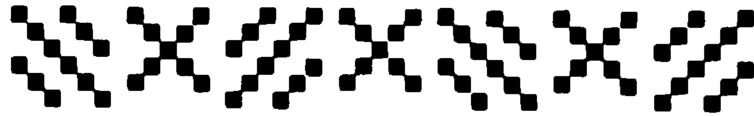
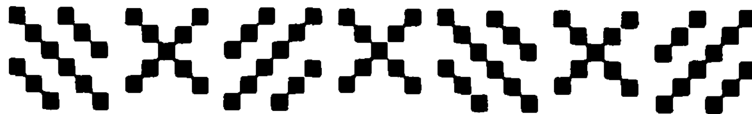


Tracing the Origins of a Midwestern Culture: The Case of Central Indiana

*James M. Bergquist**



One of the fascinations that the American frontier has had for historians is that its history reflects the full development of new societies and their cultures within a remarkably short span of time. Even a place as seemingly prosaic as the agricultural frontier of the early Midwest offers inviting examples to demonstrate the process of cultural development. In a classic discussion of the subject, Frederick Jackson Turner used the metaphor of mingling fluids to describe the diverse elements that made up the culture of the Midwest. "Into this province," he wrote, "came tides of settlement that, in rapidity of flow and in variety of sources, brought a new American society into existence."[1] Turner's examination of the process emphasized the impact of the newness and social emptiness of the frontier. Although acknowledging that the freshness of the society gave unusual opportunities for change and innovation, later historians—influenced by more recent theories of social science—have placed more stress upon the cultural traditions carried to the frontier by its varied settlers.[2]

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[1] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The United States, 1830-1850: The Nation and Its Sections* (New York, 1935), 258.

[2] Robert F. Berkhofer, "Space, Time, Culture and the New Frontier," *Agricultural History*, XXXVIII (January, 1964), 21-30. The following essay is not intended as a commentary on Turner or as an attempt to resolve the question of "heredity vs. environment" on the frontier. The nature of the evidence used,

It is not difficult to identify the various sources from which the population and the culture of the early Midwest were drawn, but to do so does not necessarily account for the product that resulted. The question remains as to why one cultural trait brought into the wilderness survived and another did not.[3] Some scholars have described the process as one of conflict and competition between cultures, but the cultural scene that resulted is much too complex for such oversimplification.[4] Accommodation as well as conflict seems to have played a role.

An examination of the settlement patterns of early-nineteenth-century Indiana places the problem of cultural development in the Midwest in a more specific context. Moving northward from below the Ohio River and from beyond the Cumberland Gap, settlers from Kentucky and the upland South established themselves along the Ohio and its tributaries about the turn of the nineteenth century. Before the coming of the railroad, access to water transportation was of great importance to these settlers, and they followed the valleys of the Ohio's tributaries rather far northward into the Hoosier state—farther northward perhaps than in either Ohio or Illinois. Because so much of the state was thus preempted by southerners, fewer migrants from the Middle and New England states moved directly to Indiana during the period from 1800 to 1840, when much of the state passed from a wilderness to an established society.[5]

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particularly that of language, may put stress on those aspects of the culture brought from previous societies. For a general discussion of the problem see Ray A. Billington, *America's Frontier Heritage* (New York, 1966), especially chapter 3.

[3] The most fully developed discussions of cultural conflict in the Old Northwest are John D. Barnhart, *Valley of Democracy: The Frontier versus the Plantation in the Ohio Valley, 1775-1818* (Bloomington, Ind., 1953), and Richard L. Power, *Planting Corn Belt Culture: The Impress of the Upland Southerner and Yankee in the Old Northwest* (*Indiana Historical Society Publications*, Vol. XVIII; Indianapolis, 1953).

[4] It will be apparent that "culture" as discussed in this essay does not mean literary or artistic "high culture" but rather culture in the broader sociological sense. In *American Society: A Sociological Interpretation* (3rd ed., New York, 1970), 25, Robin M. Williams, Jr., provides a good working definition: "the total legacy of past human behavior effective in the present, representing the accumulation, through generations, of the artifacts, knowledges, beliefs and values by which men deal with the world." Williams also notes that this accumulation has a normative effect, giving individuals prescriptions for proper actions and behavior.

[5] For a succinct statement of the importance of the upland southerners in the development of Indiana see Power, *Planting Corn Belt Culture,* 1-3. The case for the overwhelmingly southern background of much of Indiana is best made in a series of statistical analyses by Elfrieda Lang in the *Indiana Magazine of History* in 1953 and 1954; see particularly "Southern Migration to

Given this pattern of migration, it might be expected that the Indianans' culture would reflect almost exclusively the life-styles of Kentucky and the upland South—the regions from which the majority of the early settlers came. The character of the state's culture and society is not, however, so easily described. In the process of settlement and development the residents of Indiana apparently made cultural choices from among a number of available alternatives, many of them traceable to eastern areas. To understand the distinctively Indiana culture which resulted it is necessary to look not only at the variety of influences which compose it but also at the historical conditions in which these influences were combined. Such a study may in turn provide insight into the unfolding process of cultural development itself.

Attempts both to identify the culture and to account for the development of it in a place like frontier Indiana meet with considerable problems of evidence. The written records favored by historians are limited in value for this purpose. Travelers through early Indiana usually followed well-worn paths that did not always touch the developing regions of the state's interior; rarely did such visitors comment on other than the obviously eccentric or unusual character traits. Since the testimony of participants in a frontier society cannot be expected to be particularly revealing about the general characteristics of the newly forming society, scholars must turn to other types of evidence in an effort to understand the culture and its formation. Such evidence could include traces of the early culture left on the physical landscape or relatively enduring features which are embedded in the more recent culture but which seem to derive from the period of cultural establishment. The evidence should emanate from the people as a whole, not merely from a more literate or articulate elite.

Various kinds of evidence fulfill such criteria; for example, physical remains such as folk architecture and the folkways of tools, agricultural practice, and foodways. The most systematically and abundantly collected evidence, however, is that provided by language. The linguistic atlas of the United States, in preparation for nearly a half-century, has produced a variety of materials useful to the social and cultural historian as well as to the student of language.[6] The materials include manu-

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Northern Indiana before 1850," *Indiana Magazine of History,* L (December, 1954), 349-56.

[6] The standard discussion of the development of the Linguistic Atlas can be found in Raven I. McDavid, Jr., "The Dialects of American English," in W. Nelson Francis, *The Structure of American English* (New York, 1958), 480-543.

script records of the speech of many individual Americans in all parts of the country; from these have been derived published linguistic atlases of New England and the upper Midwest, projected atlases for the North Central and South Atlantic regions, and a variety of studies of specific localities and areas as well as a project for a dictionary of regional language. The geographical patterns of dialect that emerge from these materials can tell the historian something of the influence of various cultures in a given region, and scholars, by combining the linguistic and the more traditional historical sources, can perhaps reconstruct the cultural interactions that produce dialect variations in specific areas.

Linguistic evidence that might yield clues about the cultural development of Indiana began to be collected in the years just before World War II. It was quickly apparent that the picture was a complex one. In 1940 Albert H. Marckwardt, who for many years directed the project for an atlas of the North Central States, published some preliminary findings for Indiana. His comments were based upon interviews with a few elderly informants born from the 1840s through the 1870s; they thus reflected speech habits learned at a fairly early date. While various dialect influences were apparent among the interviewees, Marckwardt detected southern speech patterns in areas much farther to the north than in the neighboring states of Ohio or Illinois. He pointed out many specific traces of the dialect of the upland South, a dialect which linguists came to call South Midland.[7] Further research and fieldwork confirmed Marckwardt's analysis, but it also became clear that the state's adherence to South Midland speech was far from uniform. Researchers also found traces of the North Midland dialect—a speech derived directly from the Middle States of the eastern seaboard—though they failed to identify a regular pattern to its use. As late as 1957 Marckwardt pointed out that more attention had to be paid to the influences of Pennsylvania and the Middle States upon the whole region and that the complex mixture of linguistic influences and the lack of clear "dividing lines" deserved much further study.[8]

The accumulation of Linguistic Atlas records in the 1940s and 1950s did make possible the first systematic studies of

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[7] Albert H. Marckwardt, "Folk Speech in Indiana and Adjacent States," *Indiana History Bulletin*, XVII (February, 1940), 120-40.

[8] Albert H. Marckwardt, "Principal and Subsidiary Dialect Areas in the North-Central States," *Publication of the American Dialect Society*, XXVII (April, 1957), 3-15.

Indiana language and its complexities.[9] On the basis of these records the patterns of various vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammatical usages were plotted on maps to delineate more clearly the similarities and differences of language. Two conclusions emerged. First, the "Northern" dialect area—that which bore the impress of the stream of migration from New England through western New York—encompassed only a small section of the northern area of the state, which had received much of its early settlement from Michigan. Second, a hilly area at the extreme southern end of the state, a triangle bounded by a line approximately from Madison to Vincennes on the north and on the other two sides by the Ohio and Wabash rivers, represented an area whose language seemed closely related to that of Kentucky and whose dialect could clearly be called "South Midland."[10]

Categorization of that portion of Indiana which lies between these two extremes remains difficult, and there is little agreement as to how to characterize the language of this central area. The region in question extends from the southern edges of the valleys of the two forks of the White River and the adjacent Whitewater Valley on the south, northward to the northern slopes of the Wabash Valley and includes approximately two thirds of the state. It is in "central Indiana" that the mixing of traits from various regions has been most preva-

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[9] Among the principal studies touching upon Indiana dialect, in addition to those by Marckwardt already mentioned, are Alva L. Davis, "A Word Geography of the Great Lakes Region" (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of English, University of Michigan, 1949), which draws upon a written questionnaire as well as atlas records; Alva L. Davis, "Dialect Distribution and Settlement Patterns in the Great Lakes Region," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, LX (January, 1951), 48-56; Robert F. Dakin, "The Dialect Vocabulary of the Ohio River Valley" (3 vols., Ph.D. dissertation, Department of English, University of Michigan, 1966); Robert F. Dakin, "South Midland Speech in the Old Northwest," *Journal of English Linguistics*, V (March, 1971), 31-48; Timothy C. Frazer, "South Midland Pronunciation in the North Central States," *American Speech*, LIII (Spring, 1978), 40-48; Raven I. McDavid, Jr., and Virginia G. McDavid, "Grammatical Differences in the North Central States," *American Speech*, XXXV (February, 1960), 5-19; Marvin D. Carmony, "The Speech of Terre Haute: A Hoosier Dialect Study" (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of English, Indiana University, 1965); Marvin D. Carmony, "Aspects of Regional Speech in Indiana," in Lawrence M. Davis, ed., *Studies in Linguistics in Honor of Raven I. McDavid, Jr.* (University, Ala., 1972), 9-24; Marvin D. Carmony, *Indiana Dialects in their Historical Setting* (Terre Haute, Ind., n.d.).

[10] For variations in defining the boundaries of this southern Indiana region see Dakin, "Dialect Vocabulary," III, 92-94, 103-104; and Carmony, "Aspects of Regional Speech in Indiana," 17. Both delineate subsidiary areas within the general area.

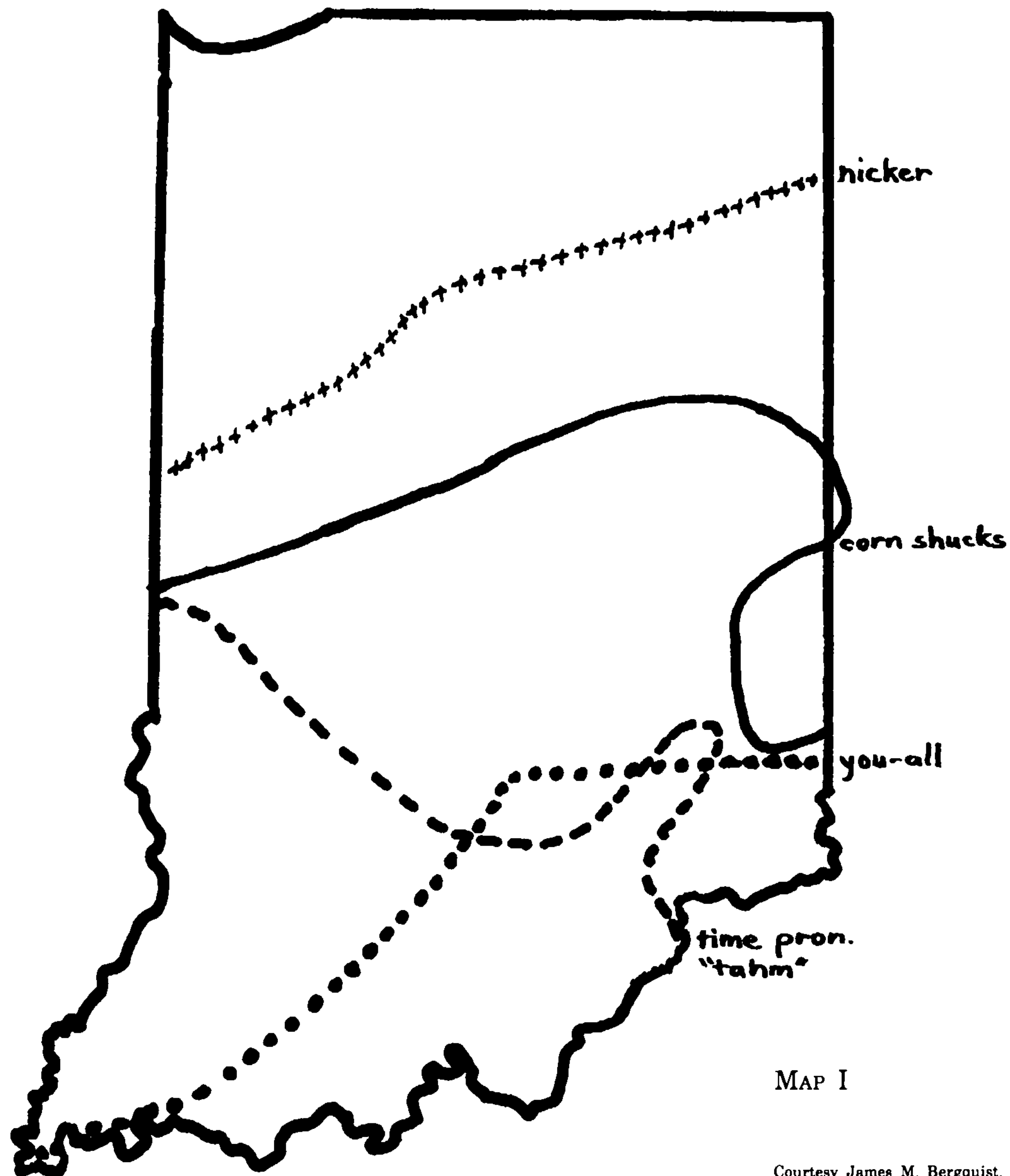
lent; consequently, it is this portion of the state which most requires historical analysis. Attempts to characterize the region as "South Midland"—that is, related linguistically to Kentucky and the upland South—must take into consideration the fact that some of the most frequently heard features of Kentucky speech are not common above the southern edge of Indiana near the Ohio.[11] For example, the plural *you-all* that is traditionally used on the stage to indicate the South is common in Kentucky but not in Indiana.[12] The monophthongal pronunciation of the vowel in *ice*—where "I had a nice time" beomes "ah had a nahce tahm"—is a consistent marker of South Midland speech; yet, it is found only in the southern extremity of Indiana. Likewise, the contrasting pronunciation in the vowels of *horse* and *hoarse* prevails only in the southernmost part of the state; over much of central Indiana, while the practice is mixed, it is more common to hear the two words pronounced alike. On the other hand, some South Midland features, such as the fairly common "daeun taeun" for *downtown*, are heard throughout much of central Indiana.[13]

These grammatical and phonological features demonstrate that, although traces of the speech of the upland South still remain, much has happened to the language of Indianans since their forebears left the regions below the Ohio. In examining the vocabulary of Indiana, scholars find evidence not only of change but of considerable linguistic diversity. The "isoglosses,"

[11] The various features of Indiana speech discussed in this article are drawn from the studies cited in footnotes 7, 8, and 9. In addition, with regard to some specific areas the records of the Linguistic Atlas of the North Central States, located at the University of Chicago, have been used with the permission of Professor Raven I. McDavid, Jr., director, and his staff.

[12] In his doctoral study of Terre Haute speech Carmony found only one instance of *you-all* among sixteen informants; however, this form of the pronoun was used by eleven of fifteen informants in Louisville, a little over a hundred miles to the southeast. Carmony, "Speech of Terre Haute," 144; Robert Ray Howren, "The Speech of Louisville, Kentucky" (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of English, Indiana University, 1958), 162-64. See also Dakin, "Dialect Vocabulary," II, 307-309. By contrast, in Missouri, which was settled about the same time and from the same sources as Indiana, *you-all* is a characteristic of the speech of about two thirds of the inhabitants. George B. Pace, "On the Eastern Affiliations of Missouri Speech," *American Speech,* XL (February, 1965), 47-52.

[13] On the basis of extensive questionnaires given to college-age Indianans, Carmony argues that many South Midland features of the language are losing ground to more northern speech. Carmony, "Aspects of Regional Speech in Indiana," 17-20. A recent study of South Midland pronunciation features finds them more frequent in the Wabash Valley and largely absent from the east-central Indiana regions closer to Cincinnati. Frazer, "South Midland Pronunciation," 42-44.



Courtesy James M. Bergquist.

KENTUCKY SPEECH IN INDIANA

There are considerable variations in the degree to which dialect features of the upland South are found in Indiana. Each line on this map represents the northern limit of a particular Kentucky word or usage. For a considerable distance south of this line, however, other usages from other dialect areas will be found competing with the form from the upland South. Sources: *nicker* and *you-all,* Albert H. Marckwardt, "Principal and Subsidiary Dialect Areas in the North-Central States," *Publication of the American Dialect Society,* XXVII (April, 1957), 12, 13; *corn shucks,* Robert F. Dakin, "The Dialect Vocabulary of the Ohio River Valley" (3 vols., Ph.D. dissertation, Department of English, University of Michigan, 1966), III, 16; *time* pronounced "tahm," Timothy C. Frazer, "South Midland Pronunciation in the North Central States," *American Speech,* LIII (Spring, 1978), 43.

by which dialectologists mark off the area where one word prevails from that where another does, run in greatly varying patterns across Indiana; in many localities the South Midland word may be chosen for one thing and the North Midland word for another. Over much of Indiana, for example, horses are said to *nicker*—the term common in the upland South—rather than to *whinny*—the North Midland usage. Calling the area around the barn a *lot* rather than a *barnyard* is a form that is common in Kentucky and that is heard in much of central Indiana, although both expressions are found in Indiana with about equal frequency. In the same area of central Indiana the southern phrase *hay loft* has prevalence over the northern *hay mow*, but corn *husks*, the North Midland term, are more frequently referred to than the corn *shucks* common in Kentucky. In Kentucky hay is left in the fields in *shocks*; in areas to the north they are more often called *cocks*; both words compete in Indiana, along with occasional references to *doodles*, the term brought from western Pennsylvania. In all these examples, and in others, considerable mixing of terms is found within specific localities, and sometimes the same individual will use North Midland words for some things and South Midland expressions for others.

Linguistic scholars attempting to define dialect areas and to draw boundaries between them obviously face difficulty when such mixing of language occurs; some have resorted merely to stating the frequency with which competing forms are found in a given area. The varying conclusions drawn by dialectologists when they attempt to define a "boundary" between the areas of North and South Midland in Indiana demonstrate the linguistic confusion there. Where the line is drawn depends on what is considered basic to the dialect. If *you-all* is considered to be essential to South Midland speech, the boundary will lie rather far to the south; if certain agricultural words are used as determinants, the line will be further to the north. In a widely used basic analysis of American dialects, Raven I. McDavid, Jr., in 1958 placed the boundary line close to the upper Wabash, leaving much of the southern two thirds of the state in the South Midland area.[14] This conclusion could naturally be drawn from some of the earlier studies by Marckwardt. Marvin D. Carmony, however, argued for a line further south, one running approximately through the center of Indiana.[15]

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[14] McDavid, "Dialects of American English," 580.

[15] Carmony, "Aspects of Regional Speech in Indiana," 12-17.

Robert F. Dakin's study, which concentrates on the southern half of the state, concluded that only the hilly southernmost area could really be characterized as South Midland; the great variety of mixed usage in the central part of the state led him simply to characterize it as a broad "transitional area."[16]

An effort to understand the background of Indiana speech (and thereby perhaps to understand the origin of the state's culture) might best begin by accepting Dakin's premise that the establishment of a clear boundary between dialect areas is not possible. Instead of trying to impose a pattern upon a picture of linguistic confusion, perhaps it is better to seek the source of the confusion and the process which created it.

The usual explanation for the North Midland-South Midland admixture in Indiana centers on the subsequent intrusion of migrating Pennsylvanians into the area where upland southerners had come earlier. The Pennsylvanians are usually described as migrating along the route of the National Road, that great project of "internal improvement" that ran from western Maryland through Wheeling, Virginia, central Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.[17] This explanation, however, presents problems in that much of the area in question in central Indiana had been rather fully settled before the National Road became a very usable route for migrants. Although surveyed in the 1820s, the road was not fully completed across Indiana until after the panic of 1837 brought a collapse of land sales and the end of Indiana's land boom.[18] For example, Rush County, located in the eastern part of the state a few miles south of the National Road, had 90 percent of its arable land already taken up by 1832.[19] Few Pennsylvanians came there, and the National Road was apparently not an important factor in its settlement; yet, the linguistic atlas records show that the mixture of North Midland and South Midland speech occurs there to the same

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[16] Dakin, "South Midland Speech in the Old Northwest," 31-48.

[17] Marckwardt, "Principal and Subsidiary Dialect Areas," 13-15; McDavid, "Dialects of American English," 504; McDavid and McDavid, "Grammatical Differences in the North Central States," 10; Davis, "Word Geography," 83-84.

[18] Both Dakin and Carmony express reservations about the influence of the National Road; see Dakin, "Dialect Vocabulary," I, 160-65; and Carmony, "The Speech of Terre Haute," xix-xx. See also Archer B. Hulbert, "The Old National Road: The Historic Highway of America" *(Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications,* Vol. IX; Columbus, 1901), 438-39; and "National Road Centennial," *Indiana History Bulletin,* XVII (June, 1940), 252.

[19] Wayne E. Kiefer, *Rush County, Indiana: A Study in Rural Settlement Geography* (Indiana University Geographic Monograph Series, no. 2; Bloomington, 1969), 31.

extent as in much of the rest of central Indiana.[20] While a case can be made that the National Road brought Pennsylvanians to the area along the eastern border of the state in the 1830s and 1840s, the explanation of the "Pennsylvania wedge" seems somewhat too simple.[21]

Given the widespread diffusion of this mixed language across much of central Indiana, another hypothesis might be offered to explain it, namely, that the admixture accompanied many of the earliest settlers, who brought with them a speech already influenced by a variety of dialects. A closer study of the migration process offers some support to this explanation.

While linguistic influences may have been diffused across Indiana from various focal points, good arguments exist for attributing particular importance to Cincinnati and the adjacent areas of the Miami and Whitewater valleys. Linguistic evidence yields numerous suggestions that patterns of dialect common in Kentucky were altered by the practice prevailing in the Cincinnati region. Examples of Miami Valley words that spread to central Indiana and replaced Kentucky words include *head cheese* for Kentucky *souse* and *chore time* for the upland southerner's *feeding time*.[22] There are other instances where the Miami country has one word, Kentucky another, and central Indiana a mixture of both. Examples include *barnyard* in the Miami country and *barn lot* in Kentucky; *evening* for any period after noon in Kentucky and *afternoon* in the Miami country; and *quarter till* the hour in Kentucky as opposed to *quarter of* in the Miami country.[23] Dakin's delineation of linguistic subareas in the whole Ohio Valley links the Miami, the Whitewater, and adjacent portions of east-central Indiana into one region; but close affinities with regions stretching across central Indiana and beyond the Wabash into Illinois are also apparent.[24]

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[20] The two Rush County informants interviewed for the Linguistic Atlas were males born in the county in 1872 and 1887. Both parents of both men were born in Indiana. Both interviewees used South Midland words such as *barn lot, pallet, pulley bone*, and (corn) *shucks* and demonstrated South Midland pronunciations of *cow* and the contrasting vowels of *morning/mourning* and *hoarse/horse*. Both, however, showed North Midland pronunciations of *five, nine, house*, and *due*. Neither said *you-all*. They differed on such things as the pronunciation of *Tuesday* and *ashes* and the term for *hay cocks/shocks*. This illustrates the ways in which the usage is mixed not only among individuals in one locality but within the speech of given individuals.

[21] Davis, "Word Geography," 106, shows the Pennsylvania-born settlers in 1870 to be concentrated mostly in the northeastern quarter of Indiana.

[22] Dakin, "Dialect Vocabulary," II, 337-40, 263-65.

[23] *Ibid.*, 85-88, 11-13, 17-19.

[24] *Ibid.*, III, 15-16, 56-57, 79, 84-85, 103-104.

If, instead of seeking to divide the region, linguists considered the area of central Indiana as a whole to be characterized by a commonly held linguistic heterogeneity, a different perspective emerges. Such an approach is encouraged by the fact that there are other cultural aspects that the region has in common and that distinguish it from extreme northern Indiana on one hand and the hilly area of southern Indiana on the other. Folklorists and geographers, who in recent years have attempted to map distinguishing characteristics of the folk culture in ways similar to those of the dialectologist, have provided data to illustrate this point of view. Like the dialectologists, they have attempted to link the diffusion of folk-cultural patterns with the routes of migration into successive regions.

One area of study which offers significant cultural data is the pattern of diffusion of folk-architectural types.[25] Attempts to chart the prevalence of various regional styles of early architecture have reinforced the conclusions of the dialectologists in many respects. There seems to be a clear consensus that the northernmost one or two tiers of Indiana counties are culturally related to Michigan and are different in their culture from the rest of the state. In addition, one folklorist, Henry Glassie, describes the southern hilly portion of the state near the Ohio River as an area included in the upland South.[26] Here some architectural types such as the "two-pen" house and the transverse-bay barn, brought from the Appalachian South, are fairly common. Central Indiana, however, remains a mixture of architectural types, where houses and barns of nearly every derivation can be found, in a pattern that cannot be easily sorted out on any clear geographical basis.[27]

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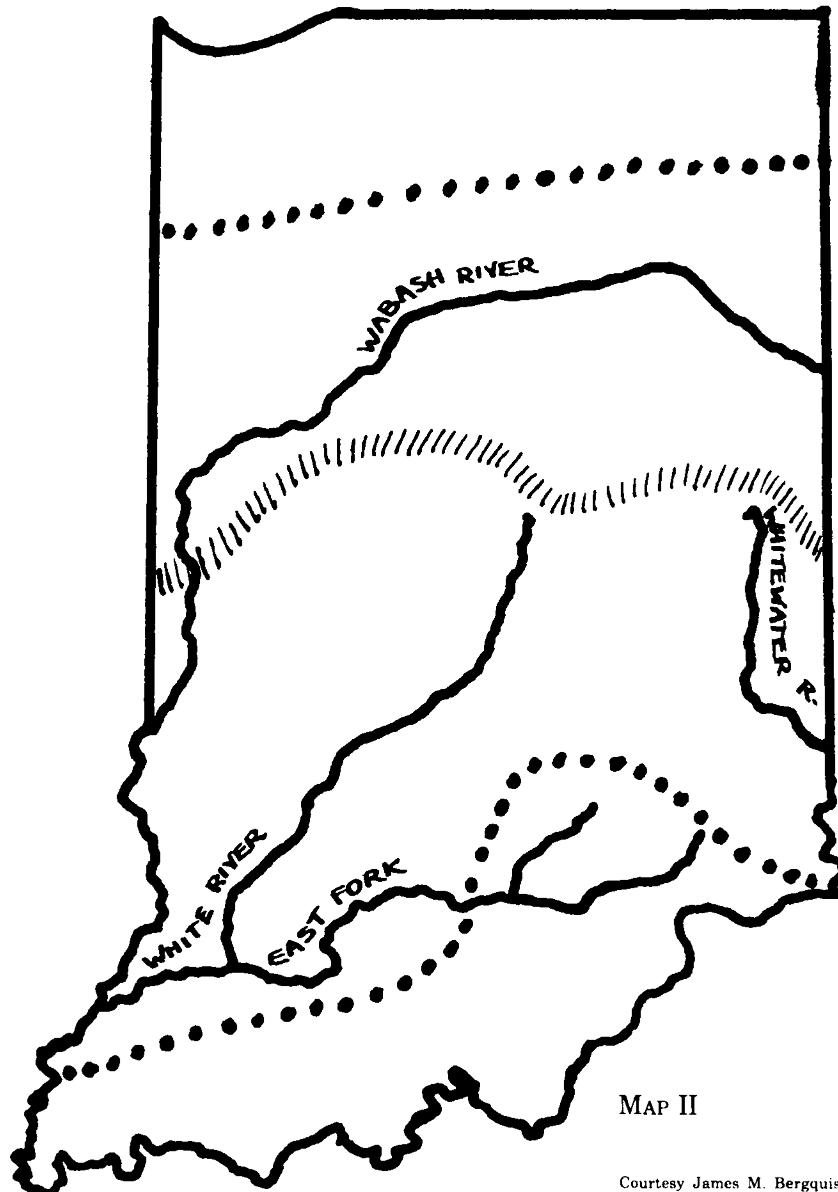
[25] For statements on the subject's importance see Pierce F. Lewis, "Common Houses, Cultural Spoor," *Landscape*, XIX, no. 2 (January, 1975), 1-22; and Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, LV (December, 1965), 549-77.

[26] Kniffen, "Folk Housing," 571; Wilbur Zelinsky, *Cultural Geography of the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1973), 129; Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia, 1968), 39. Both Kniffen and Zelinsky also make use of dialectal evidence.

[27] Robert W. Bastian, "Indiana Folk Architecture: A Lower Midwestern Index," *Pioneer America*, IX (December, 1977), 115-42. Howard W. Marshall and John M. Vlach, in "Toward a Folklife Approach to American Dialects," *American Speech*, XLVIII (Fall-Winter, 1973), 169-71, claim to have identified a cultural boundary by surveying the styles of barns along two "traverses" of the landscape twenty miles apart in an area southwest of Indianapolis. Given the known cultural complexities of the region, however, one hesitates to make any extrapolations from their findings.



MAP II

Courtesy James M. Bergquist.

CULTURAL BOUNDARIES IN INDIANA

The two dotted lines indicate the boundaries of "material folk culture regions" as described by the folklore scholar Henry Glassie. The northern end of the state was included in a "northern" region; the southern tip was included in the cultural area of the upland South. Glassie considered the region in between to fall in a midwestern culture region. The dialectologist Robert F. Dakin drew a line almost exactly like Glassie's southern one to indicate the northern limit of the South Midland dialect. A wide "transitional area" of complex linguistic patterns lay between the South Midland and North Midland dialects, according to Dakin; his northern boundary of that transitional area is indicated by the cross-hatched line. Sources: Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia, 1968), 39; Robert F. Dakin, "The Dialect Vocabulary of the Ohio River Valley" (3 vols., Ph.D. dissertation, Department of English, University of Michigan, 1966), III, 93.

Only a few attempts have been made to characterize the religious composition of various regions of the United States, but the evidence which has been produced suggests that much of central Indiana shares a common religious composition. Attempts to map systematically the dominant religions of the area reveal the prevalence of evangelical Protestantism; these maps also show a clear distinction between the central area and the two extremes of the state.[28] Methodists have always constituted the largest religious element in central Indiana, as indeed they have in much of the lower Midwest. Perhaps more significant is the strong concentration of various branches of the Christian or Disciples of Christ denomination, which seem to claim this area and adjacent parts of Ohio, Illinois, and Kentucky as their "core" region.[29] These congregations, which included both the followers of Barton Stone and those of Alexander Campbell, were the direct outgrowth of the "New Light" movement born in the great revival that swept through the central Ohio Valley about 1800. The persistent vitality of this group in Indiana down to the present helps to mark the region as especially the child of the turbulent time around the War of 1812.

Since agriculture was basic to the settlement and growth of Indiana, any attempt to come to terms with the state's society and culture must take into account the style of agricultural life that developed there. Maps of the agricultural economists depict the Hoosier state as the heart of the "corn belt" that was destined to spread westward across the Mississippi.[30] Maps of

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[28] The most ambitious attempt to analyze the religious composition of regions of the United States is Wilbur Zelinsky, "An Approach to the Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* LI (June, 1961), 139-93, especially maps on pp. 170-78. For a general discussion of the religious makeup of early Indiana see L. C. Rudolph, *Hoosier Zion: The Presbyterians of Early Indiana* (New Haven, Conn., 1963), 34-73, 135-36, and 1850 statistics on 191.

[29] See the maps in Zelinsky (who uses 1952 religious census statistics on church members), "Approach to the Religious Geography," 177. Edwin S. Gaustad uses the numbers of congregations in his maps in *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (rev. ed., New York, 1976), 64-67. That the same general concentration existed in the nineteenth century is evident from mapping the statistics of Christian congregations in 1860; see *Statistics of the United States . . . in 1860; Compiled from . . . the Eighth Census . . .* (Washington, 1866), 381, 387. Such a map shows that the Christian churches were concentrated in the same wide belt of central Indiana but were much less frequent in the area north of the Wabash and in the southwestern hilly area. They were, however, fairly strong in areas immediately adjacent to Louisville.

[30] Carle C. Zimmerman and Richard E. DuWors, *Graphic Regional Sociology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), 83.

pre-Civil War agricultural production also show that the interdependent corn-hog economy that is the hallmark of the corn belt was already well established in Indiana by 1840.[31] Once again the dominance of this kind of agricultural life is more characteristic of the central Indiana region than of the northern and southern ends of the state.

Cultural evidence in general, then, seems to support the idea that central Indiana can be regarded as a fairly distinct cultural subarea, different in a number of respects from the northernmost part of the state and also from the hilly region near the Ohio. Cultural characteristics of this subarea also extend westward beyond the state's boundaries through much of central Illinois and can be found as well in the Miami Valley region of southwestern Ohio.[32] The culture represents an amalgamation of influences from both the upland South and the Middle States, and both the basic agricultural way of life and the prevalent religious culture suggest that the forces producing this amalgamation were at work at a fairly early point in the region's history, possibly as early as the period around the War of 1812. The line of cultural division between the central and southern regions of Indiana approximates the line between the area settled after the War of 1812 and that settled before it, which suggests that cultural variations may derive from the differing experiences of those two migrations. Also, the evenness with which the mixed language characteristics of central Indiana are spread across the region raises the hypothesis that some, at least, of these characteristics may have been brought into the region by its early settlers. Finally, the cultural affinity with the Miami Valley region in southwestern Ohio suggests that that area may have played a special role in the cultural development of central Indiana.

Clues that point to the cultural importance of the earliest processes of settlement in Indiana corroborate the maxims of linguists and cultural geographers as to the significance of the founding period in the process of cultural development. Among dialectologists it is axiomatic that the strongest influence upon

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[31] Percy W. Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (New York, 1941), 435-41, see especially map p. 438.

[32] For the linguistic picture in these Illinois areas see Timothy Frazer, "The Dialect Subareas of the Illinois Midland" (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of English, University of Chicago, 1973), 257-61, *passim;* on comparison of Illinois's agricultural development with Indiana's see Allan Bogue, *From Prairie to Corn Belt: Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, 1963), 216-30.

language is that of the first settlers.[33] Those who arrive first get to call the cultural tune, and while no culture remains completely static, it is relatively more difficult for latecomers, even in fairly large numbers, to displace the earlier-established patterns. The geographer Wilbur Zelinsky has stated this idea more formally as the "Doctrine of First Effective Settlement": "whenever an empty territory undergoes settlement, or an earlier population is dislodged by invaders, the specific characteristics of the first group able to effect a viable self-perpetuating society are of crucial significance for the later social and cultural geography of the area, no matter how tiny the initial band of settlers may have been."[34] Another geographer, Fred Kniffen, has also pointed out the importance of what he calls "initial occupance." According to Kniffen, "The concept is important because it recognizes the initial impact as long-lasting, surviving even where a new ethnic stock has succeeded the original settlers .... Further, initial occupance is the base of reference for all subsequent change."[35]

As noted earlier, the story of the "initial occupance" of central Indiana is clouded due to the paucity of written historical evidence, a problem not uncommon to isolated frontier regions.[36] The western travelers who left accounts of what they saw during the earlier years often reported what they observed from boats on the Ohio River or from traveling along the "Buffalo Trace" from Louisville to Vincennes; thus, they recorded only what they saw in the older, more established sections of the state.[37] Impressions of that area probably contributed most to the stereotype of the "Hoosier"—a name which in the early years had opprobrious connotations of backward

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[33] See, for example, McDavid, "Dialects of American English," 500; and Dakin, "Dialect Vocabulary," I, 22.

[34] Zelinsky, *Cultural Geography of the United States*, 13.

[35] Kniffen, "Folk Housing," 551. The historian Dorothy Johansen has pointed out the significance of the first occupants in a somewhat different way in "A Working Hypothesis for the Study of Migrations," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXVI (February, 1967), 11-12.

[36] The Indianapolis *Gazette*, a newspaper almost miraculously struggling along in its backwoods village in the 1820s, had more to say about the machinations of the Holy Alliance and the Greeks' struggle for independence than about life in central Indiana. After all, its readers already knew what was happening there.

[37] Nearly all the travel accounts collected by Harlow Lindley in *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers: A Collection of Reprints from Books of Travel, Letters and Diaries Prior to 1830 (Indiana Historical Collections,* Vol. III; Indianapolis, 1916), follow these well-worn paths.

southern ruffianism.[38] Such characterizations of the society or its language should not be applied uncritically to areas further north.[39] In addition, the founding period of most of Indiana predates the availability of social statistics of the modern sort. The census before 1850 was little more than a list of names and households; thus, this source must be reinforced by whatever chance collections come to hand.

Although historical source materials describing the early cultural development in Indiana are difficult to find, it is not difficult to define the time period of "initial occupance" during which the society of central Indiana was created. At the end of the War of 1812 there were few organized settlements between the White River valleys and the upper Wabash; by the time of the Panic of 1837—and for the most part by 1830—a well-established society existed. Records of land sales in the region reflect this rapid development. The opening of government land to purchase after the war brought sales to a quarter-million acres annually by 1822. After slackening in the mid-1820s, sales revived later in the decade and reached a volume of over a half-million acres annually in the early 1830s. The next few years brought a speculative fever that increased land sales to a high of nearly three-and-a-quarter-million acres in 1836; there followed a sharp drop in the panic year of 1837. By that time most of the desirable land in central Indiana was in the hands of private owners.[40]

A knowledge of some of the historical conditions surrounding this settlement period provides clues as to the immediate sources, causes, and migration routes of this population movement to Indiana. Prior to the War of 1812 settlers had come to various points along the Ohio Valley, but the most prolific population growth had been in the hinterland of Cincinnati. Here the Ohio River made a bend to the north, and in that

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[38] Raven I. McDavid, Jr., and Virginia McDavid, "Cracker and Hoosier," *Names*, XXI (September, 1973), 161-67.

[39] It is for this reason that reference to a "Hoosier" culture or dialect has been avoided in this article. To Edward Eggleston, the pioneer student of Indiana dialect and portrayer of its culture, only the southern hilly area of the state was authentically "Hoosier." According to Eggleston, "It is in the back counties, off the lines of travel, in what are called hoop-pole counties in the 'pocket,' as the S. W. corner is called, that the Hoosier grows to perfection." Draft of a talk on "The Hoosiers and the Hoosier Language," quoted in William P. Randel, "Edward Eggleston on Dialect," *American Speech*, XXX (May, 1955), 112.

[40] "Lands Sold by the United States, &c: Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury," *New American State Papers*. Vol. I, *Public Lands* (Wilmington, Del., 1973), 83-93.

stretch of the river the valleys of the Great and Little Miami and the Whitewater all converged. The meager available statistics on the immediate sources of the post-1815 settlement in areas further west point especially to the importance of this concentration in the "Miami country." Attempts to compile information on the previous residence of settlers from federal land records and from published biographies generally accord to Ohio a greater role in Indiana's settlement than would be indicated by merely tabulating Indianans' places of birth.[41] A historical geography of Rush County, for example, demonstrated the preeminence of the Miami-Whitewater regions as the source of the county's population.[42]

The Miami country's influence does not seem limited merely to eastern Indiana. A tabulation of biographies in the county history of Edgar County, Illinois, which lies just west of the Wabash and was settled in the post-1815 wave of migration, shows that of 132 people listing Ohio birthplaces, about half (fifty-eight) were from nine counties around Cincinnati and the Miami valleys.[43] A detailed population study of the areas above the Wabash in northern Indiana shows that the settlers of southern birth there had often come by way of an intermediate residence in Ohio, as indicated by the Ohio birthplaces of their children.[44] The statistical information is sparse, but the repeated suggestion that the upland southerners often had migrated via Ohio, frequently having had residence

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[41] Joseph E. Layton, "Sources of Population in Indiana, 1816-1850," *Bulletin of the Indiana State Library,* XI (September, 1916), estimates that 42.3 percent of the migrants to the state had Ohio as their previous residence. In contrast only 25.9 percent of those listed in the 1850 census as born outside Indiana had Ohio birthplaces. See also Joseph E. Layton, "Sources of Population in Indiana, 1816-1850" (M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Chicago, 1921).

[42] Kiefer, *Rush County, Indiana,* 4-11. Layton's M.A. thesis, which makes estimates for all Indiana counties, gives 35.9 percent of those making land entries in Rush County as previously resident in Ohio, 10.1 percent as previously resident elsewhere in Indiana, and 35 percent as previously resident in Kentucky.

[43] The nine Ohio counties were Hamilton, Clermont, Butler, Warren, Preble, Montgomery, Greene, Clark, and Champaign. Biographies taken from William LeBaron, Jr., and Co., pubs., *History of Edgar County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1879).

[44] Lang, "Southern Migration to Northern Indiana," 349-56. See also Elfrieda Lang, "An Analysis of Northern Indiana's Population in 1850," *Indiana Magazine of History,* XLIX (March, 1953), 18-19, which points out that both southerners and Pennsylvanians in that area had previous residence in Ohio. The importance of the Miami-Whitewater region as a gateway to Indiana is also pointed out in Roger H. Van Bolt, "The Indiana Scene in the 1840's," *Indiana Magazine of History,* XLVII (December, 1951), 340-44.

there for a time, is reason for studying this migration in greater detail and trying to understand some of the conditions that affected it.

The regions of the middle Ohio Valley around Cincinnati developed rapidly in the fifteen years before 1812, and this area became the "jumping off place" for the settlement of much of central Indiana. The prewar years were turbulent ones of prosperity followed by depression and the threat of Indian warfare; the opportunities that lay there in the prosperous times drew two different streams of population to the region and made it the first great meeting ground of northern and upland-southern cultures.

The stream of migration from the upland South had spread across areas of Kentucky in the 1780s, at which time many migrants began to eye the attractive lands beyond the Ohio. Their interest was discouraged by hostile Indians until they were defeated by Anthony Wayne in 1794 and were removed northward by the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. Migrants from Kentucky and regions farther south then converged upon areas of present-day southern Ohio and southern Indiana. The regions to the north and west of Cincinnati were an especially attractive lure, for it was here in the late 1790s that individuals hoped to purchase federal lands for low prices.[45] Kentuckians, wearied and disillusioned by that state's system of confusing private claims, rival speculators, and endless lawsuits over land titles, were attracted by the desire for a clear title to cheap land northwest of the Ohio.[46] By the time their hopes were realized by a revision of the land laws in 1800, many were already squatting on federal lands in the area of the Great and Little Miami rivers behind Cincinnati.

The presence of these southerners was galling to private owners of large land grants in the region, particularly to John Cleves Symmes, who sought to attract purchasers to his grant along the Ohio between the two Miamis where Cincinnati itself stood.[47] The federal officials charged with governing the Northwest Territory also complained of these southerners and estimated in 1799 that at least 3,000 people were illegally

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[45] Malcolm Rohrbaugh, *The Land Office Business* (New York, 1968), 15-17; William E. Smith, *History of Southwestern Ohio: The Miami Valleys* (3 vols., New York, 1964), I, 143-72; Beverley W. Bond, Jr., *The Foundations of Ohio* (Columbus, 1941), 349-54.

[46] Paul W. Gates, "Tenants of the Log Cabin," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* IL (June, 1962), 3-13.

[47] John Cleves Symmes to Jonathan Dayton, August 6, 1795, in Beverley W. Bond, ed., *Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes* (New York, 1926), 174.

settled north and west of Symmes's purchase. By 1800 perhaps 15,000 people were located in the entire Miami country; in the next decade, during which Ohio achieved statehood, the eight counties of the Miami region grew to over 75,000 population. The availability of federal land, after 1800 purchasable in small tracts at favorable prices, continued to attract settlers.[48] The development of the agricultural areas of the Miami country naturally extended to the valley of the Whitewater, which emptied into the Great Miami just above its confluence with the Ohio. By 1810 some 5,500 persons lived in the Whitewater region on the western side of the Indiana border in an area where it was easy to be tempted by the rich lands to the west still held by the Indians. The Whitewater settlers reflected the same varied origins as those of the Miami country; many were from the South. Clearly, then, Cincinnati and its surrounding area exerted a strong cultural influence upon one of the Indiana Territory's core population centers.[49]

Thus in the dozen years after 1795 there emerged in the river valleys around Cincinnati an extensive and rapidly developing hinterland, sections of which contained settlers who were decidedly southern in their origins. By all accounts, the "most southern" areas were those west of the Great Miami, where the Kentuckians had sought federal lands. The biographies of early settlers in the townships of Preble County—just east of the Indiana border and about fifty miles north of Cincinnati—show a strong predominance of immigrants from Georgia, North Carolina, and Kentucky.[50] In the Symmes grant closer to Cincinnati, there were proportionately more settlers from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, states in which Symmes had actively advertised his lands.[51] In the lands to the north of Symmes's purchase a rather thorough mixture of population origins apparently existed, but since the area also offered fed-

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[48] Clarence E. Carter, comp. and ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States*. Vol. II, *The Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, 1787-1803* (Washington, 1934), 8, 548-49, 587, 651, 654, III, 8; Frank P. Goodwin, "The Development of the Miami Country" (*Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, Vol. XVIII; Columbus, 1909), 484-94.

[49] Chelsea L. Lawlis, "Settlement of the Whitewater Valley, 1790-1810," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XLIII (March, 1947), 23-40; Chelsea L. Lawlis, "The Great Migration and the Whitewater Valley," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XLIII (June, 1947), 125-39; "Memoir of David Hoover," *Indiana Magazine of History*, II (March, 1906), 17-26.

[50] *History of Preble County, Ohio* (Cleveland, 1881), *passim*.

[51] Beverley W. Bond, *Civilization of the Old Northwest* (New York, 1934), 28.

eral lands directly to settlers, southerners had found their way there at an early time as well.[52]

The focal point of this fertile and rapidly developing region was, of course, Cincinnati, and its emergence as the Ohio Valley's preeminent economic center in the years before 1812 was to a large extent a reflection of the expansion of its hinterland. Its population, however, was markedly less southern in its origins. The available statistics, while sparse, all seem to indicate a city which was socially an outgrowth of the Middle States. A city directory of 1819 pointed to the largely northern and middle-state background of the population,[53] and the city directory for 1825 offered statistics in corroboration. In that year 39.7 percent of the inhabitants listed in the city directory came from Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey; only 15.4 percent came from states south of the Ohio River and the Mason-Dixon line. Only forty-two of the 2,427 Cincinnati residents who were listed claimed a Kentucky birthplace—a striking contrast to the population origins of many rural areas to the north and west.[54] This "northern" character of the city persisted; in 1841 the city directory tabulated the adult males and found that of 6,594 native-born, 1,210 came from Pennsylvania and 749 from New Jersey but only 349 from Kentucky.[55] A compilation made in 1873 of those members of a Cincinnati old settlers' association who had arrived in Ohio before 1812 confirms the city's northern flavor: of 230 names 130 were from the three states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, but only fourteen were from Kentucky and Tennessee and forty-five from other southern states.[56]

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[52] For a firsthand description of the mixed population of Champaign County see Solon J. Buck, ed., "Pioneer Letters of Gershom Flagg," in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1910* (Springfield, Ill., 1912), 143-47. The mixed background of the Miami country is reflected in John D. Barnhart's discussion of the delegates sent to the state constitutional convention of 1802. Barnhart, *Valley of Democracy,* 152-53. The continuing migration of southerners into the region is reflected in the Ohio River ferryboat captain's statistics for 1805 cited by James M. Miller in *The Genesis of Western Culture: The Upper Ohio Valley, 1800-1825* (Columbus, 1938), 32.

[53] Oliver Farnsworth, pub., *The Cincinnati Directory . . . by a Citizen* (Cincinnati, 1819).

[54] The statistics of the 1825 directory are in Daniel Drake and Edward D. Mansfield, *Cincinnati in 1826* (Cincinnati, 1827), 135. The tabulation appears to be of male heads of households.

[55] Charles Cist, *Cincinnati in 1841: Its Early Annals and Future Prospects* (Cincinnati, 1841), 39. By 1841 the influx of German immigrants was well advanced, and 3,440 German-born adult males were counted.

[56] *Cincinnati Pioneer,* no. 1 (September, 1873), 15-29. See also Maurice F. Neufeld, "Three Aspects of the Economic Life of Cincinnati from 1815 to 1840,"

About 1800 the Ohio Valley thus became the meeting place of two streams of migration, that of the Middle States and that of the upland South. The distribution of these two elements was in an uneven fashion, however, so that a predominantly northern—or Middle States—city began to develop in an agricultural region that had a relatively greater proportion of upland southerners. It is not difficult to imagine that a stroller in Cincinnati about 1820 would have heard the accents of the upland South along the riverfront and in the agricultural markets, but that in the residential districts and among the artisans and shopkeepers, the speech was more frequently that of the Middle Atlantic states. It was also of far-reaching importance that these two cultures represented two different economic ways of life; the independent farmer of the upland South, who had previously had fewer opportunities for commercial agriculture, was meeting the northern businessman. The ways in which the two interacted in the changing economic environment of the first three decades of the 1800s were greatly significant to the future development of midwestern culture. Much has been written of the Middle West as a scene of conflict between the upland southerner and the New Englander and of the resistance of the former to the moralizing of the latter.[57] Perhaps more should be said of the interaction between the southerner's way of life and the culture of the Middle States; in this comparison historians might find—rather than an open clash—a mutual collaboration induced by the economic opportunities of the time, a collaboration that might lend itself to cultural accommodation.

The rapid settlement of the Miami country in the first decade of the 1800s was accompanied—and, of course, stimulated—by the opening up of the entire Ohio and Mississippi valleys to the world agricultural market.[58] As long as foreign powers controlled the mouth of the Mississippi, the off-again-on-again "Mississippi Question" put a cloud over marketing the West's produce, but the Louisiana Purchase resolved the question in 1803 just as the reviving Napoleonic

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Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, XLIV (January, 1935), 69-70.

[57] Power plays the theme most strongly in his *Planting Corn Belt Culture*. He admits in his preface, however, that he is being selective in looking at the influence of "Yankee" and "upland Southerner" and that this emphasis "denies fair attention" to the influence of the Middle States (p. viii).

[58] The Cincinnati *Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette*, April 29, 1801, proudly announced the arrival of an ocean-going vessel built at Marietta: "her cargo is the produce of this country—she is bound for some of the West India islands."

wars created unusually high prices for agricultural goods. The subsistence farmer who now found his surplus marketable and the merchant who could handle the marketing of it could discover a common interest—and might also share a feeling of hostility toward Britain and France when these countries began to impose restrictions on American trade.[59] After 1808 the depressed agricultural markets, Thomas Jefferson's embargo, and the increase of Indian hostilities in the West weakened trade and restrained for a time further expansion of the farming frontier; nevertheless, the pressures for future expansion were growing. In the years through 1815 squatters continued to move into unoccupied lands when they felt the Indians to be safely held at bay; if marketing a surplus was difficult, settlers could still revert to older subsistence styles of life.[60] The Miami-Whitewater region continued to grow in population, but the rising prices of land there heightened the urge of many to seek the cheap government land further west when the opportunity should arise.[61]

The years in the Ohio Valley just before the War of 1812 were also a period of religious ferment, which condition also contributed to more frequent interchange among the various population elements and furthered the process of cultural change. The origins of the "Great Revival" in the West may be traced to the work of many itinerant preachers, but the seminal event is usually thought to be the revival meeting at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in 1801, which attracted a multitude esti-

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[59] George R. Taylor, "Agrarian Discontent in the Mississippi Valley preceding the War of 1812," *Journal of Political Economy,* XXXIX (August, 1931), 471-505.

[60] John Badollet to John Gardiner, November 18, 1814, John Badollet to Edward Tiffin, December 20, 1815, in Carter, *Territorial Papers of the United States.* Vol. VIII, *The Territory of Indiana* (Washington, 1939), 314-17, 363. For a summary of land sales in the Northwest before and during the war see R. Carlyle Buley, *The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period, 1815-1840* (2 vols., Indianapolis, 1950), I, 137. The population of Indiana Territory increased from 24,520 in 1810 to 63,897 in 1815. Buley, *Old Northwest,* I, 19.

[61] The Miami Valley region of Ohio numbered about 76,000 in 1810. Daniel Drake estimated it—perhaps conservatively—at 100,000 in 1815; it was 167,000 by the census of 1820. Smith, *History of Southwestern Ohio,* I, 185; Daniel Drake, *Natural and Statistical View, or Picture of Cincinnati and the Miami Country* (Cincinnati, 1815), 169-70. In the years immediately after the end of the war prices for cultivated land averaged twelve dollars an acre in the Miami country, but well-located lands near the principal towns reached forty dollars an acre. Drake, *Natural and Statistical View,* 53; Donald F. Carmony, ed., "From Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, to Parke County, Indiana: Recollections of Andrew Ten Brook, 1786-1823," *Indiana Magazine of History,* LXI (March, 1965), 3-4, 14.

mated as high as twenty to thirty thousand, including many from north of the Ohio. Although spawned in Kentucky, the enthusiasm spread in the next few years into the Miami country. Its disseminators included two close associates of Barton Stone, the leader of the "New Lights": Richard McNemar, who established himself at Turtle Creek near Lebanon, Ohio, in 1802; and David Purviance, who settled among the southerners in Preble County, near the Indiana border.[62] The revival was to affect established denominations—Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians—and was to create new sects separate from the older ones. While the "New Light" groups still constituted a disorganized variety of dissenters before 1812, their growth drew upon both the southern and Middle States elements. In subsequent years many of these dissidents would come together in the churches known collectively as "Christian" and would include both the followers of Stone, who had previously been a Presbyterian, and those of Alexander Campbell, who emerged from the Baptists. The effects of the revival reverberated widely through the Miami country as well as through northern Kentucky in the years before 1812; the frightening wave of earthquakes on the eve of the war was said to have doubled Methodist membership in the Miami district.[63] These religious stirrings generated a new cultural development in the Ohio Valley which would be spread westward through Indiana in subsequent years.

The years 1800-1815 in the Miami-Whitewater country were years of profound change in the lives of most who lived in the region. A rapidly developing frontier, a wave of religious ferment, depression, Indian troubles, and war with an enemy only two hundred miles to the north were undoubtedly forces

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[62] Miller, *Genesis of Western Culture,* 122-29; Barton W. Stone, *The Biography of Elder Barton Warren Stone, Written by Himself* (Cincinnati, 1847), 37-38; William T. Utter, *The Frontier State, 1803-1825* (Columbus, 1942), 370-74; J. P. MacLean, "The Kentucky Revival and its Influence on the Miami Valley" (*Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications,* Vol. XII; Columbus, 1903), 242-86; Charles A. Johnson, "Early Ohio Camp Meetings, 1801-1816," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly,* LXI (January, 1952), 32-50; *History of Preble County, Ohio,* 256-58. Purviance and McNemar, both originally Presbyterians like Stone, broke from the church to launch a new denomination in 1804. McNemar later joined the Shakers.

[63] Johnson, "Early Ohio Camp Meetings," 46; James Penick, Jr., *The New Madrid Earthquakes of 1811-1812* (Columbia, Mo., 1976), 117-19. For a general argument that a new religious trend developed from the merging of southern and Pennsylvania elements see Robert E. Chaddock, *Ohio before 1850: A Study of Pennsylvania and Southern Populations in Ohio* (New York, 1908), 111-29. Chaddock also introduces the more questionable thesis that revivalism produced an upsurge in frontier violence.

powerful enough to detach many from the established patterns of life they once had known. Southerners who had migrated north of the Ohio found themselves drawn into a new market economy far different from the more self-sufficient agriculture that had characterized the isolated communities of the Appalachian plateau. The new society and its economy necessitated cooperation with other groups from Pennsylvania, New York, and elsewhere. Slowly the upland southerners and their offspring were being removed from frequent contact with the areas from which they had come. Although family ties might still remain with Kentucky, Tennessee, or North Carolina, the existence of the growing entrepôt of Cincinnati and the trade route of the Ohio and Mississippi lessened the economic necessity to retrace the paths of their previous migration. A whole new generation grew up north of the Ohio without firsthand knowledge of older homes in the upland South. Older and younger generations alike looked to a postwar future in the north and west that would take them further from their roots and tie them even more securely to a newer and more modern society.[64]

The social historian looking back on the years of the early nineteenth century can see the emergence of a new Ohio Valley culture that was being created with surprising rapidity by the forces of change. The evolving society took the independent farmer of the upland South and tied him to a new world of commerce, in which by necessity he was linked to the entrepreneurial and merchant classes of the new cities of the region. In this society the early stages of the transformation of American agriculture from self-sufficiency to commercial farming, pointed out by Richard Hofstadter in a perceptive essay over two decades ago, are apparent. The result of the transformation, as Hofstadter saw it, was a typical American farmer with a "dual character," one who saw himself ideologically as a self-sufficient yeoman like the southern frontiersman yet behaved most of the time with the keen entrepreneurial sense of the northern businessman.[65]

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[64] That the frontier of the developing Northwest was typically a frontier of the family unit has been demonstrated by John Modell, "Family and Fertility on the Indiana Frontier," *American Quarterly,* XXIII (December, 1971), 615-34.

[65] Richard Hofstadter, "The Agrarian Myth and Commercial Realities," in *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York, 1955), 23-59. As a number of scholars have pointed out, the process of the commercialization of agriculture should not be characterized as a sharp change from "subsistence" to "commercial" but as a progression through increasing stages of commercialism. For discussion of this point of view see Clarence H. Danhof, *Change in Agricul-*

The hybrid Ohio Valley culture which was already developing in the years before 1812 would provide the basis for the culture which would develop in central Indiana in the years following the war.[66] Many settlers who would venture westward into Indiana were accustomed to this cultural environment, and many of the younger generation knew no other. The historical conditions of the postwar period favored both the rapid diffusion and the reinforcement of the new culture.[67] After the war much fertile, well-wooded, well-watered, and attractive land became available in Indiana, and the high agricultural prices of the boom years until 1819 encouraged frontiersmen to open new farms. Throughout the war many residents in the previously settled areas nearby had cast covetous eyes on land in the Hoosier state as population pressures and land prices rose in older regions. Some had spied out the choicest tracts in areas not yet opened to settlers, and by 1815 perhaps twenty to thirty thousand illegal squatters were already on them.[68] They ventured into Indiana from numerous points along the Ohio and from Kentucky, but the Miami-Whitewater region provided an especially favorable jumping-off point. Not only were many among the burgeoning population of the Cincinnati hinterland eager to move, but their location was the most favorable for reaching many areas deep within Indiana.

The first area to draw settlers was land purchased from the Indians by Territorial Governor William Henry Harrison in the Treaty of 1809. Circumstances had prevented the region from being surveyed until after the War of 1812, but by the autumn of 1816—the year Indiana achieved statehood—the Harrison purchase was placed on sale. Included were two large tracts,

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ture: The Northern United States, 1820-1870 (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 13-26; Andrew H. Clark, "Suggestions for the Geographical Study of Agricultural Change in the United States, 1790-1840," *Agricultural History,* XL (January, 1972), 165-69; Robert D. Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley* (Charlottesville, Va., 1977), 3-7; Sam B. Hilliard, *Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860* (Carbondale, Ill., 1972), 1-20.

[66] The Ohio Valley's role as a cultural "melting pot" has been remarked upon by Dakin, "Dialect Vocabulary," I, 12-13; and Miller, *Genesis of Western Culture,* pp. x, 37, 42, *passim.*

[67] On the post-1815 Indiana settlement see Logan Esarey, *History of Indiana* (2nd ed., 2 vols., Indianapolis, 1918), I, 239-45, 273-78, 342-45; Buley, *Old Northwest,* I, 32-39, 110-13, II, 49-53; Waldo Mitchell, "Indiana's Growth, 1812-1820," *Indiana Magazine of History,* X (December, 1914), 369-95.

[68] Carter, *Territorial Papers of the United States,* VIII, 219-21, 373-75, 389-90.

one adjoining the Whitewater country and another extending from the lower Wabash eastward into the valleys of the White River.[69] Between 1815 and 1819, it was estimated, Indiana's population grew by a hundred thousand, with most of the increase occurring in the newly opened purchase.[70] When the promising and extensive tract in the very center of the state was acquired from the Indians in the New Purchase of 1818, squatters soon began to drift into the upper reaches of the White River valleys.[71] Once that area was surveyed and opened to sale in 1821, one of Indiana's greatest land rushes began. In that year the legislature, recognizing that the flood of settlers would drastically change the state's center of population, chose the site for a new capital in the center of the New Purchase and named it Indianapolis. The spread of population to the upper Wabash above Terre Haute was symbolized by the opening of a new land office at Crawfordsville in 1823. By 1825 the line of settlement stretched across the state well to the north of Indianapolis. By 1827 the population of the entire New Purchase, which had been about 1,300 in 1821, was estimated at 55,000. Except for the area of the upper Wabash east of Logansport, most of the New Purchase had a basic network of towns and settlements by 1830.[72]

The depression of the early 1820s ruined for a time all possibility of exporting agricultural surpluses; there was virtually no market at New Orleans, especially for grain. The early settlers, whose roots were in the upland South and who were the predominant element in the population, had of necessity to revert to the subsistence farming which was part of their tradition.[73] Nevertheless, long-term economic forces were working to develop in central Indiana an agriculture and a way of life based upon a market economy such as had been developed in the Miami country a few years before. The fruitful union of Middle States commerce and upland southern agriculture would be strengthened in Indiana in the next two decades and would set the pattern for the future evolution of the Middle West.[74] New markets, whether in the expanding plantation

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[69] John D. Barnhart and Dorothy L. Riker, *Indiana to 1816: The Colonial Period* (Indianapolis, 1971), 433; Rohrbaugh, *Land Office Business*, 130-31.

[70] Edmund Dana, "Geographical Sketches of the Western Country (1819)" in Lindley, *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, 201.

[71] Kiefer, *Rush County, Indiana*, 50.

[72] Buley, *Old Northwest*, II, 50.

[73] Esarey, *History of Indiana*, I, 246-47.

[74] This is, of course, an oversimplification, for people of southern origin did involve themselves in commerce, especially in the smaller towns, and there

South, on the eastern seaboard, or abroad, would become outlets for the region's growing surplus; and the steamboat would enliven Ohio-Mississippi commerce, facilitating upriver traffic and creating a more healthy two-way pattern of trade.

In the critical period from 1815 to 1830, growing markets, the technology of transportation, and past traditions of agriculture all combined to create the fundamental relationship of middle western agriculture, the corn-hog economy. The upland southerner had long relied on corn and hogs as the basis of subsistence farming. Corn was an easily established and fast-growing crop that became a traditional ingredient of the frontiersman's own diet. The hardy and rangy southern hogs, customarily left to forage for their own feed in the nearby woods, reproduced rapidly and cared for themselves until slaughtered, and they too had become a mainstay of frontier life. As the southern population moved into southwestern Ohio and Indiana, corn and hogs became a dependable source of ready extra cash. In time they would become the mainstay of a new market economy,[75] which depended particularly on the ability to slaughter and preserve pork for the distant markets developing in the South, the East, and overseas as well. While a small trade in salt pork had existed before 1812 in the Ohio Valley, large-scale packing houses, centered particularly in Cincinnati, began to appear about 1820. The city's dominance of the pork-packing business was assisted by the expanding hinterland with its increasing supply of hogs and by favorable transportation. The opening of steamboat traffic made available a better grade of salt than that produced in the Ohio Valley and thus made possible a more reliably preserved barrel of pork.[76]

In the next decades the economic ties established by the developing trade in hogs extended and strengthened the cultural influence of Cincinnati. Lack of water transportation might impede the marketing of grain in such newly developed areas as Indiana's New Purchase, but hogs could be walked over the rough roads to the city. During the 1820s and 1830s

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were people of many backgrounds involved in agriculture; but these generalizations can nonetheless be accepted as characteristic of the two ways of life.

[75] Power, *Planting Corn Belt Culture,* 151-61; Richard A. Bartlett, *The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776-1890* (New York, 1974), 192.

[76] Mitchell, "Indiana's Growth," 373; William T. Utter, *Frontier State,* 152-57; Thomas S. Berry, *Western Prices before 1861: A Study of the Cincinnati Market* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), 215-30; Neufeld, "Three Aspects of the Economic Life of Cincinnati," 76.

the passage of thousands of hogs through the towns of eastern and southern Indiana during the late fall became part of the yearly cycle of agricultural life. The demands of the market altered the agricultural way of life itself; new breeds like the Poland China began to replace the rangy razorback, and hogs fattened on corn replaced those which foraged for mast in the woods.[77]

Cincinnati continued to maintain its preeminence as a pork-packing center until the Civil War; by 1840 it processed 28 percent of the Midwest's pork, a figure which was probably roughly characteristic of the whole period.[78] Rival packing centers developed, but Cincinnati had an advantage both in the availability of capital to maintain the market and in easy accessibility to an extensive hinterland. It could compete favorably throughout much of central Indiana. Even in areas on the upper Wabash farmers often preferred to walk their hogs to Cincinnati rather than to take them to slaughter in nearby towns.[79] The areas of most intense hog-raising activity in Indiana lay in a belt across the central part of the state and south into the White River valleys, from the Whitewater on the east to the Wabash on the west.[80] By 1850 Rush County, which combined excellent corn-raising land with accessibility to the Cincinnati market, was the premier hog-raising county of the state, a position it was to maintain through the nineteenth century.[81] In a few decades the hog- and corn-raising area of Indiana would include most of the state south of the upper Wabash, and the same economy would extend westward through central Illinois, giving rise to what would later become known as the "corn belt."[82]

The existence of the corn-hog economy was a fundamental force which continued to bind together the Ohio River and its rural hinterland, the farmer and the merchant, the upland

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[77] Smith, *History of Southwestern Ohio,* I, 401-404; Berry, *Western Prices before 1861,* 230; Bidwell and Falconer, *History of Agriculture,* 437-40; Utter, *Frontier State,* 154; John Fraser Hart, "The Middle West," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* LXII (June, 1972), 266.

[78] Neufeld, "Three Aspects of the Economic Life of Cincinnati," 76; Berry, *Western Prices before 1861,* 225-30.

[79] *Cincinnati Miscellany* (February, 1846), 318-19.

[80] Counties averaging more than thirty hogs per farm in 1850 were Gibson, Knox, Vigo, Parke, Putnam, Owen, Monroe, Morgan, Johnson, Lawrence, Jackson, Orange, Bartholomew, Shelby, Rush, Decatur, Fayette, Union, and Clark. James D. B. DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States* (Washington, 1854), 226, 232.

[81] Kiefer, *Rush County, Indiana,* 80-103.

[82] Bogue, *From Prairie to Corn Belt,* 216-230.

southerner and the progeny of the Middle States. The culture that was associated with these relationships was an amplification of what had been established in the Miami country before 1812. The interaction demanded more of the farmer than of the businessman in that to adjust to the new market economy the farmer had to adopt some of the businessmen's ways; thus, even as the raising of the razorback gave way to the breeding of the Miami Valley hog under the demands of the new commerce, the cultures of the upland southerner would be transformed by the new commercial environment. The farmer of the lower Midwest was now inescapably tied to the culture of the Ohio Valley with all its altering influences flowing from the Middle States.[83]

The ties between central Indiana and the Cincinnati area remained strong during most of the pre-Civil War era—stronger than they have been in subsequent times. Railroad development would eventually alter patterns of travel and trade, but this change was felt mostly in the 1850s, after much of the region's social-cultural pattern was set. The constant concern in the interior regions of pre-Civil War Indiana over the political issue of internal improvements reflects the poor transportation situation that prevailed during the state's earlier development. As long as that situation persisted, Cincinnati's location was advantageous both as a point of departure for settlers moving into Indiana and as a center of trade. Not only did the city provide access to extensive agricultural markets, but it was also a favorable distribution point for those manufactured goods and supplies brought over the mountains from such major mercantile centers as Philadelphia.[84] Although Indianapolis was situated closer to the Wabash than to the

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[83] While there was generally a larger proportion of northerners in the commercial centers of the Ohio Valley than in the rural areas, the picture of the population makeup of the towns seems somewhat mixed. Cincinnati remained disproportionately a town of the Middle States. Louisville seems to have been much more southern; yet, it had more northerners than did the state of Kentucky in general. The town of Terre Haute, according to Carmony's tabulation of the 1850 census, had more northerners than southerners; but a study of the leadership of Paris, Illinois, a smaller town only twenty miles away, showed a largely southern elite which reflected the general composition of the population. More studies of the social makeup of the midwestern commercial centers and their elites would be useful. Howren, "The Speech of Louisville," xi-xv; Carmony, "The Speech of Terre Haute," xxiii, xxiv; Richard Alcorn, "Leadership and Stability in Mid-Nineteenth Century America: A Case Study of an Illinois Town," *Journal of American History,* LXI (December, 1974), 699; Lewis Atherton, *The Frontier Merchant in Mid-America* (Columbia, Mo., 1971), 26-32.

[84] On the distribution of goods from Philadelphia and down the Ohio Valley see Atherton, *Frontier Merchant in Mid-America,* 59-61, 83-85.

Ohio, the Indianapolis *Gazette* claimed in 1827 that the Wabash could not function as an outlet for trade down the Ohio without extensive effort to improve its navigation.[85] The *Gazette* itself brought in its paper supplies from Cincinnati, and this seems to have been regarded as the natural source of supply.[86] The entire state of Indiana developed no sizable commercial center of its own before the Civil War; in 1850 Indianapolis and New Albany had barely passed 8,000 people while Cincinnati boasted 115,000.[87] The National Road did not greatly alter these patterns of trade. Although laid out in the 1820s, the route remained a difficult one until it underwent grading and improvement in the 1830s.[88] In the mid-1820s it took five full days for the mail to go from Columbus, Ohio, to Indianapolis—when it was on schedule—and travelers sometimes elected to go by way of Cincinnati instead.[89] All of these conditions favored the continuing interaction of Indiana with the Ohio Valley and the expansion of the Ohio Valley culture.[90]

Just as the agricultural economy born in the Ohio Valley before 1812 expanded throughout the newly settled regions of Indiana in subsequent decades, so also did the religious culture born in the same region during the Great Revival. The years of settlement in Indiana were also years of religious ferment from the valleys of the White rivers to the Wabash. Frontiersmen bent upon exploiting the New Purchase seem not to have been deterred from endless doctrinal squabbling.[91] Revivalism left in

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[85] Indianapolis *Gazette,* February 29, 1827. On the slow development of the Wabash as a route of steamboat traffic see Louis C. Hunter, *Steamboats on the Western Rivers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), 38-39.

[86] Indianapolis *Gazette,* February 28, August 29, 1826; Gayle Thornbrough, ed., *The Diary of Calvin Fletcher.* Vol. I, *1817-1838* . . . (Indianapolis, 1972), 88-89; Drake and Mansfield, *Cincinnati in 1826,* 9.

[87] DeBow, *Statistical View of the United States,* 338-93. Louisville, Cincinnati's principal rival along the Ohio, numbered 43,000. Indianapolis's importance was as a legal and governmental center rather than as a commercial one; see Carl Abbott, "Popular Economic Thought and Economic Structure: Three Middle Western Cities in the Antebellum Decade," *Journal of Urban History,* I (February, 1975), 175-87.

[88] "National Road Centennial," 252. It is noteworthy that Robert Thomas Anderson's 1828 map of Ohio does not show the route of the National Road west of Springfield. Thomas H. Smith, *The Mapping of Ohio* (Kent, Ohio, 1977), 172.

[89] Indianapolis *Gazette,* August 12, 1823; Thornbrough, *Diary of Calvin Fletcher,* I, 170-72.

[90] Van Bolt, "Indiana Scene in the 1840's," 338.

[91] The semiautobiographical, semifictional description of pioneer Indiana by Baynard Hall is full of references to the religious controversy and revival fervor of the 1820s. See Baynard R. Hall (Robert Carlton, pseud.), *The New Purchase: or, Seven and a Half Years in the Far West* (2 vols., New York, 1843), I, 77-79, 130-60, II, 19-23, *passim.*

its wake a myriad of small congregations striving for primitive Christianity; many were Baptist offshoots, and the leadership of Alexander Campbell, who first visited Indiana in 1826, lent coherence to their movement. Ultimately his "Disciples" were to merge in 1832 with the "New Light" followers of Barton Stone into a "Christian" church of particular strength in Indiana.[92] The evangelical tradition spawned by the revival also found a place in the older Protestant sects, and a century later Robert and Helen Lynd would remark on the spirit of evangelical Christianity observed in Indiana's "Middletown."[93]

Thus, both cultural and historical evidence point to the genesis of an Ohio Valley culture that was born in the Miami country just before the War of 1812 and took root in the next two or three decades in much of central Indiana and the regions west of it. At this stage in the study of regional cultural differences, it is virtually impossible to undertake a complete analysis of this developing midwestern culture. One can perceive, however, old southern pioneer traditions altering under the pressure of a modern commercial economy; a populace retaining the upland southerner's spirit of independence, yet becoming more acutely sensitive to the cycles of the economy; a society that retained its attachment to the farm as a center of family life even as the farm became a link in the chain of commerce; and a people forming new religious institutions upon a tradition of evangelical Protestantism. In short, the beginnings of the corn-belt culture of the lower Midwest appear, a culture which would undergo still further transformation as it spread further west to the edge of the Great Plains and was influenced by newer factors such as the prairie environment, increased mechanization, and the coming of the railroad.

The evolution of new cultural patterns as seen in this Indiana example reveals a process of considerable complexity. To see it merely as a blending of two cultural streams is a

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[92] Christopher B. Coleman, "Some Religious Developments in Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History,* V (June, 1909), 57-71; H. Clay Trusty, "Formation of the Christian Church in Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History,* VI (March, 1910), 17-32; Henry K. Shaw, "The Founding of Butler University, 1847-1855," *Indiana Magazine of History,* LVIII (September, 1962), 233. On the cultural outlook of the Disciples see Carl Wayne Hensley, "Rhetorical Vision and the Persuasion of a Historical Movement: The Disciples of Christ in Nineteenth Century American Culture," *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* LXI (October, 1975), 250-64.

[93] Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in American Culture* (New York, 1929), 11-12, 315-31, 378-82.

great oversimplification. Although the process involves adaptation to the physical and social emptiness of the frontier, it was also affected by a variety of conditions favorable to change: good soil and terrain, access to new markets, and new economic opportunities, for example.[94] Specific historical events were also influential; the development of new transportation systems, the upsurge of revivalism, the pressure of Indian resistance, depressions, the War of 1812 and its aftermath, and the development of a mass-production meat industry all left their marks on the culture being propagated during the decades from 1800 to 1840. In the development of new cultures, then, history does not merely provide the setting in which cultural transformation occurs; it is also an active agent and catalyst in the process.

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[94] For a discussion of environment and inherited cultural tradition in forming society and culture see Berkhofer, "Space, Time, Culture and the New Frontier," 21-30.