
The Distribution of Indiana's Ethnic and Racial Minorities in 1850

Gregory S. Rose*

Indiana's population in 1850 included distinctive and significant ethnic and racial minorities. The state's foreign-born and black Hoosiers, however, have not been as thoroughly described or studied as the United States-born white inhabitants. Anecdotal accounts from the pioneer period often identified local concentrations of ethnic and racial minorities, particularly those with unusual or unique characteristics, such as the French at Vincennes, the Germans at New Harmony, the Swiss at Vevay, and European groups or blacks residing in towns along the Ohio and Wabash rivers;¹ but such settlers typically were neither accurately counted nor precisely located. More recent studies have examined Indiana's nineteenth-century foreign-born in terms of the state's general population nativity or have focused on particular nativity groups in one city, county, or portion of the state.² Racial minorities in

* Gregory S. Rose is associate professor of geography, The Ohio State University at Marion. His research focuses on nineteenth-century nativity in and migration to the Old Northwest. Two previous articles in the *Indiana Magazine of History*—"Hoosier Origins: The Nativity of Indiana's United States-Born Population in 1850" (September, 1985) and "Upland Southerners: The County Origins of Southern Migrants to Indiana by 1850" (September, 1986)—contain Rose's analyses of other aspects of Indiana's population in 1850.

¹ Harlow Lindley, ed., *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); Shirley S. McCord, comp., *Travel Accounts of Indiana, 1679-1961: A Collection of Observations by Wayfaring Foreigners, Itinerants, and Peripatetic Hoosiers* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, Vol. XLVII; Indianapolis, 1970).

² Dean R. Esslinger, *Immigrants and the City: Ethnicity and Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century Midwestern Community* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1975); William A. Fritsch, *German Settlers and German Settlements in Indiana* (Evansville, Ind., 1915); Robert L. LaFollette, "Foreigners and Their Influence on Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXV (March, 1929), 14-27; Elfrieda Lang, "An Analysis of Northern Indiana's Population in 1850," *ibid.*, XLIX (March, 1953), 17-60; Lang, "German Immigration to Dubois County, Indiana, during the Nineteenth Century," *ibid.*, XLI (June, 1945), 131-51; Stephen S. Visher, "Distribution of the Birthplaces of Indianians in 1870," *ibid.*, XXVI (June, 1930), 126-42; Lang, "Irishmen in Northern Indiana before 1850," *Mid-America*, XXXVI (new ser., XXV; July, 1954), 190-98.

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nineteenth-century Indiana, especially blacks, have been studied largely with respect to their political and social status although a few works have considered the locations of blacks and black communities.³ A detailed description of the number and distribution of Indiana's ethnic and racial minorities in 1850—the earliest year for which statistically reliable data are available⁴—is thus an important first step toward understanding these groups' overall significance in the state's history.

The published census report for 1850 clearly reveals one factor that distinguished Indiana from its neighbors in the Old Northwest: its small foreign population. In 1850 approximately 55,000 foreign-born inhabitants in the Hoosier state comprised less than 6 percent of the total population compared to an average percentage of 12.2 in the Old Northwest as a whole. Ohio had the next lowest proportion (but four times the number) with 11.0 percent foreign-born while the highest, 36.2 percent, occurred in Wisconsin.⁵ Indi-

³ Eugene H. Berwanger, *The Frontier against Slavery: Western Anti-Negro Prejudice and the Slavery Extension Controversy* (Urbana, Ill., 1967); Darrel E. Bigham, "Work, Residence, and the Emergence of the Black Ghetto in Evansville, Indiana, 1865–1900," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LXXVI (December, 1980), 287–318; Bigham, *We Ask Only a Fair Trial: A History of the Black Community of Evansville, Indiana* (Bloomington, Ind., 1987); Gwendolyn J. Crenshaw, "Bury Me in a Free Land": *The Abolitionist Movement in Indiana, 1816–1865* (Indianapolis, 1986); George K. Hesslink, *Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community* (Indianapolis, 1968); Frederick A. Karst, "A Rural Black Settlement in St. Joseph County, Indiana, before 1900," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LXXIV (September, 1978), 252–67; Leon F. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860* (Chicago, 1961); Emma Lou Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana before 1900: A Study of a Minority* (Indiana Historical Collections, Vol. XXXVII; Indianapolis, 1957); Richard R. Wright, Jr., "Negro Rural Communities in Indiana," *Southern Workman*, XXXVII (March, 1908), 158–72.

⁴ Not until 1850 were census canvassers required to ask all inhabitants to identify the state or foreign nation of their birth. Following the 1850 and 1860 censuses the published census reports provided statewide nativity data based on this information. No nativity data for counties were published until after the 1870 census, and then only a few of the most frequently named states and countries of origin were listed. Data for this paper were collected by hand tallies of nativity origins as listed in the 1850 manuscript census schedules. Public access to these original census schedules has been granted for extant materials through the 1910 census, and microfilms of the census manuscripts are available in many public, academic, and historical or genealogical libraries. They also can be purchased from the federal government. For information concerning the use and importance of the manuscript federal censuses see Robert G. Barrows, "The Manuscript Federal Census: Source for a 'New' Local History," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LXIX (September, 1973), 181–92; Barrows, "The 1900 Federal Census: A Note on Availability and Potential Uses," *ibid.*, LXXIV (June, 1978), 146–52; Barrows, "The 1910 Federal Census: A Note," *ibid.*, LXXVIII (December, 1982), 341–45.

⁵ U.S., *Seventh Census, 1850*, Tables XVI and XVII, p. xxxviii. According to the published census, Indiana's foreign-born numbered 54,426, while data collected from the microfilmed manuscript schedules for each county indicated 56,932 foreigners. All Indiana statistics referred to in the text of this paper are based on hand tallies of the microfilmed manuscript census returns; for other states the figures are derived from the published census tables. Even among tables in the published census, number discrepancies were not unusual, nor should they be unexpected consid-

ana's foreign-born averaged 12.8 percent of the total in-migrant population (defined as those not born in the state in question) compared to an average of 24.8 percent in the Old Northwest.⁶ Once again Indiana's percentage was by far the lowest in the region. In fact, in all other states at least 21 percent of the in-migrants were natives of foreign countries; Wisconsin's proportion was the largest at 44.3 percent. Further, Indiana consistently fell below the average for the Old Northwest for each of the major supplying countries. German natives in Indiana accounted for 6.8 percent of the in-migrants while they numbered 10.3 percent of the in-migrants throughout the Old Northwest; the Irish percentage was 3.1 in Indiana and 5.7 in the Old Northwest; and English natives formed 1.3 and 3.6 percent of the respective in-migrant populations. Indiana's Canadian in-migrant percentage was 0.5 percent versus 1.8 percent in the Old Northwest; for the French it was 0.5 and 0.7 percent respectively; for the Swiss 0.2 and 0.3 percent; and natives of Wales accounted for 0.04 percent of in-migrants in Indiana and 0.5 percent through the Old Northwest.

Although exact reasons for Indiana's relative paucity of foreign settlers are difficult to determine, there are a number of possible explanations, many of which may also account for the state's failure to attract numerous in-migrants from such regions in the United States as New England.⁷ During the pioneer era many Hoo-

ering that statisticians counted from handwritten schedules that were often difficult to read. See Everett S. Lee and Anna S. Lee, "Internal Migration Statistics for the United States," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, LV (December, 1960), 677-79.

⁶ Calculating the foreign percentage of the in-migrant population (those inhabitants not born in the state in question) in a state or county, rather than the foreign-born proportion of the entire population, yields a standardized measure for comparative purposes. Because the percentage of each state's or county's population native to that location varied primarily with the date of settlement (giving older states or counties higher native proportions), calculations that retain the native inhabitants tend to obscure state-to-state or county-to-county variations of the entire in-migrant population. See Gregory S. Rose, "Hoosier Origins: The Nativity of Indiana's United States-Born Population in 1850," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LXXXI (September, 1985), 205, 212. Percentages used for figures and tables in this paper therefore reflect the proportion of the *in-migrant* population born in foreign countries, a clearer way of indicating the proportional importance of foreign natives among the in-migrants in each state or county.

⁷ Maurice G. Baxter, "Encouragement of Immigration to the Middle West during the Era of the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XLVI (March, 1950), 34-36; Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier* (New York, 1974), 292-93; LaFollette, "Foreigners and Their Influence on Indiana," 16; Richard Lyle Power, *Planting Corn Belt Culture: The Impress of the Upland Southerner and Yankee in the Old Northwest* (Indiana Historical Society Publications, Vol. XVII; Indianapolis, 1953), 72-74, 77-86; Power, "Wet Lands and the Hoosier Stereotype," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXII (June, 1935), 33-48; Rose, "Hoosier Origins," 206-16, 230; Gregory S. Rose, "Upland Southerners: The County Origins of Southern Migrants to Indiana by 1850," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LXXXII (September, 1986), 242-63; Emma Lou Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era, 1850-1880* (Indianapolis, 1965), 60-61, 543-44.

siers thought that their state's advantages had been poorly advertised and that potential settlers were going elsewhere. In 1837, for example, businessman and land speculator Henry L. Ellsworth wrote: "Very little is yet known of the valley of the Wabash Five thousand persons left Buffalo in one day to go up the lake, and yet not one went into the valley of the Wabash." Similarly, Governor Joseph A. Wright claimed in 1851, "There is less known abroad, this day, of Indiana, in her great elements of wealth, than any other State in the Union of her age and position."⁸ Indiana may also have failed to attract larger numbers of settlers because much land in the Hoosier state was opened to white settlement just shortly after land in Ohio was also made available for sale. In fact, Indians ceded the southern and central two-thirds of Indiana during the same years that the federal government acquired title to all land in Ohio; only the northern one-third of the Hoosier state became available later.⁹ Writing about 1810, John Melish confirmed that although Indiana's "settlements commenced about 12 or 14 years ago, and have made considerable progress, . . . they have been retarded by the settlement of the fertile and beautiful state of Ohio, which is situated between this and the old states."¹⁰ In addition, many of the northern Indiana counties, where land was still available after the best parcels in Ohio had been sold, were poorly drained. The additional investment required for drainage and the unhealthful reputation of wet lands delayed settlement despite excellent agricultural potential and the salesmanship of some land speculators whose involvement likely raised land costs.¹¹ Thus, when foreign-born immigrants began arriving in the United States in increasing numbers, Indiana had a somewhat limited supply of inexpensive and easily opened land. It also had a tarnished reputation in some quarters as a backward, if not barbaric, state, a view perhaps in part reflecting its heavily southern population, its strong nativist sentiments, and its uniquely "Hoosier" character.¹²

Although Indiana was, then, the least "foreign" of the states of the Old Northwest, a number of its counties contained large concentrations of foreign-born immigrants. Most of these counties

⁸ Quotations in Power, "Wet Lands and the Hoosier Stereotype," 33-34.

⁹ R. Carlyle Buley, *The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period, 1800-1840* (2 vols., Bloomington, Ind., 1951), I, 111; James H. Madison, *The Indiana Way: A State History* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986), 39.

¹⁰ Lindley, *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, 32-33.

¹¹ Paul W. Gates, "Hoosier Cattle Kings," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XLIV (March, 1948), 1-24.

¹² Irvin S. Cobb, *Indiana: Intellectually She Rolls Her Own* (New York, 1924); Richard Lyle Power, "The Hoosier as an American Folk-Type," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXXVIII (June, 1942), 107-22; Power, *Planting Corn Belt Culture*, 72-74, 81-86; Rose, "Hoosier Origins," 214-16, 230-31.

were located near major transportation routes such as the Ohio River, Wabash River, Wabash and Erie Canal, National Road, and Lake Michigan; and many contained bustling urban centers like Madison, Jeffersonville, New Albany, Evansville, Vincennes, and Indianapolis. Figure 1-A indicates those counties in which the foreign-born portion of the in-migrant population exceeded the state-wide mean of 12.8 percent. While many of the foreign immigrants were farmers, who tended to purchase partially cleared or already established farms rather than raw frontier land, others found employment in Indiana's growing towns and cities, where they carried on "the business of bakers, grocers, store, grog shops, and tavern keepers."¹³

Because the percentages of foreign-born immigrants varied tremendously from county to county—from minima of 0.6 percent in Johnson County and 1.0 percent in Boone to maxima of 58.7 percent in Dubois County and 65.0 percent in Vanderburgh—mapping counties according to their standard deviation about the mean clarifies the distribution of foreign-born throughout the state (Figure 1-B). In all but five of the shaded counties in Figure 1-A at least 17.6 percent of the in-migrants were natives of foreign countries, placing these counties more than one standard deviation above the mean. Fourteen counties had somewhere between 8.1 and 12.1 percent (within one standard deviation below the mean) of their in-migrants born in foreign countries. Interestingly, at least four of these counties also contained urban centers—Logansport in Cass County, Richmond in Wayne County, South Bend in St. Joseph County, and Terre Haute in Vigo County. Foreigners comprised 8.0 percent or less of the in-migrant population in a majority of Indiana counties, most of which were overwhelmingly rural in 1850. A comparison of Figures 1-A and 1-B suggests that foreign-born settlers comprised either a significant portion or hardly any of the in-migrant population in each of Indiana's ninety-one counties in 1850 and that the older, more urbanized, and more accessible counties contained the largest foreign-born proportions.

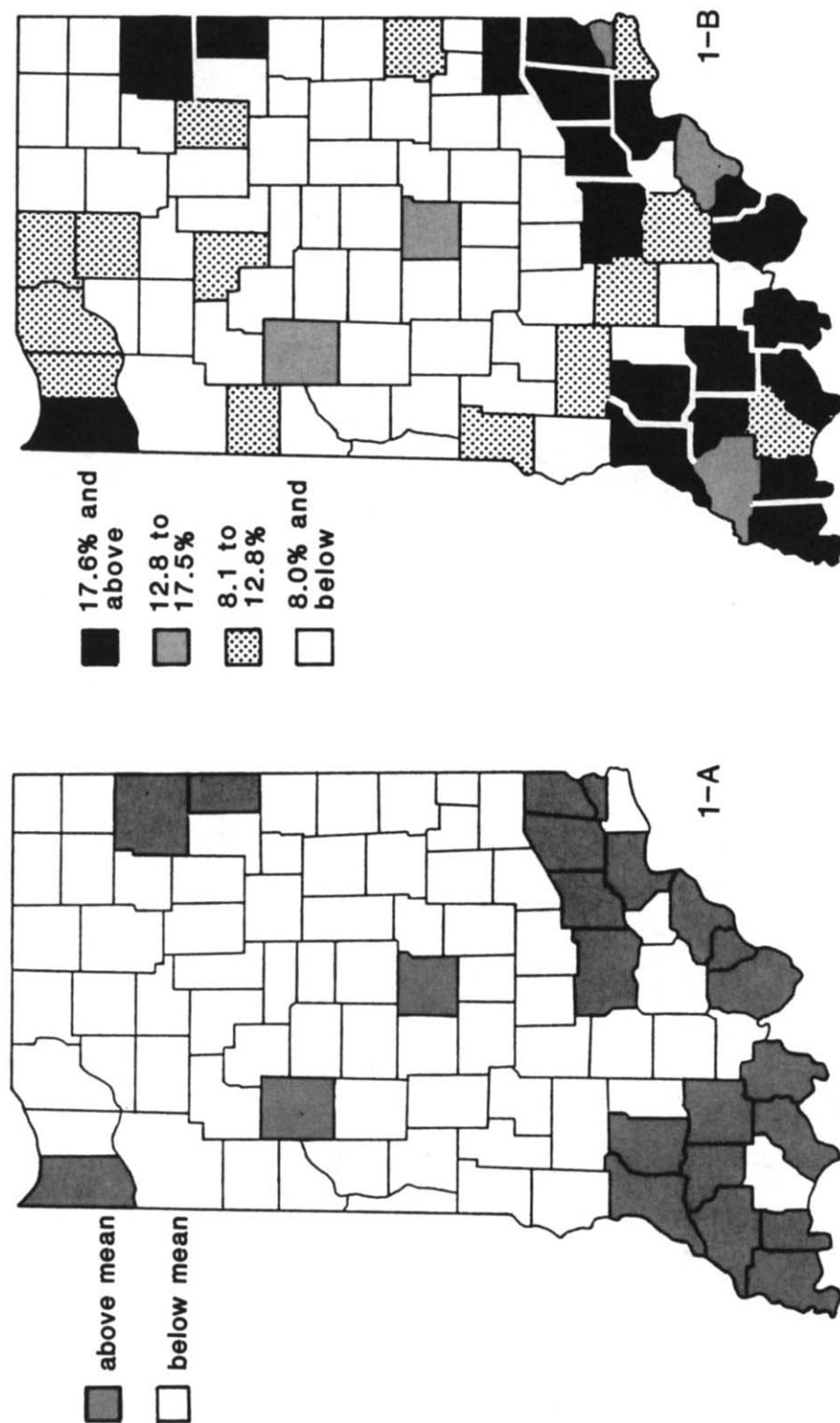
Northwestern Europeans dominated among the foreign-born natives living in Indiana in 1850, as they did throughout the United States.¹⁴ Germans, including Prussians, comprised the largest group of foreigners, with 30,398 (6.8 percent of the in-migrants)

¹³ Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration* (Chicago, 1960), 120, 111-13; Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 546-47; quotation from Lindley, *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, 524.

¹⁴ Jones, *American Immigration*, 107-34; U.S., *Seventh Census, 1850*, Table XV, pp. xxxvi-xxxviii.



INDIANA COUNTIES, 1850



FIGURES 1-A AND 1-B. FOREIGN POPULATION PERCENTAGES, 1850

in the Hoosier state in 1850 (Table 1).¹⁵ They accounted for very small portions of the in-migrant population in a number of counties—0.2 percent in Boone and Orange and 0.0 percent (no Germans) in Starke—and large portions in others—26.0 percent in Dearborn, 44.6 percent in Vanderburgh, and an astounding 58.1 percent in Dubois (only natives of Indiana surpassed their number). Since Germans accounted for over half the foreign-born in Indiana in 1850, it is not surprising that counties in which Germans exceeded the statewide average and counties in which foreigners exceeded the statewide average were distributed similarly (Figure 2-A). All but four of the counties having Germans in excess of the statewide mean were located in southeastern and southwestern Indiana. As was true of the foreign-born population as a whole, counties with river, canal, lake, or road access and with urban centers tended to be the most German (there were important communities in Fort Wayne, Indianapolis, and Evansville); but some rural areas, such as Dubois County, received many German farmers.¹⁶ Simply because a county contained less than the average German percentage did not mean, however, that the German influence was insignificant: in Marshall and St. Joseph counties, for example, they were among the earliest settlers.¹⁷

Early travelers discovered Germans throughout Indiana. The colony at New Harmony in particular attracted countless visitors, who commented on the settlement's German origins, its unusual social arrangements, and its agricultural achievements. Many visitors noted, however, that the Harmonists had not joined the Hoosier social environment. "Very few of the inhabitants of Harmony could speak English," wrote one observer, "and indeed the young boys and girls are chiefly educated in the German tongue."¹⁸ When Louis Kossuth visited Madison in 1852, a journal writer accompanying him commented that "the German population of the city greeted [Kossuth] enthusiastically"; in 1852 and 1853 a German

¹⁵ Sources considering German immigration and settlement in nineteenth-century America include Richard O'Connor, *The German-Americans: An Informal History* (Boston, 1968); Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964); Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Westport, Conn., 1970). See also Lang, "German Immigration to Dubois County," 131-43; Henry G. Waltmann, "The Struggle to Establish Lutheranism in Tippecanoe County, Indiana, 1826-1850," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LXXV (March, 1979), 28-52.

¹⁶ Baxter, "Encouragement of Immigration to the Middle West," 34; Fritsch, *German Settlers and German Settlements*, 19-28; F. F. Lalor, "The Germans in the West," *Atlantic Monthly*, XXXII (October, 1873), 459-70; Lang, "German Immigration to Dubois County"; Elfrieda Lang, "The Settlement of Dubois County," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XLI (September, 1945), 245-64; Madison, *The Indiana Way*, 173; Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 547-51.

¹⁷ Esslinger, *Immigrants and the City*, 32.

¹⁸ Lindley, *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, 212, 328, 336, 514, quotation 288.

Table 1
Nativity Number and Percentage, by County, of Indiana's Foreign-Born Inhabitants
according to Most Frequent Source of Origin in 1850

County	Germany*	Ireland	England	France	Canada	Scotland	Switzerland	Wales	Total
	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#	#
Adams	726 17.7	24 0.6	16 0.4	50 1.2	6 0.2	0 0.0	3 0.1	0 0.0	832 20.3
Allen	2,439 21.0	424 3.7	197 1.7	554 4.8	124 1.1	56 0.5	96 0.8	6 0.1	3,908 33.7
Bartholomew	239 4.2	116 2.0	19 0.3	2 0.0	4 0.1	20 0.4	1 0.0	1 0.0	406 7.1
Benton	2 0.3	8 1.3	22 3.6	0 0.0	18 2.9	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	50 8.1
Blackford	48 2.7	12 0.7	3 0.2	1 0.1	1 0.1	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	65 3.7
Boone	11 0.2	21 0.4	8 0.2	4 0.1	3 0.1	3 0.1	0 0.0	0 0.0	50 1.0
Brown	24 1.2	16 0.8	6 0.3	0 0.0	0 0.0	1 0.1	4 0.2	4 0.2	56 2.9
Carroll	109 1.9	86 1.5	36 0.6	4 0.1	20 0.3	7 0.1	7 0.1	0 0.0	272 4.6
Cass	178 2.8	243 3.8	96 1.5	19 0.3	23 0.4	11 0.2	3 0.1	0 0.0	574 8.9
Clark	580 9.1	255 4.0	120 1.9	24 0.4	18 0.3	24 0.4	12 0.2	5 0.1	1,048 16.4
Clay	109 3.3	19 0.6	2 0.1	0 0.0	5 0.2	5 0.2	0 0.0	0 0.0	140 4.2
Clinton	39 0.7	27 0.5	15 0.3	4 0.1	11 0.2	11 0.2	0 0.0	6 0.1	116 2.0
Crawford	24 1.2	2 0.1	10 0.5	2 0.1	10 0.5	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	48 2.5
Daviess	79 2.0	837 20.9	12 0.3	15 0.4	18 0.5	5 0.1	0 0.0	0 0.0	969 24.2
Dearborn	2,540 26.0	827 8.5	381 3.9	189 1.9	31 0.3	26 0.3	30 0.3	8 0.1	4,047 41.5
Decatur	179 2.8	98 1.5	34 0.5	8 0.1	9 0.1	9 0.1	1 0.0	1 0.0	344 5.4
DeKalb	112 1.8	22 0.4	33 0.5	10 0.2	30 0.5	9 0.2	12 0.2	0 0.0	228 3.7
Delaware	56 1.0	29 0.5	17 0.3	11 0.2	4 0.1	5 0.1	0 0.0	1 0.0	123 2.2
Dubois	1,598 58.1	2 0.1	4 0.2	8 0.3	0 0.0	0 0.0	5 0.2	0 0.0	1,617 58.7
Elkhart	196 2.4	57 0.7	35 0.4	10 0.1	185 2.2	20 0.2	6 0.1	0 0.0	519 6.2
Fayette	122 3.0	137 3.4	22 0.5	5 0.1	5 0.1	11 0.3	0 0.0	0 0.0	307 7.6
Floyd	1,146 16.8	456 6.7	275 4.0	334 4.9	32 0.5	37 0.5	23 0.3	9 0.1	2,359 34.5
Fountain	71 1.2	141 2.3	57 0.9	9 0.2	12 0.2	6 0.1	20 0.3	5 0.1	326 5.3
Franklin	1,649 19.6	262 3.1	193 2.3	49 0.6	17 0.2	32 0.4	4 0.1	4 0.1	2,220 26.4
Fulton	85 2.5	32 0.9	15 0.4	7 0.2	44 1.3	12 0.4	2 0.1	2 0.1	199 5.7
Gibson	295 7.8	123 3.3	98 2.6	11 0.3	1 0.0	12 0.3	0 0.0	1 0.0	542 14.4
Grant	21 0.4	16 0.3	38 0.6	2 0.0	3 0.1	5 0.1	1 0.0	0 0.0	87 1.5
Greene	142 2.8	203 4.1	43 0.9	2 0.0	4 0.1	8 0.2	48 1.0	2 0.0	454 9.1
Hamilton	148 2.6	27 0.5	8 0.1	9 0.2	5 0.1	2 0.4	0 0.0	2 0.0	201 3.5

Table 1, Continued

County	Germany*		Ireland		England		France		Canada		Scotland		Switzerland		Wales		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Hancock	214	5.2	32	0.8	3	0.1	17	0.4	3	0.1	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	271	6.6
Harrison	849	16.6	47	0.9	46	0.9	175	3.4	3	0.1	4	0.1	0	0.0	3	0.1	1,177	23.0
Hendricks	27	0.4	307	4.8	7	0.1	0	0.0	10	0.2	5	0.1	9	0.1	0	0.0	369	5.8
Henry	74	1.0	31	0.4	28	0.4	4	0.1	3	0.0	12	0.2	3	0.0	0	0.0	155	2.0
Howard	21	0.7	2	0.1	8	0.3	3	0.1	5	0.2	0	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0	41	1.4
Huntington	300	5.9	55	1.1	37	0.7	23	0.5	15	0.3	7	0.1	6	0.1	0	0.0	451	8.9
Jackson	626	17.0	16	0.4	7	0.2	2	0.1	11	0.3	1	0.0	31	0.8	2	0.1	699	19.0
Jasper	8	0.4	6	0.3	19	1.0	0	0.0	33	1.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	0.2	73	3.9
Jay	76	1.7	14	0.3	22	0.5	10	0.2	4	0.1	2	0.0	3	0.1	0	0.0	131	2.9
Jefferson	998	8.8	1,341	11.8	254	2.2	88	0.8	37	0.3	326	2.9	94	0.8	13	0.1	3,182	28.0
Jennings	426	8.6	413	8.3	51	1.0	58	1.2	4	0.1	7	0.1	3	0.1	33	0.7	1,002	20.2
Johnson	9	0.2	14	0.3	2	0.0	0	0.0	3	0.1	2	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	30	0.6
Knox	707	21.1	98	2.9	43	1.3	75	2.2	14	0.4	11	0.3	0	0.0	1	0.0	958	28.6
Kosciusko	119	1.8	53	0.8	53	0.8	4	0.1	22	0.3	5	0.1	15	0.2	4	0.1	276	4.1
Lagrange	38	0.6	15	0.2	181	3.0	2	0.0	70	1.1	19	0.3	1	0.0	0	0.0	328	5.4
Lake	560	19.7	60	2.1	60	2.1	5	0.2	174	6.1	3	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	864	30.4
La Porte	122	1.6	249	3.3	173	2.3	17	0.2	165	2.2	46	0.6	0	0.0	2	0.0	791	10.5
Lawrence	44	1.1	272	6.7	17	0.4	4	0.1	4	0.1	2	0.1	3	0.1	0	0.0	346	8.5
Madison	36	0.7	72	1.3	16	0.3	1	0.0	4	0.1	9	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	151	2.7
Marion	1,065	9.0	597	5.1	59	0.5	31	0.3	13	0.1	53	0.5	8	0.1	3	0.0	1,841	15.6
Marshall	187	6.0	17	0.6	25	0.8	3	0.1	45	1.5	4	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	284	9.2
Martin	7	0.4	58	3.0	20	1.0	1	0.1	2	0.1	5	0.3	1	0.1	1	0.1	99	5.1
Miami	254	3.7	46	0.7	34	0.5	4	0.1	19	0.3	9	0.1	9	0.1	0	0.0	376	5.5
Monroe	17	0.4	125	2.9	12	0.3	3	0.1	5	0.1	3	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	167	3.9
Montgomery	25	0.3	124	1.5	23	0.3	3	0.0	8	0.1	9	0.1	0	0.0	1	0.0	196	2.3
Morgan	77	1.3	160	2.7	13	0.2	1	0.0	4	0.1	8	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	263	4.4
Noble	158	2.7	14	0.2	35	0.6	4	0.1	15	0.3	2	0.0	11	0.2	0	0.0	239	4.1
Ohio	116	5.6	132	6.3	25	1.2	0	0.0	12	0.6	28	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	317	15.2
Orange	6	0.2	27	0.9	22	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	57	1.8
Owen	72	1.4	37	0.7	9	0.2	3	0.1	24	0.5	8	0.2	5	0.1	0	0.0	165	3.3
Parke	29	0.5	89	1.4	31	0.5	3	0.1	11	0.2	10	0.2	0	0.0	1	0.0	175	2.8
Perry	341	11.2	157	5.2	108	3.5	22	0.7	3	0.1	30	1.0	2	0.1	3	0.1	726	23.8

Table 1, Continued

County	Germany* # %	Ireland # %	England # %	France # %	Canada # %	Scotland # %	Switzerland # %	Wales # %	Total # %
Pike	100 3.6	670 23.9	29 1.0	12 0.4	9 0.3	1 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	821 29.3
Porter	23 0.7	100 2.9	46 1.3	2 0.1	231 6.7	9 0.3	0 0.0	1 0.0	416 12.0
Posey	909 18.1	66 1.3	189 3.8	53 1.1	1 0.0	11 0.2	4 0.1	0 0.0	1,239 24.7
Pulaski	69 4.3	8 0.5	9 0.6	9 0.6	12 0.7	1 0.1	5 0.3	0 0.0	113 7.0
Putnam	49 0.6	181 2.3	21 0.3	0 0.0	13 0.2	8 0.1	0 0.0	0 0.0	274 3.5
Randolph	84 1.2	41 0.6	28 0.4	0 0.0	4 0.1	4 0.1	0 0.0	0 0.0	161 2.3
Ripley	1,484 21.2	132 1.9	79 1.1	143 2.0	16 0.2	25 0.4	25 0.4	3 0.0	1,912 27.3
Rush	39 0.6	59 0.9	33 0.5	5 0.1	10 0.1	5 0.1	0 0.0	4 0.1	158 2.3
St. Joseph	415 6.2	149 2.2	78 1.2	43 0.6	95 1.4	31 0.5	7 0.1	1 0.0	833 12.4
Scott	6 0.3	90 4.8	10 0.5	2 0.1	3 0.2	10 0.5	1 0.1	3 0.2	125 6.7
Shelby	230 3.4	64 1.0	52 0.8	13 0.2	1 0.1	5 0.1	1 0.0	0 0.0	370 5.5
Spencer	861 21.9	10 0.3	35 0.9	48 1.2	9 0.2	11 0.3	1 0.0	0 0.0	986 25.1
Starke	0 0.0	4 1.1	2 0.6	0 0.0	3 0.8	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	9 2.5
Steuben	51 1.1	22 0.5	92 2.0	2 0.0	45 1.0	8 0.2	15 0.3	0 0.0	235 5.0
Sullivan	15 0.5	20 0.7	12 0.4	4 0.1	7 0.2	1 0.0	2 0.1	0 0.0	61 2.0
Switzerland	91 1.9	165 3.4	61 1.3	8 0.2	11 0.2	85 1.8	51 1.1	0 0.0	491 10.1
Tippecanoe	440 3.9	912 8.1	213 1.9	35 0.3	82 0.7	32 0.3	0 0.0	0 0.0	1,754 15.6
Tipton	13 0.9	6 0.4	4 0.3	0 0.0	1 0.1	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	24 1.6
Union	26 0.9	98 3.5	25 0.9	0 0.0	2 0.1	17 0.6	3 0.1	0 0.0	171 6.1
Vanderburgh	3,075 44.6	502 7.3	752 10.9	47 0.7	13 0.2	30 0.4	30 0.4	7 0.1	4,482 65.0
Vermillion	15 0.4	38 1.0	30 0.8	0 0.0	14 0.4	2 0.1	3 0.1	1 0.0	103 2.8
Vigo	275 3.9	260 3.6	152 2.1	34 0.5	16 0.2	18 0.3	0 0.0	0 0.0	760 10.6
Wabash	138 2.0	190 2.7	34 0.5	10 0.1	18 0.3	4 0.1	15 0.2	4 0.1	414 5.8
Warren	18 0.5	36 1.0	14 0.4	1 0.0	8 0.2	9 0.2	1 0.0	1 0.0	90 2.4
Warrick	267 7.7	66 1.9	51 1.5	8 0.2	8 0.2	1 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	406 11.7
Washington	110 2.1	269 5.2	86 1.7	4 0.1	4 0.1	4 0.1	0 0.0	0 0.0	477 9.1
Wayne	751 6.3	237 2.0	83 0.7	5 0.0	14 0.1	19 0.2	2 0.0	4 0.0	1,121 9.5
Wells	88 2.1	25 0.6	31 0.8	7 0.2	11 0.3	45 1.1	84 2.0	0 0.0	304 7.4
White	13 0.5	19 0.7	22 0.8	1 0.0	8 0.3	4 0.2	2 0.1	0 0.0	70 2.6
Whitley	168 4.6	36 1.0	11 0.3	9 0.3	18 0.5	1 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	245 6.8
Total or Average	30,398 6.8	13,677 3.1	5,542 1.3	2,414 0.5	2,075 0.5	1,371 0.3	735 0.2	156 0.0	56,932 12.8

*Includes Prussia and all other German principalities.

settler in Allen County wrote letters describing the country and people around Fort Wayne.¹⁹ Later scholars, too, have written extensively about Father George Rapp's Harmonist Society on the Wabash and about the arrival and evolution of the heavily German population that settled Dubois County.²⁰ A 1949 article about early Indianapolis recognized "the extremely important role played in the city's development by the Germans . . . [who provided] a heavy percentage of workers in the skilled trades and professions"; still other writers noted the presence and importance of Germans in Evansville and South Bend.²¹

Although the Germany of 1850 consisted of numerous independent states, principalities, and kingdoms loosely associated as the German Confederation but not yet united into a single country,²² the published census lumped together as "Germany" all the entities except Prussia. The manuscript census schedules throughout the state also divided Germans from Prussians, but, unexpectedly, census canvassers in forty-eight of Indiana's ninety-one counties in 1850 recorded birthplaces from all subdivisions of Germany. Table 2 lists the total number of "German" immigrants and the number from each of the five most often identified principalities as revealed in the manuscript schedules. The table must be viewed as a count from a limited record rather than as a definitive total (those immigrants simply identified as Germans came from one or another of the principalities; thus, the total given for each subdivision underrepresents the actual number from it); nevertheless, the figures are informative. Among the German principalities listed in the 1850 manuscript census schedules, Prussia provided the largest number of settlers (782) to Indiana, and Prussian immigrants accounted for high proportions of the German total in Greene, Jefferson, and Knox counties. Jefferson and Ripley counties in southern Indiana contained most of the 422 natives of Bavaria (Ripley had more Bavarians than Prussians), most of the 409 Hanoverians (382 of whom lived in Ripley), most of the 114 inhab-

¹⁹ McCord, *Travel Accounts of Indiana*, 204-205; Frederic Trautmann, ed. and trans., "Life in the Wild: Three German Letters from Indiana, 1852-1853," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LXXX (June, 1984), 146-65.

²⁰ See, for example, Donald E. Pitzer and Josephine M. Elliott, "New Harmony's First Utopians, 1814-1824," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LXXV (September, 1979), 225-300; Elfrieda Lang, "Conditions of Travel Experienced by German Immigrants to Dubois County, Indiana," *ibid.*, XLI (December, 1945), 327-44; Lang, "German Immigration to Dubois County"; Lang, "The Settlement of Dubois County."

²¹ Fritsch, *German Settlers and German Settlements*, 25-28; Frederick D. Kershner, Jr., "From Country Town to Industrial City: The Urban Pattern in Indianapolis," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XLV (December, 1949), 329; Esslinger, *Immigrants and the City*, 33; George Theodore Probst, *The Germans in Indianapolis, 1840-1918*, ed. Eberhard Reichmann (1951; rev. ed., Indianapolis, 1989).

²² William Carr, *A History of Germany, 1815-1945* (London, 1979), 1-124; John E. Rodes, *The Quest for Unity: Modern Germany, 1848-1970* (New York, 1971), 14, 17-86.

Table 2

Country, Principality, or Province of Nativity, by County,
of Indiana's German- or Canadian-Born Inhabitants
according to Most Frequent Source of Origin in 1850

County	Ger	Pru	Bav	Han	Wür	Sax	Can	UC	LC	NS	NB
Adams	726						3			3	
Allen	2,427	11		1			31	58	32	3	
Bartholomew	239						4				
Benton	2						3	15			
Blackford	48						1				
Boone	11							3			
Brown	24						0				
Carroll	107	1			1		18			2	
Cass	174	4					19		2		2
Clark	574	6					7	5	2	4	
Clay	109						5				
Clinton	39						11				
Crawford	24						10				
Daviess	76	2	1				17			1	
Dearborn	2,534	6					20		1	10	
Decatur	179						3		4	2	
DeKalb	106	4					29		1		
Delaware	56						2			2	
Dubois	1,597			1			0				
Elkhart	195					1	176	2			5
Fayette	120				2		5				
Floyd	1,119	18	2	1	1	1	9	1	3	14	1
Fountain	71						4	5	2		1
Franklin	1,648	1					17				
Fulton	85						44				
Gibson	295						1				
Grant	19	2					3				
Greene	68	70		1		3	4				
Hamilton	148						4			1	
Hancock	213	1					2		1		
Harrison	843	2	4				1	1		1	
Hendricks	26	1					5	4		1	
Henry	68						2			1	
Howard	20	1					3			2	
Huntington	300							4	11		
Jackson	617	1	2	4		2	1	10			
Jasper	8						33				
Jay	76						2	2			
Jefferson	464	176	89	18	70	14	32		2	1	1
Jennings	425	1					2		2		1
Jackson	9						3				
Knox	370	327	8				13	1			
Kosciusko	119						15	7			
Lagrange	36		2				66			3	1
Lake	560						171			3	
La Porte	119	3					125	23	7	4	6
Lawrence	44						4				

Table 2, Continued

County	Ger	Pru	Bav	Han	Wür	Sax	Can	UC	LC	NS	NB
Madison	36						3	1			
Marion	1,043	22					11	1			1
Marshall	187						43	2			
Martin	7						1	1			
Miami	248	5				1	3	3	13		
Monroe	17						5				
Montgomery	23	1				1	8				
Morgan	76	1					4				
Noble	157		1				3	7	5		
Ohio	116						10			2	
Orange	5	1					0				
Owen	66	6					24				
Parke	29						10				1
Perry	340					1	1			2	
Pike	100						9				
Porter	23						225	1			5
Posey	898	8	3				1				
Pulaski	64	5					11				1
Putnam	49						7	4			2
Randolph	84						3		1		
Ripley	331	44	306	382	30	19	14	1		1	
Rush	37		2				1		9		
St. Joseph	407	1			7		83	9		2	1
Scott	6						3				
Shelby	227	3					1				
Spencer	849	12					9				
Starke	0						2				1
Steuben	50	1					25	8	12		
Sullivan	15						6	1			
Switzerland	88	1			2		2	1	2	6	
Tipecanoe	425	15					64	14	1	3	
Tipton	13						1				
Union	26									2	
Vanderburgh	3,065	10					13				
Vermillion	12		2			1	8		2	3	
Vigo	273	1		1			15	1			
Wabash	137				1		17		1		
Warren	18						6	2			
Warrick	267						8				
Washington	110						1	2	1		
Wayne	747	4					10	2		2	
Wells	88						10		1		
White	13						4		4		
Whitley	165	3						15	2	1	
Totals	28,074	782	422	409	114	44	1,615	216	125	82	30

Ger = Germany
Pru = Prussia
Bav = Bavaria
Han = Hanover
Wür = Württemberg
Sax = Saxony

Can = Canada
UC = Upper Canada
LC = Lower Canada
NS = Nova Scotia
NB = New Brunswick

itants from Württemberg, and most of the 44 natives of Saxony. In addition, although the census canvasser for St. Joseph County did not record them, 40 families from Bavaria had settled in South Bend by 1850, and other Germans from Bavaria, Hanover, Saxony, and Württemberg arrived there during the next thirty years.²³ Southern German principalities—such as Württemberg, Bavaria, and Saxony—were typically identified as the major sources of German immigrants to the United States, but both Prussia and Hanover were northern subdivisions.²⁴

Natives of Ireland comprised the second largest group of foreigners in Indiana in 1850. Numbering 13,677, they made up 3.1 percent of the state's in-migrant population (Table 1).²⁵ By midcentury the Irish were scattered throughout the state, especially in villages, towns, and districts where labor was scarce. Counties in which their numbers exceeded the statewide mean tended to be concentrated in the southern portions of Indiana (Figure 2-A). Many Irish immigrants settled along the Ohio River in the southeastern part of the state and near the Whitewater, White, and Wabash rivers, in part because they frequently labored on the construction gangs that built Indiana's canals, roads, and railroads or worked as stevedores and laborers in ports and cities.²⁶ Early travelers like Isaac Reed noted the Irish among New Albany's inhabitants in 1828, and in the same year Karl Postel listed the Irish among the population of "adventurers" in Indiana who were "scattered in the towns, and over the country . . ."²⁷ In Indianapolis, as in other urban areas throughout the state, the Irish were "at first restricted to the role of common laborers" but "steadily worked their way upward in business and politics . . ."²⁸

²³ Esslinger, *Immigrants and the City*, 33. Unfortunately, the specific origins of German settlers in Dubois County, the most German of Indiana's counties in 1850, were not recorded. They were listed for 1860, however, and these data may be suggestive of the previous decade's conditions: of the 2,641 German natives, 664 came from Bavaria, 529 from Hanover, 457 from Prussia, 32 from Saxony, and 24 from Württemberg. Lang, "The Settlement of Dubois County," 254, 262.

²⁴ Fritsch, *German Settlers and German Settlements*, 21; Jones, *American Immigration*, 110-11; Lang, "The Settlement of Dubois County," 261-64.

²⁵ Sources considering Irish immigration to and settlement in nineteenth-century America include Dennis Clark, *Hibernia America: The Irish and Regional Cultures* (Westport, Conn., 1986); Edward Wakin, *Enter the Irish-American* (New York, 1976); Carl Wittke, *The Irish in America* (Baton Rouge, 1956).

²⁶ Baxter, "Encouragement of Immigration to the Middle West," 34; Buley, *The Old Northwest*, I, 498, 503; Esslinger, *Immigrants and the City*, 35; Ralph D. Gray, "The Canal Era in Indiana," in *Transportation and the Early Nation* (Papers presented at an Indiana American Revolution Bicentennial Symposium; Indianapolis, 1982), 115-27; Jones, *American Immigration*, 130-31; Lang, "Irishmen in Northern Indiana," 191-93; Madison, *The Indiana Way*, 76, 82-85, 99, 174; Ronald E. Shaw, "The Canal Era in the Old Northwest," in *Transportation and the Early Nation*, 93-95, 103-104; George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (New York, 1968), 47-48; Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 551-53.

²⁷ Lindley, *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, 473, 524.

²⁸ Esslinger, *Immigrants and the City*, 35-36; quotation in Kershner, "From Country Town to Industrial City," 329.

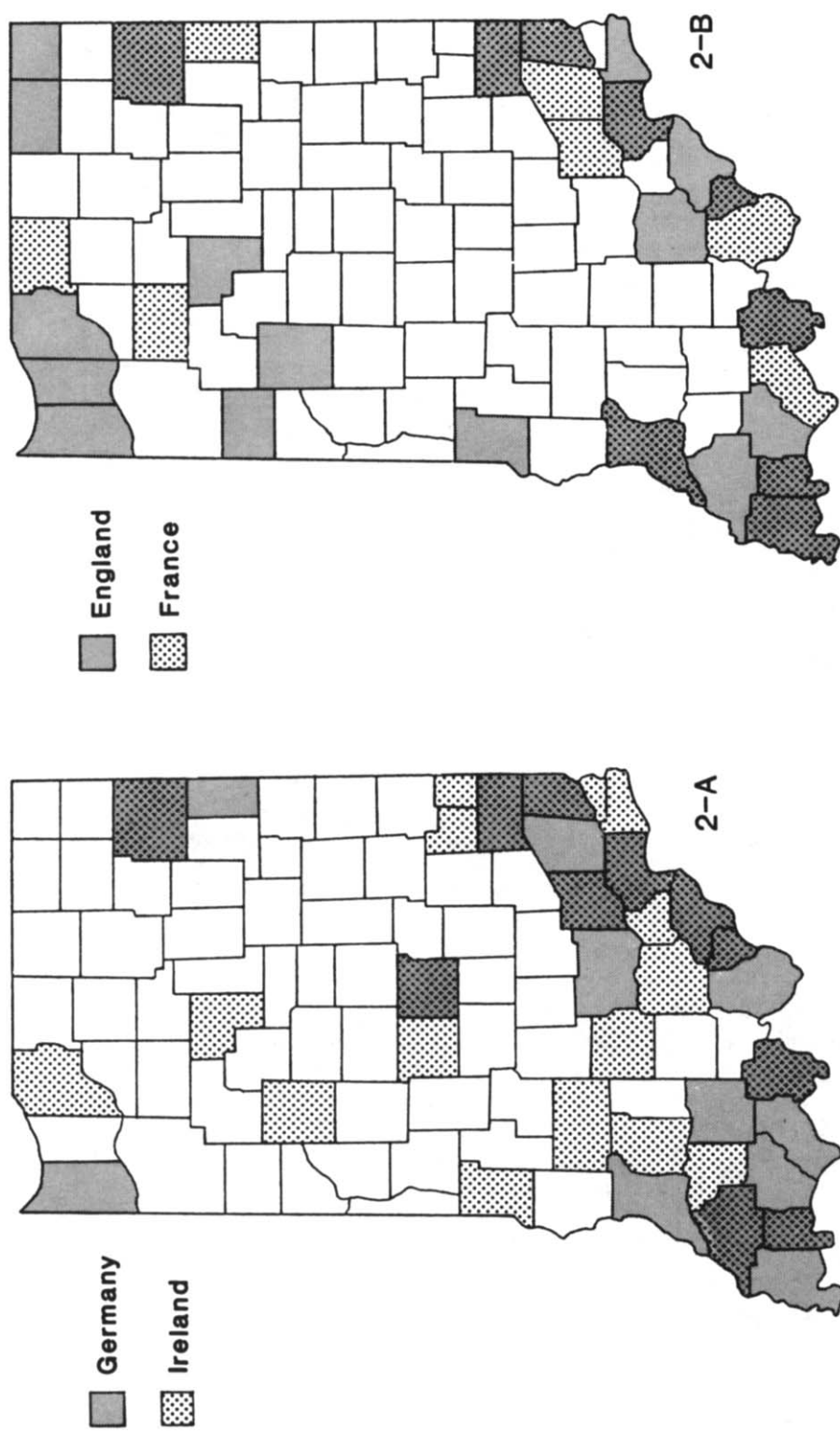
English natives in Indiana in 1850 totaled 5,542 and accounted for 1.3 percent of the in-migrant population (Table 1). Every county had at least a few English settlers, and significant percentages were found in Lagrange (3.0), Perry (3.5), Posey (3.8), Floyd (4.0), and especially Vanderburgh (10.9). All except Lagrange were located along the Ohio River. In fact, most counties having English-born settlers in excess of the statewide mean lay along Indiana's margins (Figure 2-B). Of the four interior counties with above average percentages of English natives, three were along the Wabash River. As with all other foreign-born immigrants, then, accessibility was a primary factor in determining settlement. English shopkeepers, artisans, and laborers tended to select urban areas such as Evansville in Vanderburgh County, New Albany in Floyd, or Terre Haute in Vigo, while English farmers tended to choose rural sections of those same counties or primarily agricultural counties like Lagrange, La Porte, or Benton. Because farming conditions and experiences in England had not prepared these immigrants for opening heavily forested lands, many may have decided to farm the prairies or to purchase cleared acreage from a pioneer who was moving on. In 1828, along the Ohio River downstream from New Albany, one traveler, for example, talked with a farmer and his wife from Manchester, England, who had purchased "their little farm of 55 acres of a back-woodsman who had cleared it" Indeed, most counties that had concentrations of English natives in 1850 were either among the oldest in the state or contained prairies.²⁹

Although only 2,414 natives of France lived in Indiana in 1850 (0.5 percent of the in-migrants), theirs was a long history in the state.³⁰ They were among the first white inhabitants, most of whom had concentrated at the voyageurs' portages and trading posts along the rivers that flowed to the Great Lakes or the Ohio River. By 1850, however, the French era in the Old Northwest had been over for nearly a century, and the French settlement pattern in Indiana only partially reflected past conditions (Figure 2-B). Natives of France exceeded the statewide mean in the counties of Allen, Knox, and St. Joseph, where the old French portage points or trading posts of Fort Wayne, Vincennes, and South Bend were located; but the French were also concentrated in southeastern Indiana and in most counties along the Ohio River.

Allen County contained the largest number of French natives (554) in the state in 1850, but Floyd County, with 334, had the

²⁹ Morris Birkbeck, *Letters from Illinois* (London, 1818); Lowell Dillon and Edward Lyon, eds., *Indiana: Crossroads of America* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1978), 45-48, 50; Lindley, *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, 302, 306, 510, quotation 510.

³⁰ R. Louis Gentilcore, "Vincennes and French Settlement in the Old Northwest," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, XLVII (September, 1957), 285-97.



FIGURES 2-A AND 2-B. COUNTRY NATIVITY ABOVE THE MEAN VALUE, 1850

largest percentage of French in-migrants (4.9 percent to Allen County's 4.8). Dearborn, Harrison, and Ripley counties also had sizable numbers and above average percentages (Table 1). Although all five of these counties contained towns or cities (Fort Wayne, New Albany, Lawrenceburg, Corydon, Brookville), natives of France did not necessarily flock to Indiana's major urban centers; Marion (Indianapolis), Clark (Jeffersonville), and Wayne (Richmond) counties listed respectively only 31, 24, and 5 French inhabitants at midcentury. Knox County contained 75 French natives who accounted for 2.2 percent of the in-migrants, an above average percentage but one that is unexpectedly low given that Vincennes, the Indiana town most associated with the French, was located in the county.

Early descriptions of Indiana included comments about the French or French Canadian origins of Vincennes. "It is an old settlement, and the inhabitants are mostly of French extraction," wrote one observer about 1810; another noted, "Since the American revolution the town has been repaired and enlarged . . . but the inhabitants still are mostly French." Other writers agreed with William Darby who in 1818 identified Vincennes as "having been built by the French from Canada."³¹ Of course, one need not have been a native of France to carry French ethnicity. Many of the Hoosier-born natives of Knox County undoubtedly were of French ancestry. Further, although there were only 14 Canadian natives in the county in 1850 and none had a birthplace specifically identified as Quebec (or Lower Canada/Canada East), it is logical to assume that most had been born in French Canada and therefore were also ethnically French. Nevertheless, compared to the much larger number and percentage of French natives in other counties with French-origin settlements, such as Allen, Knox County's relative paucity of these natives is indeed surprising.³²

The only foreign country in the western hemisphere to send significant numbers of immigrants to Indiana during the first half of the nineteenth century was Canada, or British America as it was then called. The 2,075 Canadian natives in the state in 1850 comprised 0.5 percent of the in-migrant population. Counties containing Canadians in excess of the statewide mean were concen-

³¹ Lindley, *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, 33, 38, 160, 194, 257. For other comments concerning the association between the French at Vincennes and the surrounding Indian tribes, see *ibid.*, 67, 211, 281, 451. See also Ronald L. Baker, *French Folklife in Old Vincennes* (Terre Haute, Ind., 1989).

³² Early nineteenth-century travel accounts also contain comments about the French settlements in Allen and Tippecanoe counties. About 1820 one visitor to Fort Wayne claimed that "the inhabitants are nearly all French Canadians"; and in 1821 Timothy Flint noted that at "the old French post of Ouitanon" in Tippecanoe County "the inhabitants [were] a mixture of French and Indian blood." Lindley, *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, 250, 451.

trated in northern Indiana, closest to Canada and to Michigan, which had large numbers of British American settlers (Figure 3-A). Porter County had the largest percentage (6.7) and number (231); neighboring Lake County was second in percentage (6.1) and third in number (174); Elkhart County had 185 Canadians, but they accounted for only 2.2 percent of the in-migrant population in the county (Table 1). Both Porter and Lake counties were easily reached by Canadians traveling via the Great Lakes or on the Chicago Road between Detroit and Chicago.³³ Owen County in west central Indiana and three Ohio River counties—one of which, Floyd, contained the major urban center of New Albany—also held Canadian immigrants in excess of the statewide mean. Three counties in south central and southwest Indiana had no Canadians (Brown, Dubois, Orange); five others scattered throughout the southern two-thirds of the state had only one each. Although early travelers in Indiana regularly commented about settlers of French-Canadian nativity or ethnicity, they rarely noted the presence of British-origin Canadians, perhaps because the French Canadians had arrived first or because the English Canadians, being Anglophonic, were confused with English natives or could easily mix with the Americans. By 1850 it could not have been that there were fewer English Canadians in Indiana, for the manuscript census indicates that settlers from the English-speaking portions of Canada outnumbered those from the French-speaking areas (Table 2).

The census canvassers recorded Canadian birthplaces in a variety of ways: as having occurred in Canada or British America, in sections recognized as provinces today but not then associated with the "Province of Canada" (such as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick), or in Upper Canada/Canada West or Lower Canada/Canada East. In 1840 the Act of Union administratively united Upper Canada, which was renamed Canada West, and Lower Canada, which became Canada East, into the Province of Canada. The rest of eastern Canada (New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island) retained its direct governmental link to Great Britain. At the time of Canadian Confederation in 1867, these areas (except Newfoundland) were joined with Canada West, renamed Ontario, and Canada East, renamed Quebec, to form the Dominion of Canada.³⁴ Because of the changes in termi-

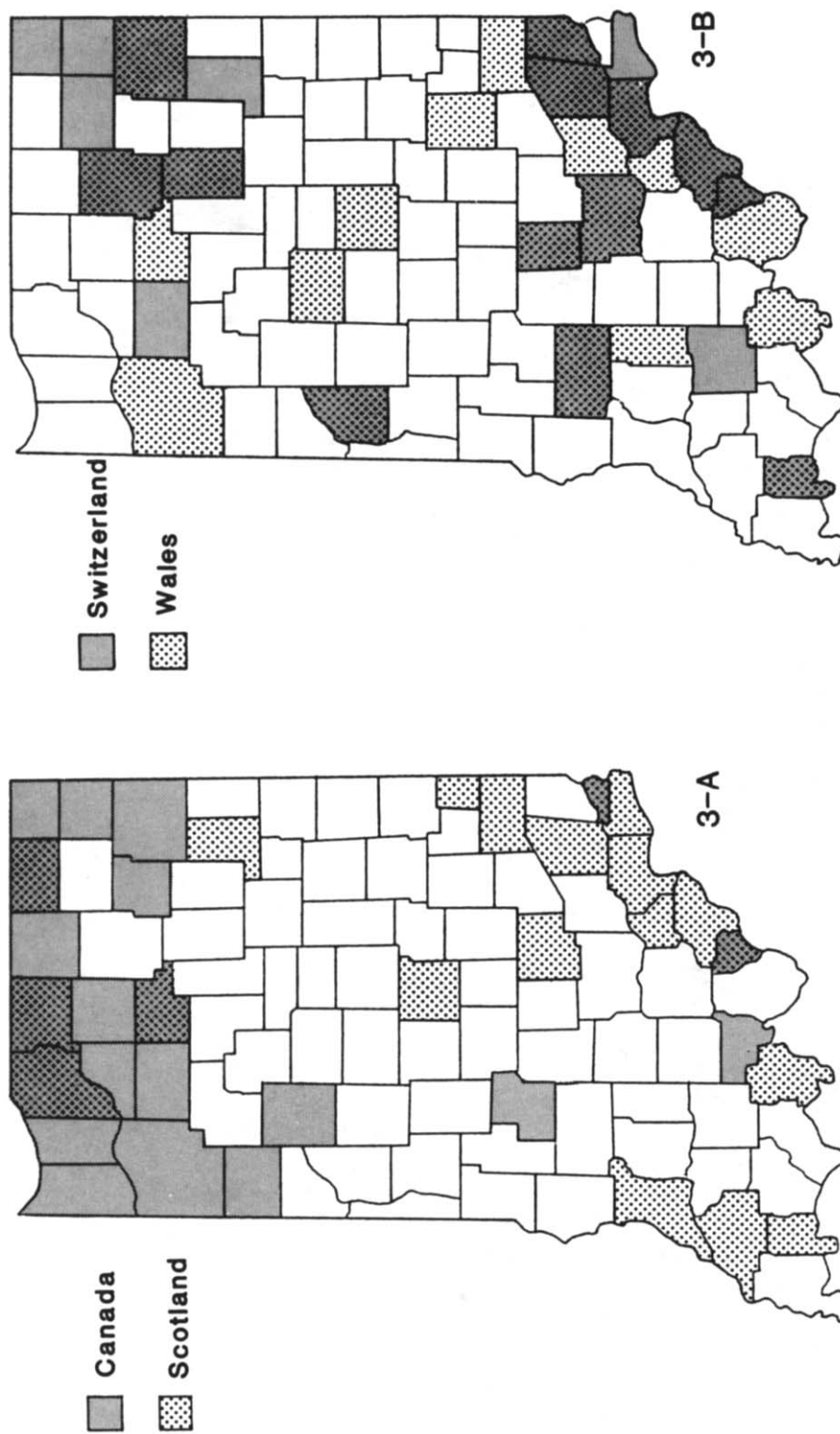
³³ Billington, *Westward Expansion*, 291-92; Ralph H. Brown, *Historical Geography of the United States* (New York, 1948), 286; Buley, *The Old Northwest*, I, 446-47, 456-57.

³⁴ J. M. S. Careless, *The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institutions, 1841-1857* (Toronto, 1967), 1-36; Reginald George Trotter, *Canadian Federation, Its Origins and Achievement: A Study in Nation Building* (London, 1924), 5, 132-37; W. L. White et al., *Canadian Confederation: A Decision-Making Analysis* (Toronto, 1979), 19-43.

nology and because the term "Canada" could have been used generically or could have indicated a birthplace in Ontario or Quebec, locational uncertainties in the Canadian birthplace data undoubtedly exist. Further, as was the case with the German immigrants, this partial sample may not accurately represent the actual balance among Canadian provincial birthplaces. However, since different canvassers recorded provincial birthplaces in sixty-two counties that were scattered throughout the state, there is little reason to suspect that the results were intentionally biased.

Of the 462 Canadians in Indiana whose province of birth was recorded, 216 (46.8 percent) were from Upper Canada, 125 (27.1 percent) from Lower Canada, 82 (17.7 percent) from Nova Scotia, and 30 (6.5 percent) from New Brunswick. The balance came from Prince Edward Island (5 settlers) and Newfoundland (4 settlers). In most counties the Upper Canadians outnumbered natives of other provinces, although those simply identified as Canadians typically were largest in number (Table 2). No real pattern of Upper Canadian- versus Lower Canadian-dominated counties emerged. For example, none of the three counties that contained early French-Canadian settlements—Allen, Knox, and Tippecanoe—had Lower Canadians in excess of Upper Canadians as one might have expected. In keeping with the general distribution of British Americans, however, counties with more Upper Canadian settlers and those with more Lower Canadians were both concentrated in the northern part of Indiana.

Few natives of Scotland, Switzerland, or Wales lived in Indiana in 1850. They comprised only a small percentage of the state's in-migrants and were primarily and similarly distributed on the margins of the state (Table 1; Figures 3-A and 3-B). Scottish settlers totaled 1,371 or 0.3 percent of the state's in-migrants; and most counties with Scottish natives exceeding the statewide mean were located in southeastern Indiana, where the highest nativity percentages were found in Jefferson (2.9 percent), Switzerland (1.8 percent), and Ohio (1.3 percent) counties. Percentages of Scottish immigrants were very low in the interior counties of the state. There were 735 natives of Switzerland, who accounted for 0.2 percent of the in-migrants in Indiana in 1850; most were concentrated in northeastern and southeastern counties. Many early visitors to Indiana commented on the Swiss settlement at Vevay in Switzerland County, particularly noting the vineyards that had been established there. In 1826, for example, Timothy Flint wrote that Vevay's experiment in viticulture, "on such a noble scale, so novel in America, was to me a most interesting spectacle"; and two years later he described the Swiss inhabitants of the county as "mostly protestants" who "happily compound the vivacity of the French



FIGURES 3-A AND 3-B. COUNTRY NATIVITY ABOVE THE MEAN VALUE, 1850

with the industry of the Germans."³⁵ Surprisingly, however, Wells County in the northeast, not Switzerland County, contained the highest percentage of Swiss natives (2.0 percent); and Allen County, also in the northeast, had the largest number (96). In Switzerland County 51 Swiss natives comprised just 0.8 percent of the in-migrants, but these figures undoubtedly underrepresent the county's Swiss ethnicity. While many of the first Swiss pioneers had arrived between 1800 and 1810 and likely were deceased by 1850, their Hoosier-born children probably retained at least some of the old country's culture. Natives of Wales were so few (156) and comprised such a small portion of the in-migrant population (0.04 percent) that the presence of just a couple of Welsh settlers could push a county above the statewide mean. The Welsh, too, tended to concentrate in southeastern Indiana, especially close to the Ohio River. One county, Jennings, had 33 Welsh natives, and only one other, Jefferson, had more than 10; in Jennings County the Welsh also accounted for the largest portion of the in-migrant population, 0.7 percent. It is quite possible that Scottish, Welsh, and perhaps Irish natives were undercounted by the census canvassers who identified them as natives of England or Britain.

A smattering of immigrants from other countries around the world lived in Indiana in 1850. Belgium provided 95 settlers, most of whom resided in southern Indiana's Perry (51 natives) and Floyd (27 natives) counties. Natives of the Netherlands totaled 85 and were more evenly distributed throughout the state, with the largest numbers located in Tippecanoe (27) and Dearborn (10) counties. A few representatives from nearly every other European country, including Austria, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Portugal, and Russia, lived in Indiana; and Europe in general was identified as the birthplace of 109 Hoosiers. Four African natives, all blacks, resided in four different central and southern Indiana counties, and 1 native of the Cape Verde Islands lived in Perry County. India provided 10 Hoosier inhabitants; 1 New Zealander was found in Gibson County; and 3 Hoosiers were listed as having been born in Asia.³⁶

Countries in the western hemisphere other than Canada also provided a few immigrants to Indiana. There were 5 South Ameri-

³⁵ Brown, *Historical Geography of the United States*, 239-40; Lindley, *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers*, 46, 154-55, 230, 274, 508, 522, quotations 441, 448.

³⁶ According to the published census there were four Asian natives in Indiana in 1850. The number appears in a column headed "Asia," which is next to one headed "China" (from which there were no Hoosier in-migrants). U.S., *Seventh Census, 1850*, Table XV, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii. The manuscript census schedules failed to reveal anyone with a birthplace identified as Asia. They did, however, disclose the ten natives of India and the one New Zealander, none of whom were recorded in the published census. Given the difficulty of deciphering handwriting and the poor quality of some microfilms, distinguishing between "India" and "Indiana" was difficult; therefore, an overcount or undercount of natives of India may have occurred.

cans in the state by 1850, 3 of whom lived in Fountain County. The West Indies supplied Indiana with 15 natives who were scattered throughout the state. Eight had birthplaces simply identified as the West Indies while the rest came from Jamaica, Santo Domingo, and Bermuda. Natives of Mexico totaled 21, with 7 found in Vanderburgh County and 3 each in Floyd and Knox.³⁷ Another 75 of Indiana's inhabitants were born at sea. A rather large group, 4,168 settlers, had unknown birthplaces. Some of the most populous counties had quite a few inhabitants who did not identify a place of birth. Franklin, for example, had 101 (0.6 percent of the total in-migrant population) and Marion 108 (0.4 percent). Dearborn, on the other hand, recorded 11 (0.05 percent) and Wayne 45 (0.2 percent). A few smaller counties had large numbers or high percentages of inhabitants with unknown birthplaces: Cass had 155 (1.4 percent) and White 61 (1.3 percent). Tippecanoe County had 625 individuals who listed no place of birth, numerically and proportionally more than any other county; however, this huge number largely resulted from the many manuscript census pages with no entry in the birthplace column.³⁸

In addition to Indiana's proportionally small foreign-born population, the state's comparatively greater number of black residents distinguished it from the rest of the Old Northwest in 1850. Blacks, identified as "Free Colored" in the census, numbered 11,296 and comprised 1.14 percent of the state's total population of 988,416.³⁹ While the number and percentage appear relatively small in terms of Indiana's population, on the average blacks accounted for less than 1 percent of the population of the Old Northwest as a whole. Only Ohio, which had more than twice Indiana's

³⁷ According to the published census there were 31 natives of Mexico, 12 natives of the West Indies, and 4 natives of South America in Indiana in 1850. U.S., *Seventh Census, 1850*, Table XV, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

³⁸ J. D. B. DeBow, superintendent of the 1850 census, interpreted blanks in the birthplace columns of the manuscript schedules "to mean that the person was born in the State, as the only possible construction." U.S., *Seventh Census, 1850*, p. iv. Since it seemed unrealistic to assume that blank birthplace columns on a number of consecutive pages in the manuscript schedules meant that all inhabitants listed on those pages were born in Indiana, the best course, and the one followed for this article, appeared to be to list these individuals as having unknown birthplaces. The result was a total of 4,168 persons with unknown birthplaces, many more than the 2,598 indicated on Table XV, p. xxxvi, of the published *Seventh Census*. Probably the most unusual entry in the nativity column appeared in the manuscript schedule for Walnut Township, Montgomery County. The census canvasser listed the birthplaces of nine-year-old Martha Pruett and forty-two-year-old William Lundy as "Doubtful."

³⁹ The term "black" is here used to include all persons identified on the manuscript census schedules as black or mulatto. The identification of an individual as black or mulatto (or white) seems to have been at the discretion of the census canvasser since, apparently, these terms were not defined at the time of the censuses of 1850 and 1860. U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population, 1790-1915* (Washington, D.C., 1918), 207.

total number of blacks, had a proportionally larger black population (1.3 percent). Three interrelated factors may help to explain the Hoosier state's comparatively greater number of black inhabitants in 1850: Indiana was officially a free state, it was close to and accessible from the South, and it had many Quakers.

Although Article VI of the Ordinance of 1787, which provided the basis for governing and developing the territories and states of the Old Northwest, stated in part that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory," scholars have pointed out that this phrase did not immediately end slavery in the Northwest Territory and that it certainly did not assure equal treatment for blacks, former slaves or not.⁴⁰ In fact, slaves were part of Indiana's population until after 1840. In 1800, 135 slaves formed 46.3 percent of the black population in Indiana Territory (which included all of the Old Northwest except Ohio and the eastern half of Michigan's lower peninsula); in 1810, 237 slaves comprised 37.6 percent of the blacks in Indiana Territory (then coextensive with the state of Indiana); and in 1820, 190 slaves formed 13.4 percent of the black population in the new state of Indiana. Eventually, as slaves died, were taken from the state, or were freed, and as challenges to slavery mounted, their number dwindled to zero. By 1830 there were only 3 slaves in the state compared to 3,629 free blacks; in 1840 there were still just 3 slaves but 7,165 free blacks. By 1850 the published census recorded no slaves in the state.⁴¹

The presence of slaves in Indiana of course violated the Northwest Ordinance's Article VI, which was copied nearly verbatim into the state's Constitution of 1816. Before statehood a number of leaders had asked the federal government to permit slavery in Indiana ostensibly at least to provide workers for the labor-poor frontier and to attract southern slaveholders to the state. Although the request was denied and although enslavement of free blacks did not occur in Indiana, for many years various legal maneuvers and subterfuges maintained involuntary servitude or indenture among slaves who were brought into the state. These local laws evolved into Indiana's so-called "Black Code," which restricted the rights

⁴⁰ Berwanger, *The Frontier against Slavery*, 7; Paul Finkelman, "The Northwest Ordinance: A Constitution for an Empire of Liberty," in *Pathways to the Old Northwest: An Observance of the Bicentennial of the Northwest Ordinance* (Proceedings of a conference held at Franklin College of Indiana; Indianapolis, 1988), 13-16; Finkelman, "Slavery and the Northwest Ordinance: A Study in Ambiguity," *Journal of the Early Republic*, VI (Winter, 1986), 343-70; David Brion Davis, "The Significance of Excluding Slavery from the Old Northwest in 1787," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LXXXIV (March, 1988), 75-89; Madison, *The Indiana Way*, 53-54; Robert M. Taylor, Jr., *The Northwest Ordinance, 1787: A Bicentennial Handbook* (Indianapolis, 1987), 72-76; Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana*, 5-7; Carter G. Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration* (New York, 1969), 4-9, 13.

⁴¹ U.S., *Negro Population, 1790-1915*, 57.

and mobility of free blacks and defined the legal and social climate that black Hoosiers faced. For example, to assure good behavior and guarantee their ability to support themselves, blacks were required to register with the clerk in the county where they resided and to post a \$500 surety bond. They could not vote, join the militia, testify in court against whites, or send their children to public schools. Finally, in the ultimate restriction, the new state Constitution of 1851 prohibited blacks from settling in the state.⁴²

Despite the presence of slavery and involuntary servitude in Indiana during much of the pre-Civil War era, Hoosiers' opinions about slavery and blacks were ambivalent and complex. Described generally as "neither proslavery or antislavery but as anti-Negro," attitudes differed across the state and among nativity or cultural groups.⁴³ Many Yankees in northern Indiana and Quakers in the central and southern sections of the state overtly or covertly opposed slavery or indenture, encouraged better treatment for blacks, and even helped blacks settle nearby. Crucial to the status of blacks in Indiana, however, were the views of the state's southern-born in-migrants, the largest nativity group originating outside the Old Northwest. Southerners were the first settlers in most portions of the state, were the progenitors of most Hoosier natives by 1850, and heavily influenced the state's social and political climate. Most were upland southerners who had not been slaveholders but who had witnessed the expansion of slavery from the lowland into the upland South. They had experienced the deleterious impact of cheaper slave labor on the value and competitiveness of the products of their own free labor and had migrated to Indiana in part to escape the economic effects of slavery. Although these Hoosiers probably would not have supported the introduction of slavery into Indiana, which was unlikely beyond those already enslaved, they also opposed an influx of free blacks who might de-

⁴² John D. Barnhart, *Valley of Democracy: The Frontier versus the Plantation in the Ohio Valley, 1775-1818* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1970), 161-96; Berwanger, *The Frontier against Slavery*, 7-59; Crenshaw, "Bury Me in a Free Land," 5-12; Jacob Piatt Dunn, Jr., *Indiana: A Redemption from Slavery* (Boston, 1905); Finkelman, "Slavery and the Northwest Ordinance"; Henry Clyde Hubbart, "'Pro-Southern' Influences in the Free West, 1840-1865," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XX (June, 1933), 45-62; Litwack, *North of Slavery*, 66-72; Madison, *The Indiana Way*, 47-49, 106-108; Earl E. McDonald, "The Negro in Indiana before 1881," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXVII (December, 1931), 291-306; Merrily Pierce, "Luke Decker and Slavery: His Cases with Bob and Anthony, 1817-1822," *ibid.*, LXXXV (March, 1989), 31-49; Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 14-15; Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana*, 1-30, 55-70; George W. Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880* . . . (2 vols., New York, 1883), II, 3-8; Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration*, 14-17, 52-53, 58-59.

⁴³ Thornbrough, *Indiana in the Civil War Era*, 13; Berwanger, *The Frontier against Slavery*, 18-21; Madison, *The Indiana Way*, 49, 106-108; Power, *Planting Corn Belt Culture*, 38-39, 84, 146; Rose, "Upland Southerners," 244, 247-57; Thornbrough, *The Negro in Indiana*, viii, 20-22, 92-150; Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration*, 40-56.

value the worth of their own labor by working for lower wages or producing cheaper goods. Sometimes, then, practical issues of labor competition by enslaved or free blacks (or foreigners) were as important to the white inhabitants of Indiana as the philosophical issues raised by slavery. When examining Hoosiers' treatment of blacks, however, one cannot ignore the prevalence in the state of the era's common racist attitudes.

Whatever its legal and social treatment of blacks in 1850, Indiana was a free state. This fact, combined with its frontier status and its nearness to and accessibility from the South, made it a relatively attractive destination for free blacks and fugitive slaves. Various land and water routes funneled southern migrants, including freed and fugitive slaves, to the Ohio River, thence to the Hoosier state.⁴⁴ Quakers, especially those from North Carolina, were part of this general migration to Indiana after 1800. Many Friends came to the state, as did other migrants, in search of inexpensive and fertile land. The unique relationship that existed between southern Quakers and blacks provided yet another impetus for migration. By the late 1700s many Friends in the South had found it impossible to reconcile their religious beliefs with slaveholding and had freed their slaves. Many of the freed blacks lived among their former masters, received financial or moral support from them, or had been helped by them to migrate to free states. As the slavery system became more deeply entrenched in the South, Quakers found it increasingly difficult to live as tacit abolitionists, to guarantee that their former slaves would remain free, and to compete against slave labor. Many decided to migrate to the Old Northwest and encouraged their black neighbors to accompany them. Here, it was hoped, they could all live undisturbed. Whether or not the Quakers' decision to migrate resulted more from the slavery issue than from the desire for inexpensive and fertile new land (the former would seem dominant for free blacks), the link between Friends and blacks in Indiana is unmistakable.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Barnhart, *Valley of Democracy*, 164-65; Billington, *Westward Expansion*, 251; Brown, *Historical Geography of the United States*, 186, 187.

⁴⁵ Gregory S. Rose, "Quakers, North Carolinians, and Blacks in Indiana's Settlement Pattern," *Journal of Cultural Geography*, VII (Fall/Winter, 1986), 35-48; see also Herbert Aptheker, "The Quakers and Negro Slavery," *Journal of Negro History*, XXV (July, 1940), 331-62; Pamela J. Bennett and Shirley S. McCord, comps., *Progress after Statehood: A Book of Readings (Indiana Historical Collections, Vol. XLIX; Indianapolis, 1974)*, 275-80; John William Buys, "Quakers in Indiana in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Florida, 1973), 8-10, 12, *passim*; Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, the Reputed President of the Underground Railroad* (Cincinnati, 1876), 5-106; Erroll T. Elliott, *Quakers on the American Frontier* (Richmond, Ind., 1969); Peter Kent Oppen, "North Carolina Quakers: Reluctant Slaveholders," *North Carolina Historical Review*, LII (January, 1975), 37-58; Gregory S. Rose, "To the Editor of the *Indiana Magazine of History*," *Indiana Magazine of History*, LXXXII (March, 1986), 133-37; Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore, 1896), 268-80, *passim*; Rose, "Upland Southerners," 251-57.

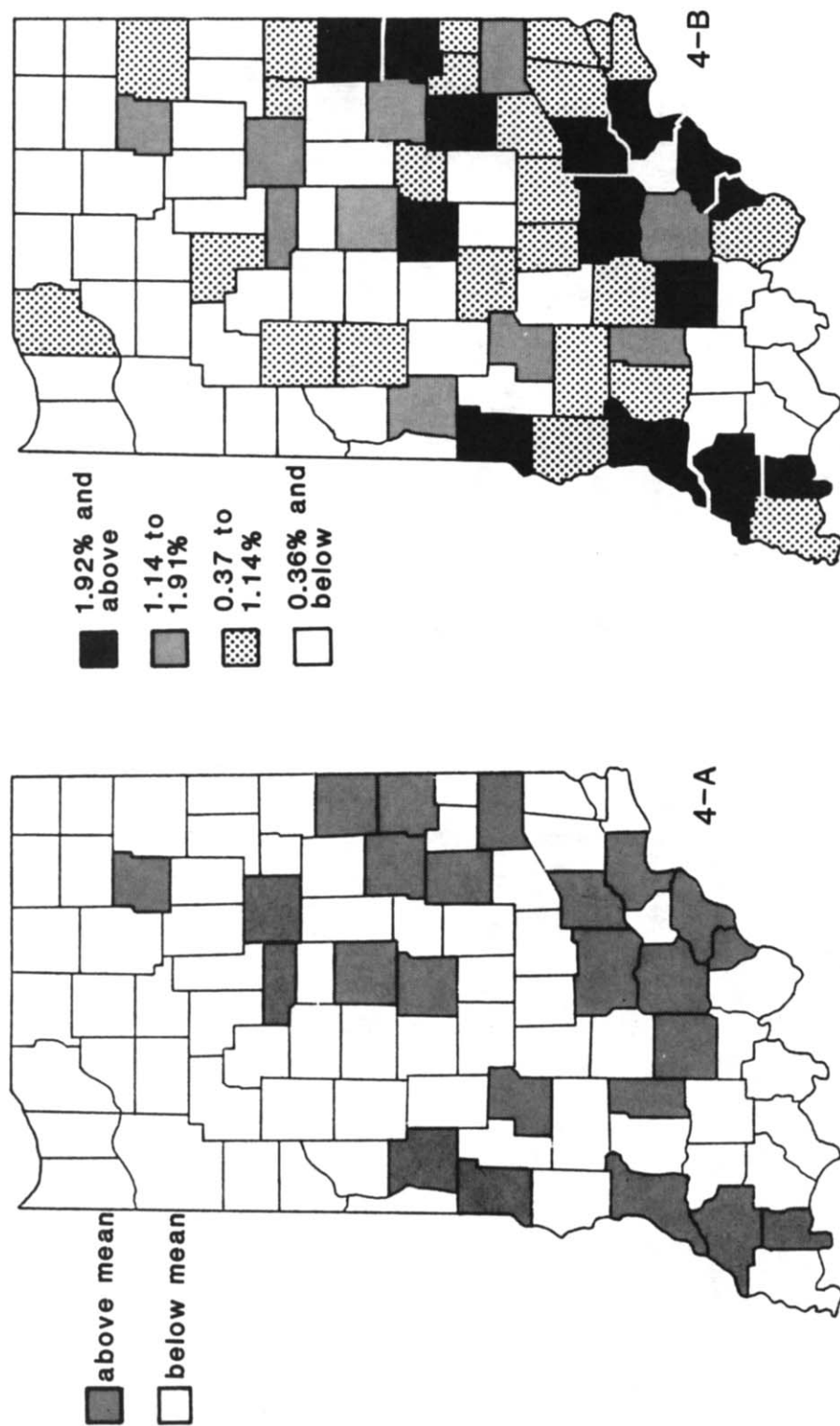
As indicated, the 11,296 blacks living in Indiana in 1850 accounted for 1.14 percent of the total population. Counties with black population percentages in excess of the statewide mean were found largely in three loose clusters in the southern half of the state (Figure 4-A). Located in east central (including Marion and Hamilton counties) and in southeastern Indiana and along the southern half of the western border, the clusters were all easily accessible from the Ohio River or its tributaries, an especially important factor for the mostly poor black settlers. Each cluster also contained at least two major cities in 1850: Indianapolis and Richmond in the east central section, New Albany and Madison in the southeastern, and Terre Haute and Evansville in the southwestern. Black migrants, whatever their economic or educational status, could find work in urban centers where labor was typically in short supply. In fact, throughout Indiana at mid-nineteenth century blacks were proportionally more common in urban than in rural areas. In each of the six centers mentioned above, for example, the black percentage of the urban population easily surpassed (and in half the cases was over twice) the black population percentage in the balance of the county. There were a number of blacks, however, who lived in rural areas and worked as farmers or laborers.⁴⁶ Most counties in each cluster included Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina natives well in excess of the Indiana averages for those states, which were also the dominant nativity sources for black in-migrants.⁴⁷ Each cluster of counties also had at least some Quaker residents although most Friends settlements, which were often the focus of concentrations of black farmers, were located in the east central area.⁴⁸

Using the statistical mean as the basic indication of distribution in cases where the mean is low, as it is with blacks in Indiana, obscures minor but significant variations from this value. Standard deviations about the mean provide a more informative picture of black population percentages in Indiana in 1850 (Figure 4-B). Fourteen counties had percentages of black settlers in excess of one standard deviation above the mean (1.92 percent or greater), and each of the three clusters of black population contained at least four such counties. Blacks comprised the largest percentage of the population in Knox (4.94), Vigo (4.86), Randolph (4.45), and Wayne (4.09) counties and were most numerous in Wayne (1,036), Vigo (743), Marion (657), and Randolph (655) (Table 3). The concentration of blacks in these counties reflected the presence of urban cen-

⁴⁶ Bennett and McCord, *Progress after Statehood*, 275-80; Karst, "Rural Black Settlement in St. Joseph County"; Wright, "Negro Rural Communities in Indiana."

⁴⁷ Rose, "Hoosier Origins," 208-209, 214-16.

⁴⁸ Rose, "Quakers, North Carolinians, and Blacks," 35-37, 39, 46; Wright, "Negro Rural Communities in Indiana."



FIGURES 4-A AND 4-B. BLACK POPULATION PERCENTAGES, 1850

Table 3
Nativity, by County, of Indiana's "Free Colored"
Inhabitants according to Most Frequent
Source of Origin in 1850

County	Ind.	N.C.	Va.	Ky.	Oh.	Tn.	S.C.	Md.	Ga.	Ill.	Grand Total	Percent of County
Adams			4		4						8	0.14
Allen	37	4	19	5	26	1	1	1			100	0.59
Bartholomew	45	27	5	2			1			1	82	0.66
Benton											0	0
Blackford	3	1		3	4						11	0.38
Boone	7	2	2	3	5						19	0.16
Brown	1	10				8					19	0.39
Carroll	19	4	3	1		3	1				34	0.31
Cass	28	8	2	9	8	2		1			61	0.55
Clark	185	66	59	167	14	3	28	16	11	1	572	3.61
Clay	3				4			2			9	0.11
Clinton	11	8	2								23	0.19
Crawford				1							1	0.02
Daviess	31		1	1	1		9			8	51	0.49
Dearborn	59	9	10	15	24			1			126	0.62
Decatur	67	47	21	15	4		3				158	1.05
DeKalb	1				7			1			10	0.12
Delaware	2	1	1								4	0.04
Dubois	4		4	4					8		20	0.32
Elkhart	2	1			8		1				15	0.12
Fayette	23	30	2	3	7	1		1			73	0.71
Floyd	294	22	69	52	17	29	7	11	20		568	3.82
Fountain	25	2	8	3	2	1	1				48	0.36
Franklin	81	22	17	14	25	1	46	9			220	1.22
Fulton			1								1	0.02
Gibson	84	17	22	17		39	9	1		8	217	2.01
Grant	41	64	10	2	5	20	1	3			149	1.34
Greene	32	20	6	2	2	3					71	0.58
Hamilton	80	64	9	6	7		1				169	1.33
Hancock	59	9	13	2	13		2	2			102	1.05
Harrison	50	2	8	26		5	2	3			96	0.63
Hendricks	18	7	7	4							36	0.26
Henry	125	130	14	2	6	1		2			284	1.61
Howard	50	39	2		1			1	3		104	1.56
Huntington											3	0.04
Jackson	140	32	15	6	2	3	7	4	2		218	1.97
Jasper											1	0.03
Jay	9	3	4	1	4	7		1			30	0.43
Jefferson	225	31	68	134	14	22	8	15	7		569	2.38
Jennings	166	28	20	11	1	18	31	4	43		323	2.67
Johnson				2		1					3	0.02
Knox	411	10	30	20	3	17	20	15		15	547	4.94
Kosciusko			1								1	0.01
Lagrange	5				5			1			18	0.21
Lake					1						1	0.03
La Porte	27	2	32	3	3			1			71	0.58
Lawrence	45	8	16	15	1		7		1		94	0.78

Table 3, Continued

County	Ind.	N.C.	Va.	Ky.	Oh.	Tn.	S.C.	Md.	Ga.	Ill.	Grand Total	Percent of County
Madison	4	5	1		1			3			14	0.01
Marion	202	243	44	82	15	23	3	9	3	2	657	2.73
Marshall											0	0
Martin	23	14	11	8		36	1	2			95	1.60
Miami	8	5	2								16	0.14
Monroe	9	1	4	4			7	1			27	0.24
Montgomery	51	1	17	51	11			5			141	0.78
Morgan	56	9	8	20		1				1	96	0.66
Noble	4				1						6	0.08
Ohio	7		5	12				1	1	1	36	0.68
Orange	132	122	8	4		1	4	3			274	2.53
Owen	87	45	7	11	1	2		1			157	1.30
Parke	62	144	6	5	2					2	227	1.52
Perry	2	1	2	5				1			12	0.17
Pike	10								1		11	0.14
Porter			2					1			5	0.10
Posey	31	12	6	2	1	13	1	1	3	19	97	0.77
Pulaski											0	0
Putnam	14	1	1	12		1	3	3			35	0.19
Randolph	305	129	96	14	54	28	19	3			655	4.45
Ripley	23	27	28	13	4				1		96	0.65
Rush	211	135	48	5	16	5		1			427	2.60
St. Joseph	17		6		8	1				1	39	0.36
Scott	7		3	4							15	0.25
Shelby	10	1	2		2			2		1	19	0.12
Spencer	12	1	3	2							18	0.21
Starke											0	0
Steuben			2								2	0.03
Sullivan	27		4	3		3		1		1	39	0.38
Switzerland	29	1	9	27		1	1				70	0.54
Tippecanoe	80	7	16	14	18	1		4		2	158	0.82
Tipton	1		6								7	0.20
Union	20	2	3		1	8	3				37	0.53
Vanderburgh	67	8	19	36	1	41	11	1	2	16	229	2.01
Vermillion	1	1	3	1	1				1	10	18	0.21
Vigo	391	195	31	42	21	14	3	7	3	21	743	4.86
Wabash	4	8	2								14	0.12
Warren	5					1		2			9	0.12
Warrick	7	3	3			1			9		29	0.33
Washington	165	31	17	28		9	10	1	8		272	1.60
Wayne	366	406	105	24	61	30	12	9	1	2	1,036	4.09
Wells	3	1	3		5						12	0.20
White			1		6			1			9	0.19
Whitley	44	4	23		12	5	7				97	1.87
Totals	4,492	2,293	1,064	980	485	395	271	159	128	112	11,296	1.14
Percent	39.8	20.3	9.4	8.7	4.3	3.5	2.4	1.4	1.1	1.0		
Percent excluding Indiana natives		33.7	15.6	14.4	7.1	5.8	4.0	2.3	1.9	1.6		

ters and/or the number of Quakers. In another 10 counties mostly within the three clusters but including Whitley County in the northeast, blacks accounted for a portion of the population ranging between the mean and one standard deviation above it (1.91 percent). Black population percentages between the mean and one standard deviation below it (0.37 percent) occurred in 24 counties contiguous to the main black population clusters, creating almost continuous coverage across southern Indiana and including some scattered counties in northern Indiana such as Allen (Fort Wayne), Cass, and La Porte.⁴⁹ Most northern Indiana counties and a few in the southern part of the state, including a small cluster along the Ohio River, had black population percentages less than one standard deviation below the mean (0.36 percent or less). The smallest percentages appeared in Kosciusko and Madison counties (0.01 percent), followed by Johnson (0.02) and Jasper, Lake, and Steuben (0.03). There were no blacks in Benton, Marshall, Pulaski, and Starke counties and only 1 each in Crawford, Fulton, Jasper, Kosciusko, and Lake. Eight of the 9 were fairly sparsely populated counties that had been more recently settled than the rest of the state and were generally less accessible to blacks migrating from south of the Ohio River; the exception was Crawford County bordering the river itself.

As was true for the general population in Indiana in 1850, blacks born in the state comprised the largest portion of the black population. The percentage of Hoosier-born blacks tended to be highest in the southern part of the state, which had been settled the longest; however, only 39.8 percent of the blacks in Indiana were natives of the state compared to 56.0 percent native-born Hoosiers among the general population. The proportionally more rapid growth of the state's black population due to migration between 1820 and 1850 resulted in a larger in-migrant percentage, and therefore a lower Hoosier-born percentage, for blacks than for the general population.⁵⁰

The four leading sources of black migrants to Indiana in 1850 were North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio. Blacks from North Carolina totaled 2,293 or 33.7 percent of all black in-migrants and were concentrated in counties in the southern two-thirds of Indiana (Figure 5-A). The distribution of black North Carolinians was broadly similar to that of all North Carolina natives

⁴⁹ Blacks in La Porte County likely spilled over from the concentration of blacks (and Quakers) in southwestern Michigan. Everett Claspy, *The Negro in Southwestern Michigan* (Dowagiac, Mich., 1967); Hesslink, *Black Neighbors*.

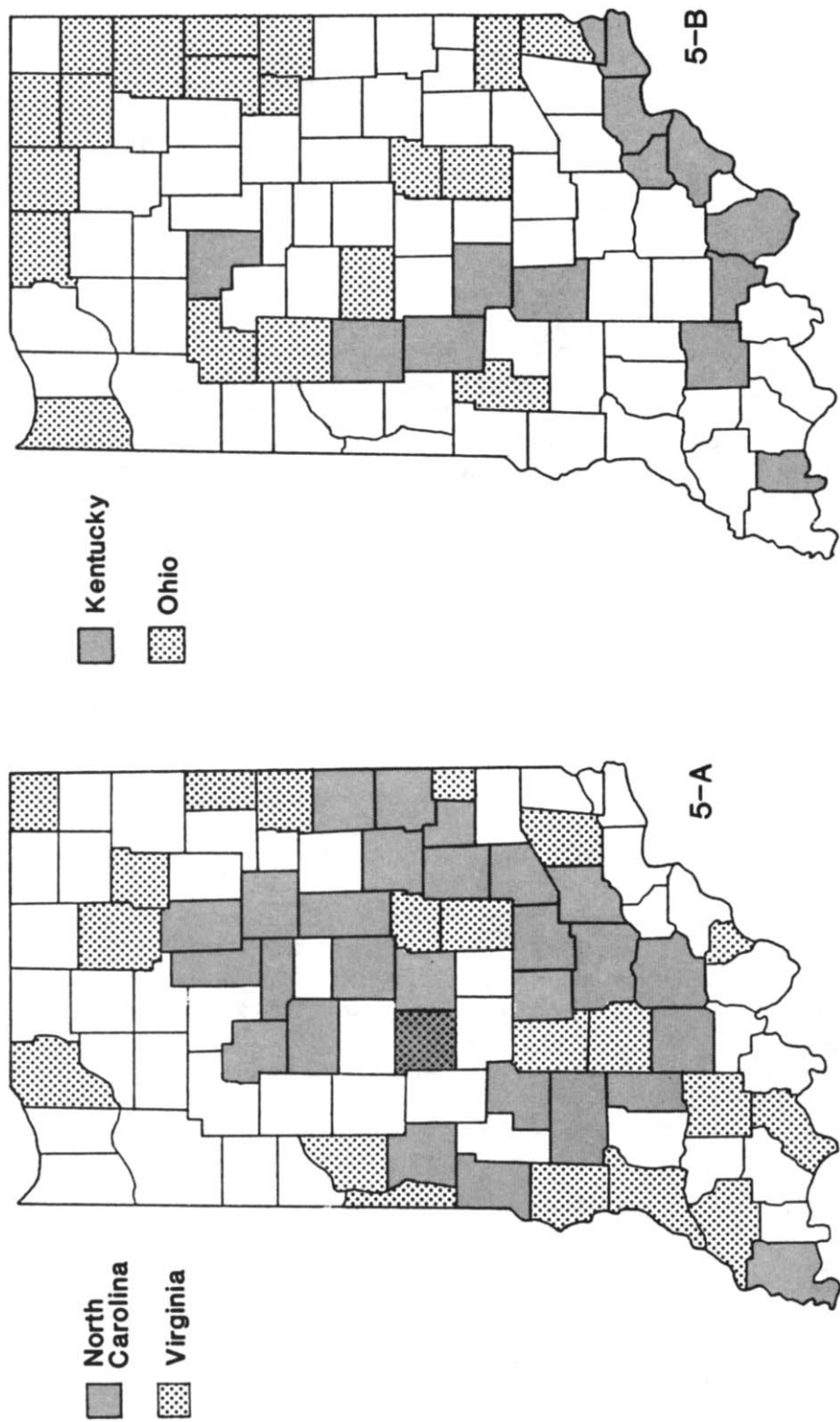
⁵⁰ Indiana's total population and the state's black population grew, respectively, by 500 and 125 percent between 1810 and 1820, by 133 and 156 percent between 1820 and 1830, by 100 and 97 percent between 1830 and 1840, and by 44 and 58 percent between 1840 and 1850.

in Indiana but more closely mirrored the distribution of Quakers in the state, a large portion of whom appear to have come from North Carolina.⁵¹ This observation is reinforced by the fact that the largest number of North Carolina blacks, 406, lived in Wayne County, which was heavily populated by Quakers. Blacks from Virginia formed 15.6 percent of the black in-migrants, or 1,064 in number. Counties with Virginia as the leading black nativity source were scattered throughout the state, as were counties where Virginians in general composed the largest percentage of in-migrants. Black Virginians, however, were found farther north. Once again, Wayne County had the largest number, 105; followed by Randolph with 96. Just slightly fewer blacks, 980 (14.4 percent of black in-migrants), hailed from Kentucky. Counties with the most Kentucky-born blacks were strongly concentrated along the Ohio River although there was another small group in west central Indiana (Figure 5-B). This pattern represents an extreme distillation of the distribution of Kentuckians in general, most of whom appeared throughout the southwestern half of Indiana. Clark County on the Ohio River contained the largest number of Kentucky-born blacks, 167, while neighboring Jefferson County was second with 134. Ohio was the fourth largest source of black settlers in Indiana. A total of 485 black natives of Ohio (7.1 percent of the black in-migrants) lived in the state in 1850. Counties where they were the largest group appeared primarily along the eastern border and in the northern half of the state in much the same pattern as that of Ohio natives in general. Most of the black Ohio natives probably had southern ancestry, for southern blacks (again often moving in the company of Quakers) found frontier Ohio an attractive free state destination.⁵²

Smaller numbers of blacks were native to other parts of the United States. Tennessee supplied Indiana with 395 black settlers (5.8 percent of the black in-migrants) who were found primarily in the south (Vanderburgh and Gibson counties), the east (Wayne and Randolph), and Marion County. A total of 271 South Carolina blacks had arrived by 1850, with the largest number in Franklin, Jennings, and Clark counties in southeastern Indiana. Black natives of Maryland, a total of 150 or 4.0 percent of the black in-migrants, were concentrated in the southeast in Clark, Jefferson,

⁵¹ For the general distribution of settlers in Indiana from North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio, see Rose, "Hoosier Origins," 214-18; see also Rose, "Quakers, North Carolinians, and Blacks," 37-38, 39.

⁵² Buley, *The Old Northwest*, II, 474-76, 620; David A. Gerber, *Black Ohio and the Color Line, 1860-1915* (Urbana, Ill., 1976), 3-24; Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, 245-85; Francis P. Weisenburger, *The Passing of the Frontier, 1825-1850* (Columbus, Ohio, 1941), 40-46, 159-64, 363-86, 475-77; H. G. H. Wilhelm, *The Origin and Distribution of Settlement Groups: Ohio, 1850* (Athens, Ohio, 1982), 62, 64, 66; Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration*, 16-27.



FIGURES 5-A AND 5-B. LEADING STATES (EXCLUDING INDIANA) OF NATIVITY FOR BLACKS, 1850

and Floyd counties and in Knox County in the southwest. Three counties in southeastern Indiana—Jennings, Floyd, and Clark—contained most of the 128 black natives of Georgia. Illinois provided 112 black in-migrants, most of whom were located along or within one county from the Illinois border in Vigo, Posey, Vanderburgh, and Knox counties in southwestern Indiana. Only two other states supplied more than 75 black natives to Indiana. Alabama was the birthplace of 85 black Hoosiers who were concentrated in three southern counties (Floyd, Gibson, and Jefferson) and in Vermillion at the center of the western border. Pennsylvania also sent 85 black natives to Indiana. Only two counties, Floyd and Jefferson, had 10 or more of these Pennsylvania-born blacks. That they were located in the southeast along the Ohio River rather than in the north where Pennsylvania natives generally congregated probably reflected the significance to the settlement decision of job opportunities for blacks in New Albany and Madison.

Just 21 blacks, 0.19 percent of the total, had identifiably foreign birthplaces in 1850. Five had been born in Canada, including 2 Floyd County residents from Lower Canada and 1 Vigo County settler from Upper Canada. Three blacks were natives of South America; all lived in Fountain County. Mexico was the birthplace of 2 blacks while 2 others hailed from the West Indies (including 1 from Bermuda). All 4 of the African natives who lived in Indiana in 1850 were black. Five blacks in Jefferson County were natives of England, although this group may have been erroneously described. Three blacks had been born at sea, and 52 others had unknown birthplaces.

Because the census canvassers' choices in the "Color" column on the manuscript schedules were limited to "white, black or mulatto," blacks are the only racial minority that can be accurately identified from the 1850 census.⁵³ Whether the 12 Asian natives counted in Indiana in 1850 were ethnically Asian or the 26 Latin American natives were ethnically Hispanic is impossible to determine. Certainly the racial minorities in Indiana at midcentury included Native Americans, but the exact numbers of Indians cannot be discovered because no provision was made for separating them from the general population. A count of individuals bearing traditional tribal names could, of course, be done, but such a procedure would exclude from the tally Native Americans with English or French names. Unexpectedly, however, the manuscript schedules of the 1850 census did yield some numerical and nativity data for Native Americans. The census canvasser in two counties, Miami and Wabash, identified 99 Indians ("full or partial blood") by plac-

⁵³ Barnes F. Lathrop, "History from the Census Returns," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LI (April, 1948), 296.

ing an "R" (for "Red") in the "Color" column. In Miami County 84 Native Americans lived in Butler or Deer Creek townships. The vast majority of them, 76, had birthplaces in Indiana, 4 others were natives of Michigan, 2 were from Virginia, 1 had been born in Ohio, and another was from Upper Canada. In Wabash County 15 Native Americans, all born in Indiana, lived in Wabash Township. Given the Indians' ancient residence in the state, it should not be surprising to discover that most Native Americans still in Indiana in 1850 had been born there; given the dislocations and relocations that many of them had suffered, however, neither should it be unexpected to find birthplaces outside the state.

It is unlikely that there were only 99 Native Americans in Indiana in 1850, just as it is unlikely that they all lived in Miami and Wabash counties. A number of Indians were scattered throughout the state in 1830, when well over fifty villages existed in the northern half of Indiana alone; but the remaining Native American lands in the state, most of them in the form of reserves, were under heavy pressure. Most of the influential Miami tribe, for example, had ceded their reservations and left the state by 1846; nevertheless, the federal government recognized 302 Miami residents of Indiana as late as 1854.⁵⁴ As part of the published 1850 census the commissioner of Indian Affairs supplied an enumeration, dated November 10, 1853, of Indians by tribal groupings. Unfortunately, these tribes were not divided by or assigned to states; therefore, the number actually residing in Indiana cannot be determined precisely. According to the enumeration, in 1853 the total national population of the four major tribes that had at least some members in Indiana included 7,000 Potawatomes (including Chippewas and Ottawas), 766 Miami and Eel River Indians, 475 Kickapoos, and 151 Wea people. Certainly there were not 7,000 Potawatomi and related tribespeople in Indiana in 1853, and it is also probably untrue that they were all "formerly in Indiana, now in Indian Territory West" as a footnote to the enumeration table suggests. Another footnote also claims that of the Miami and Eel River Indians, "The larger portion live in Indian Territory West; balance in Indiana."⁵⁵ In 1870 the published census included a ta-

⁵⁴ Charles Callender, "Miami," in *Handbook of North American Indians*: Vol. XV, *Northeast* (Washington, D.C., 1978), 681-89; James A. Clifton, "Potawatomi," *ibid.*, 725-42; Leon M. Gordon II, "The Red Man's Retreat from Northern Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XLVI (March, 1950), 39-43, 51-60; Juanita Hunter, "The Indians and the Michigan Road," *ibid.*, LXXXIII (September, 1987), 244, 252-66; Bert Anson, "Chief Francis Lafontaine and the Miami Emigration from Indiana," *ibid.*, LX (September, 1964), 241-68; William A. Hunter, "History of the Ohio Valley," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, XV, 588-93; Helen Hornbeck Tanner, ed., *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman, Okla., 1987), 98-99, 102-103, 134-38, 166, 178-79.

⁵⁵ U.S., *Seventh Census, 1850*, xciv.

ble listing the population of Indians by state and county in 1860. Indiana's total of 290 was distributed in ten primarily northern counties. Miami County held the largest number, 173, followed by Wabash with 45, St. Joseph with 29, and Allen with 22.⁵⁶ The concentration of Indian population in Miami and Wabash counties in 1860 helps to confirm the figures suggested by the 1850 manuscript census schedules.

The census canvassers in 1850 may have failed to identify Native Americans in counties other than Miami and Wabash because of the Indians' general absence elsewhere, their assimilation by the rest of society (although blacks and mulattoes were separately enumerated), a notion that their numbers were too few to be significant, or an attitude that the Indians did not really matter. A curious comment in the table enumerating the Indian population in 1853 suggests that the last two factors may have been paramount: "showing the past and present location of the Indian tribes" would be "very interesting," stated the superintendent of the census, J. D. B. DeBow; but "they are not included in any of the Census enumerations, except in a few individual cases, which cannot affect the general correctness of the table."⁵⁷

One dominant factor emerges from a study of Indiana's racial and ethnic minorities in 1850: more than any other state in the Old Northwest Indiana at mid-nineteenth century was populated by white natives of the United States. The Hoosier state, in fact, ranked far below all its neighbors in both numbers and percentages of foreign-born in-migrants. Wisconsin and Michigan in particular had far more ethnic diversity. Racial diversity, difficult to measure accurately for groups other than blacks, was proportionally and numerically greater in Indiana than in other states of the Old Northwest except for Ohio; nevertheless, blacks constituted only 1.14 percent of the Hoosier state's total population in 1850. The statistical view at midcentury presaged future developments. The Hoosier state in 1900 retained essentially the same position relative to other states in the Old Northwest that it had held in 1850: it was the least ethnically diverse but included a comparatively greater black population. By the end of the nineteenth century, despite increased urbanization and industrialization, Indiana's population was only 5.6 percent foreign-born compared to 5.8 percent in 1850. Wisconsin led the Old Northwest in 1900, as it had in 1850, with 24.9 percent foreign-born.⁵⁸ The Hoosier state's

⁵⁶ U.S., *Ninth Census, 1870: Statistics of Population*, Table II, p. 27.

⁵⁷ U.S., *Seventh Census, 1850*, xciv.

⁵⁸ LaFollette, "Foreigners and Their Influence on Indiana," 14-27; Madison, *The Indiana Way*, 170-77, 237-38, 241-42; Visser, "Distribution of Birthplaces of Indians in 1870"; Stephen S. Visser, "Population Changes in Indiana, 1840-1940," *Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of the Social Sciences*, LI (1941), 181-82, 185-87.

black population increased greatly between 1850 and 1900, numerically from 11,296 to 57,505 and proportionally from 1.14 percent to 2.29 percent. Ohio again led the Old Northwest in both categories, but Indiana dropped to third behind Illinois in terms of total numbers of blacks.⁵⁹

As few as they were, Indiana's ethnic and racial populations contributed significantly to the communities in which they were located and provided bases for future in-migrations. A statistically based view of these minorities and their geographical distribution in 1850 provides a comparative reference for additional studies.

⁵⁹ U.S., *Negro Population*, Table 13, p. 43.