. They had vanished before the white man came to Indiana. Why and whither? The Indians of the frontier knew of their builder kinsmen only as legendary figures. Like all the first Americans who advanced beyond the nomad stage, the Mound-Builder was noble in physique, tribal in thought. Throughout the hemisphere no record was kept of individual warrior or priest. Government was republican. There were no kings. He expressed himself in art. All the basic forms are found within the range of his remains. His shapely artifacts of flint, obsidian, copper, pearl are treasured. He humanized Nature. He turned his thoughts to eternity and fashioned his tombs for the ages. With elaborate ceremonial he would bury or cremate the dead. And patiently he carried the earth in a basket till his memorials grew majestic.



# A Hoosier History

By DAVID LAURANCE CHAMBERS

To Accompany the Mural Paintings  
of Thomas Hart Benton

SCIENTIFIC opinion leans to the belief that the New World was first occupied by Asiatic tribes who came over the short sea passage of Bering Strait from Siberia. Dr. Ales Hrdlicka has described the peopling of the New World as a steady and natural passing over of small groups, or waves, from Asia, until comparatively recent times.

To inquire when this series of migrations took place is to invite controversy. Some scientists will concede as much as ten thousand years while others argue that twenty thousand years are a more plausible span of time for the Indian to have evolved the vast number of culture types and varied languages that have existed in prehistoric America.

The cultural development of the American Indian dates from the invention of agriculture. As leisure was necessary for cultural development and esthetic attainment it may be seen what an important step forward was taken when the process of intentional planting and propagation of foods became known. Cultural development among the aborigines of the New World culminated in Peru, Central America and Mexico. This attainment is attested by the large number of temple cities with dated monuments, hieroglyphic inscriptions, masterpieces of sculpture and architecture found in the jungles of middle America.

The palaces, walls, roads and gold work of the Inca in Peru, the pyramids and temples of the Toltec, Aztec and Maya of Mexico and Central America, the cliff dwellings of the Pueblos of the Southwest, and the mounds of the Mississippi Valley area, extending to our own Ohio, Wabash, White and Whitewater Rivers, afford a material panorama of the cultural ramifications of the first Americans.

They were all one race, the pyramid- and temple-builders, the cliff-dwellers who constructed the forerunners of our modern apartment-houses, and the Mound-Builders.

Hundreds of mounds built by the prehistoric inhabitants of Indiana are still to be seen. Of the several mound types—burial, domiciliary, defensive and effigy or totemic—all are represented in Indiana except the last.

In prehistoric times Indiana acted as a buffer section where in all of the cultures found in the Ohio Valley have left remains. In Ohio the Hopewell, Adena and Fort Ancient cultures are highly developed and specialized and represent what was perhaps the acme of achievement of mound-building peoples in the north. In Indiana we have the same cultures represented in a modified form or perhaps in a less developed state, suggesting a possible migration and advancement in cultural attainment from the northwest toward the east.

The Hopewell culture is identifiable by log and stone tombs within mounds some of which are very large and accompanied by geometric earthworks, well prepared mound floors, cremation of the dead, lavish use of native copper for objects of utility and adornment; pearl beads, jaws both human and animal cut for ornamentation, zoomorphic and plain platform pipes and a unique pottery. Mounds showing one or more of these marks have been found in many Indiana counties, from Laporte to Warrick.

The Adena culture is identified by log tombs of the unfilled type constructed below the original ground level and forming a central burial in large conical mounds; a peculiar type of expanded center gorget, leaf-shaped blades of flint, tubular

pipes of stone and clay, copper used exclusively for objects of adornment, practically no cremations and sandstone tablets bearing broad, shallow grooves. In our state it seems confined to the Whitewater Valley.

The Ford Ancient culture is recognized by large and heavily occupied village sites, a type of pottery decoration, extensive use of bone for objects of utility and adornment, triangular arrows and, most important, the construction of hilltop forts such as Fort Ancient in Warren County, Ohio.

In Indiana it is represented along the Ohio River and its tributaries from the Ohio state line to a point as yet undetermined. A large village site near Lochry's Creek in Ohio County and a hilltop fort in Dearborn County are characteristic.

An upthrust of one of the southern mound-building cultures is found along the Ohio River and up the Wabash as far as Sullivan County. A characteristic terraced temple mound of large proportions surrounded by smaller tumuli may be seen near Evansville in Vanderburgh County. Objects removed from some of these mounds years ago stamp them as distinctly southern in origin. Artifacts from a site at the mouth of the Wabash, from the "Bone Bank" in Posey County and from Merom in Sullivan County serve to show the trend from the pyramid and temple-builders of Mexico.

A patient agrarian people, these Mound-Builders, far more concerned with preparing permanent habitation for the eternal dead than comfortable houses for the momentary living. With no mechanical contrivance to ease their pious labor, they carried the earth in baskets till the memorial home of the departed had reached imposing size. Plague, social and cultural decadence, changes in environmental conditions possibly contributed to the cessation of this characteristic of paying homage to the dead. All the Mound-Builders had gone before the white man came to Indiana. The Indians of the early frontier knew of them only as legendary figures. Their bones and kitchen-middens have fructified the soil of Indiana. The products of their art still delight us. Their mighty works fire the imagination and link us, in fascination, to the prehistoric past of Man. \* \* \* \* \*

Kinsmen they were, but no one may with certainty trace tribe by tribe the relationship of the Mound-Builders to the Indians of history. It is clear that the red men whom the explorers found in the Old Northwest were far indeed from that plane of living to which the noblest of the Mound-Builders had attained. To the great Algonquian race belonged the Miami, the tribe peculiarly associated with Indiana.

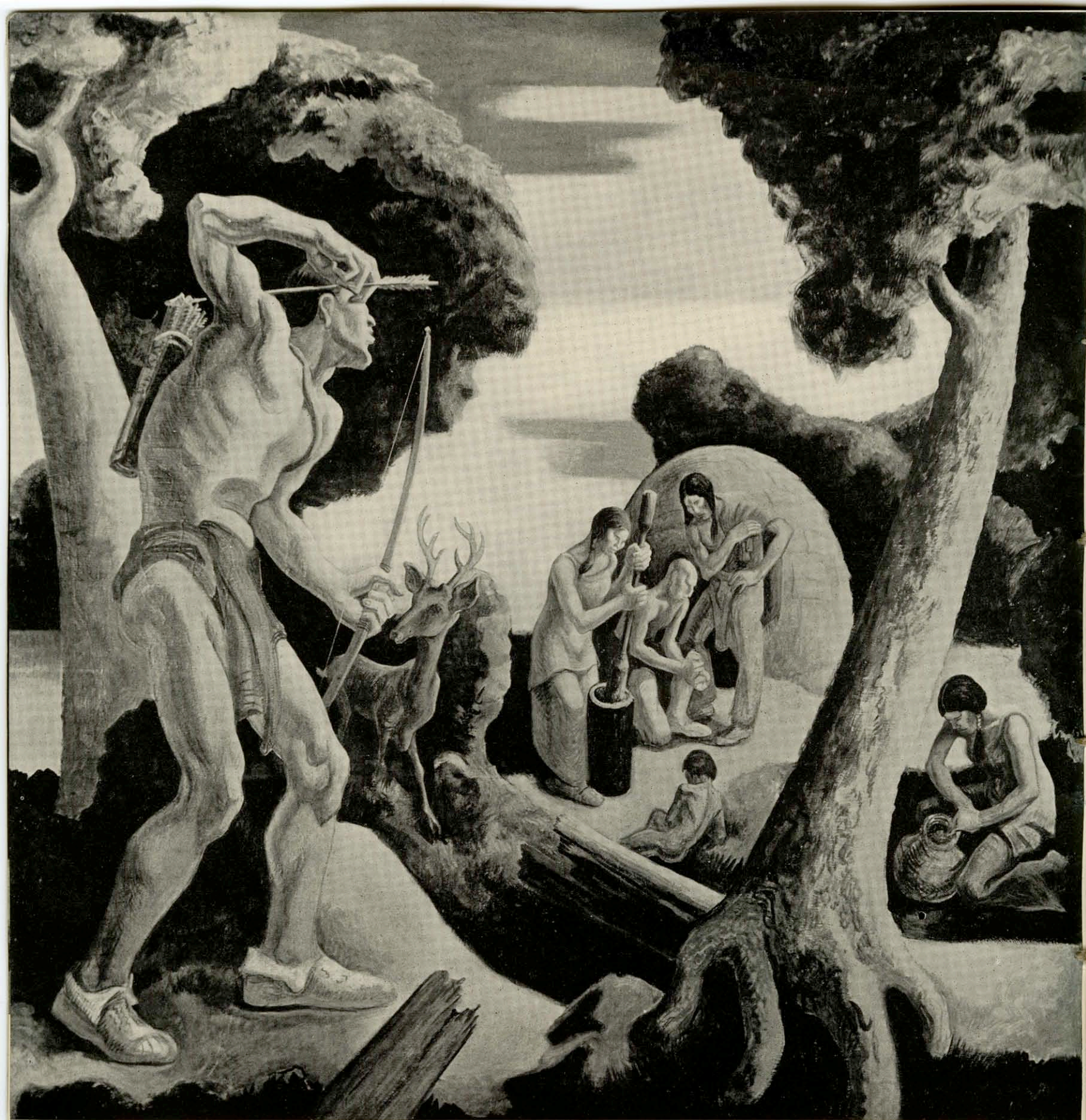
Red men they were not, but brown, with dark eyes and brilliant black hair, of medium height, slim, sinewy, narrow-waisted, swift of foot. On tapering legs they moved with proud and graceful steps. Their teeth were fine and very white. Their heads were round rather than oblong, their cranial capacity somewhat less than the white man's.

But vermilion paint was on the faces of the men, and, naked except for the breech-clout, they tattooed their bodies with all sorts of colors in all sorts of figures and panels. It was different with the women. Even the Jesuit fathers confessed their costume modest.

And somehow the faces even of the men were found agreeable. Their vivacity is frequently noted by the first-coming whites, their talkative good nature, their fondness for a joke.







INDUSTRIAL PANEL 1

## The Indians . . .

The Indians whom the early explorers found in Indiana were Algonquian, mostly of the Miami tribe. Of a culture far below the noble Mound-Builders, their simple craft was limited to domestic use, to weaponry and adornment. With bow and flint-tipped arrow they fought their brother braves, hunted the abundant game. Few indeed were the parts of any animal they could not turn to purpose as food, raiment, ornament. Their bowls were generally of wood, their cups of shell. But the squaws could make crude pottery and baskets, fashion mats of rush or flag to cover their houses, twist bark into ropes, employ bark for many things where we use board. The Miami of the Wabash were famous as cannibals, but famous also as corn-growers. With rude instruments they cleared, broke, prepared the rich earth, ground the grain. Their fields spread far, farther than elsewhere in all America, from Canada to Florida, and their corn was of the best grade. Reputed the freest of mankind, tribal custom and public opinion bound them about with rigid tabus. Their government was slight, informal, democratic. Age and wisdom gave authority in council. The proved capacity of self-selected leaders was all that counted in war and priest-craft. No chief had a semblance of absolute power.



Only their excessive dignity on public occasions, their stoicism in suffering, account for their reputation of silent moroseness.

And their indolence, too, was often remarked, but with doubtful justice, and not to be taken without salt. Life was a jewel kept only by constant vigilance against constant menace, and with much toil.

It is true that game abounded, game of great variety. There were fish in the rivers. And everywhere were wild fruits, nuts, berries, edible roots and greens. But corn was the staff of life. The Miami were great corn-growers, and the French said their corn was fine, finer than that at Detroit. The corn belt was already in the making. You are quite at fault if you think of Indiana as all forest, prairie, dune, marsh and stream when the white man found it.

Nor is it fair to suppose that the burden of existence fell all on the squaws. True, they must plant, tend and harvest the corn, grind the meal, fetch the fuel, cook, build and care for the dwellings, carry all the baggage on the march. But it was social labor, with room for gossip and laughter. The frontier white women knew less relief from drudgery. To the brave went the duty of hunting and of war, and hunting was hard and dangerous, and war always lurking and desperately dangerous. His life in war, his livelihood in peace, his reputation in both depended on his skill as bowman.

There was time for relaxation and sport, time and a liking for games, games of skill, of chance, guessing games, religious games. The Miami were famous gamblers, good with the dice, and ready to stake their literal all on a throw.

The glorious profusion of rush and tree supplied many of their modest needs. In stony, snaggy streams the Miami had little care for canoes, and used dugouts instead, but if they wanted canoes they made them of water-elm or hickory, and with evergreen gum stopped the joints. Bark, boiled, twisted, braided, gave them rope; from bark they made tables for drying corn, sugar troughs, boxes and other things for which we use boards. They made a crude pottery and probably wove baskets of a sort, though early visitors do not note this peculiarly of the Miami. Their bowls were mostly of wood, and their smaller cups, spoons and scrapers, of shell.

Alvord distinguishes two types of dwelling among the Illinois, near neighbors and affiliates of the Miami: oblong cabins in the villages, substantially built, water-tight and warm, with large sheets of flag or rush mats covering a frame work of parallel rows of saplings bent together and lashed at the top. From six to twelve families, as many as fifty or sixty people, might live in such a house. On the hunting trips mats were spread over a few poles for quick and simple shelter.

The Indian was at once individualist, republican and communist, free and bound. Land was held by the tribe. Bequeathed to them by the ancestor in sacred trust for their descendants, it might be granted to others for use, but its cession for permanent possession was unthinkable. The *mores*, tribal custom, tribal opinion hedged brave and squaw about with rigid tabu. The head of the family guided the family council, heads of families made up the clan council, heads of clans composed the tribe council, for civil decisions. War was seldom organized, and rarely the whole tribe took part. The individual brave would declare himself for the war-path and invite comrades to join him, to avenge a real or fancied wrong, or just because he felt in the mood for glory. His advancement depended entirely on his proved capacity. The medicine-men were equally self-chosen. No chieftain had a semblance of absolute power.

The Miami were notorious cannibals in war, and continued the practise longer than any of the other tribes. When famine struck, bodies of kinsmen would be eaten. Torture of prisoners was developed to a fine art.

The Miami claimed the limits of the future state by right of immemorial and "undisputed" occupancy. But the Iroquois claimed it by right of a conquest. The Miami, who had themselves been migrants from the East, fled to Wisconsin, where the first missionaries found them, and some beyond the Father of Waters. Fear of the Iroquois left few Indians in Indiana then, but after a while they drifted back to their old

haunts. Miami bands included the Wea, the Piankashaw, the Pepikokia, etc. The English called them Twightwees from the cry of the crane, one of their totems. Kekionga at the head of the Maumee was the chief village of the Miami proper; Ouiatenon, near Lafayette, was the headquarters of the Weas. The Miami were all along the Wabash. They have given their name to three rivers. How numerous were they? Cadillac says that in 1695 three thousand were killed in warfare by the Sioux. There must have been many before that. French estimates range from fifteen hundred warriors in 1718 to five hundred fifty in 1736; English from eight hundred in 1763 to a thousand the next year. There were four women for one man and polygamy was common. It is doubtful if there is one full-blooded Miami alive to-day.

The shifting of nomadic tribes is very confusing, but as the map of history begins to fill in other Algonquians are found in Indiana besides the Miami—Potawatomi to the north, pushing down from Michigan; Wyandotte and Shawnee along the Ohio; Delaware in hunting-grounds of the White River Valley by permission of the Miami. The Munsee, who have left their name to the city of Muncie, were a branch of the Delaware. \* \* \* \* \*

The first missionaries in Indiana were Jesuits. The first settlers were French. And the Jesuits were responsible for the first French expansion to the west.

It may be that in 1675 the saintly Marquette passed through the northwestern corner of the state and saw the Dunes on his sad and fatal journey toward Mackinac. It is certain that Father Allouez, his successor in the Illinois country, preached the Cross to the Indians of the St. Joseph Valley in the course of his wide and tireless journeyings.

No wonder these people, who saw no connection between belief in the supernatural and moral conduct and who when they ate the enemy's heart thought they appropriated the enemy's courage, were a puzzle to the devout missionaries. But of all the western tribes the Jesuits declared that they found the Miami of Indiana "the most civil and liberal and having a docility with no savor of barbarism."

It was, however, less because of the character of the Indians, and still less because of their supernaturalism, than because of the character of the sowers of the seed, that so many warriors of the Wabash came soon to wear around their necks the symbol of the Savior's suffering. *The Jesuit Relations* are an extraordinary record of extraordinary men who endured unparalleled hardship, suffering and sacrifice. Alone or side by side with the explorer, the pioneer priest pushed out from Quebec into the trackless forest, through all the Lake country, to the Mississippi, and over the portages and down the streams brought the word to the prairies. In labors more abundant, in deaths oft, in journeyings without number, in perils of waters, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the wilderness, in perils among their own false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness, they strove to free the tribes from the mummery of the medicine men. Many were tomahawked, some burned at the stake. Torture only spurred their zeal. True Frenchmen, true gentlemen, they showed a never-failing courtesy which was not lost on a race that practised ceremonial deference. The Black Robes of the eighteenth century won a love and respect that the Indian never accorded the emissaries of another sect.

Their influence, if measured in terms of a change of the Indian heart, would seem slight and temporary. It is to be recognized rather in the restraint they exercised over *coureurs de bois* and *voyageurs*, and the ministry they rendered to the inhabitants of the French posts.

Of these posts the most populous and important was at Vincennes, and it was small and of slow growth. In 1769 there were only sixty-six heads of families there, with fifty women and one hundred and fifty children; while at Fort Ouiatenon, near Lafayette, there were but twelve heads of families, and at Fort Miami, the present Fort Wayne, only nine. These latter were trading-posts. At Vincennes alone there was a true agrarian life. The first inhabitants were soldiers, King's troops, not of the famous Regiment Calignan-









Salières, as has often been stated, but rather offscourings of the Paris streets. Then came some families of colonists from Canada, and a real settlement began. A few were of the gentry. But by far the greater number were peasants of the Old Régime, and so they remained. The fur-trader who was a transient of the village might go native for a season in the wilderness, take unto himself a new Indian wife every eight days and start a depraved, half-breed generation, but the true *habitant* was conservative, respecting the Church, obeying the law courts, deferring to the notary, holding to the old ways.

They had their commons of woodland and pasture land, and the upkeep of the communal fence was a matter of last concern to the fatherly commandant. In their long slim separate plots of common ground they broke the soil with a huge wooden plow. The neat white-washed log-houses fronted on narrow streets, each had its picket fence and inside the fence were fruit trees and gardens of flowers and vegetables. For the most part the houses were of one story, with dormer windows, and of four rooms, surrounded by "galleries" or porches. Some pieces of the furniture might have come from Quebec, or even from France, but most of it was home-made and crude. Indian mats were stretched on the floor. Pictures of the Savior's Passion or the Blessed Virgin hung on the walls.

Here the *habitants* lived in friendly ease. The strenuous and superior English were disposed to exclaim over their indolence and accused them of being "a parcel of Canadian renegadoes, worse than the Indians," or, in time of excitement, "a whooping and yelling rabble, nearly as destitute of discipline as the savages themselves." But this was quite unfair to the French settler in his wont and at his normal best. His ways were patriarchal, thrifty and frugal, honest, kindly and public-spirited. His courtesy was as charming as his hospitality was liberal. He loved to make merry and took many an occasion.

There were feast-days and Sundays after Mass for visiting, dancing—a fiddle was in every home—and playing cards. The priest would drop in. Mardi Gras must be observed with notable entertainment—a contest of flopping pancakes, a feast, and dancing till midnight. On New Year's calls were made and the buxom hostess presented her cheek for a good-by kiss. Sugar-making time was a fine time for love-making. The signing of the prenuptial contract before the notary called for a great celebration, and the wedding a greater still that might last all night long or even for three days. On the gallery at home incessant card playing went on—and not always for a stake. All the home parties were marked by bonhomie and decorum. But it must be admitted that at the tavern the boisterous fun sometimes got out of hand. There was a deal of heavy drinking.

## The French . . .

The first missionaries in Indiana were Jesuits. They were responsible for French expansion to the west. With apostolic zeal, with lion-hearted courage and with Christian ingratiating the Black Robes carried the message of the Cross from Quebec to the Mississippi, through the Lake country and south of the Lakes. Of all the western tribes they found the Miami of Indiana the most civil and liberal and having a docility with no savor of barbarism. The only religious establishment in Indiana during the French and the English days was Roman Catholic. The only church was a frame chapel at Vincennes, later replaced by the Cathedral of St. Francis Xavier. First of Indiana colonists, the Canadians at Vincennes were mostly peasants of the Old Régime. They clung to the old ways. Happy and tranquil lives they led, full of laughter and singing, fiddling and dancing, drinking and card-playing. The English called them lazy, but they were good citizens. The French adventure was the most romantic in Indiana history. A few families of French descent, a few names on the map are all that survives. When English homeseekers knocked at the gates of the West, the age of the River Boatmen began: a tough and lusty breed, half-horse, half-alligator, brave, resourceful, jovial, ready for rum or a brawl, cockful of fight.

The social as well as the religious life of the village centered in the Church. In front of it were held those assemblages for the election of certain officers and the decision of public questions which bear a resemblance to the New England town meeting. The church was the most prominent building. At first it was a frame chapel built in 1770 by the people in gratitude to Father Gibault, later the friend and helper of George Rogers Clark, for coming to them in the lonely time that followed the banishment of the Jesuits from Louisiana. In 1785 it was replaced by the old Cathedral of St. Francis Xavier, a building ninety feet long by forty-two broad, of upright boards chunked and daubed and covered with a rough coat of ce-

ment. The corner-stone of the present edifice, on the same site, was laid in 1826, and it was finished some twenty-five years later.

The first resident priest at Vincennes was Father Sebastian Louis Meurin, who began his career in 1742. He was followed by Fathers Du Jaunay, Vivier and Devernai.

Meanwhile there was developing on the Wabash, and especially on the Ohio and the Mississippi, a mobile life almost as individual and distinctive as the settled life at Vincennes. Both French and English claimed the Valley of the Ohio by right of discovery or patent. Both were soon sending their furs down the waters, at first in canoes, some as long as thirty-six feet, and in dugouts, and later in galley bateaux. But when in the English penetration homeseekers began knocking at the gates of the West, that colorful primitive period passed. Then, say about 1765, began the Flatboat Age, or, if you prefer, the Age of the River Boatmen. The flatboat became the most popular and useful craft, beloved by "moving families." It might have been built for a particular family or group of families. Some flatboats were without covering, but had a cabin forward for the human passengers and a shed aft for the animals. Those partly covered were called "Kentucky boats"; those fully covered and designed for long trips, "New Orleans boats." The flatboat, in the more specific sense, was rectangular and boarded up two or three feet. Sweeps propelled it on both sides, with a long oar astern for rudder and a gouger, or short oar, in front. To be distinguished from the flatboat, which "never came back," being always sold for lumber when it reached its destination, was the keelboat, ribbed of stout planks about a heavy piece of timber, which was practical for up-stream use.

As the number and variety of craft increased on the rivers, a class of professional boatmen developed. Bravery they must have, first of all, because peril might come any moment from floating ice, hidden bar or snags, or heavy wind or treacherous current; from Indians, cutthroats, renegades or the outlaws of Cave-in-Rock. Life was hard labor or tedious lethargy, punctuated by sudden bursts of excitement when the boatman became in a twinkling "a combination of rubber ball, wildcat and shrieking maniac." A tough and hardy lot of jovial fellows, tanned to Indian darkness, dressed in frontier garb, fond of rum, rebellion and a roughhouse.

Few men, once initiated, could give up the river life. But a few who left it became distinguished in history. ❖ ❖ ❖

The Indian was the trail blazer of progress. He guided the explorer. To save his soul the missionary, to get his game the trader, plunged into the wilderness.

At Quebec Talon, the great Intendant, and Frontenac, the great Governor, speeded exploration of the West to find a passage to the South Seas. It is possible that Joliet, after his discovery of the Mississippi, touched foot on Indiana soil in 1673. It is generally believed that Robert Cavelier de la Salle, that figure dauntless, unpopular and undismayed, traced the southern boundary of Indiana in the winter of 1669-70 at least as far as the Falls of the Ohio, though priority in the actual discovery of la Belle Rivière is now generally given to the English. Between 1679 and 1683 it is certain that La Salle was all through Indiana.

His brain conceived the idea of a great chain of forts looping from Quebec to the mouth of the Mississippi. The ministers of Louis XIV strained to execute it. Three of these posts were established in Indiana, as we have seen.

The feverish haste of the French to forge this chain had nothing to do with an imaginary South Sea passage. Its motive was to secure the vast resources of that vast interior which their explorers had revealed. In particular it was designed to encompass the fur trade, which was developing rapidly to great proportions, and defend it against English encroachment.

To gain peltry, not to possess land, was the ruling passion of the Europeans in the competition for the Old Northwest, a struggle that again and again would bring the crack of the rifle, the flash of the scalping knife, and drench the soil in blood.





INDUSTRIAL PANEL 2



The French aspects of the exploitation for fur are more familiar knowledge than the middle-class English penetration, partly because of the colorful character of the French leaders whose deeds capture the imagination, partly because of the picaresque and picturesque life of the French traders.

*Coueurs de bois* and *voyageurs* are favorites of song and story. Strictly, a distinction must be drawn. The *coueurs de bois* were unlicensed traders, the *voyageurs* licensed. Oppressed by the blue laws of Old Quebec, a religious regimen more puritanical than that of Massachusetts Bay, Youth, even Gilded Youth, untrained to labor, turned to the wilderness for natural outlet and for needed gain. They became "runners of the woods." These bushlopers, these guerrilla of the beaver war, were the worry of the priest, the concern of government seeking to protect the legitimate trade.

As to this, a *bourgeois* with the capital for a season's trade, would acquire a license to enter the Indian country and hire men called *voyageurs* to take the goods in canoes to the point of sale. Knives, beads, wampum, blankets, guns, firewater and all manner of trinkets would be bartered for valuable pelts. Gradually the independent trader gave way to great monopolistic companies employing many.

In the strife with the French for Indian furs, the English had the disadvantage of their feeling of racial superiority.

But the British had the immense advantage of a compact and much larger population, a bludgeon to break the thin bow of French forts; the immense advantage, too, of direct short route to the Indian country as against the long tedious French roundabout.

By the middle of the eighteenth century they had begun to push beyond the mountains. Traders of Virginia and Pennsylvania had thrust their frontier five hundred miles past the settled frontier to threaten the French trade on the Maumee and the Wabash and the portage between them that was counted the Bridge of Empire. Of these pioneers the most famous was George Croghan, Irishman of Pennsylvania, because he was not only trader but born diplomat. In 1748 he negotiated a treaty with the Miami which advanced the English intercourse. By then the third French and Indian war was over, the English had swept the French fleets from the sea, gained a virtual monopoly of many things popular in the Indian trade and an ability to undersell with many others. At the end of the fourth war, French dominion in the New World was definitely smashed. All their possessions and claims east of the Mississippi, except New Orleans, were ceded to the English, all west, and New Orleans, to Spain. The British were on the Rock of Quebec. British garrisons

promptly took over Forts Miami and Ouiatenon. But there the course of Empire suddenly stopped.

For the alarm to the Indians had been immediate. The English, thrifty but impolitic, had curtailed the giving of gifts. Into Indian ears the persistent French fur-traders were whispering that the English intended to drive out all the forest children and turn their hunting haunts into farms; that the French Father was coming across the water with an army to support them. A leader arose to the Indian emergency. Pontiac, the Ottawa, organized the Algonquians, struck like lightning. At Miami Ensign Holmes was slain, and the garrison surrendered; at Ouiatenon Lieutenant Jenkins and his soldiers were taken prisoner. Post after post fell in the Northwest. It took all of Croghan's negotiat-

ing skill to restore peace. Sent down the Ohio on a mission of conciliation, he was captured at mouth of the Wabash, taken to Vincennes, of whose *habitants* he conceived a poor opinion. But in successive conferences with the tribes at Ouiatenon, Miami and Detroit he established ascendancy by tact and excellent good sense. The British occupation was formally completed. A great empire of fur had been won to the Crown.

The British attempted no civil government, and these were tough times for the settlers at Vincennes.

Now that they had the Northwest, what were they to do with it? By a proclamation of 1763 they reserved to the Indians the land beyond the heads of the Atlantic rivers. The changing governments at home were not sure of their policy. Some ministers favored a quick expansion, others a controlled expansion, others still no expansion at all but only a fur-trading reservation. The pragmatic colonists took things in their own hands. To the south of the Ohio they came in a stream. North of the river, settlement waited on the Revolution. But trading went forward with a boom and rush. Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, of Philadelphia, one of the great trading companies, started stores at Vincennes and other points. They had six hundred pack-horses to carry their goods by land, and three hundred and fifty boatmen to convey them on the Ohio. These goods included everything from jew's-harps to scarlet cloth, from nose crosses to brass piping, and, of course, rum, paint, wampum.

The last step of the British régime was the annexation of the Northwest to the Province of Quebec by the much denounced Quebec Act, with Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hamilton assigned to Detroit, and Lieutenant-Governor Edward Abbott to Vincennes. But the time was nearly over when king or minister beyond the wide Atlantic reaches could by a nod or a flourish of his pen decide the fate of Indiana. ❖ ❖

At the beginning of the Revolutionary War the English and the Americans contested for the Indians' friendship, with the Americans at a disadvantage because they lacked the manufactured goods needed in the Indian trade and because to Indian eyes English fur trade meant happiness but American settlement spelled ruin.

George Rogers Clark, a Virginian, a major of militia in Virginia's county of Kentucky, became apprized of the vulnerable state of the British posts in the Illinois. After a conference at Williamsburg Governor Patrick Henry commissioned Clark to undertake an expedition into the Northwest, which Virginia claimed by her charter of 1609. With great difficulty he raised some one hundred and seventy-five men. Down the Ohio to the mouth of the Tennessee traveled the tiny army of frontiersmen in buckskin clothes and coonskin caps; thence by land to the Kaskaskia. Town and fort fell without a struggle. The French inhabitants, won over quickly by the lure of liberty and the news of the Franco-American alliance, helped to take other posts in the Illinois.

Clark's next move was to send Dr. Laffont and Father Gibault to Vincennes, where there was now no English governor or garrison, to gain the French there, too, to the American cause. They were trusted and beloved, and warmly welcomed. The *habitants* raised the American flag. Clark dispatched Captain Helm to command the militia.

Some months later "Hair-buyer" Hamilton from Detroit appeared before Vincennes with a sizable body of French volunteers and Indians. He demanded the surrender of the fort. Captain Helm wanted to know the terms. He was promised "the honors of war." And Helm and one private, all that made that garrison, marched out.

Hamilton repaired Fort Sackville. Supposing himself immune for the winter, he dismissed most of the militia to Detroit and the Indians to their villages. But at Vincennes was Francis Vigo, Italian born, sometime soldier and now trader of Spain, but also a noble American patriot who was to ruin himself for the cause. With flying paddles he brought the news to Clark at Kaskaskia that Hamilton was unprepared and that the post might be captured by surprise attack.

The march of Clark's two hundred to Vincennes, two hundred and forty wilderness miles, across four rivers in flood

## The Fur-Traders

The French explorer of the Old Northwest followed the Indian trails. The English penetration came almost as soon. Between the two nations developed a race for the immensely valuable fur trade. To capture it the French built a loop of forts from Quebec to New Orleans. There were three posts in Indiana: Miami, Ouiatenon and, conspicuously, Vincennes. Portages became prizes. The romantic French leaders, their picturesque *coueurs de bois* and *voyageurs* are celebrated. Less familiar is the sifting through of the British traders. George Croghan, Irish diplomat, was the ablest among them. The strife for peltry was again and again to sprinkle the Indiana forests with blood. In the battle for furs the English lacked the French intimacy with the Indian. Commerce is not promoted by contempt. Both nations debauched the Indian trader with drink, edged his menace with the bartering of firearms. The English had the advantage of compact population, straighter route to the Indian country, cheaper goods. In a succession of wars they broke the French power. Their occupation of the Northwest was arrested by the bloody conspiracy of Pontiac, quickened with fear lest Indian hunting-ground become English farm. In conferences on Indiana soil Croghan conciliated the braves. The day was nearly done when the fate of Indiana rested with king or minister beyond the Atlantic.







INDUSTRIAL PANEL 3



and over land drowned neck-high in icy water, is an anabasis of American heroism. It was a movement as calculated as it was intrepid, by all odds the most adventurous and daring campaign of the Revolution. Surprise was its essence, and gallantry. Exhausted men sang under Clark's encouragement. Arrived at last before the fort it was fine sport for the sons of liberty to pick off the gunners at the port-holes. Hamilton soon had enough of such sharp-shooting. On January 25, 1779, he surrendered to Clark's "army," of whom French traders and *habitants* made no inconsiderable part. Fort Sackville became Fort Patrick Henry. The Indians knuckled to Clark's confidence. Secured from attack, more settlers—twenty thousand in two years—poured into Kentucky.

When the time came to make peace it is an open question whether Clark's conquest, or Prime Minister Shelburne's desire to win the United States from sentiments of allegiance to France, led to the cession of the lands west of the mountains. But the fact of possession must have counted for much. The royal title in this land of ours was extinguished.

In 1782 the Virginian county of Illinois came to an end. One by one all the seaboard states claiming lands beyond the Alleghenies passed them over to the United States, and these became the "Public Domain." The Confederation Congress passed the famous Ordinance of 1787 for the Government of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, embracing the present states of Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. General Arthur St. Clair, a veteran of the Revolution, was named the first governor. Cincinnati became the capital of the Northwest Territory.

Within a year after the Territory was organized twenty thousand homeseekers passed down the Ohio. That fear of American settlement which had led the Indians to side with the British in the Revolution they now felt was more than justified. And they felt that they were still under the protection and encouragement of the British in resisting the encroachment. The peace treaty had provided that the posts on the Great Lakes be given up, but they had not been given up. The British fur-trader was here, there, everywhere. He wanted the Northwest an Indian buffer state. The Indians knew what he wanted and that many in the government at home and in Canada felt the same way.

It was a hard problem the new government had to face, a stern reality. The Indians were on the war-path. Five military expeditions were needed against them between 1790 and 1794, and most of them proved abortive. One led by Governor St. Clair himself with much trumpeting met with terrific defeat at the hands of Little Turtle, the able chief of the Miami. But Mad Anthony Wayne took full revenge at the

Battle of Fallen Timbers, and by the Treaty of Greenville secured the cession of half Ohio and smaller tracts in Indiana. Wayne's victory insured peace to the frontier for fifteen years.

Because of the Indian fighting decided growth in population north of the Ohio did not come until the coming of the new century. By 1800 there were more than two hundred thousand people in Kentucky, more than one hundred thousand in Tennessee, but only fifty thousand in all the Old Northwest, and of these nearly ninety per cent. were in Ohio. In that year Ohio was split off, and all the western district reorganized as Indiana Territory. The name, Indiana, was not newly coined. It had been used before for a traders' grant in West Virginia but had passed into desuetude. Vincennes became the capital and President Adams appointed as

governor William Henry Harrison, son of the old governor of Virginia. In 1805 Michigan was separated; and in 1809 the Territory of Illinois was erected from that portion of Indiana Territory west of the lower Wabash and a line drawn due north from Vincennes. So Indiana shrank toward its familiar proportions.

At the beginning of the territorial period, almost all of Indiana was Indian country. Harrison went relentlessly after the extinguishment of Indian titles. By a succession of treaties between 1803 and 1809 he gained the whole southern third. He paid as high as a cent an acre but he promised the President he would do better next time. This was naturally the part to have his first attention. The Ohio River was the great route of travel into Indiana. Settlers spread from the south.

The flatboat and the Conestoga wagon were the vehicles of the migration. The Conestoga, that frigate of the land, came rumbling and creaking along, huge, heavy, broad-wheeled, with a bed higher at each end to prevent the load from shifting or spilling. A curved white cloth topped it. It was drawn by four to six horses, with the driver riding a wheel-horse. To the crying of children, the singing of earnest, wistful women, the covered wagon was now beginning an advance that would continue clear to Oregon.

The pioneers followed all possible lines of travel and located in the most unexpected places. They took the river courses; or the buffalo traces, paths worn by the herds going north to the salt licks and feeding grounds; or the Indian trails, dark, difficult, lonely and dangerous; or, in time, the rudest of forest roads, cleared just enough to permit the passage of the wagons, and "blazed" by marking the trees with an ax. Likely a journey over these roads would be a wallowing through mud. The bogs of the southern woods could be made passable only by laying a "corduroy" of poles side by side, perhaps for miles, and perhaps weighted down with dirt so the poles would not float away when the water rose.

It is not to be supposed that all the pioneers waited on the treaties. Many had fought in the Revolution, and a veteran of King's Mountain or Eutaw Springs was not of a temper to let miserable savages tell him that he might go so far and no farther. Before the purchases could be made, some would be pushing north for new homes. And almost every day they would be attacked by Indians from ambush, watching for a chance to shoot the trespassers.

Harrison was always pressing for more land. In 1809 he met at Fort Wayne some fourteen hundred Indians, including Miami, Wea, Delaware and Potawatomi, and for ten thousand dollars bought from them a tract of three million acres lying between the Wabash and the east fork of the White. But this for a while was an end to buying.

War came again, bitter and bloody. The Indian was out to defend the Wabash as before he had fought for the Ohio. And the British trader was there to give encouragement. As Pontiac arose before to lead them, now came the twin-brethren of the Shawnee, the one-eyed Prophet, Elkswatawa, and the handsome, brave and eloquent Tecumseh, preaching a return to the old ways of the bow and arrow, denouncing the treaties and drink and agriculture, claiming divine power to shield the brave from death. The braves thronged to them.

While Tecumseh was off south on an alleged "peace" mission, Governor Harrison assembled an army of nearly a thousand, some regulars, some mounted, militia of Indiana and volunteers of Kentucky, "a fine body of men," and marched on Prophet's Town, on the upper Wabash near the mouth of the Tippecanoe. Encamped within a mile or two of the town, they were attacked in the early hours of the morning and won there, on November 7, 1811, a victory costly but more important, after the capture of Fort Sackville, than any other gained on Indiana ground. Ten counties of the later state were named for soldiers of Tippecanoe.

The West was clamoring for open war with England, in whom, justly or unjustly, she saw the thrifty instigator of the Indian troubles. When the President yielded to the war-hawks of the West and war was declared, it struck the exposed

## Pioneers . . .

Most adventurous of Revolutionary campaigns was the march of George Rogers Clark across the drowned lands of the Wabash to the capture of Fort Sackville at Vincennes. The treaty of peace confirmed the new nation's possession of the Northwest. Royal titles to Indiana soil were for ever extinguished. But the Indian fur-trader remained. He wanted this land to be an Indian buffer abounding in game. He encouraged the warriors in armed resistance to the advancing farmers. William Henry Harrison defeated The Prophet at Tippecanoe, Tecumseh and the British at the Battle of the Thames. The War of 1812 left the fur trade all American but slowly dying in the Indiana Country. The Ordinance of 1787 erected one district northwest of the Ohio. From it by gradual curtailment Indiana Territory emerged in the map's familiar outlines. By purchase treaties Governor Harrison extinguished Indian titles but not Indian opposition. Up from the Ohio the pioneers spread in a skirmish line. By stream, trace, trail and corduroy road they straggled north to find new homes. On water the flatboat, on land the Conestoga wagon were the transports of Empire. Everywhere the Indians attacked from ambush. But the savage must yield to the dominant race. In 1816 Indiana had the sixty thousand citizens required for statehood.







frontier in a kaleidoscope of terror and battle: pioneers along the Wabash and the White fleeing before the newly active Shawnee brethren; twenty-two massacred at Pigeon Roost in what is now Scott County, the most diabolical event in our history; Captain Zachary Taylor beating down fire and beating off Indians at Fort Harrison north of Terre Haute; Indians besieging, Harrison relieving, Fort Wayne; Campbell fiercely attacked on the Mississinewa; settlers in southern Indiana living in blockhouses; Major Tipton and the militia pursuing Indian bands, Colonel Bartholomew and his mounted rangers destroying Indian villages; at long last Harrison defeating Proctor and Tecumseh at the battle of the Thames and breaking the back of the western war.

The Treaty of Ghent made no change in the territories of the two nations but it put a quietus for ever on the persisting English idea of the Northwest as an Indian buffer state. Indiana at last was out of the King business.

After 1816 the fur trade within our boundaries was confined to our own citizens. In place of the Canadian merchants, John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company sent its fleets of canoes from the rendezvous at Mackinac down the east shore of Lake Michigan to the Maumee-Wabash country. Their chief competitors were the Ewings of Fort Wayne, who shipped out of Indiana beaver, mink, otter, martin, muskrat, raccoon, wildcat, red fox, deer skin and bear skin, and shipped into Indiana sheeting, shirting, shawls, saddles, calico, cut glass, ivory combs, ear-bobs, ear-wheels, hose, head-bands, handkerchiefs, beads, brooches, branding wire, fox-tail feathers, fine ribbons, tobacco, tinware, nails, red-handled scalping knives and goodness knows what else.

With the doubling of population made possible by peace, Indiana in two years exceeded the sixty thousand mark and was ready to be a state. Congress passed the enabling act. The convention of forty-three elected delegates assembled at Corydon, which had, as more centrally located, succeeded Vincennes as capital of the territory since 1813. Jonathan Jennings, who had served in Congress, was elected Governor. On December 11, 1816, President Madison signed the resolution admitting Indiana to statehood. \* \* \* \* \*

Work, hardship, privation, Indian alarms—the pioneer's life knew them all, but they did not make up all of his life. Ways were found to turn the bitter toil itself to pleasurable sport. There were many social gatherings with a group work feature, and they were richly enjoyed by a true democracy free from snobbery, affectation and class distinction. These were neighborly times. When the timber was ready for the

settler's cabin, the neighbors came from miles around and helped raise it. When the logs were cut and niggered for burning, the neighbors helped roll them into heaps.

Whole families gathered to the log-rolling, and the children especially looked forward to it. The men would be divided into two sides, and the clearing apportioned so as to give each side about the same amount of work. The side that first disposed of the last log was the winner—a coveted honor. In rivalry the younger men would perform prodigious feats of strength. Even after the exhausting work there was energy for games, foot-races, wrestling matches, pole-vaulting, tug-of-war, lap-jacket or pitching quoits.

When work and play at last were done, the logs were fired and the evening sky grew red with a hundred bonfires.

Meanwhile the women would have cooked a royal dinner: venison or bear, wild turkey, fried chicken or pot pie and dumplings, wild hog, corn bread, potatoes, preserves, jellies, tarts, pie and cake, hard cider and whisky. No work of importance could be undertaken without a jug of whisky.

Candidates for office frequented the log-rollings to present their manifestoes and answer hecklers. Sometimes the rival politicians would be chosen leaders of the work sections, and then would the logs roll!

Goose-pickings and sheep-shearings also went forward to the accompaniment of lively political debate. But gossip prevailed at the quilting bees.

A neighborhood affair, too, was the corn-husking, with both sexes taking part in this sport-work. They sat in a large circle in the barn and played "brogue it about" while they husked away. When a girl found a red ear, every man kissed her; when a man found one, he kissed all the girls. There were always dancing and games after the corn-husking.

With the rifle indispensable for the support and defense of life, to be a sure shot was a considerable matter. Shooting matches promoted good marksmanship. They were usually held on a Saturday and every fellow who could split a bullet on his knife blade or take a rag off the bush came to prove his skill and try for the prize of game or a half-barrel of whisky.

Sport was not always divorced from cruelty; men on horseback, racing at full speed, would endeavor to grasp the neck of a goose fastened to a post and tear its head from the live and struggling body.

Dances were held on the puncheon floor by the light of the fire and to the music of some battered old violin, or, if the usual fiddle were lacking, to the voices of the dancers themselves. With much patting of his foot and violent flourishes of his bow, the fiddler would squeak out such favorites as *Old Zip Coon* or *Possum on a Gum Stump*. A caller, famed for his quick invention and astonishing gusto, would direct the figures in the square dances.

Drinking and disorder became so regularly associated with dancing that the ministers and their pious flocks put a stop to it in many places. The fiddle, that devil's instrument, was banned, but marching games had all the really essential elements of a dance and were sometimes called "compromise" dances. The chief essential of the "play party" was kissing.

The whole neighborhood would be invited to a wedding, or in the knowledge that the whole neighborhood would come anyhow, the formality of "invites" would be dispensed with. The groom, in his new cowhide boots, and his ten groomsmen would plan to arrive at the bride's home about noon and on the way might divert themselves by "running for the bottle" of corn whisky.

The guests would come in on horseback, bringing dishes, spoons, table linen, provender. There was no finery. The bride wore linsey-woolsey. To us the couple would seem little more than children. A boy was a man at sixteen or seventeen, and must do a man's work in the field, at hunting and at Indian scouting. The lack of money was no barrier to early marriage, and, where all lacked, there was no social inequality to interrupt the rapid course of courtship. Of course the parson or the squire had to have his fee, and sometimes this was a stumper for the groom or his father, but it might be paid in trade and even in beeswax.

After the knot of "konjugal matrimunny" was tied, began what was considered by the guests the important part of the ceremony—a feast of all the land supplied, and then games and dancing till all hours.

The "infare," the reception at the home of the groom's father the next day, saw all the wedding entertainment repeated.

Religion was early, earnest, eloquent, and another form of social recreation and emotional release. The Baptists were first among the Protestants to appear in the new country. They held services near the Falls of the Ohio by 1798. The Methodists came hard on their heels. Inspired by Bishop Asbury, the first of a troop of circuit-riders, Peter Cartwright in 1804 crossed the Ohio and preached the first Methodist

## Frontier Life . . .

The pioneer life was a life of work, hardship, privation and Indian alarms. But it was a neighborly life. And ways were found to take the tedium from toil by doing it together and making it a social sport. At corn-huskings, log-rollings, goose-pickings, sheep-shearings, quilting-bees and shooting matches, practical ends were accomplished, while all the company talked politics, played games, had fun. Dancing, because of the accompanying drink and disorder, was banned by the Gospel ministers and modified to the play party. The fiddle, that devil's instrument, was forbidden, but the kissing kept on. Weddings and infares were the greatest of social occasions. The religious gathering was another form of social recreation and emotional release. With his fellows in the log meeting-house the pioneer might forget the loneliness of the forest in the excitement of brimstone preaching. This excitement burned fiercely at camp-meetings and sometimes set fire to softer passions. The Constitutional Convention at Corydon found a few of its members in the broadcloth of statesmanship but most in backwoods garb. Ague and poverty made the Hoosier sensitive and pugnacious. His spirit was intense, an hurrah spirit, loquacious and impetuous. He was sectarian and orthodox, partizan and politically minded. He was a born patriot. The frontier gave him its accustomed stimulation.









sermon in Indiana to a group of transplanted Kentuckians. Crosswise of the pommel of his saddle the itinerant preacher bore his long rifle, with ammunition in a coonskin pouch at his side, and a blanket strapped behind him. Often when night overtook him, he wrapped himself in the blanket and slept on the hard ground, leaving his horse to graze. He yielded nothing to the Jesuit in zeal. He didn't care much where he preached, so he preached—in towns, forts, blockhouses, groves, cabins and even in the barrooms of taverns.

Governor Harrison attended the first Presbyterian Church in Indiana, at Vincennes (1806). Carolina Quakers were coming into the Northwest before the new century began, but the first Quaker Monthly Meeting was not organized till 1812, in Wayne County.

Before there were any houses of worship, the early settlers gathered in their cabins or, in summer, under the great forest trees, for simple service. But as soon as they could they joined in social and sacrificial labor to build the rough log meeting-house.

Preaching must be extempore. Written sermons were frowned on. Fire must be shown, and brimfire at that. Length also was expected. The preacher would keep going till he fell from exhaustion.

In religious gatherings was reflected the pioneers' deep longing to avoid loneliness, the comfort of getting together and forgetting the forest and the foemen. The camp-meeting, held in summer after the harvest, was especially marked for its social features. For as many as forty or fifty miles families would travel by horseback or covered wagon to the campground in the deep shade, near some creek or river. At the camp they lived in rough cabins or tents or slept in the wagons. The preacher's stand was placed at the open end of the rough horseshoe in which the horses and wagons were arranged. Before it was the mourners' bench, in a vacant enclosure about thirty feet square. Beyond, a rail fence separated the men from the women of the congregation. In the stillness of the night, the hymns, the shoutings, the vivid hell-fire exhortations to repentance produced wildest hysteria and ecstatic trances on a wholesale scale. As many as three thousand might be laid out at a time.

Like the clergy, the court and lawyers rode circuit, with sittings many miles apart. The vast distances between the points for holding court and the delays caused by the wretched condition of the roads constituted a major reason for splitting up the old Northwest Territory. In the three western counties there was but one court having cognizance of crimes in three years.

## Home Industry

A magnificent forest covered southern Indiana. It must go. The settlers were making the country fit for civilization. The trees stood in the way. The thud of the ax, the crash of falling timber were heard on every hand. In neighborly concert the logs were rolled into heaps and burned. The log cabin was the Hoosier's nest, built without a nail, no palace of ease and art, but a lucky birthplace for a politician. The northern tier of the state, opened by later treaties with the Indians, was a rich and lovely land of prairies and groves. Compared with the timber people, the prairie farmers were moneyed men. The pioneer household was its own little world, a self-sufficient economic unit. It produced what it needed for food, clothing, furniture, tools, light. The housewife's work was never done. The hum of her spinning-wheel, the thwack of her loom made music for the cabin all the day. The pioneer mother deserves her statues. All this homespun handicraft represented a wonderful adaptation to environment. Grist-mills sprang up by the little streams, sawmills, carding and fulling mills, flour-mills. Almost all the people were farmers. Other crops were raised, much wheat, but corn was always king. Agriculture advanced by leaps and bounds in the 'fifties when the State Board was started.

The judge and attendant attorneys on circuit would put up at a backwoods tavern and stretch their legs on its wooden piazza. A sign-board bearing a very remarkable portrait of Washington or Wayne would be put out in front on a tall post. A small bell on top of the house would call the guests to meals. There was complete democracy at table, with the territorial governor perhaps next neighbor to a wagoner, and all fell to without prologue. Several beds were apt to be found in the same room, and if the house was full, several strangers in the same bed.

The worst anti-social force, more paralyzing than bad roads, more deadly than the Indian, was the anopheles mosquito. The boggy woods of Indiana, vast, dense, with

immense accumulations of leaves, fallen timber and rotting vegetable matter, and the innumerable ponds of stagnant water were ideal breeding-places. For many years in the autumn there were more people sick than well. Whole towns would be depopulated. The southern tiers were never free from chills and fever. The story of Ague forms a pathetic part of our pioneer history.

Because of such handicaps, Indiana became a target for the jokes of the country. Across the Ohio the Kentuckians screamed "Hoosier." The origin and meaning of that term are still debatable, but at first and to the outsider it was evidently used in derision. Enough for the outsiders to cry "Hoosier"; the Hoosier gritted his teeth and cursed.

He was more sensitive to outside criticism than any other settler in the Mississippi Valley because he got more of it. The Hoosiers, as Judge Banta says, stood huddled, "snouts out," on the defensive.

They were pugnacious and partizan. They had a spirit of intensity, an hurrah spirit, loquacious and extravagant. They were politically minded, sectarian and orthodox. A patriotic fire burned in them, a deep attachment to the hearth. ❖ ❖

Early Indiana was mainly, but not exclusively of a British cast. There were the French at Vincennes. And there were the French Swiss at Vevay, a colony founded by John James Dufour and his relatives in 1802.

In all the procession of invaders probably the several boatloads of Würtemberg peasants who came up the Wabash in the spring of 1815 would be accounted the strangest increment. To the number of eight hundred they came ashore near the present site of New Harmony, a band of primitive Christians, practical communists, the disciples of one George Rapp. They left the Fatherland in protest against the existing state of religion and for ten years had lived at Economy, Pennsylvania, where all things were owned in common and celibacy was rigidly practised.

Father Rapp, six feet tall, with patriarchal beard and bearing, sympathetic, plain-spoken, strong-minded, ruled his community with a Stalinesque authority. He was prophet, priest, dictator. Shrewdly he played on vivid superstitions; pretended messages from the Angel Gabriel. He taught humility, prayer and confession. But he exacted also industry, regular and persevering, and he kept a band playing in the fields to speed it up. His adopted son, Frederick Rapp, acted as business manager of the community, and to him are attributable its more pleasing aspects. The Rappites farmed and farmed well, manufactured a variety of goods and erected strong and handsome buildings.

Industrially a success, socially it was all a failure. An ecclesiastical monarchy contravening a law of nature could not be otherwise. Father Rapp decided to go back to Pennsylvania, perhaps to be nearer the market, perhaps because life was getting easy and quiet and he could control his followers only by making them work hard. In 1825 he sold out to Robert Owen, of New Lanark, Scotland, for one hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

In his "Preliminary Society," a communal economic system was established, with a managing committee appointed by the proprietor. Robert Owen left things in charge of his son William, went back to Scotland and returned to New Harmony with his celebrated "boatload of knowledge." Science came to the Hoosier forest. In this community first or last were numbered an imposing array of zoologists, botanists and chemists, and teachers and reformers of the social sciences quite as remarkable, and artists and musicians, and exemplars of Pestalozzian education. Many among them were to have futures of brilliant and distinguished service in America, and outstanding among these were the sons of Robert Owen. Richard Owen became professor of Natural Science at Indiana University. David Dale Owen was to be state geologist of three states, the first Geologist of the United States. Robert Dale Owen, as a member of the state legislature, was to win for married women the right to control their property and earnings, to fight the good fight for free common schools, to pour out his eloquence for the Union and







against slavery, and as a member of Congress to introduce the bill that founded the Smithsonian Institution.

The Preliminary Society was too promptly succeeded by a Permanent Community of Equality. Equality of *rights*, and even equality of *duties* might have worked if all had been of communal instincts. But a general invitation had gathered into its net some malcontents and trouble-makers. All nationalities, all sects were represented, and, along with devotees to the cause, there were half-wits and utter cranks. The stated maxims—community of property, freedom of speech and action, sincerity in all proceedings, kindness in all actions, courtesy in all intercourse, order in all arrangements, the preservation of health, the banning of ardent spirits and the acquisition of knowledge—were counsels of perfection quite beyond the range of this hodge-podge. Old human nature broke up the new empire. Robert Owen could not prolong the communal experiment past two years. In 1828 he sold or leased his land, and in after-years transferred his remaining property to his sons, who continued to live in New Harmony. Only the educational unit under William Maclure, a President of the Philadelphia Academy of Science, lingered on in its original and separate form, a school of spacious rooms set in garden closes.

As much a social failure as the Rappite Community, the Owenites were immeasurably superior in their abiding influence. New Harmony was a source from which ideas and ideals spread across the world. It initiated one reform after another which were to be embodied in the practise of state and nation. It left a record of notable educational "firsts": the first kindergarten in America, the first distinctly trade school, the first free public school system, the first revolt against a liberal training not useful to the student. Its educational system was the most enlightened anywhere. New Harmony remained for years a scientific mecca. Its "afterglow" lasted through two generations.

Elsewhere in Indiana education presents no such alluring picture during the pioneer period. The intentions were excellent. The settlers wrote into the State Constitution that "it shall be the duty of the General Assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide, by law, for a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a state university, wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all."

The pioneers of the first generation were literate and not outranked in that particular elsewhere in the country. But

they were poor and conditions were against them. To make a home was the first consideration. The children's labor was needed for that. The forests, bad roads, distances, animals, Indians, sparsity of population, scarcity of teachers conspired against them. They did what they could, but that was little. The second generation suffered. In 1834 only one child in eight could read.

The Enabling Act of 1816 provided that one section in every township be reserved for school use and one entire township, designated by the President, for a seminary of learning. But laws do not always bring the results intended. The funds were low, as the land was mismanaged.

And yet it is certainly true that whenever and wherever a neighborhood acquired enough children, a schoolmaster of sorts was found and a school of sorts was started.

Country schools would have a handful of pupils for a term of, say, two months in the winter. At other seasons every child big enough to work was busy at home. The pioneer teachers were apt to be adventurers from western Pennsylvania or the South, or from the old country, who sought a temporary job while looking for a real one. Well qualified teachers were not unknown, but they were the exception.

The curriculum consisted of the Three R's—Readin', Ritin' and 'Rithmetic to the single rule of three, no further.

Books of all sorts were hard to come by, and school-books no exception. Webster's elementary speller held its field in Indiana. Enormous stress was placed on spelling. One was supposed to go through the speller twice before one was qualified to start learning how to read. The whole school must stand up twice a day and "spell for head." Spelling-matches were of weekly and night spelling-school of frequent occurrence.

Indiana preferred "loud" or "blab" schools at the first, on the theory that they represented a practical system by which a boy might be trained for business anywhere, even on a steamboat wharf! The roar of lesson-learning frightened the rabbits and skunks for half a mile.

With elementary teaching so truly rudimentary, the early educational aspect of Indiana was somewhat top-heavy, for there were seminaries and academies galore. Vincennes University was incorporated in 1806. In 1816 President Madison selected a township in what later became Monroe County for the State Seminary. Land was cleared in the virgin forest south of the Bloomington public square. The first building and the professor's house were opened in 1824, with a faculty of one—Baynard R. Hall. County seminaries were authorized by the legislature the same year. The religious denominations were early starting colleges—Hanover in 1827 and Wabash in 1833 by the Presbyterians; Franklin by the Baptists and DePauw by the Methodists in 1837; Saint Mary-of-the-Woods for young women in 1841 and the University of Notre Dame the next year by the Catholics; Earlham in 1847 by the Friends. Singing schools were popular. And so were debating clubs, mock trials and mock legislatures, especially in the smaller villages. Here the future orators and statesmen found a training, an inspiration.

Typical of this frontier life was the Indiana life of Abraham Lincoln. In the year of statehood, he came here, seven years old, with his father, Thomas Lincoln, his mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln and his sister Sarah. From the Kentucky ferry they traveled a trail in an all wooden wagon or on a heavy sled to a knoll on Pigeon Creek in Spencer County. Here they squatted and cleared enough land for a half-faced camp of convenient trees, poles and saplings, with a fire before the open side, and slept on skins laid on the loose-earth floor. Before Nancy's aunt and uncle, Betsy and Thomas Sparrow, and her cousin, Dennis Hanks, came to live with them the next year, Tom Lincoln had built a new and better cabin.

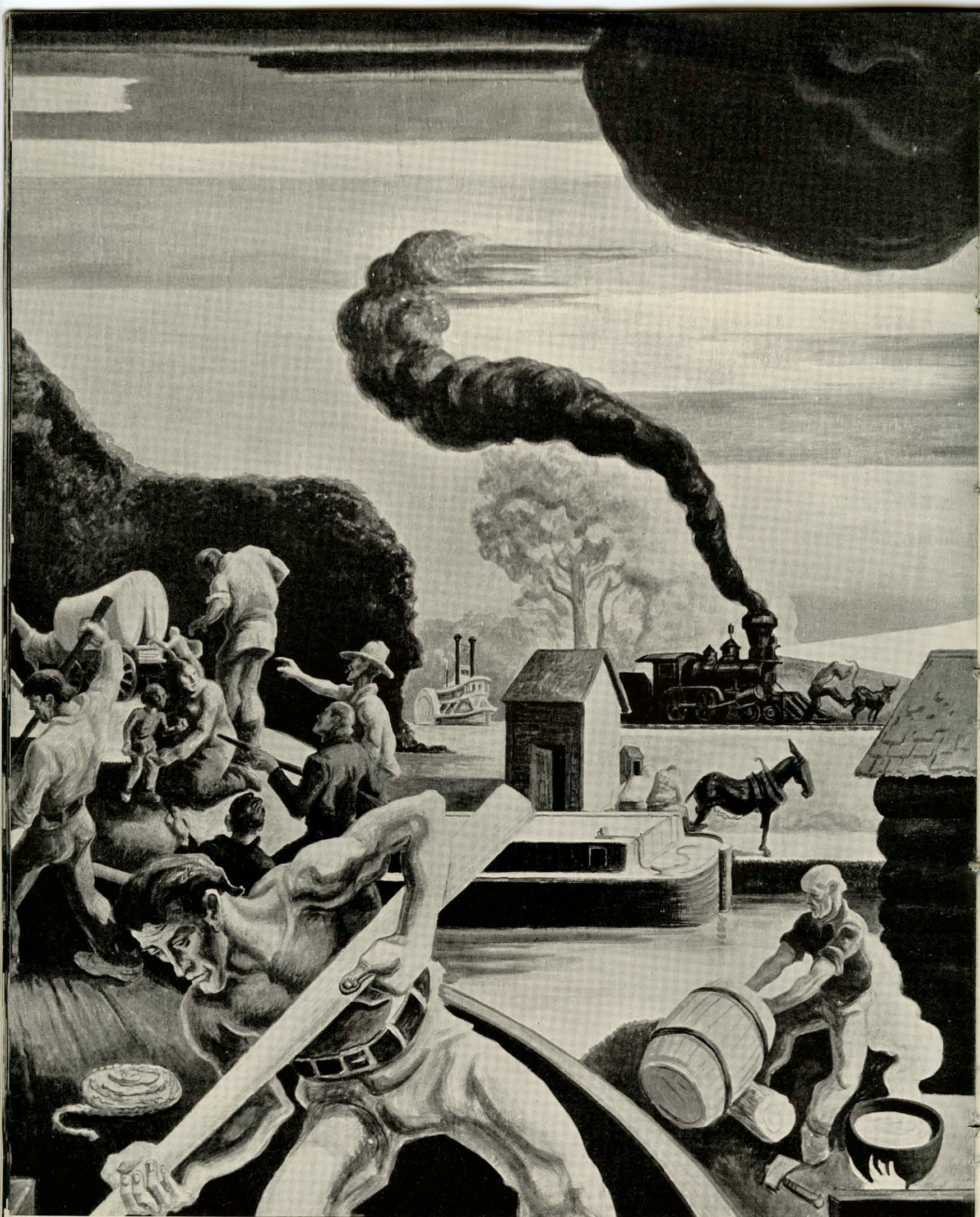
The "milk sick," so called because it attacked cows as well as men, descended on Pigeon Creek in the fall of 1818, and the nearest doctor was thirty-five miles away. It carried off first the Sparrows, and then Nancy Lincoln, that quite illiterate but nobly intelligent woman, whose grave is a Hoosier shrine.

Abraham Lincoln went to Andrew Crawford's subscription loud school for a while in his tenth year, and two or three years later to Azel W. Dorsey's. By then he was long and tall, wore a coonskin cap and a deerskin shirt, short socks and low shoes, and buckskin britches so short they left bare six inches of sharp, blue and narrow shins. All the schooling he got amounted to less than a year; but he learned to write a clear, fine hand and read readily and fluently. He was a champion speller, spelling down the whole class on Fridays; he did his ciphering so well he could teach other and older children. But to read was his passion. In a community bare of books, he snatched at everything he could lay his hands on. So did other boys who had the spark of intellectual ambition; unique with Lincoln was his absorption, his complete mastering, of all he read.

## Early Schools ... Communities

Indiana pioneers loved learning, aimed by legislation to secure it for their offspring. Conditions were against them. There were no free schools. But whenever and wherever a neighborhood counted enough children, a loud school was started. Adventurous masters taught the Three R's and did not spare the rod. Newspapers sprang up in profusion. Short on news, they were rabid political organs, filled with diatribes that would have astonished Milton, signed with names of Plutarch's heroes. Abraham Lincoln spent the fourteen formative years of youth in Indiana. He was the very embodiment of the pioneer period, the highest development of the frontier type, "new birth of our new soil, the first American." A dozen social experiments were tried in Indiana. The most interesting were the two at New Harmony. The Rappites were German peasants, superstitious celibates, practical communists. Some of their fine strong buildings still stand. Father Rapp ruled them with Stalinesque authority. Robert Owen, who bought him out, was a man of vision and brotherhood. He sought to found a new social state, of equal rights and duties, community of goods, educational facilities for all. He brought a boatload of knowledge up the Wabash and science to the Hoosier forest. Socially both experiments failed. Owenite ideals of education lived on to bear rich fruit in state and nation.





INDUSTRIAL PANEL 5



Meanwhile Thomas Lincoln had married Sarah Bush Johnston, that tall, straight, fair and excellent widow, and she had brought to Pigeon Creek her, by comparison, opulent furniture and effects and, more important still, her good sense, thrift and housewifery.

A curious antipathy developed between father and son, curious because Thomas was a good and placid man, not the ne'er-do-well of tradition, and Abe was a good boy, cheerful, friendly, willing, kind. Perhaps it was because Abe had no natural liking for hunting or field work, and such ineptitude might be decidedly annoying to a pioneer parent. Not that he shirked. The ax, he said, was always in his hand. But he did not pitch into work like killing snakes.

He was always telling stories, cracking jokes, joining in the workers' songs, and stories, jokes and songs were often as coarse as well could be. He liked to be with other people. He was soon making stump speeches to his fellow laborers, calm, logical, clear speeches at that; in striking contrast to the spread-eagleism of the day. He would take, once in a while, a convivial dram, but in general avoided drink and profanity.

He had an impalatable taste of the boisterous river life, helping with a ferry-boat across the Ohio; in a scow of his own taking passengers to steamers in midstream; going with Allen Gentry on a memorable trip to New Orleans, and with a club fighting off a gang of plundering negroes.

It was in the midst of the "plain people" he loved that Abraham Lincoln spent in Indiana the fourteen formative years of his life.

*New birth of our new soil, the first American.*

As evidence of the prevalence of intelligent men in our pioneer population Mr. Cottman points to the fact that the printing press followed hard on the beginnings of social life everywhere. Their very isolation may have whetted their craving for some sort of touch with the world outside. And they wanted even more an organ to peal out their politics and to promote public needs.

By 1850 we know that there had been two hundred and fifty periodicals, mostly newspapers, in Indiana, though only one hundred and seven had survived. The birth-rate was high, and so was the mortality. The office of many a small-town sheet was to cry Hosanna once and then to die.

The printer had his troubles, no less than the schoolmaster. He was the last to be paid. He would offer all kinds of inducements for paid subscriptions. He had to take all kinds of produce, including fire-wood, in payment. If he could run his circulation up to five hundred he was doing well. Advertising was scarce, rates low. Exchanges might be delayed for weeks. Job printing must be depended on to help out. Apprentices and journeymen were few and transient. The supply of paper and machinery was short. And editors were notoriously bad managers.

To us these country weeklies (dailies came in only after 1840) would seem newspapers in name only. Local news, any kind of news other than political news, was hardly considered news at all. The paper was primarily a political organ of rabid and uncontrolled partisanship. But "Literature" was not entirely neglected. In fact, the paper might be filled in with a disproportionate amount of irrelevant reading matter. Love stories might appear on the first page. Poets' corners were common. ❖ ❖

*Farewell to the Forest.* Magnificent trees covered all the southern state, majestic in character and form—hickory,

maple, ash, oak, beech, elm, walnut, sycamore, locust, gum, buckeye, tulip poplar—some growing to great height, fifty, a hundred, even two hundred feet, and to great circumference; and smaller trees and shrubs—papaw, persimmon, dogwood, red-bud, sassafras, willow, wild plum, crab apple. Here was a natural habitat for a timber people, so accustomed to a timber life that they regarded it as indispensable. A forest worth millions on millions now, but it must go off if these settlers were to make their homes here; light must be let in, and the age out, through that aerial ceiling, and those soggy woods give way to field and pasture.

*The Epic of the Ax.* Sometimes the "weak-handed" cut the trees around, girdled or deadened them, left them standing. Most felled the trees and cut them to suitable lengths. So thick they would lie on a new field one could walk over it stepping from log to log. Most of the logs were rolled into heaps and burned. What a world of weary toil in that phrase! The utmost exertion of the united strength of numbers. Numbers gathered in good neighborhood to help the individual in his need, and his need was annual, for every year the settler enlarged his clearing. Every man gave from fifteen to thirty days to log-rolling in the spring months. The man whose own logs had been rolled and fired would right up his burning heaps before the break of day, snatch his breakfast, roll logs at the gathering place from sunup to sundown, go back home, right up his heaps and rekindle his fires till nearly midnight, while the flames leaped up and the clouds of blue-black smoke ascended toward the sky.

*The Cabin in the Clearing.* The settler must think first of shelter, get his family under cover. The half-face camp was a quick expedient. Two large strong forks were placed far enough from a fallen tree to make a twelve- or fourteen-foot pen; a pole was placed across the forks, and other poles from that one to the log, and brush piled thickly on these to be a roof; two sides were filled with logs rolled up by neighborly aid; the fourth side, usually the south side, was left open, and a great fire made before the opening in winter weather.

And then, as soon as time permitted, he built the one-room cabin. Bark-covered logs of a size, notched and saddled at the ends, formed the walls. The chinks between them were fitted snugly with short sticks and plastered over with clay. Long poles laid from gable to gable were at once rafters and sheeting. Clap-boards made the roof. The floor was of puncheons, large slabs of hard wood smoothed with an adz. After the cabin was up, openings were sawed out for door, windows and fireplace. The door was hung on a wooden hinge and was made of broad slabs fastened to cross-battens with wooden pins. Never a nail anywhere.

A great opening would be made for the fireplace. Outward from it a three-sided enclosure was built of small, split logs, and another inclosure inside that, and into the space between moist clay was tamped and left to dry. When the inner wall was burned out or removed, the clay gave the fireplace a back and jambs. Often the front of the fireplace was ten feet wide, the back at least six feet, with fore-stick and backlog of corresponding size, and a man might enter it with slight stooping.

*The Land of Nevermore.* Two-thirds of Indiana was still in Indian hands at the time of statehood. In 1818, three commissioners, of whom Governor Jennings was one, made a treaty with the Miami, the Wea, the Potawatomi and the Delaware at St. Mary's, Ohio, and obtained from them eight million five hundred thousand acres that reached northward to the Upper Wabash, the whole rich and fertile center of the state, to comprise about twenty counties.

Finally by a series of treaties in the 'twenties and early 'thirties the northern tier was acquired from the Indians, a land of prairies intermixed with groves, the beginning of the prairie-spread that reached to Iowa. The timber was confined to the watercourses, and the traveler might for long see a landscape wherein nothing appeared but green below and blue above. Wild-flowers would sprinkle the prairie with color in the spring, and wild fowl be flying everywhere. Its

## Internal Improvements . .

The Indian was doomed by the settler's hatred. Last of the tribes, the Potawatomi were led away to Kansas on a trail of death. The pioneer fixed his farm near a river where he might load a flatboat with produce. In high water a mixture of log cabin, fort, barnyard and country grocery would float off on its long journey down the Hoosier stream, the Ohio and the Mississippi to the great New Orleans market. When the steamboat came, the tide of freight began to run to the East and a day of industrial wonder dawned on the Ohio Valley. Little steamers plied the interior waters and stuck on Hoosier sandbars. Great highways were built—the National Road, the Michigan Road, new ribbons of travel and traffic. Canals helped out where steamers could not go. The Wabash was tied to Lake Erie by a tow-rope. Indiana launched a grandiose system of internal improvements, borrowed too much money, saw the boom crash. Where state construction failed private enterprise built with economy. The level surface of the state invited the railroads. Its fertility fed them. They transformed the life from pioneer to industrial stage. Towns sprang up along the ways and waterways. The capital city became a hub of rails. And everywhere were hogs, hogs, hogs.





CULTURAL PANEL 5



beauty was ravishing, a beauty not to be recaptured; the land of nevermore.

It would be hard to find anywhere in the world soil superior to this. But the settler from the South could not see it. He *knew* that timber lands made the best farm lands, and he considered the prairies about as good-for-nothing as the swamp lands of Dixie. He stuck to timber.

Compared with the man of the forest, the man of the prairie must be moneyed; and he was apt to be a Yankee. His dwelling was of frame; a log cabin in the open prairie would have been an extravagant curiosity. It was, as a rule, a large, substantial building, with a stone foundation and a stone chimney made of the boulders that were thinly scattered in the fields.

His problems were different. Instead of enlarging a clearing, he had to break sod each spring. If he did not have the equipment he could hire it done for two dollars and twenty-five cents per acre. More outlay. There was much swamp land, many pools and sloughs. And there were those boulders. And the anopheles mosquito with ague in its wings. And, worst of all, there were prairie fires, spectacles with all the elements of grandeur, but with all the elements of terror, too, sweeping away stock, hay, grain, buildings, unless he could set up a backfire.

*Homeward the Plowman.* With rude tools the pioneer tilled his crops and did the best he could. He made a workmanlike plow with a wooden mold-board. When iron came in, point, bar and plowshare were all of a piece. The rough condition of the fields prevented much harrowing the first few years. Grain sown "broadcast" was "brushed in." The harrow was usually in the form of an A, made from slippery elm or ironwood. A cultivator was occasionally used, operated with one horse and having two or three small shovels or bull tongues. The truck wagon, with rude wheels made from sections of a tree, was a familiar sight.

*The Tale of Homespun Industry.* The pioneer household was its own little world. Right there on the place it produced what it needed for sustenance, clothing, implements, furniture and fixtures, light.

There was plenty of wholesome food, with corn bread and hominy the staples. For meat a rich variety of game was almost at the cabin door. But variety and delicacies soon graced it. Vegetables and fruits were cultivated, the finest cider and delicious wines were made. As game grew scarce,

domestic animals supplied its place—cattle, sheep, hogs, fowls. Hunting, digging and selling ginseng made a lucrative little business. Making maple sugar was an important spring industry. The Circle in Indianapolis was a sugar camp in 1822.

Meal was first made in a hominy mortar. Later a small hand-mill made of two round stones came into use; it could grind four bushels of corn in a day.

As settlers thickened, men embarked in the milling business—one of the very first industries outside the home. The little water mills along the streams did a thriving trade; some were of the overshot and some of the undershot style. Because mills were so great a public necessity, the miller might locate one on any person's land if it afforded a site he thought desirable. When the streams got too high or too low for grinding, the pioneer

was forced to neighborly borrowing and then back to the old block. Sawmills were started, and sometimes there were grist-mills and sawmills combined.

The housewife's work was never done making clothes for the family—getting the materials ready, spinning, knitting, weaving, dyeing, bleaching, cutting, fitting, sewing.

She worked mostly with flax and wool. A small patch of flax was enough for the family linen. When it had been pulled, bundled, dried, brittled, broken, scutched and hatcheled, it was spun at a low wheel, at which the worker sat. To work the wool wheel the wife stood up, for it was almost twice as big at the flax wheel.

The hum of the busy wheels made a sweet music. A sound as familiar, but not as steady, was the "twach" of the loom—more intermittent because that great and cumbersome instrument took up so much room a period was set for its use and when not in use it was taken apart and stored away. Unless, of course, one had a separate loom-room. The flax thread was woven into linen for towels, table-cloths, sheets, grain sacks, curtains, clothes. The woolen yarn was knit into stockings and mittens or woven into blankets or cloth. The famous and beautiful coverlets were woven from wool and linen or cotton combined. The dyes, made mostly from sumac, walnut hulls and bark, were usually applied in the yarn but sometimes to the cloth. Indigo could be bought at the village store.

Early settlers tanned their own leather, made their own shoes. Later, the cobbler went from house to house.

Candle-making became an art, and candle molds with balls of cotton wicking could be found in every household.

Soap was made from lye obtained from wood ashes and from grease of meat leavings.

Her hardest work fell from the pioneer woman when carding mills and fulling mills were built. They made the wool rolls and they finished the cloth. With spinning-wheel and loom she did the intermediate task. In 1840 there were five thousand spindles flying in Indiana.

*The Song of Corn and Wheat.* From the first the pioneers, taking a cue from the Indians, raised corn. When mills were built for grinding and bolting flour, wheat began to be raised. But corn remained the favorite. By 1856 the corn crop had grown to nearly forty million bushels, worth over eleven million dollars. In this decade of the 'fifties Indiana was climbing from sixth to second place in the wheat production of the nation.

State enterprise helped things along remarkably. Indiana was at all times a farming state. There were, in 1840, more than six times as many people engaged in agriculture as in all other occupations. But, except for neighborly help, it was a non-cooperative business. Every man was pretty much for himself. To be sure, there were, before 1830, a few societies and county fairs, but they accomplished little. That progressive governor, Joseph A. Wright, saw the need and the opportunity. He promoted the passage of an act in 1851 creating the State Board of Agriculture, a part of whose work was to supervise a state fair each year, and providing ways to raise funds for a state system. Here was progress toward a scientific study of soil and methods of marketing. Hoosier agriculture advanced by leaps and bounds. ❖ ❖ ❖

The fur trade in Indiana was doomed by the rise in the economic value of land; the Indian was doomed by the decline of the fur trade, the disease and death that accompanied contact with the whites, the attitude of the superior race.

The early settlers hated the Indians, and feared them. The panics caused in 1832 by Black Hawk's War illustrate the fear. The so-called war never touched Indiana. The few remaining Miami and the Potawatomi, proudest and most determined of the Indian tribes, were quiet all through it. But rumors flew that they were on the war-path. Refugees in rabbles poured along the roads before the imaginary storm. Blockhouses were built in a hurry. Militia and rangers were out. Marching to Fort Dearborn, troops from the East saw, admired, advertised the Indiana prairies. Black Hawk's War meant the end for the Indian. He made the settler too nervous. He must go.

## Reformers and Squatters . . .

Waves of reform swept over the expanding state. Evangelism brought hosts into the churches. Social societies of Temperance and Teetotalism cried down the whisky which had once been respectable, sought to insure private morality by legal fiat. Indiana was generally indifferent to Abolition. But from the banks of the Ohio to the Michigan line secret stages of the Underground Railroad aided fugitive slaves to escape from pursuing masters. This broke the law but fostered the feeling against the wrongs of slavery. In the midst of depression, schools and asylums were provided for the deaf and dumb, the blind and the insane. Reform culminated in the founding of the district school system. When the seat of government was moved to Indianapolis, Samuel Merrill conveyed records and treasury from Corydon in four-horse wagons. The first state-house at the new site was a lazy and delightful building—an American dome on a stucco Parthenon. Squatters preceded surveyors, banded together against the land speculators, fought for the right of preemption. Both those who ventured life and labor and those who boldly staked their money helped open the new lines of the Hoosier frontier. It was a dynamic age of ignorance and elegance, democratic upheaval and new-found wealth, fine clothes and quackery. The medicine show and the political parade entertained a people craving amusement.





INDUSTRIAL PANEL 6



There was a reservation of Potawatomi around Twin Lakes. In 1838 John Tipton accomplished their removal by force. Eight hundred were started along the Michigan Road under escort of state and federal troops. The march was a trail of death. The children and the old people, worn out by the trudging, unused to the fare, fell by the way, dying in numbers. Many guards absconded with the Indians' horses. Medicines gave out. Heat and dust increased. Every camp was a cemetery. When after two months the Potawatomi reached their new home in Kansas on the Osage River, one-fifth of the tribe had passed to happier hunting-grounds.

The first pioneers as a rule chose land where there was plenty of good spring water. Later, two considerations influenced them—to be near a mill, or a good mill-site, and to be near a river where a flatboat could be loaded with produce. From 1820 to 1840, nine-tenths of the surplus produce of Indiana was carried to the market by flatboat. The great market was at New Orleans and the sugar plantations of the lower Mississippi. It took a month to get there.

Indiana was admirably situated for the flatboat trade, with thoroughfare on the Whitewater, the Wabash to Huntington, the White to Muncie and Columbus, and hundreds of tributaries. On the boats would go down the Ohio and the Mississippi in fleets of ten or twelve for protection and pleasurable company.

A prosperous farmer would load his own boat or a whole neighborhood would club together and send a boat with its chickens, geese, turkeys, venison, hogs, pork, bacon, lard, cattle, beef, cheese, butter, tobacco, whisky, corn, meal, flour, lumber. A flatboat could carry an immense freight. The packing was done with feverish speed in the high water of March, with all hands and teams at the landing. When the last wagon-load was aboard and the lines cut, the quaint mixture of "log cabin, fort, floating barnyard and country grocery" would be off on its long journey in charge of its professionals.

Before 1819 there was nothing for the flatboatmen to do but ride or walk home from New Orleans through a perilous wilderness, or expend himself rowing a boat up-stream. From then on he had a safe and quick return by steamboat. The first steamboat on the Ohio, the *New Orleans*, was built by Nicholas J. Roosevelt for the Fulton interests in 1811. Other boats followed in rapid succession. Freight receipts at New Orleans jumped enormously, and no other port in the country rivaled the volume of her exportations of domestic produce. The two decades after 1852 proved "the good old days" of the Ohio steamboat. Construction made enormous strides. The *Eclipse*, built at New Albany in 1852, was three hundred sixty-three feet long.

Of course no such leviathan could float on the waters with-

in the state, but the settlers were hopeful that small steamers might ply on many of the interior streams. The state declared some thirty or forty rivers navigable and undertook to keep them free from drifts and mill-dams. The White and the Wabash especially were rivers of hope. It was actually believed that the White could be opened for year-round navigation by vessels of large tonnage. In 1829 Captain Sanders got the *Victory* in high water as far as Spencer. A steamboat reached Indianapolis in April, 1831, but stranded on the return trip. Regularly each March attempts were made to pilot steamboats to the Upper Wabash towns, so the captains might win bonuses for proving them on navigable water.

## Civil War . . .

War between the states was no longer to be averted by compromise. To Indiana, in her central position, the preservation of the Union was essential. Her blood stream came mostly from the South, her rivers of commerce led there. Hoops of steel bound her to the industrial North. Indiana needed a nation intact. Long she had declared that she knew nothing but the Union. Now without stint she gave her young manhood to save it. Seventy-five per cent. of her entire military strength saw service in the field of war. The sons of pioneers knew how to march, camp, shoot, and pay the last full measure to devotion. The daughters took up the burden of the farms. Morgan's Raid, a five days' furor of rough riding, gave the folks back home their only taste of conflict. Morton was a great war governor, the man for a vital hour. On his own he raised the money to support the state's gigantic effort. Douglas Democrats resisted his virtual dictatorship. The draft was little needed in a state of volunteers. Violence against it was laid to Copperheads, Butternuts, Knights of the Golden Circle. Nobody was killed at the Battle of Pogue's Run. On an April Sunday in 'sixty-five the murdered body of Abraham Lincoln, once a pioneer boy of Southern Indiana, lay in state under the dome of the Hoosier capitol.

All this river traffic and experimentation were but one phase of the effort to cope with the enormously important and enormously difficult problem of travel and transportation. Indiana had a vital interest in "internal improvements." From the beginning the counties were building short roads and the state was building longer ones, and, as is still the case, the federal government was called on for aid. That government had promised help to Indiana, Ohio, Illinois and Missouri by devoting two per cent. of the sales of their public lands to the building of a highway from the East. Begun in 1806, the National Road had reached Wheeling in 1818, went slowly across Ohio, got to Indiana in 1829. Its whole course—Richmond to Indianapolis to Terre Haute—was through timber land, a slow, laborious, expensive job of clearing and grading. Every year Congress was begged for new appropriations. They stopped in 1838, to the indignation of all roadside citizens. Ten years later the Indiana section was turned over to the state and completed by private enterprise with toll privileges. Beside this great highway a multitude of villages sprang into being, and many a prospering tavern and wagon house. Coincidentally the state built the Michigan Road, from Michigan City through Indianapolis to Madison, and so connected the Lakes with the Ohio.

River navigation proving not what it was cracked up to be, agitation for artificial waterways became rampant and was spirited along by the opening of the Erie Canal in New York in 1825. The people in the Upper Wabash district, having no ready market to the South and looking for a market to the East, wanted a canal joining the river to Lake Erie. Congress gave Indiana and Ohio a land subsidy to build it. Work was begun at Fort Wayne in 1832, and the first canal-boat launched two years later.

In January, 1836, Governor Noah Noble signed an Act "to provide for a general system of internal improvements." Its main objects were the building of the Central Canal, to run from the Wabash to Indianapolis and on to Evansville; the extension of the Wabash and Erie Canal to Terre Haute and thence southeast to the Central Canal; the Whitewater Canal, from the National Road down the Whitewater Valley to Lawrenceburg; and a railroad from Madison to Lafayette by way of Indianapolis. A loan of ten million dollars, to be secured by the utilities and their revenues, was authorized. This grandiose legislation was quite in the spirit of the times. Wherever these roads of land or water were to run, there was fiesta, the towns made merry. Isolation was as good as over. People embarked on wild speculation. Rents, profits and tolls were counted on to pay the interest, pay off the principal of the loan in no time. Poverty was about to be abolished.

But these glorious hopes were due for an early frost. The panic of 1837 nipped them. President Jackson ordered the land offices to accept only special payments. The demand for gold and silver smashed every bank west of Pittsburgh except the State Bank of Indiana, which suspended specie payments. A long depression followed, affecting all classes. Commodity prices tumbled. Construction stopped in '39. Of 1,289 miles of improvement provided for in the Act of 1836, only 281 miles had been finished. The state debt had grown to fifteen millions in 1841. Indiana defaulted on the interest. Bankruptcy loomed. But the state refused to repudiate the obligations of its great seal. Instead, it made a composition!

Then the projects began to mean something to the country. The Whitewater Canal in private hands gave good service for years. The Wabash and Erie was turned over to the bondholders as part payment. They pushed it forward. In 1849 it reached Terre Haute to the booming of cannon; and Evansville in 1853; it was then the longest canal in the United States, 469 miles. It started new towns, enlarged old ones. It made another immigrant route, comparable to the Ohio River and the National Road.

Interest in the crude, experimental beginnings of the steam railroad, spreading over America, took about five years to reach Indiana. One of its earliest proponents was Governor James Ray who with characteristic courage and audacity







pointed out its superiority to the canal in his message to the legislature in 1827 and who had a vision of Indianapolis as a hub of railroad spokes. For this he was set down as quite crazy. Nevertheless the state had given charters to some thirty railroad corporations before the Internal Improvements Bill of 1836 became a law. As far as actual construction went, all this amounted to was a mile and a quarter of track, the first in Indiana, laid at Shelbyville by the Lawrenceburg and Indianapolis Company. No locomotive being available, a horse-car was used instead for the celebration of the Fourth of July, 1834, and the inauguration of railroad-riding in this state.

For long the debate over the relative merits of macadam turnpikes, canals and railroads was heated. The case for the railroads was weak. The cost of building them was an unknown quantity to engineers, far more guesswork than that of building canals. Materials used for railroad construction were mostly imported and took money out of the state. Money spent on canals stayed in Indiana. The time saved by swift railroad conveyance was balanced by the enormous tonnage that could be moved on canals by small and cheap labor. Public sentiment was not yet ripe for railroad investment and expansion. The lack of confidence was disclosed by the fact that the Internal Improvements Act provided for only one line—the famous “Madison” road.

The state worked in flamboyant fashion. The iron rails were bought in England, shipped to Madison by way of New Orleans, and cost, delivered, at least sixty dollars a ton. After the panic the twenty-eight miles laid by the state were leased to a private corporation in 1839 and sold to the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad Company in 1843. Economy and efficiency were introduced. The section built by the state cost fifty-eight thousand dollars a mile, that by private enterprise, eleven thousand dollars.

As it pushed north, its business grew. Its receipts increased ten times in six years and its stock went to sixty cents above the dollar. The rail-head became the shipping point for exportable produce, and, stage by stage, town after town prospered. At the other end of the line, Madison thrived. When the first trains reached Indianapolis the people thronged to the station in such a collection as had not been witnessed since Tippecanoe times.

The success of the Madison line started a sort of railroad craze. The level surface of Indiana invited the railroads. Its fertile soil fed them. And the railroads have done much for Indiana. What the river and canal towns suffered was offset by the prosperity of Indianapolis. The dream of “crazy” Governor Ray was fulfilled in little more than thirty years. The spokes he had seen radiating from this hub were seven in 1860.

Pork-packing helped along the tide of prosperity. From early days it had succeeded because pork could be barreled and shipped by flatboat without risk of injury by rain. The railroads gave it new impetus. It was a strong and settled industry all over the state. Indianapolis took its turn at being Porkopolis.

An industrial revolution was in progress, not accomplished. Manufacturing outside the home increased, and the value of homespun products declined correspondingly but it was still great. Yet Indiana was still, from lake to river, line to line, a land of farms and farming interests, undivided, concentrated. ■ ■ ■

When the “New Purchase”

made possible a central site for the seat of government, Governor Jennings appointed a commission to meet at the Indian trading post of William Conner a few miles south of Noblesville. Frederick Rapp was a member. They explored up and down the White River examining several locations and selected four sections at the mouth of Fall Creek. These, they said, offered the advantages of a navigable stream and fertility of soil. There were two squatters' cabins on the ground, George Pogue's and John and James McCormick's.

Alexander Ralston, one of the surveyors employed, had assisted Major L'Enfant in platting Washington and may have gained hints from that work. Either Samuel Merrill or Judge Jeremiah Sullivan suggested the aboriginal-Hellenic name, Indianapolis. The town was laid out in 1821. By the end of that year it had four or five hundred people. It did not become the capital for another three years. Mr. Merrill, who was Treasurer of State, brought the public records and the silver in four-horse wagons from Corydon.

By 1830 there were symptoms of enough money to erect a state-house. Ithiel Town and Andrew J. Davis, of New York, were the architects and they were at the head of their profession. It looked fine on the outside—a building two hundred feet long by one hundred wide, on the order of the Parthenon except for the one-hundred-per-cent.-American dome. But it was a charming sham, for the foundation was of soft blue, Bluff limestone and the superstructure partly of brick, partly of lath-covered woodwork, all coated with stucco plaster. Before the delightful lazy old building gave way to the present state-house in the late 'eighties it looked decidedly like a Greek ruin.

The squatters of Fall Creek were not the only ones in Indiana. They were all through the New Purchase, as they had been all through the south. Everywhere they thrust ahead of the extinguishment of Indian titles and the arrival of the surveyors. Since the beginning of the century the surveyor had been busy trying to catch up. As soon as a tract was surveyed it was offered for sale at the nearest land office at an auction which lasted for two or three weeks, with a minimum price of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre. After the auction the land left unsold was offered at the minimum figure. But at the auction a speculator might outbid the squatter, and the squatter who had cleared land did not like it at all when he was ejected. For years he fought with Congress for his right to acquire the land at the minimum price; and finally he got it. Meanwhile, singly and in cahoots, the squatters fought the speculators.

Ratcliff Boon of southern Indiana was the squatters' advocate in Congress. He simply exploded at the charge that they were “lawless intruders and land pirates” and rose valiantly to defend the adventurous sons of the West.

Great changes went on in these pregnant years. Two years after the cabin was built in the forest clearing, you might see wide fields of corn and wheat, a nascent orchard. In ten years, the forest trees and log buildings would likely be gone, and a brick house there instead. It might even be a thing of beauty, like the stately Lanier mansion at Madison. The settler who once yielded the ax has become in turn member of the Assembly, justice of the peace and county judge, or has grown rich on pork packing or land speculation. His lady, who once wore linsey-woolsey, now appears in showy toilets of brocade or taffeta, with full skirts much be-flounced and worn over a large hoop. The round front of her bonnet is filled with a flower garden. On stage-coach or river steamer the gentleman himself would be wearing a claw-hammer coat of colored broadcloth, finished with a low velvet collar and brass buttons, over a buff waistcoat and a ruffled shirt. He flourished a cane and b'godded for emphasis.

This transition age saw curious contrasts of ignorance and elegance, of democrat upheaval and social distinctions made by new-found wealth. Quackery and medical superstition were as prevalent as sickness. The madstone, an aluminous shale, or sometimes a small bone from the wild deer, was counted valuable as a remedy for hydrophobia, snake poison and septic diseases. Some wizard folk could “blow the fire”

## The Old-Time Doctor and the Grange . . .

The old-time family doctor usually had sketchy education, scanty knowledge, a shelf of medical books not five feet wide. But he learned in the school of experience, practised a practical medicine, surgery, dentistry, at call. A glutton for service, he was loved, feared, venerated, a pilot in sickness, a friend in health. He knew all the family sins and secrets, kept the trust. Calomel and quinine were his standbys. In the war his service was as merciful and unselfish as it had been back home in Indiana. He returned with the other boys in blue to find in the cities a new air of confusion, crime, hustle, enterprise and excitement. After the war many a Hoosier farmer felt let down. The thrill of pioneer and soldier days was gone. He was a man with a grievance; his wife, a drudge. As self-appointed members of the village committee the men found some diversion. They met around the cast-iron stove of the general store and post-office for checkers, petty gossip, political debate. Some new factor was needed to make this club truly social, educational, open to both sexes. That element was furnished by the Grange. In the early 'seventies it swept the farmer and the farmer's wife into its secret order. But its liberal spirit of cooperation withered in better times.







out of burned persons. An epileptic child would be passed through a hickory tree that had been split and wedged apart. Contagion could be warded off by asafetida hung in a bag at the neck. The charm doctor was consulted for all sorts of ills, mental or physical, though his duping was transparent. The curative power of roots and herbs was accepted implicitly.

It was as a herb doctor that the itinerant dealer in nostrums got his start. Bergamot, rhubarb and sweet basil were in the closet of every country house. Then patent medicines became the thing—Ward's Anodyne Pearls, Bateman's Pectoral Drops, Seneca Snake Root, Turlington's Original Balsam.

Adopting improved advertising methods, the medicine pedler grew into the Medicine Man with the Medicine Show and so gave zest to fakery by entertaining a countryside that had no professional theater, was poor in amusements and hungry for them. He set himself up in the public square under a flaming torch. Using a small boy as a horrible example, he barked his wares with ribald and perfervid eloquence.

During the late 'twenties, the 'thirties and on into the 'forties and 'fifties waves of reform spread from England to New England and through the nation. Consciences were working overtime, but these movements had their pleasant or exciting social features, too. Indiana, with its incoming tides of home-seekers, felt them all; religion, temperance, women's rights, anti-slavery, public education, and the treatment of the criminal, the insane and the dependent.

In 1819 one James P. Burgess, a Methodist preacher living near Richmond, circulated a mild sort of temperance pledge. A total abstinence society appeared in 1824, and in the 'thirties Temperance became Teetotalism generally. The churches took the lead, and the Friends were foremost. Henry Ward Beecher from his pulpits in Lawrenceburg and Indianapolis fulminated against drink. Agitation went on for a score of years—at first to regulate, and later to prohibit, the sale of intoxicating liquors.

Indiana was inclined to be lukewarm on the slavery question, not like Ohio, which was a hotbed of abolition from the start. The churches, except the Presbyterians and the Quakers, were indifferent. Four-fifths of the people of southern Indiana, southerners by birth or extraction, sympathized with the views of the South. But from the early days the rescue of runaway slaves by their masters made feeling. It was charged that slave dealers kidnaped free negroes in Indiana and sold them into slavery. Under the old Fugitive Slave law Hoosiers aided escape or not as they chose without much danger of trouble. But by the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 posses could

be impressed anywhere and any citizen called on to join in the capture. This stirred up the conscience and the ire of many.

The Anti-Slavery League, an organization of eastern abolitionists, sent secret agents to strategic points along the Ohio to assist fleeing slaves. Sympathizers made chains of stations up through the state which the refugees followed toward Canada.

The men at the stations would hide the negroes by day in attic, cellar or outhouse; by night, with horse and wagon, take them on to the next station. And indeed the women were deep in it all. They would get up at all hours to receive, feed, clothe and care for the black unfortunates, often in rags, wet and muddy, hungry, sick or injured. For this they might be ostracized—the feel-

ing against the abolitionists ran so high some were pelted with stones and rotten eggs—and they might be arrested, for they were flagrantly breaking the law.

The most famous route led from Lawrenceburg to Newport and Fort Wayne. At Newport was Levi Coffin, the Quaker, whose labors were so devoted and successful he was called "King of the Underground Railroad" and his house its "Union Station." It gave shelter, first and last, to three thousand fugitives. Eliza of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* stopped there after crossing the Ohio with her child on floating cakes of ice.

A moral repugnance to the whipping post, as well as a desire to utilize the labor of prisoners, led to a state prison in 1821. The first year only one convict could be found to enjoy its hospitality.

In the humanitarian causes of the 'forties, the condition of the deaf and dumb, the blind, and the insane was not overlooked. Effective effort on their behalf was led, in Indiana, by her forward-looking Governor Whitcomb, who, when the state finances were in almost hopeless depression, secured a state school for the deaf and dumb, with a large building, a hospital for the insane, and a school for the blind, all at or near Indianapolis.

To Governor Whitcomb, again, and to Robert Dale Owen, and most to Caleb Mills of Wabash, Indiana owes the culmination of the whole Reform movement: her system of free public schools. It was a long fight, and a bitter. In 1852, a law was passed that laid the foundations for the district school system supported by taxation. The State Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional, but it was reinstated in 1885. \* \* \* \* \*

For Indiana the Civil War was not just an affair of four years of actual fighting. It lasted for forty years after the fighting was over. At least that long the passions it enkindled continued to flare up, the organizations it brought into being continued to influence politics, and for a public man his war record continued asset or liability.

If this Second Revolution remained until the end of the century, its roots went back to the beginnings of the nation. For three score years and more the Union had been preserved only by peaceable adjustments between the divergent economics of the North and South. The same spirit of compromise was shown in apportioning the Northwest to freedom, the region below the Ohio to slavery.

The struggle of conflicting sectional interests grew until the Nullification dispute of 1833 almost disrupted the Union. In that dispute the protective tariff eclipsed slavery as the paramount issue. Indiana was too much occupied with her Internal Improvements to concern herself much with the national situation, but she was for Andy Jackson against Calhoun, she was with gallant Harry of the West.

Feeling again came to a head in 1850 when the annexation of Texas, the War with Mexico and the acquisition of territory stretching to the west coast forced new decisions. Here Indiana was vitally interested. Hoosiers had pioneered to Texas, had fought in Mexico, and the western territory beckoned to the sons and daughters of Indiana. The widening breach made compromise more difficult than before.

The fear lay not in the abolition movement but in something far more fundamental. The North with her amazing growth had acquired "the exclusive power of controlling the government," and the South was without means to stop it. The delicate balance of power was gone. It must be restored.

As the irrepressible conflict inevitably grew nearer, Indiana stood for the Union, as she had stood for all the compromises that had kept it patched. The central location of the state imposed this attitude.

From the beginning the state had been bound to the South by ties of consanguinity and commerce. The South was its great source of immigration, and in 1860 an extensive trade was still carried on with the planter states. But by 1860 Indiana was fastened also with hoops of steel to the industrial North and Central East. The National Road, the artificial waterways, steamers carrying goods up-stream, the long-haul railroads had given us a frontage on the Atlantic, a greater

## Expansion . . .

Reconstruction split the state along party lines, but all were glad when war wounds were healed by Hayes's liberal policy. The pioneer period ended, modern Indiana began, in the early 'seventies. The economic problems that then emerged are still largely the problems that concern us. War had stimulated production enormously—the improvement of land, the use of farm machinery, manufacturing outside the home. After the war, prices fell. Class-conscious farmers blamed the middlemen, the freight rates, tight money. The railroad scandals, the collapse of railroad promoters brought on the panic of 'seventy-three. It hit Indiana, closed banks and factories, foreclosed farms enforced a spirit of conservatism for many years. The greenback issue divided the nation into creditor East and debtor West. Indiana stood with the West. Natural processes of rehabilitation ended the depression in six years, ushered in an era of expansion and prosperity. The center of population shifted to Indiana, stayed there. Railroad construction in the state climbed by more than a thousand miles in every decade. Telegraph wires paralleling the tracks brought the news of the world to the Hoosier breakfast table. The telephone, at first a toy, became a business necessity, a social godsend. In the Gay 'Nineties Indiana was entering the new industrial age, with all its wonders—and all its worries.







and a quicker market than the old southern outlet. Settlers had siphoned in by these new routes, bringing their convictions and prejudices. The large influx of Germans, particularly with the revolution of 1848, a substantial, industrial and idealistic class, strengthened a community of feeling with the manufacturing North against the planter South. The railroads alone were enough to determine the alliance of Indiana with the Union cause.

But if Indiana stood for the Union, it did not excite itself for abolition. There were abolitionists, like George W. Julian, but they were few, and either positively unpopular or with only a local and limited following. The fugitive slave law was not liked, nor those who hunted the poor fugitives. But, for that matter, the presence of the negro himself was not relished. Entry of free negroes was forbidden in the new Constitution of 1851, suffrage was denied them and contracts with them were declared void. After the war had begun, the feeling remained evident. In the special session of 1861, legislation was proposed that any one who married a negro or mulatto should be incompetent as a witness.

Truth is, that though slavery had been forbidden by the Ordinance of 1787, it long existed here in the form of indentured service. The fact that it did not grow must not obscure the fact that the fundamental law was circumvented to permit its existence. Its desuetude was due, not to moral repugnance, but to a deep and wide conviction that it was an economic evil.

The legislature of 1861 went clearly and emphatically on record that we were not fighting to free the slaves, but to preserve the Union. The extreme difficulty experienced in getting the Thirteenth and the Fifteenth Amendments through the legislature gives a slant on the abiding views of the people. When the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified, negroes were excluded from voting and it was not until 1881 that the state constitution removed this disability. Indiana may be seen therefore as occupying the middle of the road, both on the map and in opinion. It was the Republicans of Indiana who insured the nomination of Lincoln by lining up for him before the convention opened in the Chicago Wigwam. They were for him because he was for the preservation of the Union. They were for him even more because they were against Seward and his extreme position. The Democrats of southern Indiana were equally against radicalism. They were for Douglas.

When Secession became an overt act, Indiana, while strong for the Union, was doubtful if it should be maintained by force.

## Woman's Place

The nineteenth century found woman a social and legal slave. It left her man's social and, save for the suffrage, his legal equal. In this liberation Frances Wright and Robert Dale Owen of Indiana played leading roles. The Owenite community, giving like privileges to the sexes, started a movement. The eloquence of Frances Wright speeded it. Against ribald opposition the arguments of Owen procured, step by step, the right of a married woman to own and control her property. The vote, for which the reformers cared most, was not won here until the Nineteenth Amendment. Red, white and blue ribbons waved together in a crusade against the intemperance engendered by the war. Minerva of New Harmony was among the first women's clubs in the United States. The Propylaeum of Indianapolis the second women's club-house. To Hoosier women seeking to get outside themselves and to express themselves, the earnest clubs have given blessed opportunity. They have been adult education, forum, recreation, stimulation. They have thriven on this soil. In the heyday of the side-bar buggy many a Hoosier maid was wooed behind the hoofs of old home Dobbin or the livery-stable nag with disconcerting tail. At the old swimmin'-hole the boy learned to give and take a dare. Anointed with fishin'-worm oil he indulged in stark and happy antics.

The firing on the flag of Sumter changed all that. Indiana plumped for war, and in its prosecution poured out its blood and treasure. The number of troops furnished in the four years of conflict reached 210,476. Of the total military strength of the North only fifteen per cent. saw service, but of the total military strength of Indiana, seventy-five per cent.

Enrollment was rapid. There were some veterans of the Mexican War but most of the volunteers had had no military experience.

It was in the western theater naturally that the Indiana regiments were to play their chief rôle. At Donelson, Shiloh, Perryville, Stone River, Vicksburg, Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain, Resaca, Kenesaw Mountain, Atlanta, Franklin, Nashville, and a hundred less-

er battles they fought with gallantry, in steadily increasing numbers, and with steadily mounting losses. Indiana men led the wild scramble to scale the heights of Missionary Ridge. At a conference at Indianapolis Secretary Stanton commissioned Grant to replace Rosecrans in command of the Union forces, in October, '63.

In the East, a few Indiana regiments fought in the green mountain valleys of West Virginia, and were represented in McClellan's Peninsular Campaign, at second Bull Run, at Antietam (where the Fourteenth, Nineteenth and the Twenty-Seventh Indiana covered themselves with undying glory), at Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor and the siege of Petersburg. The Third Indiana Cavalry was on hand at Appomattox to see the apple tree and hear the curtain rung down.

The only real taste of war which the folks back home were to experience was Morgan's Raid, of little consequence in general military operations, but for five days a furor of rough and rapid riding and plain and fancy plundering.

Immediately after the capture of Fort Donelson, the first great battle in the West, where a thousand Hoosier soldiers were killed or wounded, Governor Morton hurried to the front with doctors, nurses, supplies. He organized hospital service at Indianapolis and in Ohio River towns. After Shiloh his efforts for the care of the sick and the wounded were redoubled. Many women became nurses and attendants. Many more busied themselves at home making hospital supplies, sewing and knitting for the soldiers. Others took the place of the men in the fields.

One of the highlights of Indiana war history is the care of Confederate prisoners at Camp Morton, Indianapolis. They came in after Donelson, a motley crew. Colonel Richard Owen was in charge, and so considerate was his treatment of the captured that fifty years afterward Confederate veterans placed a bust in the State-House to commemorate his humanity. There were some who thought the Indianapolis citizens quite too kind to the rebel officers.

Oliver P. Morton was a great war governor, in energy and resourcefulness outstanding, the only executive in the Northwest to serve throughout the period of armed conflict. He faced many a crisis—probably the most serious that of 1863, when the session of the legislature ended after party wrangles without appropriations. Morton, assuming a virtual dictatorship, borrowed the needed funds. He was the man for the hour. And next to him in honor one places James F. D. Lanier of Madison, whose New York firm, Winslow, Lanier & Company, lent Morton the money on the sole security of the good faith of a future legislature.

But, in praising these out-and-outers it is not necessary to withhold a tribute to the honest patriotism of those constitutional Democrats who were staunch for the Union, but who raised their voices to demand that the war be conducted with due regard to the fundamental law and the bill of rights. There were some, the peace Democrats, who went farther and were in conscience opposed to the war. Other Hoosiers, going farther still, openly fought in the Confederate Army.

The most bitter trouble came over the draft, and this would seem surprising when one considers that of the total number enlisted in Indiana less than nine per cent. were drafted men; the rest were volunteers. The opposition largely developed through the effort to equalize the burden of raising troops in all districts of the state. Enrollment officers were murdered in Rush, Sullivan and other counties. Armed men gathered in resistance. Democrats feared discrimination, and prominent leaders of the party responded to the call to counsel obedience to the laws. The violence was generally thought to have been inspired by the "Order of the Knights of the Golden Circle." It had been organized in the South before the war for the protection and promotion of southern interests, and by 1860 had spread into Indiana, Ohio and Illinois. In 1863 the society became the "Order of American Knights" and in 1864 the "Sons of Liberty." The Indiana membership has been estimated all the way from seventeen thousand to one hundred thousand.





INDUSTRIAL PANEL 8



On May 20, 1863, there was a Democratic mass meeting day at Indianapolis. Thousands came armed. There was no disturbance of the peace. As the trains were leaving soldiers demanded the surrender of the arms. On one train, bound for Cincinnati, the passengers threw their weapons into Pogue's Run rather than give them up. This was the famous "Battle of Pogue's Run." \* \* \* \* \*

But it is not a question here of root doctors, or of quacks, but of the conscientious. As a matter of fact they were often practically efficient.

The scope of his practise was wide, you might say boundless. He was a general practitioner, and "general" connotes a multitude of bodily ills. He treated acute and chronic diseases. He must command a practical surgery as well as a practical medicine—set broken bones, reduce dislocations, sew up wounds; he must play dentist at need and extract the raging tooth. He must wait at the bedside of the expectant mother and be gifted with an obstetrical dexterity and resourcefulness. He must care for all the ills of childhood. He was anything and everything but a specialist.

came the buggy doctor or the phaeton physician.

Mechanical inventions created great excitement, saved labor on the farms, banished much discomfort. Fruit-growing, stock-raising, dairying diversified the farmer's interests, raised his revenue. A spirit of inquiry and progress stirred in him. The service of Purdue University to Hoosier agriculture has been beyond calculation. It has brought the benefit of science to every acre of the state. Various other agencies have contributed to farm education and rural betterment. On the independent farmer has been bestowed almost embarrassing attentions. Discounted in the so-called gay decade, many Hoosiers became Populists, but the state stuck by sound money. It was once more the epitome of the nation. In the World War Indiana furnished more volunteers, in proportion to her population, than any other state. Acreage of corn and wheat was enormously extended. The value of farm products more than doubled in ten years. In a swirl of hope, farmers bought land at top prices, slapped on mortgages. These were whoopee days. Everybody was doing it now. Tenancy increased. The owners went to town. Again prices fell, farm-land values went careering down, the mortgage problem intensified. Over-production, debt and taxes have made the depression most depressing to the farmer. State and federal legislation has galloped to his aid, and help is expected from Nature and horse sense.

Many of the Hoosier doctors must have left only home cure and self-help to take care of country ills when they went away to serve the Union. Their work on the battle-field and in hospital was as merci-

But the picture need not be all black. If some men were ruined by the war, many more had been awakened by its stress and excitement. For these it had been a tremendous energizer. They found in it a liberal education. They had learned how to make roads, build bridges, replace railroad and telegraph lines. Officers had developed executive ability. Few soldiers returned without an increased ability for the job that came to hand.

Admittedly overdrawn, this portrait. Mr. Nicholson exempts the prosperous who steered clear of mortgages, took pride in inherited acres, increased their holdings, if not rich had money, were ambitious, efficient, enterprising, often entered politics. Of these there was no inconsiderable number.

The wife of the aggrieved farmer was sadder still, at the worst and too often a poor drudge, devoted to incessant toil that was barren of labor-saving devices, without relief until her daughters were old enough to help her out, perhaps breaking down before then, perhaps going crazy from the sheer monotony of a farmhouse that stayed musty though there was a riot of sunshine outside. She was cabined, cribbed, confined by her little world of stupid work, with little escape, rare recreation. Church was her only periodic escape, a church of small comfort, a narrow piety, an outpouring of the vials of eternal wrath, a deepening of the encircling gloom—and a hungry minister to cook for after his dreary sermon.

The men had more diversion—of a sort. They all belonged to the self-appointed village committee. Through this crucible must pass every bit of news before its effect on the community could be accepted or determined. No preacher or teacher, they say, could hold his job if the committee was against him. Sessions were almost continuously in progress, with the attendance shifting and varying. The meeting might be at the blacksmith shop, or the shoe-shop. The gang would get in there and brace their backs against the wall and, jack-knives in hand, "settle questions that had went unsettled long enough." Political questions especially. Your true Hoosier will talk politics in his sleep or after he is dead.

But the club met with particular regularity at the village store, which was apt to be also the post-office. The circle formed about the cast-iron stove, the coal scuttle and *perhaps* the cuspidor. A game of checkers would be going on all the while.

The pettiness of the talk was often appalling. Nothing human was foreign to the discussion. Nobody's business was his own. No frailty could be concealed. Quarreling was frequent. Some new element was needed to make the club truly social, and educational, to break down its sex exclusiveness, and give it touch with the outside world.

Farmers thought they found this element in the Grange,







or Patrons of Husbandry. The founder of the order, O. H. Kelley, was a clerk in the Department of Agriculture in Washington and owned a farm in Minnesota. He was acquainted with John Weir, of Terre Haute, whom he appointed special deputy for Indiana. Honey Creek Grange No. 1, organized in 1869 in Vigo County, was the first in Indiana; twenty-seven men and women joined. "Rural 2" was soon formed in Terre Haute and "Capital 3" in Indianapolis. A State Grange was organized in 1872 at Terre Haute, where the masters, past-masters and deputies of the order gathered in conclave. When the organization was at its height in 1875, there were two thousand local granges in Indiana.

Solon J. Buck, the historian of the granger movement, has described the social opportunities it afforded. These were generally in connection with the stated meetings held in secret once a month, or twice a month, or even once a week. The farmers and their wives, their sons over fourteen, their daughters over sixteen, met of an evening in the schoolhouse, or at the store, or the village hall (if any), or at a member's house, until a grange hall might be built, to perform a pleasing ritual.

The Grange was the first secret order to admit women into its membership. It gave them more than equal opportunity, for some offices were open only to them while all others were open to both sexes. The lecturer who had charge of the local programs was apt to be a woman. The master of a local grange must, by rule, bring his wife to the state meeting; the master of the state grange, his wife to the national assembly. The Grange was qualified to free the farmer's wife from the status of drudge and raise her to the dignity of companion.

There were charitable features. Members of a local grange would gather to harvest for a sick brother or to rebuild a Patron's house damaged by fire or tornado, quite as in the old pioneer days.

And there were educational activities. Each local grange had something of the character of a literary society, in which the members might train themselves in public speaking and the rules of order. Quantities of tracts, folders, leaflets, handbooks, guides, manuals were distributed by the National Grange. Organs of the farmers' movement—like the *Indiana Farmer*—sprang up. To take his part in the wide range of discussion many a farmer found himself doing an unwonted lot of reading.

Why did the Grange decline? Because its purposes soon ceased to be mainly social and were turned to political and

economic propaganda. It embarked on cooperative enterprises before the farmer was ready for them. They failed. The deliquescence of the movement was rapid after 1875. The farmer, who had been a man with a grievance, lost his grievance with the coming of better times. Misery had loved the company of the Grange. Misery disappeared. The Grange died away. \* \* \* \* \*

When Andrew Johnson, plebeian and patriot, tried to carry out the policies of Abraham Lincoln for the healing of the nation, Indiana split along party lines. The Democrats, mostly of the southern section of the state, ardently supported the President. The Republicans as ardently supported the Congress in its measures repressive of the South, in military reconstruction and negro suffrage.

Feeling ran high. When the President tried to speak from the balcony of the Bates House in Indianapolis in the bitter campaign of '66, the noise was so great that he could not go on. Shots were fired, a man killed; one shot pierced the window and almost struck General Grant. After the Fifteenth Amendment had been ratified the excitement died down. Many Republicans joined with Democrats in a desire for amnesty. The state went for Tilden, but many Democrats joined with Republicans in satisfaction over Hayes's liberal policy toward the South.

The modern history of Indiana now begins, a history less local, provincial, distinctive, more thoroughly welded with the whole national and industrial development. Yet the state preserved an individuality due to its commingling of conservative and western traits, which both in politics and economics kept it uncertain and pivotal. The political and economic problems which appeared in the 'seventies are still in large degree the problems that concern us in 1933.

An industrial revolution was in progress before, during and immediately following the Civil War. Already in the 'fifties homespun manufacturing was being undermined by the railways. Lower freight rates, faster service enabled the farmer to ship wheat, corn, hogs to market, instead of flour, whisky, pork. Now he bought, outside the home, articles formerly made in it. Labor was released. Young women turned from the spinning-wheel to teaching school; young men turned to clearing more land, raising larger crops.

Then two hundred thousand men were pulled out of productive labor for the pursuit of war, practically every able-bodied laborer who could be spared. To support them governments became buyers of supplies at prices unprecedented, unheard of. These prices spurred the farmer to reach out for labor, to buy new and better implements, to employ every agency for the increase of his product.

The improved land of Indiana was increased by more than two million acres between 1860 and 1870. The value of farm products, including live stock, almost doubled. The value of manufactured products more than doubled, with those lines most closely related to agriculture showing the greatest gain.

Then the war was over, and the boys came back. And many were to find that they were no longer needed. The machine had taken their place. In droves they went west. And though, in spite of that, the population increase of the decade was nearly twenty-five per cent., its growth was not so rapid as the increase in production. Commodity prices began to break. Machinery prices went up; the middleman was blamed. Freight rates went up; the railroads were condemned. The value of money went up, debts increased; inflation was called for. Wheat on the Indianapolis market brought two dollars in 1866 and only one dollar in 1880; other farm produce declined in like ratio. But the profits of the middlemen were not so curtailed. Nor did the freight rates respond. It cost more than fifty cents a bushel to ship grain from Indiana to the seaboard in 1869, and so corn that would be selling for seventy cents in the East might not be selling for more than fifteen cents in the home market.

Unrest and discontent showed themselves in the rapid growth of the Patrons of Husbandry, or the Grange, in Indiana between 1869 and 1875. Though at first social in its purposes, the Grange became almost immediately economic in its designs.

For their part, the railroads began to pool their interests to hold the freight rates up. As a matter of fact, they were as deep in trouble as the shippers.

The Credit Mobilier scandal made a mighty stir. It shattered the reputation of Schuyler Colfax, besmirched various Congressmen. Panic spread over the nation, hit Indiana. Factories closed or slowed to half-time. The Indianapolis Board of Trade was deserted. A run on the Indianapolis banks reduced them to uselessness.

John Caven, Mayor of Indianapolis in '76, sought some self-liquidating plan which would give labor to the unemployed, saw that it would be accomplished by a great belt

## Leisure and Literature . . .

To some men the old-time saloon seemed the last masculine refuge in a world the women were coming to own. It was the poor man's club, and not the poor man's only. Prominent citizens imbibed the bar-keeper's liquor and his inside dope. The saloon had to go, not less because it wrecked individual lives than because it was outpost and blockhouse of corrupt political control. To state and county fairs the people thronged to see new machinery, new methods, exhibits of the best in agriculture. They learned much. But they gathered also to see side-shows and the balloon ascension. They made carnival. Fair days were days of real sport. The literary fecundity of Indiana is famous. The tranquil beauty of her landscape is a fair field for the poet. The strong native element, the melting of southern warmth and Yankee dryness, the tangy heritage, the Hoosier "difference" afford inviting scope to the novelist. Biography and history thrive on the rapt interest in politics. The distinctive Indiana school of painters have given pictorial expression to something as indigenous as the poetry of Riley, the humor of Ade, the fiction of Tarkington and Nicholson. Public libraries have opened wells of learning and delight to citizens always thirsty for books. Art schools, associations, exhibitions train the public taste, train and encourage the artist.







road around the city, hooking up with the various railroads entering from all directions, and connecting with a large stockyard where immense shipments could be received and dispatched. The Mayor averted a labor war. The Indianapolis Belt Railroad was the first of its kind ever built.

What had happened to money, and what should be done about it, were aspects of the depression that most agitated the farmer. If he had contracted a debt when prices were high, the debt had evidently increased factually if he paid it when prices were low. He was disposed to think that the chief reason for the low prices was the scarcity of money. During the Civil War the Federal Government had issued four hundred and fifty million dollars of unsupported paper money, called "greenbacks." It was intended to retire this currency as soon as possible, but post-bellum conditions interfered. The debtor classes—farmers and laborers—saw in contraction only a fresh boost to the rising prices; they wanted expansion instead, more greenbacks. The greenback issue divided the nation sectionally again, the creditor East against the debtor West. President Grant vetoed a bill for more greenbacks. Indiana newspapers stormed at him. The Tall Sycamore of the Wabash hurled vitriolic denunciation.

The Independent Party, fostered by the Grange, held its first state convention in Indianapolis in 1874, declaring for greenbacks as the only circulating paper money, for abandonment of the "gold-basis fallacy," and for "one grand reform of the government from tail to snout." It merged into the National Greenback Party. Indiana was partial to third parties.

The "Mugwumps" and the Civil Service Reformers in Indiana, a select, staunch group ready to suffer for an ideal, men of the stamp of George W. Julian, William Dudley Foulke, Lucius B. Swift, favored Cleveland against Blaine in '84, Benjamin Harrison of Indianapolis against Cleveland in '88, Cleveland against Harrison in '92. The tariff became the first clear-cut economic issue since the Civil War. The Hoosier reformers forced a clean-up of the revolting effects of the spoils system in the Indiana Hospital for the Insane and other benevolent institutions.

Natural processes of rehabilitation had ended the depression in '79. The great natural resources of the state, with new discoveries and developments, the rapid increase of population, the continued construction of railroads, were contributing forces. Provision for the annual retirement of the greenbacks led to more gold coming in to be exchanged for paper money than greenbacks coming in to be exchanged for gold. The nation's center of population shifted to Indiana, and has remained there.

## Coal, Gas, Oil, Brick

In step with the railroads the coal industry has expanded in Indiana. With railroads running all ways from Terre Haute and all serving the vast near-by deposits, a wide market was exploited. Strip mining works devastation to the landscape but produces half the tonnage. Forestry seeks to turn the eyesore into beauty and new wealth. To the layman coal-mining suggests long and bitter battles between capital and labor. Prolonged they have been in Indiana, if less ugly and bloody than elsewhere in America. Both sides have suffered. Much business has drifted to other fields. Another problem joins the big parade. The governor has called on Hoosiers to use Hoosier coal. The prodigal waste of natural gas is our greatest lesson in conservation. The gas era began in '86, in an area greater than any other known. Wells were sunk everywhere. The gas belt looked like a porous plaster. Factories came scurrying. Wealth multiplied. Its cheapness made the people blind to its clean value. They abused it wantonly. Flambeaux flared by day and night in towns, on farms. A hundred million cubic feet were wasted every day. Soon the supply dwindled. Petroleum had its boom like gas, still yields a million barrels a year. Indiana enjoys an abundance of clays, shales, sands for many kinds of brick.

Railroad construction kept climbing. Express companies, from the original Adams Express established in Indianapolis in 1847, kept pace with the railroads in development and extension of service.

The magnetic telegraph made the globe a tight little planet. The legislature in 1848 passed an act for the incorporation of telegraph companies. A line was built by the Ohio, Indiana and Illinois Telegraph Co., better known as the O'Reilly line from its principal owner. It ran from Dayton to Chicago along highways, with Richmond, Indianapolis and Lafayette intermediate points of prominence. Dispatches were first sent on May twelfth. In 1856 the Western Union made an arrangement with the Associated Press of Indianapolis whereby the newspapers were supplied

with telegraphic news. Henceforth the reading public had daily touch with the great world.

The telephone was invented by Dr. Alexander Graham Bell in 1875 and first demonstrated to the public at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. The next year the telephone exhibit was on display at the Indiana State Fair, held in Morton Place, Indianapolis. It consisted of two instruments, placed in opposite corners of the building, connected by a pair of annunciator wires. The first telephone exchange in Indianapolis was opened in 1878 in Room No. 66 of the Vance Block (now the Indiana Trust Company building). It was called Bell's Telephone Company. The pioneers were E. W. Gleason and E. T. and James Gilliland. Companies were soon formed and exchanges installed in several other cities and towns in Indiana. Even villages sported exchanges. One of the earliest was at Nineveh, in Johnson County. In 1883 the Central Union Telephone Company was organized in Chicago, with strong Western Union affiliations, and purchased a majority of the telephone exchanges in Indiana, Illinois and Ohio.

City water works systems were installed in the 'seventies. Electric lights came in about the same time as the telephone. Electric street-cars were replacing the old horse or mule cars in the early 'nineties.

In those Gay 'Nineties Indiana was entering the modern industrial age, with all its wonders—and all its worries. ❖ ❖

The nineteenth century found woman a social and legal slave, bound within the confines of her home and church, stripped of her personal property if she married. It left her man's social and, in all except the suffrage, his legal equal. In this emancipation Indiana, though slow and cautious to write the advance into enactments, played a notable part, due especially to one woman, Frances Wright, and one man, Robert Dale Owen.

Frances Wright, born in Dundee, Scotland, the rich ward of Jeremy Bentham, having come to America to found a negro community at Nashoba, Tennessee, and having seen it fail, arrived at New Harmony with Robert Owen's celebrated "boatload of knowledge." This was in the winter of 1825-26, and she some thirty years old. At once she made a deep impression on the community. She was a radical alike in politics, morals and religion. She had a strong, logical, independent mind, great eloquence, an undisciplined enthusiasm for benefiting her fellow creatures, a willingness to make great sacrifices, personal and pecuniary.

At New Harmony she saw a many-phased emancipation of women in effect before she preached it to the lyceum of the nation. Robert Owen's philosophy contemplated equal privileges for the sexes. The schools had been co-educational from the beginning. Women were given equal voice with men in legislation. Widows of members succeeded to the rights and privileges which their husbands had enjoyed. New Harmony did much to start a movement, and Frances Wright by her whirlwind lecture tours of the country did much to accelerate it.

In the 'fifties there was an active campaign in Indiana to secure to women some measure of political protection. The subject had been first brought up in 1843 by a petition to the Assembly. Nothing came of it. Three years later a married woman was given the right to make a will and to have her property at the time of marriage exempted from liability for her husband's debts. Robert Dale Owen argued eloquently at the Constitutional Convention of 1850 for the right of wives to separate property. In 1852 a married woman was given the ownership of real property which had belonged to her before marriage, and, in 1853, of personal property, but she might dispose of neither without her husband's consent. Real emancipation did not come until 1881, when, beside the right to own, she was given the right to control.

But the fight was waged most bitterly and persistently over the suffrage. There was a state convention in Indianapolis as far back as 1854, at which the women seemed like peasants of the sixteenth century pleading for liberation, and at which the men looking on were disposed to jeer. There was a close







and logical association between the abolition and the woman's suffrage movement. The abolitionist was generally a suffragist. Frances Wright and Robert Dale Owen were both. The Hoosier reformers pushed hard for suffrage. But not till 1917, three years before the Nineteenth Amendment, was the vote won and then the law was invalidated.

The drinking engendered by the war roused the forces of temperance to battle when the war was over. The white ribbons of the W. C. T. U. began waving in Ohio in 1873 and soon were waving all over Indiana. A Ladies' Temperance Convention in Fort Wayne the next year adopted ringing resolutions. The Grand Council of Temperance in '79 united the different organizations of the state for the purpose of concerted action and to promote the interest of candidates who favored a prohibition amendment. The churches were everywhere active. Before the century was out, the Indiana Anti-Saloon League was organized; it was the church militant against the liquor traffic. The lodges had fallen into supporting line. Laws regulating the sale of liquor had been passed. Absolute prohibition was more and more demanded.

The grand initiator, Frances Wright, took time off from reform long enough to start the culture group and so made her name blessed in another way by thousands of Indiana women. In the old community days at New Harmony she gathered about her a feminine coterie of kindred spirits for literary study and discussion. After it had lapsed for over twenty-five years it was revived in 1859 as the Minerva Society by Mrs. Constance Fauntleroy Runcie, granddaughter of Robert Owen. A club at Vernon was one of the earliest.

The Indianapolis Woman's Club was born in 1875. May Wright Sewall was one of the seven charter members. The Fortnightly Literary Club and the Catharine Merrill Club followed ten years after. In the 'seventies and 'eighties clubs were started in Cambridge City, Greencastle, Muncie, Marion, Frankfort, Lafayette, Greenfield and elsewhere—most of them "literary," though they might cover a wider scope than that adjective would strictly imply. A few were musical or travel or historical, and one took tours to places of interest.

Mrs. Sewall, acting for the Indianapolis Woman's Club, was a prime mover in the building of The Propylæum, by a stock company in which women only held the stock, for the use of the women's clubs, literary, artistic and social. It was the second woman's club-house in the United States, begun in trepidation, completed with no small sense of triumph.

In 1890 federated club work began in Indiana. The individual clubs were formed for self-culture, self-improvement, the federations for civic and educational ends.

While the wives and mothers thronged to the clubs for poetry, history, music and tea, or organized for uplift and reform, how was the young lady employing her leisure hours in these simpler days? It was the heyday of the horse and buggy, and many a Hoosier maid was wooed and won behind the hoofs of old home Dobbin or the livery-stable nag that always got his tail over the reins just as you were passing some one you wanted specially to impress.

And what of the Hoosier boy? His golden prime is written in the child world of Riley, and Riley alone has adequately celebrated his peculiar institution, his "trying ground" where he learned to "take it," the old swimmin'-hole. ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖

## Colleges and City Life . . .

In the early days higher education had nothing to do with the environment. It piously taught Greek to brawny youths with huge bare feet and one suspender each. Public opinion forced in time a course of study related to the life. Then boys and girls crowded to a noble state university, a score of other institutions, to enjoy bright and useful college years. The copper dome of a new state-house broke the Indianapolis sky-line. The Hotel English filled quaintly a quadrant of the Circle. The Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument rose in soaring beauty, to pay its tribute to the silent victors and to be a civic center for city, state and nation. The capital was a place of pleasant homes during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The citizen sat on his front porch, strolled across the lawn to exchange a friendly word with the folks next door, listened to the beaux serenade the pretty visitor. Bunty little street-cars, drawn by mules, would stop at a whistle from an up-stairs window. The people had time for everything—to think, talk, read, dance the lancers and embroider plush screens. Polite croquet and genteel archery were the sports until Papa and Mama and Little Willie all took to the bicycle. But there was no sport for the Hoosier like a torchlight parade.

The mechanization of farming confronts us—a particular phase of the new industrial age.

The McCormick reaper that started a revolution before the Civil War was a crude affair which merely cut the grain and left it unbound in piles. The Marsh harvester improved things by adding a platform where the men could stand and bind the grain. Wire-binders were unsatisfactory. The Appleby binder used twine for automatic self-binding. It made quick work of harvesting. In succession came swiftly corn planters, corn huskers, shellers, wheat drills, two-horse cultivators, improved harrows, steam threshers, horse rakes, riding plows, hay loaders, potato diggers.

An Indiana man contributed mightily. Attempts to produce a perfect chilled plow had been in vain—the soft spots known as blow holes had been the impediment—until James Oliver of South Bend invented the chilled steel mold-board in 1868. Easily scoured, cheap, adaptable to various soils, it leaped immediately into popularity. The Oliver works were to make Indiana one of the great plow manufacturing states.

When one considers the labor saved, the discomfort banished, the excitement of the people over farm inventions is easily grasped. New interests sprang up. Much more land was given to fruit-growing in the 'eighties and 'nineties. Orchards of the finest apples appeared over the state, including the hills of Brown and Monroe Counties once thought hopeless for all but scenery.

Edward Talbott had brought pure-bred short-horn cattle into Indiana as early as 1825, among the first registered stock of the state. After the panic of '73 farmers gave more and more attention to stock-raising. Dairy farming, especially in the northern counties and around Indianapolis, expanded rapidly.

The mental attitude of the farmer toward his vocation was undergoing a change, too. He had not thought of it as a science. He had reckoned it hard labor, fixed by tradition; when you tried experiments, you came a cropper. Those new-fangled machines were often a mystery to him. When they broke down he might let them stay that way. With the friendly competition of the state and county fairs, with the talk and discussion at the gatherings of the Grange and other associations, a new conception began to stir in him. A spirit of inquiry and progress animated him.

The founding of Purdue University had much to do with this. The Morrill Act of 1862 did more for the agriculture of the Union than any other one before it. It gave a land grant to every state for an agricultural and mechanical college.

The School of Agriculture offers a regular four-year plan of study, and a two-year plan not leading to a degree. The farmer's son is taught the whole business of scientific farming. The value of Purdue to Indiana farmers has been and remains incalculable. It has to-day an enrollment of over four thousand five hundred students, and through the manifold and various activities of its Department of Agricultural Extension it reaches, besides, hundreds of thousands of farmers and others who seek a knowledge of farm practise and rural betterment.

Various other agencies have contributed to farm education and improvement: agricultural instruction in the public schools, county agricultural agents, county and state fairs, boys' and girls' clubs. On the farmer has been bestowed an amount of attention that he has at times found embarrassing.

And as the Grange had provided the machinery for Discontent's expression in the 'seventies, so in the 'nineties the Farmers' Alliance and the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association were the political agencies, fed by a recrudescence of Grange. They contested class legislation, monopolies, trusts, contended for free silver (the old money issue in a new form), the direct election of senators, lower interest rates, a graduated income tax, woman's suffrage. The Populist vote in Indiana reached its peak in the election of 1894—nearly thirty thousand, and that was ten thousand less than the highest greenback vote. In '96 Populists of Indiana followed the National People's Party in coalition with the Democrats for William Jennings Bryan, but that is as far as their character-





INDUSTRIAL PANEL 10

## Electric Power, Motor-Cars, Steel

From that varied and abundant clay are fashioned a multitude of tile and terra-cotta products. Everywhere sidewalks, roads, buildings, bridges, piers, abutments declare the endurance of Portland cement made in Indiana of Indiana clay and lime. Wabash was one of the first of all cities to light the streets by electricity. Interurban tracks gridironed the state. Indianapolis remains the greatest electric railway center. Electric power production, harnessed to perform a thousand tasks, reaches 2,879,000,000 kilowatt hours a year. And Indiana has hardly begun to burn her white coal. The state is losing its old farming look. Smoke from a forest of stacks obscures the vision of the growing corn. The internal combustion engine arrived to do its part in changing the little old planet and the dear old state into something new and rapid, rich and strange. The first vehicle in America propelled by gasoline rattled along a Hoosier road. Elwood Haynes of Kokomo made the horseless carriage go. Indiana has kept up with the motor parade both in the making and the owning of cars. The state leads all states in miles of surfaced highway. Steel works and rolling mills comprise the largest industry. Ore by boat, coal by railway converge on the Calumet country, where Indiana has her only great problem of the melting-pot.



istic spirit of independence would permit—they nominated a separate state ticket. In that colorful, exciting campaign, a fourth party, the Gold Democrats, held their national convention in Indianapolis. The farmers of the New West were for Bryan, believing free silver meant more money in circulation, higher prices for their produce. But the people of Indiana were not so sure. The state was growing older, more conservative, drawn steadily in closer bonds of business interest with the East, while not losing touch with the prairies and the South. It was in a peculiar position, as in Civil War days, to understand both houses. It was again the epitome of the nation. Indiana gave a moderate majority to McKinley and "sound money."

In '98 when the National Guard was ordered out to remember and avenge the *Maine*, it assembled at the State Fair Grounds in Indianapolis. Populism declined. New discoveries of gold, better prices quieted the farmers' agitation. The state was turning more to manufacturing, less predominantly to agriculture. Population was moving from the country to the town. Counties, cities, towns celebrated with pageantry the centennial of statehood. In the World War Indiana furnished more troops by voluntary enlistment, in proportion to her population, than any other state; had over one hundred and thirty thousand men in the army; raised about five hundred million dollars in the war financing; gave the first American soldier to die on a battle-field of France. In the production and conservation of the food supply, G. I. Christie of Purdue was made director of the war farm work. Acreage of corn and wheat was enormously extended.

The Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association, Inc., has for the past thirteen years carried on that cooperative buying endeavor which was once a great hope of the Grange. The subordinate county associations assemble the orders and send them down to the state office. Goods are shipped at a margin over the wholesale price, and the county office takes another margin, making the cost to the farmer the regular retail price. But at the end of the year these margins after deduction of operating expenses are refunded to the farmer.

In quality of corn Indiana leads the nation, wins all the prizes in the corn shows, ranks third in quantity. Of the state's cultivated acreage twenty-two per cent. goes into corn, eleven per cent. into hay, nine per cent. each into wheat and oats.

Mechanization has gone on. According to Roll, the value of farm implements and machinery on Indiana farms increased from some twenty-seven million dollars in 1900 to one hundred twenty-seven million in 1920. Indiana farms are being electrified at the rate of two thousand one hundred a year, and one farm of every six now uses electricity for power and lighting.

Prices rose steadily from the beginning of the century to the World War, then *jumped*. The value of farm products more than doubled between 1910 and 1920. In a swirl of hope, the farmers bought land at top prices, slapped on mortgages to do it. The Federal Government by multiplying farm loan agencies made mortgaging easy and tempting. The farm mortgage debt of the state nearly doubled in that decade.

Long before the stock-market smash, the Hoosier farmer had begun to feel the reaction, suffer the pinch of falling prices. Farm property went off a billion dollars between 1920 and 1925. Now it is estimated at about half that of 1920. Corn and wheat went to new lows. After the World War the movement toward the cities became more rapid and many farmers turned their farms over to tenants, lowering both agricultural and general community standards. Now this seems to have been arrested, and the pendulum swings "back to the farm."

The mortgage problem has intensified, with a considerable rise during the past two years because of a resort to chattel mortgages. Taxes have been a burden, adding to the farmer's puzzling task of getting more for his product than it costs to produce. A tariff and embargo war among the nations has shut off the foreign market for grain. Legislation has galloped to the rescue. In the state effort has been made to shift the weight of taxes from land to income and intangibles.

The summer packing of pork which revolutionized the industry was an Indiana invention. The "summer-pack" rapidly expanded the packing industry and its exports. Nearly 3,340,000 hogs, fattened with eighty per cent. of the state's corn crop, are sold annually from Indiana farms, bringing the highest prices in the corn belt and producing twenty-five per cent. of the farmer's cash income. ■ ■ ■ ■ ■

If women were chattels at the beginning of the nineteenth century, men were lap-dogs by the end of it. Drinking in those days was about the only manly art left, the only surviving sport for men. The saloon generally stood on the corner, with entrances on both streets and beer signs to allure the male pedestrian on either. In the dim interior the bar counter ran all along one side, with the celebrated brass rail in front of it. Sawdust on the floor, cheese and leberwurst at the end of the bar, a little round pretzel bowl, a prehistoric pickle, the inveterate pretense of "Free Lunch" were high spots of atmosphere. The saloon was the "poor man's club." But indeed not his only. Eminent business men, even Mr. Banker, slipped into discreet places in discreet alleys.

From the first there was close connection in Indiana between corrupt politics and drinking. In the old days bribery meant treating to corn whisky. The best treater proved the best candidate. Political issues were liquefied and decided by barrel hospitality. In due time saloons became the outposts, blockhouses and underground railroad stations of political control, and the brewery was the citadel. It was a well-oiled machine that could be set almost instantly into effective motion. The outraged sense of Indiana was finally aroused against the saloon, not only because of the wreck of individual lives, but perhaps even more because of this infiltration of liquor business in civic business.

A social institution more picturesque and far more wholesome, if decidedly more intermittent, was the county fair and its big brother, the state fair. To the first state fair at Military Park in Indianapolis town and country came from twenty to a hundred miles in horse or ox wagons, camping along the way, enjoying the balmy air of Indian summer. Fireworks were displayed each night, and P. T. Barnum's museum and menagerie furnished endless amusement. After being passed around to various cities, the state fair settled down to permanent location in the state capital, at first in Morton Place and after 1892 in its present grounds. The colosseum was built in 1908.

The county fairs offered their annual diversion on a homelier and more neighborly scale. Pedlers found it easy to oversell the fair-gazers. Spielers for candy, peanuts, red lemonade, whistling whips, made their way in and out. Cheap side-shows traveled from one fair to another, displaying their faked monstrosities. But the balloon ascension was the big event. When the sulky races began, all the men crowded over to cheer. Deacon Budd might bet a little on the quiet.

If such were the patterns of Indiana life, what of the interpreters of that life? It would be forgotten and meaningless without them. There are the racy recorders of pioneer experience—Sandford C. Cox, Oliver H. Smith, D. D. Banta, W. W. Woollen, and the pioneer historians, John B. Dillon and William M. Cockrum; and the later historians whose patient research and constructive craft have brought the Indiana story into order: Jacob Piatt Dunn, Logan Esarey, George S. Cottman, Julia H. Levering, George B. Lockwood, Kate Milner Rabb, and Charles Roll, author of the latest, best arranged and most up-to-date account of Indiana. Whatever is factual in these pages of picture and description is owed to them.

There is the distinctive poet, James Whitcomb Riley, who, with rarest humor, gentlest sentiment and complete mastery of the dialect, has fixed for ever the Hoosier types and made them current the nation over, so that who thinks of Indiana thinks of Riley and whoever knows of Riley knows him as the Hoosier Poet. And the lesser poets, each piping a true but different song of Indiana, Sarah T. Bolton, Benjamin S. Parker, Will H. Thompson, Mary Louise Chitwood, Forcethe Willson, Evalene Stein, William Herschell and others.





CULTURAL PANEL 10

## Parks, the Circus, the Klan, the Press

Rural Indiana is no longer isolated. It is suburban. The forest that once made for seclusion and perished in the advance of settled life grows again in the state's reserves. State parks protect the native scenery, preserve the local history, lure to the outdoors. Hospitals star the state with service scientific and humane for all the citizenry, young and old. Prisons and jails of late were full to overflowing. There is more room since Indiana ceased to be bone dry. Peru is the winter city of the circus, the home of the resting menagerie. In reducing loss by fire the state has made an enviable record. Fiery crosses burned in fields, on hillsides. Crowds gathered in white robes and visored cowls. They did no violence to neighbors, raised a cry against a distant and imagined menace. A salesman corrupt and fanatical turned the Klan to dangerous political currents. Her sister states scoffed at Indiana. Take notice, sisters, that Indiana put her house in order. The press is generally high-minded, passionately loyal to state and nation, strongly partizan in politics, distinctly Hoosier in policies and features. It has a tradition of courage, has won national recognition for distinguished service, holds to an informal, friendly tone. Indiana is air-minded, well equipped for air transit, well served by air.



With art the novelists have preserved our social history and entertain us the while with characters and incidents imagined but all compact of truth. Edward Eggleston gave us lively narratives of the second, the illiterate, generation. Booth Tarkington and Meredith Nicholson have turned at times to other scenes but they are at their best when they are back home in Indiana. Tarkington, now become the dean of American novelists, twice winner of the Pulitzer Prize in fiction, has held up the mirror to the normal American family, the normal Hoosier scene. The work of Nicholson, poet, essayist, publicist as well as story-teller, constitutes a loyal, high-minded, outspoken, penetrating and valuable criticism of our life. There are the popular spinners of gallant tales who wandered far back into the past or far off to realms of romance: General Lew Wallace, Charles Major, George Barr McCutcheon. On the scroll belong, too, such favorites as George Cary Eggleston; Maurice Thompson, of Crawfordsville, who found witchery in archery and told of Alice in Old Vincennes; Gene Stratton Porter, who wrote lovingly alike of moths, butterflies and birds of the Limberlost and the simple human hearts about her; Anna Nicholas and Elizabeth Miller, of Indianapolis; Elmer Davis, of Aurora, Franklin, Oxford and New York; Margaret Weymouth Jackson, of Spencer; McCready Huston, of South Bend, and a host besides.

Two humorists we claim as peculiarly ours, knowing that their humor would have sagged without the Hoosier tang: George Ade and Kin Hubbard, experimenters in slants of satire, the one by stage play and colloquial fable, the other by a daily pair of unrelated epigrams.

There are outstanding Hoosier men of letters, true sons of this soil, who have concerned their writings less with the local situation. Albert J. Beveridge gave a new dignity and fascination to American biography in his superb *Marshall* and his alas! unfinished *Lincoln*. Claude G. Bowers has found in the pages of old newspapers a way to impart vivid color and stir to the party battles of American political history. But before them there had been here a sound and industrious school of historians and biographers: Julian, Ridpath, English, Howe, Foulke, Woodburn and others. There are those who, native to this state, won names of moment elsewhere: John Hay, Joaquin Miller, William Vaughn Moody, Julia Constance Fletcher, David Graham Phillips, Theodore Dreiser.

Much has been written to explain the great and sudden flowering of literary effort in Indiana in the early part of the present century. Thomas R. Marshall attributes the literary fecundity more to the traveling library than to any other cause. Others have noted the strong native element, the melting of southern warmth and Yankee dryness, the tangy history, the Hoosier "difference," all coming into a self-conscious appreciation. More prosaic explanation may be found in the presence in the state of a publishing house that gave an outlet for the local production. But most important influence of all was the successful example and generous encouragement of Riley. He demonstrated that ore for the literary artist was right at hand, that it was pay ore too, and with warm praise he inspired every budding talent he discerned.

Mr. Marshall's reference to the traveling library deserves comment. The first state constitution provided for county libraries, and a law of 1837 for permissive school-district libraries, but there were few results. The first real relief came with the Sunday-School libraries arranged for by the Indiana Sabbath-School Union. The next movement of extent was the Maclure "workingmen's libraries." William Maclure of New Harmony bequeathed five hundred dollars to any club or society of laborers who would establish a reading-room with at least one hundred volumes. So one hundred and forty-four associations were formed in Indiana. The school law of 1852 provided for a special tax for township libraries, and while the distribution was most imperfectly and unevenly handled, they proved immensely popular and useful. The Indiana Library Association, formed in 1891, agitated for more liberal library laws. Literary clubs and other groups lent support. With the new century the development was rapid. By 1930 seventy-three per cent. of the people

enjoyed library service. A year later there were two hundred twenty-two public libraries in Indiana, one endowed, the rest supported by taxes.

The art impulse really began in 1878 when James F. Gookins of Terre Haute and John W. Love opened in Indianapolis the first Indiana school of art, held exhibitions and helped to initiate an Indiana Art Association. The school was a prompt financial failure. But William Forsyth had studied in it, and T. C. Steele had exhibited in it, and inspired by it they went to Europe, with J. Ottis Adams and Otto Stark, for further study. They drifted home, opened studios. To their number was added Richard B. Gruelle, following close in the wake of those who had had more opportunity for study. In the winter of 1894 some of these men held an exhibition in the Denison Hotel under the auspices of the Art Association of Indianapolis. Hamlin Garland saw the exhibition, persuaded the Central Art Association to take it to Chicago.

Alone of that coterie Forsyth now survives, painting still with virility and freshness in his developed style. New hands have caught up the torch,—Clifton A. Wheeler, J. P. Bundy and others.

In portraiture Weyman Adams, Simon P. Baus and others have gained distinction. The illustrations of Will Vawter, Fred C. Yohn, Franklin and Hanson Booth, George and Worth Brehm and Johnny Gruelle are familiar in many a book and magazine. The cartoons of John T. McCutcheon have made history. There lives no more expert designer of exquisite books than Bruce Rogers, born in Lafayette, director of the University Press of Cambridge.

William M. Chase was born not far from Franklin, studied under Barton S. Hays in Indianapolis. Among the leading sculptors, Indiana claims Janet Scudder, of Terre Haute, and, with less color, George Grey Barnard, whose father was a Presbyterian minister of Madison.

The Herron Art Institute of Indianapolis was the bequest of John C. Herron, an Englishman by birth, a resident of Franklin County and later of Indianapolis. The "Hoosier Salon," sponsored by a group of Indiana women in Chicago, has been a practical stimulus to young and ambitious painters and sculptors. \* \* \* \* \*

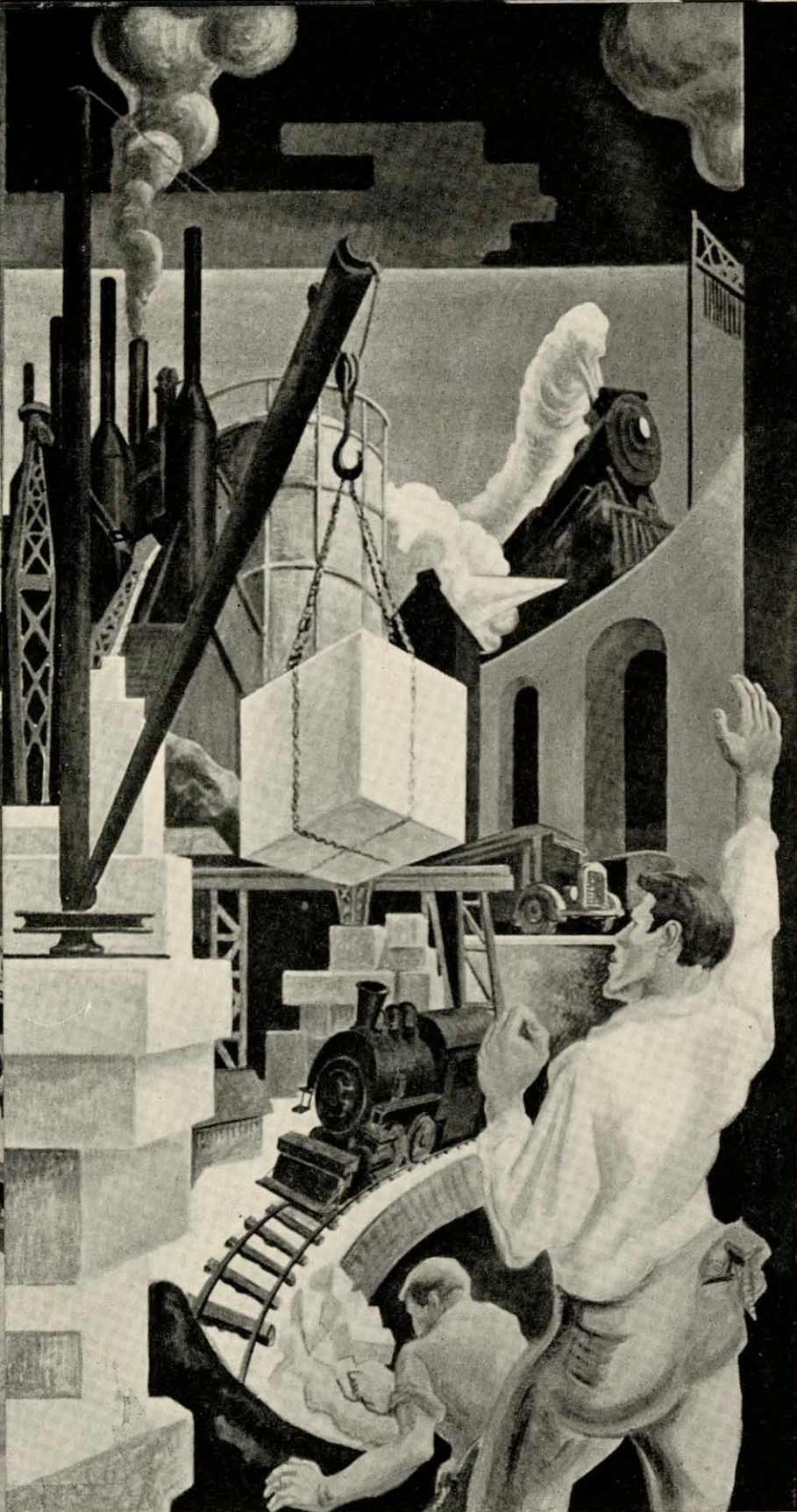
While a distinctive literature and art were developing in the state, higher education went through an evolution to fit it to the environment. Down to 1870 there was an abundance of colleges, but a paucity of students. The religious character of the public opinion furnishes one reason. Ministers, professors, college presidents believed that the first, and almost the last, duty of a college was to teach Christian doctrine and ethics. Teachers from the East, theologically trained and evangelically minded, felt themselves missionaries to the barbarians of the Wabash. But the sons of pioneers were not so keen for this ecclesiastical rule.

Besides, a sectarian narrowness marked the churchly influence. In the third quarter of the century there was a great hue-and-cry against the Universalists and the new agnostics, many of whom were men in college or just out. The teaching of natural sciences, the doctrine of evolution, was held responsible. The State University was decried by some because legally it could not be sectarian; by others, because it was accounted virtually Presbyterian.

Individualism was the guide of life. College partizanship was as strong as sect pride. And political partizanship interfered, too.

The old frontier scorn of the pedagogue persisted. With him he had imported a scholasticism as foreign to the soil as his clerical garb. Outside of Christian Ethics, the curriculum was supposed to afford a so-called "liberal" education, which meant only the classics and mathematics. Anything practical was abhorred. The demand for change became more clamorous. Caleb Mills led a fight for colleges that would train teachers. The State Normal School was opened in Terre Haute in 1870. Various independent Normals served and thrived. An agricultural department and school of engineering were started at the State University, given over to Purdue when that great school was started. Hanover was always in

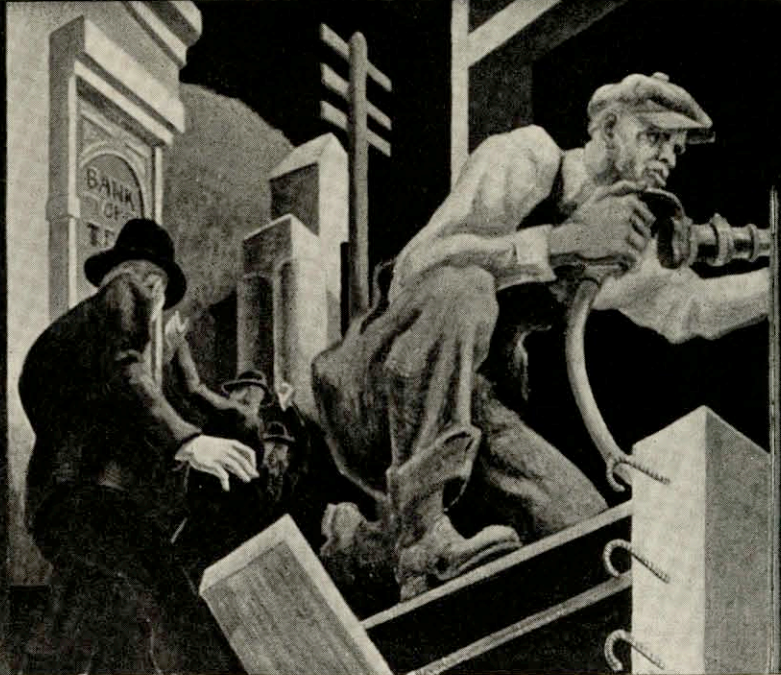




INDUSTRIAL PANEL 11

## Indiana Puts Her Trust in Work

South of the glacial drift outcroppings of limestone furnish the finest building stone in the world, workable, elastic, durable, strong and beautiful. All over the land sculptured memorials, towering piles are poems written in the Hoosier rock. The solidarity of the Old Northwest was shown when bank troubles in Michigan were followed by bank troubles in Indiana. Then came the national holiday—anxious days, but Hoosiers met them with equal and friendly hearts. Anxious are the days still. But if the farmer worries over the price of corn, he does not starve. Nobody starves in Indiana. If industry limps, it goes on. Spirits rise to the slogan: "Modernize now and give some fellow a job!" Where shall the state put her trust if not in work, faithful, intelligent, kindly, determined? The struggle will avail.



the true sense liberal toward science. Rose Polytechnic was opened at Terre Haute in 1883 to give courses in mechanical and civil engineering and chemistry. Adequate recognition of science was not effected until the 'eighties when Louis Agassiz, David Dale Owen, Richard Dale Owen, David Starr Jordan, John M. Coulter, John and Josephus Collett and the Indiana Academy of Science made their influence felt.

Young women were at first put in separate schools because of course such light minds could not be expected to master the weight of Mathematics, Moral Philosophy, Logic, Latin and Greek. When Northwestern Christian (Butler) admitted women in 1853, it was to segregate them in a Ladies' Course. In 1867 the trustees of Indiana voted four to three to let women in.

Professional schools appeared. A law school was introduced at Indiana in 1840, at Asbury in 1853, at Notre Dame in 1868. A medical school was a part of "La Porte University" in 1842. The Indiana Central Medical College was established at Indianapolis under the auspices of Indiana Asbury in 1848. Others followed, and a group were combined as the Indiana University School of Medicine in 1907. A School of Commerce and Finance was established in 1920, a School of Music in 1921, a School of Education in 1923, and a School of Dentistry in 1925—all parts of Indiana University.

In the later decades of the century, formal crust and pious behavior began to slough off from Indiana college life. Students ceased to scorn delights and to live entirely laborious days. They raised Ned, made a racket, gave vent to animal spirits. Doubtless refining influences restrained the rough house at coed. institutions.

At Indianapolis the swelling fortunes of the state were being expressed in much building. In 1877, with the control of the houses divided, an act was passed providing for the appointment of commissioners to build a state-house costing not more than two million dollars. The plans of Edwin May, of Indianapolis, were accepted, and the building, of Indiana limestone with a copper dome, was completed in 1888.

In 1880 William H. English announced his intention of building a fine theatre, and on September 27, that year, English's Opera House was opened with Lawrence Barrett in the title rôle of *Hamlet*. The Bates House, on the Claypool site, had been the hotel of history. Now the Hotel English was erected beside the Opera House and in 1897 extended to fill a quadrant of the Circle.

A wave of enthusiasm passed over the country to commemorate the valor and sacrifice of the Civil War heroes. Through Hoosier towns, like towns in other states, it scattered atrocities of cheap sculpture. But there was nothing tawdry about the state's own memorial. In the 'seventies and 'eighties an Indiana Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument was projected. The











greatest electric railway center, in the world.

The extent to which electricity has been harnessed to all sorts of industrial and domestic purposes is of course one of the glories and one of the portents of the times. The latest Federal Census showed that in 1929 there were fifty-seven establishments in Indiana engaged in the manufacture of machinery, apparatus and supplies for employment directly in the generation, storage, transmission and utilization of electricity. The value of their products was given as \$133,352,549. The production of power in public utility plants increased from 933 millions of kilowatt hours in 1920 to 2,879 millions in 1931. Thirty-five times as much was being generated by fuel as by water-power. The waterfalls in the streams, the rapids in the rivers still await their great development in Indiana as generators of electric power. The state has hardly begun to mine its "white coal."

Then there is the internal combustion engine to do its part in transforming the little old planet into something new and rich and strange, with all unsolved problems and all the unassimilated factors of Robot Times. The first gasoline-propelled vehicle in America was a Hoosier product. Elwood Haynes made it at Kokomo. "The Pioneer" worked up a speed of eight miles an hour. Later, with a larger engine and rubber tires, it did twelve. In partnership with the Apperson brothers, Haynes began manufacture. Their double cylinder, or double-opposed, engine took many prizes. In 1899 their "Phaeton" made the first thousand-mile run, from Kokomo to New York.

Before the beginning of the twentieth century the motor vehicle was looked on generally as a fad and a freak which could not possibly be of practical value. The jeer "Get a horse!" followed it wherever it went shaking its riders till their teeth rattled. Manufacture was negligible to the statisticians as late as 1899. Business men still wagged their heads and allowed it would not last long—when they were on the very verge of the Automobile Age.

In all that marvelous advance Indiana has kept up with the procession both in the making and owning of cars. In 1929 fifteen establishments turned out motor vehicles to the value of over two hundred million dollars; sixty-seven factories made bodies and parts valued at ninety millions. Later figures seem not available, but of course the industry has suffered greatly since the crash. Indianans own more than seven hundred thirty thousand passenger cars, one hundred twenty-five thousand motor trucks, sixteen thousand trailers. Five transcontinental motor highways pass through the state. The old National Road has become "U. S. 40." Indiana leads all other states in mileage of surfaced highways. Over a hundred and sixty millions have been spent by the State Highway Commission, of which about sixteen per cent. has been contributed by the Federal Government. Not a dollar has been borrowed to build these improved roads. Most of the money has come from license fees and from a gasoline tax.

When a Hoosier thinks of steel he thinks of the Calumet district and of its portentous growth in this century. Its development indeed had started before 1900. Whiting had begun in 1870; great oil refineries are there. Hammond, a meat-packing center, had begun in 1872; East Chicago in 1888. But the dramatic and significant expansion waited on the creation of Gary in 1906 by the United States Steel Corporation, which it named for its then president, Judge Elbert H. Gary. The Corporation bought about twenty-five hundred acres along the south shore of Lake Michigan. Great steel works, a great city came into being—and for the first time in Indiana the problem of the melting-pot.

Steel works and rolling mills now comprise the state's largest industry. Over six hundred plants manufacture iron and steel products. More than a third of Hoosier manufacture consists of products wholly or partly of steel. Indiana ranks first in the production of iron and steel from crude ore.

Railroad mileage declined slightly in the 'twenties, for the first time since the middle of

the nineteenth century. Gas, now manufactured in some thirty-six plants since the natural gas was burned up, had a production valued at close to seventeen million dollars in 1929. Indiana stands first in the manufacture of kitchen, porch, hall and miscellaneous furniture, second in the value of agricultural machinery produced, fifth as to aluminum products. Meat packing amounts to more than ninety million dollars annually.

The state, so long a farming country, has lost its prevailingly agricultural aspect. There are fewer people now engaged in farm pursuits than there were fifty years ago. The number employed in manufacturing has increased four times. This concentration, intensification and capitalization have given edge to the present crisis. ❖ ❖ ❖

The old isolation of rural Indiana has been obliterated. It is no longer secluded; it is suburban. The interurban, the motor bus, the automobile, the magnificent roads everywhere, the telephone reaching into three-fourths of the farms, rural free delivery, the radio have made the touch with the city, the state, the nation, the world quick, varied, invasive. A vastly greater interest has been imparted to life. But one may sigh a bit for the leveling effect of our time- and distance-killing inventions. Much of the old "difference" is gone.

In the early days it was the splendid forest which contributed most to that hated but picturesque separation. That immeasurable wealth of living wood was the enemy, by pioneer standards, of settled life and civilization. It was no easy task to educate this people to the duty and value of the forests their forebears had despised. The great voice of Theodore Roosevelt was needed to rouse them to the need and opportunity. The nucleus of the Indiana State Forest was secured in 1903, when his administration was young. Now, experience and observation have taught them that deforestation is an economic calamity. They have seen, too, the importance of preserving some of Indiana's enchanting native scenery. A new Roosevelt has pointed to forestry as a great way to afford employment in the depression. Indiana had sensed that before he spoke to the nation.

It began with the purchase of two thousand acres in Clark County. Nearly three decades of ownership and development have made that forest one of the finest in the land. Four others, because of more recent purchase or condition when acquired, are not so fine, but give promise of wealth and restored beauty. The total area of the state forests now embrace over twenty-three thousand acres. Oaks, hickories, walnut, gums, evergreens are among the common trees of the reforestation. Since forest-fire protection is the corner-stone of all forestry progress, much attention has been given it in recent years. The state park system was initiated in 1916 as a part of the centennial of statehood. From its beginning it owes its unique development to Colonel Richard Lieber, and has at each stage been recognized as one of the most excellent systems in the country. Ten state parks have been acquired in seventeen years: Turkey Run, McCormick's Creek, Pokagon, Clifty Falls, Muscatatuck, the Dunes, Spring Mill, Brown County, Shakamak Bark, the Mounds.

Of particular interest from the view-point of social history is Spring Mill Park, where a pioneer village, founded in 1816, is being restored. The sawmill and grist mill, old residences, the post-office, the cobbler's shop, the distillery, the tavern, the schoolhouse, the hat factory, all with furnishings of the time, present a fascinating reconstruction of the frontier scene.

Indiana takes good care of its historical memorials—the Pigeon Roost Monument, the Tippecanoe Battlefield, the Nancy Hanks Lincoln Burial Ground and Lincoln Park, the old Corydon State-House and the James F. D. Lanier Home at Madison. Thousands of pilgrims go to see them every year.

Indiana has five excellent state hospitals for the insane with combined capacity for over seven thousand. The Fort Wayne State School and the Muscatatuck Colony care for the feeble-minded. The Village for Epileptics at Newcastle maintains a high standard of administration and use-

fulness. These institutions, each with its own trustees, are under the general supervision of the State Board of Charities. Amos W. Butler, of a pioneer family, by his long and notable service as secretary, became a national figure. Under this board are also the penal and correctional institutions, crowded by the increase in banditry and, until lately, by the multitudinous violations of the prohibition law.

Particularly fine in conception and equipment is the group of hospitals in Indianapolis controlled and managed by Indiana University—the Robert W. Long Hospital, opened in 1914; the James Whitcomb Riley Hospital for diseased and crippled children; and the William H. Coleman Hospital for women. The State Sanatorium at Rockville, with farm, garden and orchard, cares for the tubercular. Throughout the state are many private and city hospitals, county general and tuberculosis hospitals.

Peru, Indiana, is one of the best known "Circus Cities" of the country. Shows may wander here and there trying out other winter quarters, but soon or late they come back again. Peru has been home to John Robinson, Sells-Floto, Hagenbeck-Wallace and others. Gentry Brothers' dog and pony show has given Bloomington a share of the untinsel glory.

Winter-time is a busy time for the animal trainer—and for the circus workmen. All the glittering trappings must be repaired and put in order for the coming season. The canvas must be gone over, the wagons repaired, the leather goods fixed. The leather inventory represents a considerable investment, and the harness-maker watches it as carefully as a pot of gold. It's these trappings of the street parade, no less than the spangles and sawdust inside the big tent, that awe the populace. And the wagons must be painted. What would a circus be without the monkeys and 'gators and polar bears which adorn the outside of the lumbering equipages? The motor age hasn't affected the circus. Says the eloquent Jerry Garvin: "A circus on motor trucks wouldn't be a circus. You've got to have horses. No, sir, you'll never be able to make the circus modern."

When all the "fixin's" are ready, and the animals are sleek, beautiful and knowing, and a breath of spring is in the air, off they all go—glittering, jangling, roaring—once more to open the small boy's mouth in wonder.

The modern fire department represents a state unity of plan, serving the people not only through action but through inspection and education. In 1913 a Fire Law was passed which is a model of its kind and has been widely copied. A state fire marshal, with deputies, secretary and clerks, heads the organization, and the chiefs of fire departments in counties, townships, etc., act as his assistants. The department has under its supervision: the prevention of fire; the storage, sale and use of combustibles and explosives; the installation and maintenance of automatic or other fire-alarm systems and fire-extinguishing apparatus; the suppression of arson and the investigation of causes of fires.

Records of all fires are kept. Insurance companies must turn in their reports. The law of 1913 provides for compulsory fire-drills in the schools, and so has saved the lives of many children. Education has had much to do with curbing the frequency and the danger of conflagrations. In the cities organization for prompt and efficient action has cut down immeasurably the number of fires and the extent of disaster. In the campaign to reduce losses in 1931 Indianapolis ranked second among all cities of its general size; the total loss that year amounted to only a little over five hundred thousand dollars. Its insurance rates are the lowest applied to any city of the same size. Its firemen have set the national record of nineteen seconds for speed in starting a run, laying hose and "throwing water." Modern equipment with its motor engines, hook-and-ladders, water towers, chemical apparatus, etc., is efficient to the nth degree. It is a far cry from the O. K. Bucket Company, Invincible Volunteers, and the hand-brake engines called the "Good Intent" and the "Spirit of Seventy-Six" that did duty eighty years ago.



In rural communities the losses remain relatively heavy.

The fierce, unreasoning nationalism produced by the World War had inevitable reactions in the social texture of the nation. People had been trained to excitement and mass hatred, but with the armistice the sensations of 1917 and 1918 were over. They left the craving for an equivalent. The hysteria of war and the propaganda that fostered it, turned inward.

In the South an old organization of the carpetbag days was revived under new leaders. The Ku Klux Klan was given a new life, designed, according to its founder, to stop immigration. The leaders were business men, bent on making money. They found it easy to do. They offered the lure of a secret society, of spectacular regalia, of a crusade to protect Cross and Flag, all for an initiation fee of ten dollars. The Klan spread. It came to Indiana.

There it found welcome. The Klan as developed among Hoosiers took delight in parades, in mass meetings, in mystic warnings. It fed on the neighborliness of thousands of rural folk in the country and in the rural-minded in the cities. The same factors that made Indiana the most highly organized state in the Union among lodges and fraternal orders, that gave social significance to fraternities and sororities long after college days were over, made the Hoosier soil a fertile field for the new Klan. It grew naturally, as weeds grow in black earth. It grew as the Know-Nothing Party had grown two generations before.

It is perhaps accidental that there came to Indiana at this juncture the most able, skilful and unscrupulous leader in the history of the Klan movement. He found the highly centralized character of the state, the like-mindedness of a great body of its citizenry an opportunity to his liking. A born organizer, he turned the Klan endeavor into an appeal to the "liveliest prejudices that inspire men to put upon their fellows" and presented this appeal to a population passionately patriotic and overwhelmingly native-born, white, Gentile. A high-pressure salesman of double-distilled power, he sold fright and hatred, while at the same time he appealed persuasively to finer instincts. But he knew right well that he couldn't get far with hate talk about peaceable old neigh-

bors. As Mr. Morton Harrison pointed out in the *Atlantic Monthly*, the alarm would be raised against some unknown alien in another county, against some imaginary wave of black labor from the South, against a group of international bankers in New York, against the Pope across the waters. A smart psychologist—his office was full of books on psychology—he instructed his agents to divide each community into two factions, one for and one against the Klan, and he kept the organization thriving on opposition. He declared war on vice, the bootleggers and blind tigers. He specialized in Klavalkades, meetings about a fiery cross, offered regalia of rainbow hues to local leaders. He coined money in the sale of memberships, robes and Klavern equipment, and found that he had coined power. He fostered that power by a spy system patterned on war models and a poison squad of gossip. The Klan under his manipulation became a political factor not to be trifled with. Voting almost as a bloc, it could be made to turn an election. It did little or no violence. It did not strike with "the lash, the tar brush and the torch." But commercially its membership was numerous enough to present an effective boycott against any merchant who failed to do it favor. Men joined in self-defense, politicians knuckled to its influence.

But its life was brief. The leader was jailed on a murder indictment. The organization fell to pieces. There were less than seven thousand members left when in 1928 the Imperial Wizard ordered the Klan unmasked and formed in its place the Knights of the Green Forest to help the country assimilate its alien population.

There was much laughable about the Klan—"big old boots sticking out under white sheets, old farm horses shying because of the prevalence of flowing robes," paraders stiff with self-consciousness, the Grand Dragon arriving late at a field meeting in purple robes and a gilded airplane, to explain his tardiness because "the President of the United States kept him unduly long counseling" over the telephone "upon vital matters of state." There was much pathetic about it. In every community excellent and sincere citizens were on its secret roster, innocents who had been victimized by its promise of war on vice. If there is little to Indiana's credit in her Klan history, it is to be remembered in her favor that she

proceeded relentlessly but with due process of law to prosecute the corrupt and avaricious politicians. And that is more than many of her sister states can claim.

It is to be noted too that no newspaper in the state of any standing supported the Klan. This is characteristic of a press generally high-minded and with a tradition of courage.

Though the Indiana papers have accepted their share of standardization in syndicate features of all kinds, they have for the most part maintained policies distinctly Hoosier. They have always been violently loyal to Indiana, while being strongly partizan in politics local and national. Both the Democratic and the Republican editorial associations, consisting of the editorial heads and, in perhaps a majority of cases, the actual owners, take an active and salient place in the strategy of every campaign.

While all papers carry their share of national and international news, the papers in the smaller towns are jealous to preserve their local flavor. Readers are proud of the editorial policies, take a hand themselves in furnishing news and making contributions. There are distinctively Hoosier features of wide popularity. Kate Milner Rabb's "Listening Post" has followers in every county. William Herschell's popular ballads are syndicated throughout the state. Chic Jackson, cartoonist of a Hoosier family, has a daily strip in more than a dozen papers. Mary Bostwick's jingles are popular from Lake Michigan to Ohio.

It is significant that the one great chain paper in the state, the *Indianapolis Times*, has been outspoken in local problems and has received, through a Pulitzer Prize, national recognition for its crusading work. Distinguished service in tax reform won another Pulitzer Prize award for the *Indianapolis News*.

Indiana is well served by air. The state is connected with east and west mail, express and passenger service. Indianapolis is directly in the line of the safest, swiftest, most economical and most direct transcontinental airway, in the path between the fogs and storm dangers of the northern lake region and the southern river and hill country. The Municipal Airport of Indianapolis has received the highest rating from the Department of Commerce and ranks as one of the three best in the country.

INDIANA: a native state, where the isolation of the frontier forest permitted the growth of marks of difference and distinction and produced a peculiar people, speaking a dialect and in time creating a racy and provincial literature and art. A friendly, home-loving and democratic people, this, of poor beginnings, among whom the inequalities of wealth remain less than elsewhere in the country, by whom the ostentation of wealth has always been derided, and to whom a man may be a man because of his true worth.

The settlers of Indiana were largely from the South. By history it is an integral part of the Old Northwest which it saved in the Revolution. Here begins the prairie that sweeps to Iowa. Business makes ties with the East. Here is the center of population. Long agricultural, still a great farming state, Indiana has become prevaillingly industrial. So dependent is it on its links with every section that the level land and the air above it are netted with highways. Its interests are bound up with the whole nation. So, while proudly provincial, Indiana can never be sectional, can never belong to a bloc. It is the epitome of the Union, the microcosm of America. Here is the truest approach to the American type, yet in the type is preserved the Hoosier difference.



# A DREAM FULFILLED

By THOMAS HART BENTON

**T**HIS mural painting of Indiana sees the realization of a project that I have had in mind for fifteen years. In 1919 I set about making a history of the United States which would unroll progressively the social and environmental changes of the country from the savage Indian to the present days of our machine culture. I visualized this history as realistic and factual. Realistic as to form, factual as to content.

Reacting against the wearisome repetitions of that modern world of art which cultivates the neurotic "purities" I sought for a grip on the life of men and for an art that would have meaning for men. I saw that for all the talk on the subject there could be no American Art unless its form was generated in the midst of meanings and values that were American. For, while art is international as an heritage of the human race it is local in its inception, tied to ways of living and thinking which are the result of environmental pressures that date from earliest childhood. To deny these pressures and attempt to escape from their effects, under the name of whatever idealism, is to cut it out from its roots in life and make of it either a dilettante's playing or a doctrinaire's tool.

Only knowledge which is deeply and profoundly a part of one can be communicated through the logical conventions of a form. Such knowledge is found, not on the intellectual fringe of life, or in the illusions of cloistered sensibilities, but in life itself where the drive of a people is felt and shared. The artist who would represent a civilization must be a part of it. We can give only that which is within ourselves.

History was not a scholarly study for me but a drama. I saw it not as a succession of events but as a continuous flow of action having its climax in my own immediate experience. The recorded parts of conventional history were, in my conception, subordinated to the more tremendous facts of common existence where man and his tools, under the constant pressure of every-day need, changed the face of a continent and became themselves something different in the process. And it was to this something different, the final involved and contradictory complex of American life, that I consecrated my history believing that in the new meaning which lay therein, I

would find the new form which the conventions of modern estheticism had made imperative.

After seven years of work, the history was abandoned. I could not carry the expenses myself, or find an architect willing to test the capacities of his structures with a type of painting which would have made senseless the pretty ornament of the architectural schools.

A few years ago I met Thomas Hibben, of Indiana, and found the first architect of my acquaintance who realized that painting had a function beyond that of draping walls. Naturally, I took a liking to him. Beyond that I found him one of my own kind, a middle westerner, somewhat lost in the nurtured estheticism of New York's artistic and intellectual circles. We became friends.

It was Tom Hibben who introduced my art to Colonel Richard Lieber when it was decided that Indiana should be represented at the Chicago Exposition with a mural painting. Colonel Lieber's quick understanding of my desire to represent a social progression made it possible for me to transfer my original historical plan from the United States as a whole to the State of Indiana, the context of whose history is symbolical of the entire country. Colonel Lieber's sympathy and encouragement, his recognition of the artist's need to have absolute control of his art, has done much to enable me to complete a work which the time limit of five months made especially difficult.

I want to thank Wallace Richards, Paul Brown, Miss Esther McNitt, and the many other Indianans who aided me in organizing my time and researches. I wish also to express my appreciation of the help given me by Reed Winsey, Reynolds Selfridge, Constance Forsyth, Richard Hausdorfer, Maurice Starkey and Bird Baldwin, all of whom undertook, in varying degrees, the task of preparing the painting surfaces and scaling up my working cartoons for the mural. Their work has been careful and accurate. To the mechanics on the job, Roy Totten, of Franklin, and Edward White, of Greenwood, much credit is also due. Lastly, I wish to thank H. K. Roberts, for taking me all over the state and seeing to it that I got everything I wanted in the way of representative data.



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# A CENTURY OF PROGRESS

INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION  
CHICAGO

1933

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PAUL V. McNUTT, *Governor*  
State of Indiana

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