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MAKING A CAPITAL IN THE WILDERNESS

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PREFATORY

The first printed history of Indianapolis was prepared by Ignatius Brown, now deceased, and was published as part of Howard's City Directory for 1857. It was subsequently carefully revised and published as part of Logan's City Directory for 1868. Mr. Brown was formerly a lawyer and afterward a real estate abstractor, and his familiarity with the city's history and records and his accuracy were universally conceded. His history was prepared with great care and after many consultations with old settlers, in order to settle questions about which there was dispute or doubt, and it is the basis of all the subsequent histories of the city and of Marion county.

Mr. Brown retained a copy of his history, containing many annotations made by him, which is now in the possession of his son, Lynn C. Brown, to whom I am indebted for the privilege of examining it while preparing this paper.

I am also indebted to Mr. John H. Holliday for the privilege of making extracts from General John Tipton's Journal, now in his possession, and to Mr. William A. Ketcham for the privilege of making extracts from the journal of his mother, Mrs. Jane M. Ketcham, widow of the late John L. Ketcham, and daughter of Samuel Merrill, Treasurer of State at the time of the removal of the capital from Corydon to Indianapolis.

MAKING A CAPITAL IN THE WILDERNESS

The act of Congress providing for the admission of the State of Indiana into the Union was approved April 18, 1816. Its conditions were accepted by a convention of the people of the territory at Corydon June 29, 1816,[1] and this was followed by a congressional joint resolution passed December 11, 1816, for the admission of the State. The act of Congress provided: "That four sections of land be, and the same are, hereby granted to the said State, for the purpose of fixing their seat of government thereon, which four sections shall under the direction of the Legislature of said State, be located at any time in such township and range as the Legislature aforesaid may select, on such lands as may hereafter be acquired by the United States, from the Indian tribes within the said territory; *Provided*: That such location shall be made prior to the public sale of the lands of the United States, surrounding such location."

At the time of the admission of the State it contained a population estimated at near 70,000. Thirteen counties had been organized and provided with offices and machinery for civil government. These were all in the southern part of the State, except a tier on the east side, the northernmost of which was Randolph county. The seat of government was then at Corydon.

The Indians were still in possession of the remainder of the State. Treaties had been made with various In-

[1]R. S. 1824, p. 33.

dian tribes by which they had ceded to the United States portions of the territory in central Indiana, and on October 3, 1818, a treaty with the Delawares was made at St. Marys, Ohio, by which they relinquished their title to the vast tract thereafter known as the New Purchase. The treaty provided that the Indians should retain possession for three years. On the 6th of the same month the Miamis ceded their rights in the same territory, excepting only the portions included in a few small reservations.

The General Assembly, by an act passed January 22, 1820,[1] created out of the newly acquired territory two counties—Delaware and Wabash—but these were not then provided with a county organization. Out of them were subsequently carved about twenty-seven new counties.

The tract known as the New Purchase was of irregular shape. Supposing the State to be divided from east to west into three parts, it included nearly all the central, and part of the north third, and was estimated to contain about 13,000 square miles, or 8,500,000 acres—a little over one-third of the area of the State.[2] Through it ran the Wabash, the east and west forks of White river, and other tributaries of the Wabash.

The mound builders had once inhabited the country and had left traces of their occupation in Madison, Hamilton and other counties included in the New Purchase. They had been succeeded by the Indians.

Of the Indians who lived or roamed in Indiana prior to the middle of the seventeenth century, little is known beyond traditions that vanish into the shadows of the past.

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[1]Acts 1819-'20, p. 95.

[2]A map showing its location will be found in the Indiana Legislative Manual for 1903, p. 440.

From the middle to the close of the seventeenth century we catch occasional glimpses, chiefly in the writings of the French missionaries, agents, traders and explorers, of the restless and roving Indian tribes of the northwest, continually being pushed forward in their migrations by some mighty force behind them like that which impelled the Goths and Vandals in their invasions of the Roman Empire. These tribes were perpetually carrying on wars with one another or with enemies more remote, like the fierce Iroquois in the east or the fiercer Sioux in the northwest—wars in which sometimes whole tribes were exterminated or absorbed in other tribes and their very names became lost in oblivion.

By the year 1718 the Miamis, after a series of migrations extending over a period of a century or more, occupied or claimed nearly all the territory now included in Indiana, except the north portion, then occupied by the Pottawattomies, and a portion in the southern part of the State. This was the portion separated by the Ohio river from the region designated by the Indians, long before it was known to the white men, as the dark and bloody ground, a region mostly traversed by the Indians only when on the war-path and in which no red man ventured to build his wigwam.

The Miamis had become a great confederation, including four principal tribes—the Twightwees, the Weas or Ouiatanons, the Eel Rivers and the Piankashaws,—the most powerful of the Indian confederations in the northwest and fully able, after getting arms and ammunition, to resist the aggressions of their traditional enemies, the Iroquois, who, until near the close of the seventeenth century, had long waged unceasing and relentless warfare on the tribes between them and the Mississippi.

"According to the best traditional authorities, the do-

minion of the Miami Confederacy extended, for a long period of time, over that part of the State of Ohio which lies west of the Scioto river, over the whole of Indiana, over the southern part of Michigan, and over that part of the State of Illinois which lies southeast of the Fox river and the river Illinois. The Miamis, proper, whose old national name was Twightwees, formed the eastern and most powerful branch of this confederacy. They have preserved no tradition of their migrations as a tribe from one country to another. * * * Neither the names nor the numbers of the several kindred tribes of the ancient Miami Confederacy can now be stated with accuracy. * * * In the early part of the eighteenth century, and perhaps for a long period before that time, the Miamis had villages at various suitable places within the boundaries of their large territory. Some of these villages were on the banks of the Scioto, a few were situated in the country about the headwaters of the great Miami, some stood on the banks of the river Maumee, others on the St. Joseph, and many were founded on the banks of the Wabash and on some of the principal tributaries of that river."[1] "In 1765 the Miami Nation or Confederacy was composed of four tribes whose total number of warriors was estimated at one thousand and fifty men. Of this number, there were two hundred and fifty Twightwees, three hundred Weas or Ouiatanons, three hundred Piankashaws and two hundred Shockeys. The principal villages of the Twightwees were situated on the headwaters of the Maumee river, at or near the site of the town of Fort Wayne. The larger Wea villages were found near the banks of the Wabash in the vicinity of Ouiatanon and the Shockeys and Piankashaws lived on

[1]Dillon's "The National Decline of the Miami Indians," Indiana Historical Society Publications, vol. I, pp. 122, 123.

the banks of the Vermillion river and on the river Wabash, between Vincennes and Ouiatanon. At different periods branches of the Pottawattomies, Shawnees, Delawares and Kickapoos were permitted to enter and reside at various places within the boundary of the large territory which was claimed by the Miamis."[1]

Great changes occurred in the Indian population of the territory now included in Ohio and Indiana between 1750 and the close of the century, especially after the treaty of Greenville in 1795. By that time many of the Indian tribes had lost large numbers by war and disease and some had been nearly exterminated.

After the treaty at Greenville in 1795, most of the Indians in Ohio sought homes elsewhere, large numbers of the Delawares and Shawnees and a portion of the Wyandotts or Hurons going to the territory now included in Indiana. Portions of these and other tribes had migrated to this region before the treaty at Greenville, but the dates of their first coming can not be definitely fixed. At the time of the acquisition of the New Purchase, in 1818, it is said that the Indian tribes then inhabiting Indiana were the "Mascoutins, Piankashaws, Kickapoos, Delawares, Miamis, Shawnees, Weas, Ouiatanons, Eel Rivers, Hurons and Pottawattomies."[2] Of these the Pottawattomies were most numerous. They had five villages on the Elkhart branch of the St. Joseph, and several other villages in the northern part of the State. Most of the other tribes resided at various points in the New Purchase. The Miamis and their branches and allies, the Weas or Ouiatanons, the Eel Rivers and the Piankashaws, had villages on the upper Wabash and

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[1]Id., p. 133.

[2]Brown's "Western Gazeteer and Emigrant's Directory," pp. 71-73, published at Auburn, N. Y., in 1817.

its tributaries. One of these was at Fort Wayne; another on the Mississinewa near Peru; another on Eel river near Logansport; another on the Wea Plains near Lafayette, and another near Terre Haute. The Delawares lived on the upper branches of White river, the village of Anderson, their chief, being within the limits of what is now Madison county. The Shawnees lived on the banks of the Wabash and the Tippecanoe. Their village, known as the Prophet's town, was on the west bank of the Wabash, a short distance below the mouth of the Tippecanoe. Some of the Kickapoos resided on the west side of the Wabash above the Tippecanoe. The Hurons or Wyandotts had a small village a short distance southeast of Ouiatanon and part of the Winnebagoes had a village a few miles east of the Prophet's town.[1]

It has been supposed that the entire Indian population of Indiana in 1819 did not exceed 7,000 or 8,000.[2] These

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[1]See Brown's "Western Gazeteer," 71-3; Beckwith's "The Illinois and Indiana Indians," in Fergus's Historical Series, No. 27, pp. 112-113.

[2]Morse's Geography, 7th ed., published in 1819, p. 608. In the first annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 249, will be found a map by C. C. Royse, showing the cessions of land in Indiana by Indian tribes to the United States, with references to the dates of the treaties pursuant to which the cessions were made. This is reprinted in Smith's History of Indiana, vol. I, pp. 232-9. In Col. Croghan's Journal, reprinted in Butler's History of Kentucky, 2d ed., pp. 470-1, is given a list of Indian tribes in 1765 between the State of New York and the Mississippi. The Indiana Geological Reports, vol. XII, p. 42, contains a map prepared by Daniel Hough, giving the Indian names of the various water courses in Indiana. See also General William Henry Harrison's "Aborigines of the Ohio Valley," reprinted in Fergus's Historical Series, No. 26; Hiram W. Beckwith's "The Illinois and Indiana Indians," in Fergus's Historical Series, No. 27; John B. Dillon's "The National Decline of the Miami Indians," Indiana Historical Society Publications, vol. I, p. 119; Roosevelt's "Winning of the West," vol. I, chap. IV, on "The Algonquins of the Northwest." From these authorities some general idea may be acquired of the Indian tribes inhabiting the State, but no exact information of either their numbers or the boundaries of the territories claimed by them.

were but the remnants of the great Miami Confederacy and of other once powerful Indian tribes whose warriors were famous in all the Indian wars in the northwest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in the wars between England and France, in Lord Dunmore's war, in the battles with Harmar and St. Clair—warriors never completely subdued by the white men until they were vanquished by General Anthony Wayne, the greatest of all the generals who ever fought against them. Conspicuous among them was Little Turtle, chief of the Miamis, the leader of the allied Indians in the repulse of Harmar and in the disastrous defeat of St. Clair. He was born in the present limits of Indiana, and was buried at Fort Wayne in 1812. He ranks with King Phillip and Pontiac as among the foremost of all the North American Indians who ever fought against the whites. As a military chieftain he ranks even higher than King Phillip or Pontiac, for neither Phillip nor Pontiac ever achieved such victories as those of Little Turtle over Harmar and St. Clair.

It was at Tippecanoe, within the limits of the territory afterward known as the New Purchase, that the last great battle was fought in the northwest in which the Indians under Tecumseh sought to oppose the invasion by the whites of the land in which they and their ancestors had for so long had their homes and their hunting grounds.

Prior to the surrender of Canada by the French, one of their routes in going from Canada to Louisiana was across the Great Lakes, thence up the Maumee, thence by a short portage to the headwaters of the Wabash, thence down the Wabash to the Ohio, thence down the Ohio to the Mississippi, and thence down the Mississippi to Louisiana. They had established posts at Fort Wayne,

Ouiatanon, a place on the Wabash near the present site of Lafayette, and at Vincennes. These posts had passed from the French to Great Britain and from Great Britain to the United States. Fort Harrison had also been erected by the United States in what is now Vigo county. Except as above stated, there were no white settlements in all this vast region. Few white men had ever penetrated it except when it was invaded by armed parties on warlike expeditions.

It was a region of wonderful resources. It has been stated that what scientists term high-grade trees grew in greater variety and profusion in the Ohio Valley than in any other part of North America. Nowhere in the Ohio Valley was there such a magnificent growth of hardwood trees as there was in Indiana, and particularly in the New Purchase.[1]

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[1]According to Mr. John P. Brown, secretary of the Indiana Forestry Association in a paper read before the Indiana State Board of Commerce, February 8, 1900, "Twenty-eight thousand square miles covered with oak, walnut, hickory, ash, maple, poplar and other valuable woods was our inheritance. Nowhere upon the American continent did there exist a body of timber superior to that nurtured by the soils of Indiana and covering four-fifths of her area." In the same paper Mr. Brown predicts that "the nineteenth century will almost measure the termination of Indiana's forest wealth," and adduces melancholy proof of the rapid destruction of our magnificent forests, supposed fifty years ago to be practically inexhaustible. "The result of a century's clearing is apparent; almost the entire body of this vast forest has disappeared and eighty-two per cent. of the lumber now used in our manufactories is brought from other States."

In a letter bearing date November 29, 1905, Professor Stanley Coulter, of Purdue University, says: "Many of the most valuable hardwood timbers reached their maximum development both as to size and numbers within the limits of the State. No later than 1880 Indiana was sixth in rank in lumber production. The most valuable timber areas were in the southwestern counties along the lower stretches of the Wabash river—though splendid forests of white oaks, walnuts, yellow poplar and ash stretched eastward to the Whitewater valley in the southeastern counties. Even yet it is not unusual in the East to see in lumber advertisements 'Indiana oak,' which is always listed at a higher

Deer, turkeys, pigeons and other wild game were abundant in the New Purchase. The streams swarmed with fish. The soil was of unsurpassed fertility. Nearly everything planted in it seemed to grow as if by magic. That it was an ideal home for the red men is proved by the numbers that inhabited it and the tenacity with which they clung to it.

As yet in all this region solitude reigned almost supreme. No sound of axe was heard in the forests. The surface of the rivers was ruffled only by an occasional Indian canoe. Dotted along the streams were a few straggling Indian villages, and here and there were a few patches of corn. All else was an unbroken wilderness in which wild beasts roamed at will. All nature seemed to await the talismanic touch that was to usher in the coming civilization, to transform the haunts of savage beasts and savage men into peaceful habitations, to draw from the ground its inexhaustible riches, to replace the forests and swamps with beautiful fields and landscapes, to make heard in this vast stillness the hum of industry.

As soon as the making of the treaty for the New Purchase had become generally known, the hardy and adventurous frontiersmen, especially those nearest to the newly acquired territory, began to make preparations to acquire homes within its boundaries, without waiting for the expiration of the time allowed the Indians in which to remove. In later years they would have been called "squatters," and still later "sooners."

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price than other grades. I have seen advertisements of furniture factories in the East, which state 'nothing but Indiana wood used in our furniture.' Some fifty species of woods of high economic value are still of sufficient number and broad enough distribution to be a valuable asset. It would be difficult to exaggerate the past wealth of the forests of the State; it would be impossible to exaggerate the criminal carelessness which has reduced this wealth so fearfully."

There was no way of getting to this region by water except by the route the early French had traveled, or else by going down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash and then up the latter river and its tributaries. There was no way of reaching it by land except by following the Indian trails or cutting a trace through the wilderness.

The earliest white settlers of the New Purchase came principally from the settlements in the older parts of the State along the Whitewater and from the States of Ohio and Kentucky. Those coming from points south of the Ohio river came over old Indian traces, chiefly by one that crossed the Ohio at Louisville and that had existed from time immemorial.[1] Those from the eastern States generally embarked at some point on the Allegheny in river crafts of various kinds, designated according to the nomenclature of that period as "keel-boats," "flat boats," "arks," "broad horns" and "Kentuck boats," floated down the Allegheny to the Ohio, thence down the Ohio to Cincinnati, and then traveled by land to some point on the Whitewater and thence to the New Purchase.[2]

The completion in 1818 of the National Road from Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling, on the Ohio river, opened another route and gave a strong impetus to the already great tide of immigration pouring into the western country. With its numerous movers' caravans, interspersed with great Conestoga wagons and stage coaches, it was for many years the most noted road in the country. The road was completed in 1833 to Columbus, Ohio, but it did not reach Indiana until several years afterward.

Prior to the date of the treaty for the New Purchase, William Conner, an Indian trader, had settled at a Dela-

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[1]See Cockrum, "Pioneer History of Indiana," pp. 156-7.

[2]Dr. Philip Mason in his autobiography gives a full account of such a trip from Olean, a village on the Allegheny in Cattaraugus county, New York.

ware village on White river about four miles south of the present site of Noblesville in Hamilton county, but no attempt had been made to establish a permanent white settlement there. In the fall of 1818, Jacob Whetzell, a brother of the noted Indian fighter Lewis, and his son Cyrus, with the consent of Anderson, chief of the Delawares, cut a trace, long known as Whetzell's trace, from the Whitewater river in Franklin county to the bluffs of White river, and camped at a point near the present site of Waverly in Morgan county. In the spring of 1819 he made a settlement there, said to have been the first permanent white settlement in the New Purchase.

In the spring of 1819 or 1820 George Pogue reached the present site of Indianapolis and built a cabin there. Mr. Brown says[1] that: "After reaching the river he turned back and built his cabin on the high ground east of the creek which now bears his name, close to a large spring and near the present end of Michigan street."

Little is known of Pogue's early life. He was a blacksmith and came to Indiana from North Carolina in the year 1814 and settled first at the blockhouse at William Wilson's, on the west fork of the Whitewater, six miles above Brookville in Franklin county; removing in 1816 to Fayette county about five miles southwest of Connersville, and in 1818 to the town of Connersville, where he remained until he moved to the present site of Indianapolis. At the time of his death he was about fifty years old and had a wife and six children.[2]

Nowland describes him[3] as a "large, broad-shouldered

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[1]"History of Indianapolis," p. 2.

[2]Reminiscences of Hon. Elijah Hackleman, printed in the "Rushville Republican" and reprinted in History of Fayette County, Indiana (published by Warner, Beers & Co., 1885), pp. 194-5; "Indianapolis News," August 5, 1905.

[3]"Sketches," p. 13.

and stout man, with dark hair, eyes and complexion, about fifty years of age, a native of North Carolina. His dress was like that of a 'Pennsylvania Dutchman;' drab overcoat, with many capes, broad brim felt hat. He was a blacksmith, and the first of that trade to enter the New Purchase. To look at the man as we saw him last, one would think he was not afraid to meet a whole camp of Delawares in battle array, which fearlessness, in fact, was most probably the cause of his death."

Pogue left his home in April, 1821, in pursuit of some horses supposed to have been taken by the Indians, by whom it was surmised by his neighbors that he was murdered, as he was never afterward seen or heard of. His name is perpetuated in Pogue's Run—the name of the little stream near which his cabin stood—but he is better known in connection with the controversy of many years' standing, whether he or John McCormick was the first settler of Indianapolis.

John McCormick and his brother James came in the spring of 1820 and built their cabin, a double log house, on the bank of White river just below the mouth of Fall creek. John McCormick kept the first tavern in the place and entertained the commissioners who came to locate the capital.

Mr. Brown claims that Pogue came March 2, 1819, and that he was the first settler, and that John and James McCormick came February 27, 1820;[1] while Mr. Nowland claims that John McCormick built the first house in Indianapolis February 26, 1820, and that Pogue did not come until the following March.[2]

The controversy over the question whether George Pogue or John McCormick built the first house in Indian-

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[1] "History of Indianapolis," p. 2.

[2] "Sketches," pp. 14-15.

apolis began before the publication of Mr. Brown's History and has continued ever since. It elicited from Mr. Brown a long communication published in the "Indianapolis News" of September 9, 1899, in which he reiterated the statements made by him in his history and, in support of them, marshalled such an array of evidence as seems to leave little room for further doubt.

The Government surveys in the New Purchase were made in 1819 and 1820. On January 11, 1820,[1] the General Assembly passed an act providing: "That George Hunt, of the county of Wayne, John Conner, of the county of Fayette, Stephen Ludlow, of the county of Dearborn, John Gilliland, of the county of Switzerland, Joseph Bartholomew, of the county of Clark, John Tipton, of the county of Harrison, Jesse B. Durham, of the county of Jackson, Frederick Rapp, of the county of Posey, William Prince, of the county of Gibson, and Thomas Emmerson, of the county of Knox, be, and they are hereby, appointed commissioners to select and locate a site for the permanent seat of government of the State of Indiana."

The act further provided that upon notice by proclamation of the Governor, the commissioners should "meet at the house of William Conner on the west fork of White river on a day to be named in the proclamation," and that after having taken an oath for the faithful discharge of their duties they should "proceed to view, select, and locate, among the lands, of the United States, which are unsold, a site which in their opinion, shall be most eligible and advantageous for the permanent seat of government of Indiana, embracing four sections, or as many fractional sections as will amount to four sections." They were also required to appoint a clerk whose duty it was

[1] Acts 1820, p. 18.

to keep a fair record of their proceedings, and that such record should be laid before the next General Assembly, and that the General Assembly should "thereupon proceed to establish a permanent seat of government in and upon the land so selected and located by the commissioners aforesaid."

One of the commissioners, General John Tipton, kept a journal of the proceedings, which is now in the possession of Mr. John H. Holliday.[1]

All the commissioners accepted their appointments and served except William Prince. The commissioners, after viewing several locations, decided on June 7, 1820, upon the present site of Indianapolis as the location for the capital, and a report of their selection was submitted to the next General Assembly.

The proceedings of the commissioners for that day are thus recorded in Tipton's journal:

"Wednesday, 7th, a fine, clear morning. We met at McCormick's, and on my motion the commissioners came to a resolution to select and locate sections numbered 1 and 12, and east and west fractional sections numbered 2, and east fractional section 11, and so much off the east side of west fractional section number 3, to be divided by a north and south line running parallel to the west boundary of said section, as will equal in amount 4 entire sections in T 15 n. of R. 3, E. We left our clerk making out his minutes and our report, and went to camp to dine. Returned after dinner. Our paper being ready, B. D. and myself returned to camp at 4. They went to sleep and me to writing. At 5 we decamped and went over to McCormicks. Our [clerk] having his writing ready the commissioners met and signed there report,

[1]This journal has recently been reprinted in the "Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History," vol. I, pp. 9-15; Id., pp. 74-79.

and certified the service of their clerk. At 6:45 the first boat landed that ever was seen at the seat of government. It was a small ferry flat with a canoe tied alongside, both loaded with the household goods of two families moving to the mouth of Fall creek. They came in a keel boat as far as they could get it up the river, then unloaded the boat and bt [brought] up their goods in the flat and canoe. I paid for some corn and w [whiskey] 62½."[1]

Judge Franklin Hardin, a well known and highly respected pioneer of Johnson county, once told me of a tradition that three places were considered by the commissioners appointed to select the site for the State capital. One was the bluff of White river near Waverly in Morgan county, but to this it was objected that the banks of the river at that point were too high to allow a convenient boat landing; another site considered was a point on White river near Glenn's Valley in Marion county. Here the banks were low enough but the objection to this point was that there were no small streams sufficient to run the grist mills. Finally the present site was chosen because the banks were low enough for a convenient boat landing, and Fall creek and Eagle creek were deemed sufficient for the grist mills. When I expressed some surprise at the character of the considerations that influenced the selection of Indianapolis, particularly that the navigability of White river and the supposed necessity of a convenient boat landing were considered important factors, the Judge informed me that in 1821 the general water level was much higher than it was after the country had been cleared and drained; that White river then had sufficient water, at least in the spring, to float flat boats and that in this way a considerable part

[1] "Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History," vol. I, pp. 77-78.

of the produce of the country was transported down White river and thence to New Orleans, then the commercial metropolis of the Wabash valley and its tributaries. This accords substantially with the account given by Mr. Robert Duncan.[1]

Strange as all this may seem to modern ears, we must remember that in 1821 canals in this section of the country had not been thought of, or at most only hoped for, and that no man had dreamed of steam railroads, and that White river was then deemed the chief line of commercial communication with the outside world.

The concluding entry in General Tipton's journal is that for June 11, 1821:

"Sunday the 11th—Cloudy, some rain. Set out at ½ p 4. At 15 p 8 stopt at Wilcoxes. Had breakfast, paid $2.00 by me. We set out. Stopt at Major Arganbrites [?] had dinner, etc. Set out and [at] dark got safe home, having been absent 27 days, the compensation allowed us commissioners by the law being $2 for every 25 miles traveling to and from the place where we met, and $2 for each day's service while ingaged in the discharge of our duty, my pay for the trip being $58—not half what I could have made in my office. A very poor compensation. JOHN TIPTON."[2]

General Tipton's orthography was not quite up to the standard at present recognized in the Indianapolis High School, but we must not judge him by that standard alone. His father, a native of Maryland, had settled in Tennessee, where he was waylaid and murdered by the Indians. In 1807 General Tipton removed to Indiana Territory. As a young ensign he was conspicuous for his

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[1]"Old Settlers," Indiana Historical Society Publications, vol. II, p. 380.

[2]"Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History," vol. I, pp. 78-79.

bravery at the battle of Tippecanoe, where, after his captain, first and second lieutenants had all been killed, he commanded his company throughout the remainder of the battle. He was a man of decided convictions, clear judgment and sterling honesty, and filled many important offices in the Territory and State, becoming a brigadier-general in the militia, and filling one full term and part of another as United States Senator.

We may infer from the concluding entry in his diary that General Tipton, while deficient in spelling, was equally deficient in the art of "graft," that in modern times has been developed to such a high degree of perfection.

At the time the commissioners determined on the location of the capital, there were about fifteen families on the site selected, including Henry and Samuel Davis, Jeremiah Corbalay, Robert Barnhill, ——— Van Blaricum, Robert Harding and Isaac Wilson. The site selected was covered with a dense growth of oak, elm, poplar, ash, sugar, walnut, hickory, beech, buckeye and other forest trees, with a thick undergrowth of spicewood and prickly ash and pawpaws; alders and leatherwood grew on the banks of the streams. So heavy was the growth of timber that after the trees in Washington street had been felled no way could be found of disposing of them except by burning them, and this required all the following winter.

In the northwest part of the donation was a tract of over one hundred acres on which the heavy timber had been killed by caterpillars or locusts. This was utilized by the settlers for that and ensuing years as a common field. In addition to this common field, each settler cultivated a small vegetable garden in the rear of his cabin. Wild game was abundant and cheap. So late as 1842

"saddles of venison sold at 25 to 50 cents; turkey at 10 and 12 cents, and a bushel of pigeons for 25 cents."[1]

Mr. Brown states[2] that "the selection of the place as the site for the capital had given it a great impetus, and many new families arrived in the summer and fall of 1820 and spring of 1821. Among the new-comers, most of whom came in the spring of 1821, were Morris Morris, Dr. S. G. Mitchell, John and James Givan, Matthias Nowland, James M. Ray, Nathaniel Cox, Thomas Anderson, John Hawkins, Dr. Livingston Dunlap, David Wood, Daniel Yandes, Alexander Ralston, Dr. Isaac Coe, Douglas Maguire and others, and the cabins clustered closely along the river banks, on and near which almost the whole settlement was located."

The next General Assembly, by an act passed January 6, 1821,[3] approved the report of the commissioners made on June 7, 1820, named the capital Indianapolis,[4] and provided: "That sections one and twelve, east and west fractional sections numbered two, east fractional section numbered eleven, and so much of the east part of west fractional section numbered three to be set off by a north and south line as will complete four entire sections, or two thousand five hundred and sixty acres of land in township fifteen north and range three east of the second principal meridian, being the site selected by the commissioners appointed by an act of the General Assembly of this State approved January the eleventh, one thousand eight hundred and twenty, * * * be and the above described land is hereby established as a permanent seat of government of the State of Indiana."

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[1]Brown's "History of Indianapolis," p. 1.

[2]"History of Indianapolis," p. 2.

[3]Acts 1821, p. 44.

[4]This was done on the suggestion of Jeremiah Sullivan, a representative of Jefferson county.

The act contained further provision for the selection by the General Assembly of three commissioners; that they should meet "at the site above named on the first Monday in April next, or as soon thereafter as they conveniently can, and shall proceed to lay out a town on such part of the land selected and hereby established as the seat of government as they may deem most proper, and on such plan as they may conceive will be advantageous to the State and to the prosperity of said town, having specially in view the health, utility and beauty of the place." They were also direced to employ a skillful surveyor, chainmen and such other assistants as might be found necessary. Provision was also made for two complete copies of the plan of the town, with proper reference and explanatory notes, one copy to be filed with the Secretary of State and the other with the State Agent. The commissioners were also directed to offer at public vendue so many of the lots as they might deem expedient, "reserving unsold every second odd number, commencing with number one," the sale to be duly advertised. The terms of sale prescribed were one-fifth cash to the State Agent and the residue in four equal annual payments. The act also provided for the selection of a State Agent by joint ballot of the General Assembly, who should be commissioned by the Governor, and whose duty it should be to attend the sale of lots and receive the purchase money and give to the purchaser the necessary acquittances and certificates. The act contained further minute provision for the discharge of the duties of the State Agent and accounting by him for the proceeds of the sale, and prescribed that all moneys arising from the sale of lots should "remain in the treasury and constitute a fund for the special purpose of erecting the necessary public buildings of the State."

So valuable were ferry privileges then regarded, and so careful was the General Assembly, that special provision was made in the act "that no person or persons who may purchase any lot or lots in said town adjacent to White river shall thereby be entitled to any right of ferry, but the sole right of ferry at said town or from off the land belonging to the State in this vicinity shall always be and remain vested in the said town, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

The commissioners selected were Christopher Harrison, James Jones and Samuel P. Booker, and John Carr was elected and commissioned State Agent.

At the appointed time Christopher Harrison was the only commissioner who appeared, but he proceeded to appoint Elias P. Fordham and Alexander Ralston as surveyors, and Benjamin I. Blythe as clerk.[1] To remove doubts subsequently arising as to the validity of the plats and sales made without the concurrence of the other commissioners, they were confirmed by an act of the General Assembly passed November 28, 1821.[2]

The site selected contained 2,560 acres. The ground platted was one mile square. Near the center was a circle around which was a street ninety feet wide; from the corners of blocks adjacent to the circle were four diagonal streets each ninety feet in width; all the streets running east and west and north and south were ninety feet in width except Washington street, which was 120 feet in width. There were eighty-nine blocks, each containing four acres and each being 420 feet square. There were also six fractional squares and three irregular tracts in the Pogue's Run valley. Each block was divided by

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[1]Ralston was a Scotchman who assisted in the survey of Washington City.

[2]Acts 1821, p. 12.

alleys into four equal parts, and each quarter block was divided into three lots with a frontage of 67½ feet.

There was so much sickness prevailing that after the completion of the plat it was deemed advisable to postpone the sale of lots, and the sale did not take place until October 10, 1821. The sale was had at the house of Matthias Nowland. Thomas Carter acted as auctioneer and James M. Ray as clerk. A great crowd, gathered from nearly every section of the country, attended the sale.

Nowland adds this significant commentary on the honesty of the people:[1] "This sale continued one week, during which time there was not the least disturbance of any kind. Although the woods were filled with moneyed people, there was no robbery or attempt at the same, nor was there the least apprehension of fear. There were no confidence men to prey upon the credulity of the people; although strangers, they looked upon each other as their neighbor and friend. Their money was almost entirely gold and silver, and was left in their leather bags where best they could procure a shelter, and was considered as safe as it now would be in the vaults of our banks."

The highest price paid was $560 for the lot west of Court square on Washington street; the lot west of State square was sold for $500; and the intervening lots on Washington street that have since brought over $4,000 per front foot sold for prices varying between $100 and $300, or from $1.50 to $4.50 per front foot. The prices bid were in those days considered very high; many of the lots were forfeited to the State for non-payment and for several years afterward there was a decline instead of an advance in prices. Nineteen hundred acres of the lots and land remained unsold in 1831, and were subsequently

[1] "Sketches," p. 21.

disposed of by order of the General Assembly at a minimum price of $10 per acre.

The State capital had now been located, named and platted, but much yet remained to be done. Until 1821 the territory included in the New Purchase formed part of what was then called Delaware county, but that county was as yet unorganized and came within the jurisdiction of the courts of Fayette and Wayne counties. Marion county had not then been organized. In consequence of the absence of local courts the citizens of Indianapolis were subjected to the great inconvenience of being prosecuted and sued in courts sixty miles or more away.

To remedy this incovenience the General Assembly, by an act passed January 9, 1821,[1] authorized the appointment of two or more justices of the peace for Indianapolis, and in April Governor Jennings appointed John Maxwell. Maxwell resigned in June and was succeeded by John McIlvaine. Quoting from Mr. Brown:[2] "His twelve-foot cabin stood on the northwest corner of Pennsylvania and Michigan streets, where he held court, pipe in mouth, in his cabin door, the jury ranged in front on a fallen tree, and the first constable Corbalay standing guard over the culprits, who nevertheless often escaped through the woods. Calvin Fletcher was then the only lawyer and the last judge in all the knotty cases, the justice privately taking his advice as to their disposal. There was no jail nearer than Connersville, and it being expensive and troublesome to send culprits there in charge of the constable and posse, the plan was adopted of frightening them away. A case of this kind occurred on Christmas, 1821. Four Kentucky boatmen, who had 'whipped their weight in wildcats' on the Kanawha and

[1]Acts 1821, p. 99.

[2]"History of Indianapolis," p. 4.

elsewhere, came from the Bluffs to 'Naplis' to have a Christmas spree. It being early, for the citizens were roused before dawn by a great uproar at Daniel Larkins's clapboard grocery, which contained a barrel of whiskey, the four heroes were discovered busily employed in tearing down the grocery. A request to desist produced a volley of oaths, a display of big knives and an advance on the citizens, most of whom found pressing business elsewhere. They were interested, however, in the existence of the grocery, and furthermore such defiance of law and order could not be tolerated. A consultation was held, resulting in the determination to take the rioters at all hazards. James Blake volunteered to grapple the leader, a man of great size and strength, if the rest would take the three others. The attack was made, the party captured and marched under guard through the woods to Justice McIlvaine's cabin, where they were at once tried, heavily fined and ordered to jail at Connersville in default of payment or bail. Payment was out of the question and they could not be taken to Connersville at that season of the year. Ostentatious preparations were made, however, for the trip, the posse was selected for the journey next day, a guard was placed over them." The guard however, had "secret instructions"—doubtless not to exercise undue vigilance—and Mr. Brown records that "during the night the doughty heroes fled to a more congenial clime," no doubt greatly to the relief of the citizens, who had thereby vindicated the majesty of the law, maintained the dignity of Indianapolis, and rid themselves of their unwelcome guests without depleting their little treasury.

There were other inconveniences resulting from the want of local government. When Jeremiah Johnson wanted to get married to Miss Jane Reagan he was com-

pelled to walk to Connersville and back, 120 miles, to get his license. That was not the end of his troubles, for after getting his license he was obliged to wait several weeks for a preacher to come along and tie the marriage knot. It should be noted, however, that there was soon a sufficient number of preachers to supply the home market.[1]

On December 21, 1821, the General Assembly passed an act for the organization of Marion county,[2] providing for the election or appointment of judges and other officers, and appropriating funds for the erection of a two-story brick court-house fifty feet square, to be completed in three years and to be used by the federal, State and county courts, and by the General Assembly for fifty years, or until a state-house should be built.

The first county election was held April 1, 1822. "Nearly half the population," says Mr. Brown,[3] "were candidates for some office and were busily canvassing. Nominating conventions were unknown and each ran on his personal merit." No division seems to have been made on any national or State political issue, but the contest was mainly between the Whitewater settlers, represented by James M. Ray, and the Kentucky settlers, represented by Morris Morris. Mr. Brown adds: "The canvas was thorough and the excitement culminated at the election. Whisky flowed freely. Persons usually sober, excited by

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[1]It may also be noted that "Jerry," as he was familiarly called, lived to see the first railroad train enter the city, and his exclamation of surprise to one of the by-standers as the locomotive came puffing along graphically expresses his amazement at the rapid advance of civilization: "Good Lord, John, what is this world gwine to come to!"—J. C. Fletcher in "Indianapolis News," June 11, 1879.

[2]Acts 1821, p. 135.

[3]"History of Indianapolis," p. 9.

victory or grieved by defeat, joined in the spree and the whole community got drunk."

Mr. Brown's statement is confirmed by Mr. Fletcher, who says that: "The political issues were entirely geographical and liquid and Whitewater and whiskey carried the day against Kentucky and whiskey."[1] In those days when part of the preachers' salaries was often paid in whiskey, the evils of intemperance were not so fully realized as they are now.

The year 1821 was an eventful one. There was much sickness, and during the late summer and early fall nearly every one in the entire community was prostrated by a species of remittent and intermittent fever, of more malignant type than the ordinary "fever and ague." In consequence of this the cultivation of the common field was neglected and provisions and goods, except such corn as could be bought of the Indians near by, were packed on horses sixty miles from the Whitewater.

Nevertheless, the population continued to increase, and by August, 1821, there were fifty or sixty families in the settlement, and by the end of the year the population had increased to four or five hundred. By February 25, 1822, "forty dwellings and several workshops had been built, a grist and two saw mills were running, and others were being built near town. There were thirteen carpenters, four cabinet makers, eight blacksmiths, four shoemakers, two tailors, one hatter, two tanners, one saddler, one cooper, four bricklayers, one preacher, one teacher, and seven tavern keepers. This list gives, perhaps, half the adult population of the place."[2]

By the year 1822, the little capital had made considerable growth. Schools, churches, a newspaper and a post-

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[1]J. C. Fletcher in "Indianapolis News," May 10, 1879.

[2]Brown's "History of Indianapolis," p. 9.

office had been established, business of various kinds was being carried on.

In the "Indianapolis Gazette," the newspaper that had been established there,[1] are these announcements that possess a quaint interest for the citizens of to-day:

"Arrived at this place May 29 (1822) keelboat *Eagle,* 15 tons burthen from Kenhawa [?] Capt. Lindsey—salt, flour, whiskey, dried fruit, tobacco," also "the keel-boat *Boxer,* 133 tons, from Zanesville, Ohio, Capt. Wilson—merchandise and printing material."

Still the settlers labored under great disadvantages. Communication with the outside world was very difficult. The roads, such as they were, in the winter were muddy and it was difficult to travel over them in bad weather, even on horseback, and out of the question to travel over them in wagons. In winter such provisions and merchandise as were needed and could not be produced at home were brought on horseback from the Whitewater, or by boat from the Ohio up the Wabash to White river and thence to Indianapolis. This was a tedious and expensive way. The boats used were called keel-boats and were pulled up by cordelling, that is by tying a rope to a tree and pulling the boat up to it; or by poling, that is by pushing the boat along with poles. The ascent of the Wabash and White river by this method required about six weeks.

Prior to the year 1825 the General Assembly continued to hold its sessions, and the State officers to maintain their offices, at Corydon. This was because the buildings intended to be constructed at Indianapolis for their accommodation had not been completed. In 1824 these buildings were so nearly completed that preparations were made for removal from Corydon to Indian-

[1]Established in 1822 by Smith and Bolton.

apolis, and Samuel Merrill, then State Treasurer, was charged with the duty of superintending the removal, which was accomplished in the fall of 1824.

When the time came for moving from Corydon to Indianapolis, all the State's money, records and other movables were loaded into one wagon, the family and household goods of the State Treasurer into another, and the family and household goods of the State Auditor into another, and the little caravan started. "When he came near a small town," says Mrs. Ketcham, "our ambitious teamster would put on all his bells in honor of the Treasurer of State and the State Printer (Auditor), so that every man, woman and child could run to the front to see."

The trip consumed ten days' time. The building designed for the State Treasurer, had not yet been completed, but it was soon ready for occupancy. It was a two-story brick building erected at the southwest corner of Washington and Tennessee streets. On one side was the office of the State Treasurer, and over that was the office of the State Auditor, reached by an outside stairway. On the other side were the rooms designed for the family of the State Treasurer—a parlor, over the parlor a bedroom, and in rear of the parlor a room used as a sitting-room, dining-room and kitchen.

The General Assembly met that winter in the courthouse, which was not then finished, the session beginning on the second Monday in January, 1825. The State House was not built until 1835.

By the year 1824 the town had made considerable progress. Some frame and brick houses had been erected of a better class than most of those in the new settlements. Besides the various mechanical trades and other business carried on, the learned professions were also

represented in the new capital. The Methodists and Presbyterians had churches in Indianapolis at an early date. It is said that the first Methodist preacher, one sent by the St. Louis Conference to Indianapolis, lost his way in the wilderness and had much difficulty in finding the place.

In this connection special mention should be made of the early Methodist preachers. That they were not animated by any hope of pecuniary gain is proved by their pitiful salaries. They rode immense circuits on horseback, with nearly all their worldly possessions tucked in a pair of saddlebags, traveling for hundreds of miles over old traces and Indian trails, for roads there were none, through otherwise trackless forests, still infested with ravenous beasts, swimming swollen streams, braving all the dangers of the wilderness, the heat of summer, the malaria of fall, the rigors of winter, inspired only by a sublime faith that stamps them as at once the humblest and the foremost of all the pioneer heroes of Indiana.

Some of the Presbyterian preachers had their tribulations also. One of the first, a highly educated man, was caught in the very act of reading Shakespeare to his wife. Such an offense was little less reprehensible than that of a man kissing his wife on Sunday, an offense viewed with special abhorrence by the New England Puritans. After such a departure from good morals we need not be surprised to learn that the unfortunate minister was viewed with suspicion by the elders, and that not long afterward he was impeached for heresy and was compelled to quit his charge. He was succeeded by one more orthodox who preached Calvanism of the genuine quality, but his sermons, so Mrs. Ketcham tells us, had the singular effect of putting his congregation to sleep, and what is more singular still, the first to go to sleep was one of

the elders who thought that the preceding preacher was not sufficiently orthodox.

Mrs. Ketcham records in her journal a novel expedient resorted to by the wife of one the elders to rouse the drowsy members: "His wife in the far end of the pew looked to the right and left, far and near, and seeing drowsy ones, passed her bottle of strongest ammonia." Mrs. Ketcham adds that "the people were not used to it" and "the jumps and the instant handing back with the rueful faces" had the effect of setting all the younger members to laughing. One can not avoid instituting a mental comparison between the method adopted by the elder's wife of rousing the drowsy members, and that in vogue among the early New England Puritans, when the tithing man went about admonishing those of the congregation whom he caught napping, of the sin of sleeping by giving them a smart rap on the head with the hard end of his tithing rod, and this, too, though the hour glass had been turned time and again. The question which of the two methods is preferable is a delicate and knotty theological problem, and a discreet layman will wisely refrain from venturing any opinion upon it. When in later years Henry Ward Beecher had charge of the Presbyterian church in Indianapolis he had no trouble in keeping his congregation awake.

A doctor soon appeared. His method of treatment was the one then recognized and approved as "regular." Quoting again from Mrs. Ketcham: "It is no exaggeration to say that his pills were as large as cherries; twenty grains of calomel was a common dose, and antimony till one was sure he was poisoned. He bled equal to any Italian, till his patient fainted away." He bled Mrs. Ketcham once and the mark on her arm remained ever after. A knowledge of the ways of the Indianapolis

doctors in early times may enable us the better to appreciate the delicate humor of Nye when he addressed to a convention of doctors assembled in Indianapolis a few years ago the wish "that they might continue *to take life easy*—as heretofore."

One lawyer, Calvin Fletcher, came in 1821. He was, for a time, the sole legal adviser of John McIlvaine, the solitary justice of the peace, who, for a short period, embodied all the visible majesty of the law. It is recorded to Fletcher's credit that he never abused for his own profit the confidence reposed in him by the justice.

The early lawyers of Indiana were men of marked ability, many of whom have left a deep impression upon the history of the State. Like the early Methodist preachers, they rode great circuits, traveling hundreds of miles on horseback through the woods from court to court. Many of them had been educated in Eastern colleges. They had few law books but with these they were thoroughly familiar. They depended far more upon their reasoning powers to apply to new cases their knowledge of elementary principles than do the modern lawyers, many of whom depend too much upon the results of other lawyers' thinking to be found in the books that load the shelves of our immense law libraries.

With all their hardships, the early settlers of Indianapolis fared better in one respect than pioneers in less favored localities, for it seems that they had plenty to eat. Mrs. Ketcham's father was the State Treasurer, and his style of living was probably some better than that of his poorer neighbors. Still it probably was not much different from that of most of the better class of the inhabitants at that time. She says: "Milk was plenty; every lady had her own cow or cows, and they were even milked in Washington street. Butter 6 cts. a pound;

eggs 2 cts. a dozen. So we had griddle cakes, taken from the great round griddle before the great fire. There was no soda; eggs made them light and the baking speedy. Biscuit was kneaded a great deal and baked in a hot skillet quickly. Waffles! I can see the long handled irons thrown into the blazing fire and whirled over so quickly and out and in the same way. Maple syrup was plenty, and wild honey. We had good light bread made of hop yeast. Chickens were almost always broiled. It was considered a great thing to have chickens and new potatoes on the Fourth of July. Currants and cherries grew speedily till then. We had wild strawberries, raspberries and blackberries. In the fall wild grapes for preserves and jelly, and also wild plums. When out in the woods looking for these things, I have been led on by the fragrance of the plum, till walking on the trunk of a huge fallen tree, I put aside with my hands the thicket and the ground was covered with plums of large size and that peculiar beauty of color they have. White sugar was only in the loaf and was 25 cts. a pound, so our preserving was done with New Orleans sugar. We took extra care and they were real good. Maple sugar was also plenty. Great wagon loads of apples were brought from the Ohio river and sold at $1.25 a bushel. How we enjoyed them.

"Wild turkey and game of all kinds abounded. Fish from White river and Fall creek. I have never tasted such fried potatoes as my mother's. * * * These good housekeepers talked of the better ways of doing things and encouraged one another, and thus learned and taught. I remember how good the last roasting ears tasted just before the frost, and as soon as the corn was at all hard, it was grated and made rare mush. The great kettle of lye hominy looked so good on the great kitchen

crane and smelled so appetizing as we came home from school. It took the best of white flint corn; then boiling water was poured over the nicest ashes, and when this was settled clear, it was poured on the corn and stood in the corner of the great fireplace till the skin loosened; then it was taken to the well, in a tub, was washed with buckets of water till it was white, and then boiled slowly all day; then eaten in milk or fried as one wished. * * *

"Our smoke-house. Everybody had one. They were full of ham, pickled pork, bacon, dried beef, corned beef, backbones, spare ribs, that were always boiled unless in pot-pie. Bones, sausage, head cheese. How handsome the baked pork looked. We had never heard of its not being healthy nor looked out for a headache after eating it. Our cellars were full of potatoes, turnips, cabbage, cucumber pickles and great jars of preserved fruit. Soon dried fruit grew to be plenty. * * *

"Deer was plenty. Their steaks were broiled and relieved of dryness by being well buttered. Also wild turkeys were so abundant that William Anderson brought down three at one time with his shotgun. The breasts of these were fried."

The inhabitants of Indiana, at the time of its admission into the union, were mostly immigrants from Kentucky and Tennessee, whose ancestors were mainly from Pennsylvania, Virginia and the Carolinas. Those about Vincennes were nearly all French. There was a Swiss settlement in Switzerland county. There were a few immigrants from New York, Pennsylvania and the New England States, but very few foreigners.

The immigration to the New Purchase was chiefly from the older settled portions of the State and from Ohio, but large numbers also came from Kentucky, Vir-

ginia and other Southern States. There were some from New York, from Vermont, Connecticut and other Eastern States. A considerable number of Quakers came from Wayne county and from North Carolina. Few foreigners came, and the population of the New Purchase was almost wholly American.

The first settlers of the Northwest Territory were mostly men who had served, or whose fathers had served, in the Revolutionary War.[1] A very considerable number of this class settled in Indiana. Very many of the settlers of the New Purchase were men who had served in the War of 1812 and in the Indian wars of the West. They were mostly men of great physical strength, of strong character, of fearless disposition, and nearly all were familiar with the hardships and dangers of frontier life.

A considerable and valuable addition to the immigration to Indiana was of Scotch-Irish descent—most of it reaching the State by a long and zig-zag route, after the acquisition of the New Purchase. Large numbers of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who left Ulster in Ireland to avoid the persecutions of the English kings after the restoration sought refuge in various parts of the American colonies. Much the largest part of them settled in Pennsylvania.[2] Thence the general course of Scotch-Irish emigration was to Western Virginia and North Carolina; from the last two colonies to Tennessee and Kentucky, and thence to Indiana.

It is not within the scope of this paper to enter into a minute description of the homes, the social customs and

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[1]Burnet's "Notes on the Northwestern Territory," p. 42.

[2]Roosevelt's "Winning of the West," vol. I, chap. V; "The Backwoodsman of the Alleghenies;" Campbell's "History of Virginia," p. 424; Hanna's "Scotch-Irish," p. 60.

the daily life of the early settlers of Indianapolis. Their houses were much like those of the early settlers in other portions of the State, and not unlike those in the early settlements of New England. The old chinked log-houses, with clapboard roofs, puncheon floors, stick or catted chimneys, and enormous fireplaces; the outer walls often covered with "coon" skins; the latch-string always out; the wells with their old-fashioned sweeps and the gourds that hung on the curb; the simple furniture and household and farming utensils, mostly made by hand; the house-raisings, the log-rollings, the corn-huskings, the quilting-bees; the varied incidents of daily life—all these are familiar to some still living, and they have been described over and over again in local histories. They recall a vivid picture of pioneer life, of honest manhood, of womanly devotion, of primitive simplicity, of the heroic struggles of the men and women who helped to lay in a wilderness the foundation of a great State—a picture to which each succeeding age lends romantic coloring and dramatic interest.[1]

Most of the early settlers were poor; their houses were rude structures; their clothing was mostly made at home,

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[1]Elaborate descriptions of early life in Indianapolis will be found in Sulgrove's "History of Indianapolis," Nowland's "Sketches," and the series of papers entitled "Old Settlers," giving the recollections of Mr. Robert Duncan, published in the Indiana Historical Society Publications, vol. II, pp. 377-402. There will also be found a highly interesting description of early life in Indianapolis in the communications of Rev. J. C. Fletcher, son of Calvin Fletcher, contributed to the "Indianapolis News," beginning March 10 and concluding September 19, 1879, giving not only the author's personal recollections, but many extracts from journals kept by his father and mother. A very full and accurate account of the life of the early settlers in other portions of Indiana is given in the autobiography of Dr. Philip Mason, who emigrated from Herkimer county, New York, and settled in 1816 in Fayette county, Indiana. See also Senator David Turpie's "Sketches of My Own Times" and Cockrum's "Pioneer History of Indiana."

and their mode of living was plain and simple. There were no marked distinctions based on wealth or rank; the settlers were more or less dependant upon their neighbors, so that each community was a little democracy in which political and social equality were of necessity, if not of choice, the characteristics.

With their limited facilities for education we need not be surprised to find, nor should we count it to their discredit, that they were deficient in literary culture, and even in the rules of spelling. But we shall greatly err if we base our estimate of them upon the rude caricatures depicted in some books of fiction and in some travelers' accounts that attempt to describe them. They were mostly men, from whatever quarter they came, whose ancestors were of the best American blood, courageous, honest, industrious, frugal, hospitable; men who had come to this region to hew out homes in the wilderness; men who fully understood the difficulties and dangers that beset them on every hand and who pursued their purpose undaunted by them.

Senator Turpie's tribute to the early Indiana pioneers is as true as it is beautiful:[1]

"In that primitive age there was an innate honest simplicity of manner, as of thought and action. Fraud, wrong-doing and injustice were denounced as they are at present; they were also discredited, dishonored, and branded with an ostracism more severe than that of Athens. Wealth acquired by such means could not evade, and was unable to conceal, the stigma that attached to the hidden things of dishonesty.

"The moral atmosphere of the time was clear and bracing; it repelled specious pretentions, resisted iniquity

[1] "Sketches," p. 55-6.

and steadily rejected the evil which calls itself good. Moreover, there never has been a people who wrought into the spirit of their public enactments the virtues of their private character more completely than the early settlers of Indiana. We have grown up in the shadow of their achievements; these need not be forgotten in the splendor of our own."

It is not within the scope of this paper to trace the subsequent development of the capital city. For many years it seemed to languish and gave no sign of the wonderful development it has since shown. It suffered like other towns in the State from the collapse of the internal improvement system and the panic of 1837. In 1840 its population was only 2,692. Not until its admirable advantages as a railroad and manufacturing center became apparent did its brilliant future seem to be assured. But railroads were not dreamed of by its founders, and the first one, the old Madison & Indianapolis railroad, did not enter the city until October 1, 1847. Nevertheless, the men who laid the foundations of the city accomplished a great deal. Indeed they builded far better than they knew.

Themistocles, when ridiculed for lack of polite accomplishments, is said to have replied: "True, I never learned how to tune a harp or handle a lute; but I know how to raise a small and inconsiderable city to glory and greatness." The founders of Indianapolis might have said that, though they could not tune a harp or handle a lute, they could found a capital in the wilderness.