MAP I. Pike County, Indiana, county and township boundaries as of 1940. Settlements of 1816, when the area was a part of Gibson County. U. S. land claims (quarter-sections) are marked by dots, one dot for each quarter-section. Ancient grants are marked off in plots, which were lettered and numbered. Scale: 6 miles to 1 inch.
The First Families of White Oak Springs, 1810 to 1817

MARGARET STORY JEAN* AND ALINE JEAN TRENOR

For a brief span of years between 1807 and 1814, the most populous and the most important settlement on the Buffalo Trace in Indiana Territory from Clarksville to Vincennes was White Oak Springs. The White Oak Springs Fort stood within a large stockade on high ground directly beside the Trace in White River Township of Knox County. It was about one mile west of the present Pike County courthouse at Petersburg, Indiana, and about one day’s journey from Vincennes. Because of its accessible location and its safe and commodious arrangements, it served as a hostel for travellers to and from the territorial capital, and as an outpost and powder-base for the territorial militia.

The White Oaks Springs settlement had its beginnings between 1800 and 1807, when a little group of immigrant families clustered themselves about the Fort on adjacent quarter sections of land on both sides of the Trace, and it has had continuous existence from their day to this, as White Oak Springs until 1817, and as Petersburg thenceforward. The families that comprised the community of White Oak Springs before 1810 were: the Tislow, Coonrod, Miley and Coleman families, who were German and came more or less directly from Pennsylvania; the Brenton and Arnold families, who came from Virginia, the first and probably the

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* Mrs. Margaret Story Jean died on February 26, 1937, but much of the research for this paper was done by her, and its organization had been undertaken before her death.

† For personal confirmation of this statement the authors are indebted to Mr. George R. Wilson, author of the History of Dubois County, (Jasper, 1910) and Early Indiana Trails and Surveys (Indianapolis, 1919). F. MacDonald (1801) at the Mudholes in the Dubois County area and Parker’s Improvement (1806), later New Albany (1812), were the only other settlements, and neither was so populous or so favorably located for the use of travelers. Clarksville is today a town of about 2,500 population, located between Jeffersonville and New Albany.

‡ For a study of White Oak Spring before 1810, see Margaret Story Jean and Aline Jean Trenor, “The First Families of White Oak Springs,” Indiana Magazine of History (December, 1936), XXXI, 290-216.

§ The supposition that the Miley family was German is substantiated by a quotation from a letter written November 18, 1809, by S. R. Henderson to Emory Harrell, both of whom were grandsons of Moses and Mary Miley Harrell: “The (Miley) family was Pennsylvania Dutch . . . . They came from Pennsylvania and I have heard my Grandma say that up to the age of seven she couldn’t speak a word of English.”

Recent information received indicates that William Coleman, petitioner for the Rock Ford Ferry (1809) was the father of Page, Henry, and Phillip Coleman. The latter settled in the neighborhood of the later town of Winslow, where his descendants still live. Page was the ancestor of the Petersburg family. To his first marriage with a Miss Bass were born James, Thad, Lee, and Albert B. (called “Hix”); to his second marriage with a Miss Evans were born Newton and Belle Coleman.
second of whom by way of a stopover of some years in Kentucky; the Prides from Virginia, by way of North Carolina; the Risleys from New Jersey; and the Schearmahon and Walker families, of whom no previous findings were made. Another member of this group whose name was omitted, but who has every right to be included, was Lemuel Baldwin. In the present paper, the account of White Oak Springs and how it grew is continued through the period from 1810 to 1817.

The ten families named above who settled at White Oak Springs previous to 1810 were bound together by ties of intermarriage and other common interests. From the contemporary records, it seems clear that leadership among them reposed in Wolsey Pride and James and Henry Brenton: in the pioneer, Wolsey Pride, by virtue of his ownership of the fort and stockade; in the old veteran of the Revolution and Indian wars, James Brenton, because of the au-

Josiah Arnold, a Revolutionary soldier from Virginia, who is buried in the Arnold graveyard a few miles northeast of Petersburg, was the original immigrant of this name, instead of his son Jeremiah, as was stated in the article cited in Note 5 above. Beulah R. Gray, "History of Jefferson Township," Petersburg Press, June, 1929; Mrs. Roscoe O'Byrne, "Soldiers and Patriots of the American Revolution Buried in Indiana" (Brookville, Ind., 1938).

John and Jonathan Walker were land claimants in the Dubois County area (1814–1816), and Isaac and Jonathan were listed as residents of Dubois County in the census of 1830. The conclusion that some members of this family were domiciled around White Oak Springs is based upon numerous items of evidence such as: the signature of Thomas to the White Oak Springs-Rock Ford Ferry road petition, April, 1810; the marriages of Isaac to Susanna Halsey, October, 1810, and of Jonathan to Polly Brenton, March, 1811, both girls of White Oak Springs; and the frequent later appearance of the name James Walker on the Pike County Commissioner's and Court records. From George R. Wilson's History Of Dubois County, we learn that Jonathan Walker did not confine his activities to any one location, as he was famous for his pugilistic prowess "from one end of the Buffalo Trace to the other".

The name of Lemuel Baldwin appeared first in 1808 on a claim to NW ½ Sec. 34, Tp.1.N, R.8W, which cornered on the White Oak Springs quarter section. It appears on militia and marriage records within the next few years, and, in 1823, disappears completely from the deed records with the sale of the above mentioned quarter section to Franklin Sawyer. Nothing was learned of Lemuel Baldwin's subsequent whereabouts, or of his possible descendants. His only contemporary of the same name observed on the records was Daniel Baldwin.

This paper does not conform to the pattern set in the preceding paper. The first dealt with ten families and presented some biography and genealogy relating to their members. The present one deals with more than a hundred families, and the presentation of biography and genealogy relating to all of them is impossible within the limits. All such material has therefore been omitted. In compliance with the suggestion of Miss Esther U. McNitt, head of the Indiana History Division of the State Library, it will be compiled later and made available for reference in bound manuscript form in the Indiana State Library and the Petersburg Public Library. For the collection of this body of Pike County biography and genealogy, which was made by means of personal interviews and correspondence, the authors are indebted to a greater number of descendants than there were original members of the First Families of White Oak Springs. Space forbids therefore any more than general acknowledgment of their aid to the authors in the preparation of this paper and the volume which will be its by-product. To Miss McNitt and to Miss Anna Poucher, head of the Genealogy Division of the State Library, and their assistants, we owe acknowledgment for never-failing attention and invaluable assistance.

"White Oak Springs" was used to refer both to the Fort site, and to the community which grew up around it. The name is so used in this paper, and the smaller unit was the NE ¼ Sec. 28, Tp.1.N, R.8W, and the community unit was practically the entire congressional township, lying within the boundaries of the present civil townships of Washington and Madison in Pike County.
tority of his years, education and experience; and in Justice Henry Brenton as the appointed guardian of the peace and morals of White River Township.

The leadership of James Brenton continued to prevail in 1810, as witness the record of the Court of Common Pleas, Knox County, March term:

The petition of James Brenton and others, citizens of White River Township, praying for reasons stated therein that the township may be divided, and that all that part of said township which lies east of Conger's Creek may be erected into a new township. Ordered that the same be, and it is divided agreeable to the prayer of said petition to be known by the name of Madison Township, but the division of White River Township is not to affect the ensuing election.10

Changes of more importance, however, than that of township division were imminent at White Oak Springs. New life and new leadership were in prospect, for already on their way from North Carolina (April, 1810) were resourceful men of will and disposition to make “the Ohio country,” and as it turned out, White Oak Springs, their sphere of future influence and action. Not even such worthies as Wolsey Pride, James Brenton or Henry Brenton could hope to maintain a monopoly of prestige in the presence of Hosea Smith, Moses Harrell, and Joab Chappell.11

For they it was, with families and friends to the number of twenty, who arrived at White Oak Springs in June, 1810, the vanguard of a migration which continued for over a decade12 and literally transplanted a population from the piney groves and coastal swamps of the Albemarle shores to the hardwood forests and the productive virgin soils of the White River valley.

The company of Messrs. Smith, Harrell, Chappell et al. was from Perquimans County, and comprised a representa-

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10 This division failed also to take immediate effect for other than election purposes, as it was in a petition to the Knox County Court, April term, 1810, that the “undersigned householders of the township of White River” prayed for a road from “White Oak Springs to the Rock Ford Ferry”, the “undersigned” being a fairly complete roster of the citizens of White Oak Springs. “The First Families of White Oak Springs”, loc. cit., 290-314.

11 Twenty-three letters written by Hosea Smith at White Oak Springs to relatives in Perquimans County over the period 1810 to 1823 are in the possession of Mrs. Claud Uland, 616 No. Twelfth St., Vincennes, Indiana. Mrs. Uland is a descendant of Hosea Smith. For the use of a copy of these letters in preparation of this paper we are indebted to the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Fred V. Chew of Bloomington, Ind.

12 In addition to the immigrants named in the body of this paper, the following also come from Perquimans County to Pike County: 1820, Jesse Alexander (brother to Charles, Asberry and Isaac) and wife, Maria; by 1821, William Chappell and Josiah Chappell (nephews of Jacob and Joab Chappell) and the latter’s wife, Esther Perry Chappell; by 1823 Nixon Lamb, brother to Stanton.
tive group of its inter-related Quaker families. A list of those who are known to have completed the journey to White Oak Springs follows:

Hosea Smith (b. Pasquotank Co., N.C., 1773)
Mrs. Hosea Smith (Huldah Harrell Wilson, widow of Jonathan Wilson, b. Nansemond Co., Vir., 1774)
Theophila Smith (12 yrs. old, b. Perquimans Co., N.C.)
Henry Smith (8 yrs. old, by Perquimans Co.)
Onias Smith (5 yrs. old, b. Perquimans Co.)
Stanton Lamb (8 yrs. old, son of Hosea Smith’s widowed sister, Lovey Smith Lamb)
Moses Harrell (unmarried; b. Nansemond Co., Vir., 1789)
Jason Harrell (unmarried; brother of Mrs. Hosea Smith; d. at White Oak Springs, 1823)
Joab Chappell (b. Perquimans Co., 1781)
Mrs. Joab Chappell (Elizabeth Elliott; b. 1787)
Peninah Chappell (1 yr. old)
Gausby Elliott (did not remain at White Oak Springs)
Jacob Price (d. at White Oak Springs, 1814)

Hosea Smith was an earnest believer in divine guidance, and his arrival at White Oak Springs must have confirmed his faith in the wisdom of the Almighty. He felt an affinity for the place from the moment he laid eyes on it. It evoked his pride and devotion as if endowed with personality. He reached his destination on June 5, 1810, and on June 14 he wrote to his brother John: “I can inform the [thee] now that I have got home. . . . I have purchased Land at this place caled [sic] the White Oak Springs . . . . I like the Land the best I ever saw . . . .”14

The uneasy anticipation of Indian hostilities which was being felt by settlers on all the Indiana frontiers was shared by those at White Oak Springs, and it is doubtful if any of the company of Hosea Smith took immediate steps toward independent settlement. There were cabins enough for a dozen families within the protection of the stockade. Joab Chappell shared the cultivation and the profits of the growing crops, and in October Moses Harrell opened a school. Hosea Smith urged his friends and relatives in North Carolina to come, saying that, “they might better themselves if they had not one Dollar after getting hear [sic].”

White Oak Springs was beginning to hear the buzz of

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13 For a picturesque description of this civilization, see Catherine Seyton Albertson, *In Ancient Albemarle* (Raleigh, N.C., 1914).
14 Hosea Smith to John Smith. June 5, 1810. (Hosea Smith letters. See Note 11 above.)
the "westward swarming," to use Carl Sandburg's phrase, and to see and be a part of "what the moon saw" on the Buffalo Trace. "There hath abundance of people moved in this fall. Travellers from all parts seem to be a moveing daily," Hosea Smith wrote in November, 1810, "some to Plattoker [Patoka], some over the Wabash on the Donation, some on busrooe settlement, an abundance to the new purchase, and a number over the Mississippi and some up the Misseeory to St. Lewis and different parts."

The abundance of people who moved into White Oak Springs in the fall of 1810 was followed by others in each succeeding year. Exact dates and details of their coming have not been preserved, however, as were those of Hosea Smith's, and it may be learned who they were only from a search of public and private records, and by inquiry into the various family traditions current among their descendants. From such sources a list has been compiled. In Township 1 North, Range 8 West, which was the White Oak Springs congressional township, United States land claimants up to 1817, with their former locations and racial origins if known, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Township</th>
<th>County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1807</td>
<td>Wolsey Pride</td>
<td>NW 27</td>
<td>Vir.</td>
<td>NC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geo. Wallace Jr.</td>
<td>SW 27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paul Tislow</td>
<td>NE 29</td>
<td>Pa.</td>
<td>Ky. (German)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James Brenton</td>
<td>NW 23</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1808</td>
<td>Silas Risley</td>
<td>NE 27</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wosley Pride</td>
<td>NE 28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lemuel Baldwin</td>
<td>NW 34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>James Lindsay</td>
<td>SW 19</td>
<td>Warren Co., Ky. (Irish)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16 "Plattoker" probably meant Patoka River. The "Donation" was evidently the Vincennes Donation Tract, which comprised more than 100,000 acres on both sides the Wabash set aside by Acts of Congress of August 29th, 1789, and March 3, 1791, for "granting of lands to the inhabitants and settlers at Vincennes and the Illinois country and for confirming them in their possessions". "Busrooe" no doubt means Busseron Township, Knox County, which was laid out in 1810, and was already in process of settlement by Shakers from Massachusetts and Ohio. The "new purchase" could not have been of course, the Indian cession of 1818, which by custom has been granted the sole right to the title "The New Purchase"; it could have been the cession of 1809, made by the Delaware, Eel River, Potawatomie and Miami tribes. This was called the Harrison Purchase and extended northeast of the Vincennes Tract to the "Ten O'clock Line".

17 Former locations named are for the most part authenticated by family tradition and private records. A few however are inferred from the evidence of public records. Data, unless otherwise noted, is taken from the public records of Pike County. For kindly assistance in finding and collecting in the authors are indebted to the Pike County officers contemporary with the research, and especially to Mrs. Esta Garland, deputy recorder.

18 "The First Families of White Oak Spring", loc. cit., 290-316.
1812 Hosea Smith SE 28 Perquimans Co., N. C.
Aaron Decker SE, S fr. 6 & 7, E fr. 7 Pa. (German)
James Brenton SW 21 Nansemond Co., Vir. (English)

1813 Henry Miley NW 26 Lancaster Co., Pa., and
Moses Harrell SE 27 Jefferson Co., Ky. (German)
John Coonrod SE 22

1814 John Coonrod NW 22 Pennsylvania (German)
Bryant D. Savarns NE 26
Henry Miley Jr. SW 23
Henry Brenton E 1/2 NE 30
Hosea Smith NE 33
Paul Tisol SW 35
Hosea Smith NE 33
Paul Tisol NE 34

1815 Daniel Coonrod NW 23 Virginia or N. C., or both
David Hornaday E 1/2 SW 28 Chatham Co. N. C. (English)
Breeding & Ewing NW 29 Hampshire Co., Vir.
David Wease20 NW 29
Joshua Selby SE 31
David Leonard S fr. SE 15
Wm. Crayton NW 33
John Cummings NW 13
Breeding & Ewing SW 20
Thomas J. Withers21 SE 20
Campbell & Harrell NE 21
Moses Harrell SE 21

18 Aaron Decker was a member of the Virginia family of that name which came to Knox County about 1796. He was at this time operating the old ferry across White River on the Buffalo Trace which was started by Joshua Harbin in 1797. His land claim was to a few acres adjoining the French grant of Toussaint DuBois, which was allowed in 1806, and described as “opposite Harbin’s Ferry”. Did Aaron Decker move the Ferry landing from its old location on the DuBois claim to his own acres? It seems possible.

19 Nathaniel Ewing was receiver of the public moneys of the United States Land Office from 1807 to 1824. He made Vincennes his home until his death in 1848, and was an active politician and anti-slavery leader. Henry Caulkham, History of the City of Vincennes. Nathaniel Breeding was Ewing’s nephew and the two did business in partnership until the latter’s death in 1818, speculating in land in most of the southern Indiana counties. Neither ever lived at White Oak Springs.

20 There is no tradition among David Wease’s descendants as to his previous location. The name is found on public records in but one other location previous to the date of settlement at White Oak Springs, Adam Wease, Sr., Adam Wease, Jr., Michael Wease, John Wease and Jacob Wease were listed as householders, census of 1790, in Hampshire County, Virginia (later West Virginia). Two of the above, or others of the same name, were Revolutionary soldiers. Adam Wease in the Romney Militia, and one Michael, whose name is recorded Weese, Wease, and Wieste in the Wieste, Va., Reg. Continental Line. John H. Gwathmey, Historical Register Virginians in the Revolution (Richmond, Virginia, 1938).

21 A large Withers family (also spelled Weathers) lived in several counties of both Virginia and North Carolina in Revolutionary times. Laban Mile Hoffman, Our Kin (Charlotte, N.C., 1916). The White Oak Springs immigrant may have been connected with this family but further research would be necessary to show it.
John Coonrod    NW 22    Greene Co. Georgia
David Kinman    SE 32

1816    Paul Tislow    NE 35    Halifax Co., N. C. (Scotch-Irish)
        Tarlton Boren    E1/2 SW 32
        Thomas J. Withers    NE 32

James Campbell    SW 26

Traditions and records other than land entries attest the presence also at White Oak Springs of the following, all of whom remained and became citizens of Petersburg, or residents of nearby farms:

1811    Charles Alexander    Tyrell Co., N. C.
1812    Henry Marrich and family or Malachi Harrick (14 yrs.)
1813    old

Thomas C. and Rachel Wright Stewart    Virginia and Warren County, Ky.
Elijah Lane    Jefferson Co., Ky.

1815    Archibald Campbell    Halifax Co., N.C. (Scotch-Irish
    Henry K. Campbell
    David Parks
    Thomas Milbourn

1816    J. W. Loan    Breckenridge Co., Ky.
    Isabella Loan    Shelby Co., Ky.
    Thomas Meade and family    North Carolina

Until 1813, there were no land entries made in the Pike County area outside White Oak Springs. Mention must be made, however, before going further, of lands held by right of ancient grants—French, British, United States and United States Military. Thirty-two tracts of land from 50 to 400 acres each, about 6,000 acres in all, were so held, all except three lying in the valley of Conger’s Creek and its forks within the area of the present Clay and Madison Townships of Pike County (Township 1 North, Range 9 West). In 1806 and 1807 the validity of these grants was confirmed by the United States upon recommendation of the land commissioners of Indiana Territory and their owners given legal title to their lands. The number of owners (25), plus the contiguous situations of their lands, combine to suggest the existence of a community contemporary with and comparable in size to that at White Oak Springs. Exhaustive inquiry
has not been made into the history of the occupation of these tracts, but cursory investigation reveals that more than half of them were held by lifelong residents of Vincennes and the area comprising the present townships of Harrison, Johnson, and Decker of Knox County. Families of the names of Pea, Glass, Frederick, and Catt, which are undoubtedly descended from the holders of the ancient grants, have occupied the Conger’s Creek vicinity for generations; but, except in the case of Jacob Pea and possibly the Fredericks, no evidence has been found that the original owners were occupying their grants in the period covered by this paper. It seems fair to conclude therefore that probably fewer than a dozen holders of ancient grants in the Pike County area could have been living on the 6,000 acres so held in the period of the flourishing of White Oak Springs.\footnote{Mr. Samuel E. Dillin, Attorney, of Petersburg kindly furnished the following complete list of ancient grant-holders in the Pike County area, having compiled the names from the abstract files of his legal firm. Additional information and spelling variants in parentheses are taken from the report of the land commissioners of Indiana Territory to the Secretary of the Treasury, dated January 8, 1807, on land claimants in the District of Vincennes, American State Papers, I, Public Lands. All the grants except the last three listed lay within Tp.1.N, R9.W.}

In 1813 and the following years up to 1817, more than

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name of Claimant</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Section Nos.</th>
<th>Within</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sebastian Frederick</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>18 &amp; 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Heirs of John Glass</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Busseron heirs (S. 4, and 5 allowed to</td>
<td>340.27</td>
<td>31 &amp; 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Busseron heirs (Toussaint Du Bois)</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>31 &amp; 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Busseron heirs</td>
<td>204.18</td>
<td>31 &amp; 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Busseron heirs</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>27 &amp; 32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Busseron heirs</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>27 &amp; 32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Phillip Catt (Christian Hall, original claimant)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>John Marshall (John Harbin, original claimant)</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>20, 21, 28 &amp; 29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>George Leech</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>21 &amp; 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Lewis Frederick</td>
<td>254.16</td>
<td>21. 28 &amp; 29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sebastian Frederick</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>21, 28 &amp; 88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Phillip Catt</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>21 &amp; 27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Phillip Catt</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>26 &amp; 27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Wm. Reddy</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>John Pea (Jacob Pea, original claimant)</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>26 &amp; 27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Isaac Wilson</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>26 &amp; 35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Albert Wilson heirs</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>John Pea (right of Berryain Brandoin)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>26 &amp; 32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Jacob Pea (right of Antonio Catty (Antoine Catty)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Henry Pea in the right of Chas. Bonnette (Bonneau)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>22 &amp; 23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Jacob Pea in the right of Miscack Boulelaine</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Jacob Pea</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>James Fansby in the right of Wm. Fansby</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>26 &amp; 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>(Perney)</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Jacob Howell</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>26, 28, 30 &amp; 81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Joshua Harbin heirs</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>28 &amp; 32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Wm. McIntosh (Louis Ploueun, original claimant)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>33 &amp; 34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Location no.

| Frederick Lindy | 200   | 30 & 31 |

The following three grants lay almost entirely within the later area of Washington Township, Pike County:

- Thomas Barton (Amable Peaou, original claimant) 204 acres within Sections 7 & 8, Tp.1N, R8W.
- Toussaint DuBois, 50 acres, within Section 7, Tp.1N, R9W and Secs. 1 & 21, Tp.1N, R8W.
a dozen land entries were made in the area of the later Jefferson Township, Pike County, and the settlement was named Highbanks. Its settlers were:

1813 Jeremiah Arnold (in Tp.1N, R7W) SW 9 from Virginia
  " " S fr. 14 " " "
Hiram Kinman NW 24 " " "
1815 Geo. Rapp & Associates* NW 8 Posey Co., Ind.
Randle Lett " " 13 Georgia (French)
  " " SE fr. 14
Alexander McCain SW 15 Hampshire Co., Vir.
George Teverbaugh** SW 27 (in Tp.1N, R6W)

1814 Wesley Pride NW 18
Thomas Pride NE 17
Ebenezer Case S fr. 7
John Case SW 18
1815 Paul Tislow SE 18
1816 James Brenton SE 32
  " " SE 31

Outside the neighborhoods of White Oak Springs and Highbanks, there were but seven scattered land claims in the Pike County area in the territorial period of Indiana. It is no wonder that so many of the old tales begin, "My folks moved to Pike County when it was nothing but a great big woods." These claimants and their lands were:

1814 Robert Brenton W\frac{1}{2} SW 27 (in Tp.1S R8W, later Littles)
Sally Jerrell NE and NW 34
1815 James Hedges SE 26
1816 John Wyatt E\frac{1}{2} SE 28 (in Tp.1S R9W, later Union)
1814 Phillip Defendoll NE & NW 5
1815 Benjamin Reynolds NE 4

Circumstances suggest, and, in several instances, tradi-

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*"George Rapp and Associates" was the name under which the Harmonic Community of Posey County transacted business. J. S. Dusm, George Rapp and His Associates (Indianapolis, 1914): George Browning Lockwood, The New Harmony Communities (Marion, Indiana, 1920).

**The presumption is that George Teverbaugh was a member of the family of that name which settled in the Harrison Township area, Knox County, about 1790. He married Patience Severns (181), daughter of Bryant Saverns (Severns) of White Oak Springs. (Members of the latter family seldom spelled their name the same way twice. Sovereign was another version.)
tion verifies, that there were others in addition to those named on the foregoing lists who came to White Oak Springs for temporary residence, the protection of the Fort, the transaction of business, or for the pleasure of visiting friends and relatives. A few had made permanent settlement on lands to which they entered claim later, others were only temporarily located. From around Highbanks, and the Conger’s Creek vicinity, from situations isolated from neighborhoods, and from the far distant areas of the later DuBois and Gibson Counties, they converged upon White Oak Springs. Among them were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Settlement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>John Wease</td>
<td>Hampshire Co., Vir.</td>
<td>Petersburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Job Wease</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jacob Pancake</td>
<td>[Hampshire Co., Vir.</td>
<td>Monroe Tp., Pike Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph Pancake</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dorothy Pancake</td>
<td>[Bullet Co., Ky]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811</td>
<td>John Johnson</td>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>Petersburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ashberry Alexander</td>
<td>Tyrell Co., N.C.</td>
<td>Du Bois County</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Chambers</td>
<td>Hampshire Co., Vir.</td>
<td>Petersburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Butler</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Du Bois Co.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Almost all these dates are the first recorded dates referring to the families named. Traditional dates, many of which are undoubtedly correct, are met with earlier.

*These men were brothers of David Wease (See Note 20 above). John was a land claimant in 1817 to SW ¼ Section 28, Tp. IN, R.6W. He was granted a Knox County license to marry Polly Jarrell on July 17, 1816. Job was granted a Pike County license to marry Rachel Harbison on September 6, 1817. Mary Ann Wease, their sister, married Zachariah Seby.

*Two ancient grants made to members of this family were confirmed in 1806 and 1807. Title to 225 acres of Knox County lands was given to Jacob, Joseph, and Dorothy, and title to 800 acres on Marie Creek to Joseph. The three named were brothers and sisters, members of a large family which included also Rachel (Montgomery), Margaret, a spinster, and William. One family tradition has it that they came from Bullitt County, Kentucky (another, Mercer County), but the authors believe that they came originally from Hampshire County, Virginia. The name, not found elsewhere, was common before 1800 in the area which forms the present West Virginia County of Hampshire (and which is only a fractional part of the original Virginia County of 1780). Revolutionary soldiers of Hampshire County included one John Pancake and two Joseph Pancakes, Sr. and Jr. A village of Pancake commemorates their former presence there to this day.

*There were at least three men of this name on territorial records, and it has not been possible to identify the references to the John Johnson who moved to White Oak Springs in 1819 or 1811, became agent for Pike County in 1817 and represented Pike County in the State Legislature for eight years after its organization. He is chiefly notable as the grandfather of John W. Foster, probably the most distinguished man ever born in Pike County, having served the American public as lawyer, soldier, diplomat, editor, Secretary of State, professor, and author.

*John Chambers arrived in Knox County, according to tradition, in 1809. He was granted a Revolutionary pension as a citizen of Gibson County in 1818, and was recorded as a citizen of Pike County in 1820. He entered Revolutionary service in Hampshire County, Virginia, but a study of the name of Chambers on the census of 1790 suggests that Greenbrier County was the family’s place of residence.

*John and James Butler were early settlers in the neighborhood of the later Hayesville, DuBois County. One or the other, or both, had a fortified cabin around
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1812</td>
<td>John Butler Jr.</td>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>Petersburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jacob Harbison</td>
<td></td>
<td>Du Bois Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812</td>
<td>Joshua Selby</td>
<td>Maryland &amp; Ky.</td>
<td>MadisonTp., Pike Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isaiah Gladish</td>
<td>Richmond Co., N.C.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1813</td>
<td>David Kinman</td>
<td>Greene Co., Ga.</td>
<td>Petersburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zephaniah Selby</td>
<td></td>
<td>MadisonTp., Pike Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zachariah Selby</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jeremiah Selby</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James Crow</td>
<td>Georgia &amp; Kentucky</td>
<td>Hazelton, Gibson Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Benj. Ashby</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Warner Ashby</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>Isaac Alexander</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tyrell Co., N.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&amp; wife</td>
<td></td>
<td>Du Bois Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ashberry Alex-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ander (3 yrs. old)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James Dillin</td>
<td>Tyrell Co., N.C.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Samuel Dillin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brittaina Dillin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jacob Chappell &amp; wife</td>
<td></td>
<td>Perquimans Co., N.C. MonroeTp., Pike Co.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1812 which was called Pt. Butler. They were not land owners, but were listed as householders in DuBois County in the census of 1820 and that of 1830. There was a John Butler, however, who was continuously on Pike County records until 1835. He may have been the same who married Peggy Harbison on November 7, 1809, and who signed himself John Butler, Jr., to various documents. He was perhaps a son of the other John Butler. For information in regard to the DuBois County residents, see Wilson, DuBois County.

Jacob Harbison was the stepson of James Harbison, a Revolutionary soldier from South Carolina who settled in the Mudholes neighborhood. Jacob made land claims in the DuBois County area in 1816 and was a resident of that county in 1820. He married a daughter of James Brenton of White Oak Springs, and a study of his militia and jury service, and other activities, indicates that White Oak Springs was his second home, if not, for a period, his first.

This Isaiah Gladish is believed to have been a brother of Jeremiah Gladish, which contradicts the family tradition that Jeremiah’s brother Isaiah remained in North Carolina when his five brothers emigrated to Georgia, Kentucky, and Indiana. A search of early records in all states reveals no family or person of this name except that of Richard Gladish (Gladie) of Richmond County, North Carolina, who was the father of Jeremiah of White Oak Springs, and probably of this Isaiah Gladish.

The conclusion that the Ashbys came from Hampshire County, Virginia, is based upon an entry of the name Ashby in the census list of 1790. The coincidence of their names and those of others who came into the Pike and DuBois County area in the period 1800 to 1830, with the names on the list of Hampshire County residents, census of 1780 and other contemporary records, suggests that there was a large migration of trans-Alleghany Virginia pioneers into the area of Pike and DuBois County. Tradition and private records of the Davidson family of Pike County support this supposition, but, as most of these families settled outside White Oak Springs, or came into the area later than the period covered in this paper, no inquiry has been made and no other evidence can be cited than that of the names on public records common to both localities. They are: Wease, Chambers, Pancake, Davison, Welton, Radcliffe, Teversbaehr, Butler, Milbourn, Miles, Shook, Tewalt, Rissley, Corvo, Head, Leonard, and MacBride.

Mrs. Alexander was Charlotte Hunningas Dillin before her marriage to Isaac Alexander. She was the widow of Benjamin Dillin, a Revolutionary soldier of Tyrell County, North Carolina, and the mother of his minor children, named above.

Mrs. Chappell was Rachel Lane Rogers, a widow, before her marriage to Jacob Chappell. She is known to have had five children by her first marriage, but only the three named above are known to have come to Indiana. The names or presence of the other two sons have not been found registered on any record.
MAP II. Knox County area south of White River and the Buffalo Trace, designated White River Township in 1804; with subsequent subdivisions up to 1810. Population, U. S. census, 1810. Pike County boundaries as of 1940 indicated by dotted line. Scale 24 miles to 1 inch.
Job Chappell
Zachariah Dillin Tyrell Co., N.C. Du Bois Co.

1816 Elijah Malott

The names cited above do not of course represent a census of the population of the Pike County area. In the first place, in the cases of land claimants and others, only family heads are named. Moreover, there are surely unavoidable omissions of unrecorded transients and of permanent settlers who failed to register their presence until a later period. An estimate may be made however of the total number of persons represented by the hundred and some single men and family heads on the lists. A study of such an estimate against the background of the official enumerations for White River and Madison Townships in 1810, and for Gibson County in 1815, reveals no glaring incongruities. There is fair reason to believe that a fairly good accounting has been made by family names of the population of the Pike County area in the territorial period. (See Maps II and III.)

The compilation of the above names and dates was by no means the dull task that their bare statistical look suggests, for in the process of the research, the persons behind the names took on personality, dates connoted significant events, and life at White Oak Springs became focussed closely enough to take on a reality to the senses. For what the authors can impart and share of the satisfaction and delight they have had in this recreation, they submit the following summaries and samples of their research.

As a result of the unsettled questions between Governor Harrison and the Indian tribes, the year 1811 was about the most unfavorable year that immigrants could have chosen to come into Indiana Territory. Hardy souls came neverth-

**Miss Dorothy Ryker, of the editorial staff of the Indiana Historical Bureau, furnished copies of court orders and territorial acts affecting township boundaries of Knox County, from which Map II was constructed. The records used included: Executive Journal, Indiana Territory, Feb. 3, 1801; Record of Court of General Quarter Sessions, Knox County, 1801-1806, February term, 1801, p. 4, and February term, 1804, 67; Record of Court of Common Pleas, Knox County, 1807-1810, November term, 1807, 64-66; Acts of Indiana Territory, 1803, 3: Record of Court of Common Pleas, Knox County, 1807-1810, March term, 1810, 233.**
MAP III. Gibson County, settlements and roads, 1815. Population as of territorial census of 1815 was 5,330. Pike County boundaries as of 1940 indicated by dotted line. Scale 24 miles to 1 inch.
less, and a few stopped at White Oak Springs. William and Keziah Ball Gray arrived from Virginia and took up their residence at the Fort. Charles and Ashberry Alexander, neighbors of Hosea Smith's grandmother, arrived from Tyrell County, North Carolina. Joab Chappell took his family to his chosen location six miles east on the Trace (SEC31,Tp.1N R6W); but they became apprehensive of Indian attack, and shortly rejoined the group at the Fort.

When Governor Harrison mustered the militia for his fall campaign in September, 1811, the following members of the White Oak Springs neighborhood were assigned to service in Col. Luke Decker's battalion under Captain Walter Wilson of Vincennes and Lieutenant Benjamin Beckes of Harrison Township, Knox County:

Daniel Risley, Corporal
Peter Brenton, Corporal
William Brenton
Wolsey Pride
Robert Brenton
William Pride
Joab Chappell
John Risley
Jonathan Walker
Jacob Harbison
James Walker
Isaac Walker
Abraham Pea

Members of the same company who moved to White Oak Springs after the battle of Tippecanoe were:

Thomas J. Withers, Sergeant
John Chambers
Thomas Milbourn

The performance of Captain Wilson's company of militia at the battle of Tippecanoe was specifically commended by General Harrison in his official dispatch to the Secretary of

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77 Luke Decker was a member of the Vincennes family of that name (Note 18 above): Goodspeed's History of Knox and Daviess Counties (Chicago, 1886).
78 Captain Wilson was General Harrison's confidential messenger in his negotiations with Tecumseh. He served in the militia of Knox County from 1802 on, in every grade of service. He was also a Justice of the Peace of Knox County.
79 Benjamin Beckes was a well-to-do farmer who lived near Vincennes. He served conspicuously in the Indiana Militia over a long period of years. History of Knox and Daviess Counties; Cauthorne. History of the City of Vincennes.
80 These names appear on the payroll of Captain Wilson's Company of Infantry, Fourth Regiment, Indiana Militia, September 18, 1811, to November 18, 1811. (Photostat copy in Indiana State Library.)
War written on November 18, 1811, less than two weeks after the battle. Following a tribute to the gallantry and bravery of the United States Regulars who took part, he wrote that “Wilson’s and Scott’s companies charged with the regular troops and proved themselves worthy of doing so.”

At this point it must be admitted that only about half the boys from White Oak Springs and thereabouts lasted the campaign through to share the Governor’s praise for the fine showing of Captain Wilson’s Company. The rolls reveal that Robert Brenton, Thomas Milbourn, Jacob Harbison, John Risley, and Jonathan Walker deserted on October 24, and that Peter and William Brenton were permitted to return home on account of illness on October 27. However, failure of these men to take part in the major engagement of the campaign seems to have done them no irreparable discredit. All the deserters were back in the militia service in 1812, except Thomas Milbourn, who returned in 1813. In March, 1815, Peter Brenton was appointed Ensign in the First Battalion, Third Regiment, and Robert Brenton was commissioned Lieutenant of the Second Battalion, First Regiment. Evidence of the esteem in which Peter Brenton was held among his superior officers would be forthcoming in connection with an important later event. The only member of the White Oak Springs contingent in the Governor’s army to receive any distinguishing mark was Wolsey Pride. He was credited with the assignment of “extra duty caring for the sick,” which reveals the woodsman and bear hunter in a humane role not customarily accorded him.

Participants in the Battle of Tippecanoe from other parts who afterward settled at White Oak Springs were: Hugh Shaw, a member of Captain David Robb’s company, later the husband of Henry Brenton’s daughter Sary (Sally); and Elijah Lane, who served in Captain Frederick Geiger’s company.

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41 William Henry Harrison, Messages and Letters, edited by Logan Esarey (Indianapolis, 1922) I. 627.
42 The mild punishment for desertion suggests that the offense may have been lightly considered. By the law of 1807, it consisted of a fine, “not exceeding fifty dollars,” and the obligation “to march on the next tour of duty under the same penalties as the first.” Laws of Indiana Territory, 1801-1809, edited by Francis S. Philbrick (Indianapolis, 1931), 419.
43 David Robb was a native of Ireland who settled in 1800 near the site of the later town of Hazelton. History of Gibson County (Edwardsville, Ill., 1884).
44 Captain Frederick Geiger organized his company of Kentucky Volunteers at Louisville. He was wounded in action, but remained in command of his company. Alfred Firth, Battle of Tippecanoe (Louisville, 1899).
pany of Kentucky mounted riflemen and was wounded during the progress of the battle.

With the return of the Indian fighters, things around White Oak Springs began to pick up and hum. A new year was upon them. The Indians were subdued, they thought, and optimism was in the air. Wolsey Pride retired to the enjoyment of the elbow room on his choice quarter section near Highbanks and Hosea Smith completed the business of acquiring legal title to White Oak Springs, "my plantation," as he now called it. Jacob Chappell and his wife returned to their cabin up the Trace with their little daughter and a young son, Stephen, born at the Fort while his father was with General Harrison at the battle of Tippecanoe. William Gray and his wife hunted a location, and settled upon forty acres near Highbanks (NW¼ of NE¼, Sec. 21, Tp.1N., R6W), close to Wolsey Pride's new claim. Peter Brenton acquired the Silas Risley place, a quarter section which included what was probably the handsomest site in the White Oak Springs vicinity, and which he was to donate later for the county seat of Pike County.43

The early established group at White Oak Springs became now indeed the "old settlers." The new immigration provided a new infusion of life blood, which was felt immediately in the quickened course of events and the richer quality of life. There were numerous weddings "in our midst," Knox County marriage licenses showing:

July 17, 1810, John Wease to Polly Jerrald
October 24, 1810, Isaac Walker to Susanna Risley
December 8, 1810, Wm. T. Bass to Dorothy Pancake
March 23, 1811, Henry Miley to Nancy Pride
May 6, 1811, Jonathan Walker to Polly Brinton
September 5, 1811, George Tivebaugh to Patience Severns
December 16, 1811, Daniel Baldwin to Hannah Butler
April 7, 1812, David Wease to Elizabeth Harbison
May 22, 1812, Ashberry Alexander to Betsy Lindsey

John Johnson was appointed Justice of the Peace January 2, 1811, and the records show that he performed the Walker-Brinton and the Miley-Pride marriages listed above. There

43 No deed is recorded in either the Pride-Smith transaction, or the Risley-Brenton, as the original owners had never had legal title to their lands. Wolsey Pride and Silas Risley were the original claimants, but Hosea Smith and Peter Brenton were the first title-holders to their respective lands. This is the distinction as made by the General Land Office. The account of the Pride-Smith transaction in the Pike County deed book reads: "Title to 2 tracts (NW 28, TIN R6W and 60 acres off the west end of NE adjoining east side of above) entered by Wolsey Pride but cancelled before redeemed passed to Hosea Smith."
is no record of the officiating minister or justice for the other marriages, and we suspect that Johnson performed some of them also.

No less important than the literal enrichment of the life-stream of the community, was the stream of fresh ideas set flowing by the newcomers to White Oak Springs. They were people with a variety of cultural backgrounds, and religious and political beliefs.

If there was any unanimity of opinion among "new" and "old" settlers alike, it was no doubt centered in devotion to the young United States of America. The revolutionary soldiers, Josiah Arnold, James Brenton, Thomas Meade, John Coonrod and Henry Marrick had themselves assisted in its struggle for birth, and they, with their children, and other children and grandchildren of veterans made up a considerable part of the population. Events of 1811 to 1813 were, moreover, such as to refresh and stimulate patriotic solicitude.

There may also have been considerable, though perhaps not unanimous, subscription among these natives of slave-owning states to anti-slavery sentiment. The Quakers were committed to it, and we infer that others were also, from the fact that they chose to come into a territory expected to be a free state, and that they brought no slaves with them. Territorial affairs were a close second in interest to national and affected life at White Oak Springs, even more intimately. Indian policies, compulsory militia service, county and township boundary changes, political parties and party politics, and changes in methods and personnel of territorial government, were vital issues. Upon these there were undoubtedly differences of opinion.

There is notable evidence that not all such differences, whether upon public or personal matters, were considered peacefully or settled amicably. Many of the cases in the first courts (Knox, Gibson, Pike) which involved citizens of White Oak Springs were cases of assault and battery and of trespass on the case. Not even the old Quaker neighbors of

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44 Henry Marrick swore to Revolutionary service with Virginia troops and applied for a pension in the March term of the Pike County Court, 1820; but his name is not on record either in the Pension Department of the Veteran's Administration or in the office of the Adjutant General of the War Department. Inasmuch as John H. Gwathmey, editor of the Historical Register, Virginians in the Revolution (Richmond, Virginia, 1938), states that at least 1/3 of the records of the Virginia militia privates who served in the Revolution have been lost forever, it seems safe to believe Mr. Merrick's oath, and to consider his service record among the lost.

45 No slaves are known to have been brought to White Oak Springs in this period, although several were brought within the next few years by at least three families, and county records show that they were exchanged by sale, gift, and bequest.
North Carolina days escaped disagreement, one of the first cases tried in the Pike County court being that of Joab Chappell vs. Hosea Smith for trespass *vi et armis*.\(^4\) It was a poor dispirited soul who could fail to have cause to sue or be sued at least once each term of court.

We suspect that there was some truth in the Augusta (Georgia) *Sentinel's* charge that, “a North Carolinian cannot salute you without putting his finger in your eye,” as well as in the Raleigh (North Carolina) *Star’s* denial, which explained that, “the practice of gouging had long since yielded to the advance of civilization and refinement, and had retired to Georgia and the wilds of Louisiana”\(^5\) (May 31, 1810). Should the paper have added “and to Indiana”?\(^6\)

There were gentler sides, however, to community life around White Oak Springs than the above would suggest, and the forces of religion were strongly felt. All the members of the Perquimans County immigration came from old Quaker families which had resided for a century in the centers of southern Quakerism within the counties of Nansemond and Isle of Wight, Virginia, and Perquimans and Pasquotank, North Carolina. Jason Harrell and the little boy, Stanton Lamb, carried certificates of membership with requests for admission “to some monthly meeting in Ohio” and the others probably did the same. David Hornaday and Hannah Whitehead, who came in 1811, were from Chatham County, North Carolina, where members of their families belonged to the Cane Creek monthly meeting.\(^6\) Viewed in the light of their later lives, all were righteous and godly people, and it seems that they should have been weighty Friends, with concern for the immediate organization of a meeting. Hosea Smith wrote to Gabriel Elliot of Perquimans County in November, 1810, saying: “I am in hopes in time if it is the Will of Providence that there may be a meeting of Friends near this place.” Less expectantly, he wrote, in 1812, that, “the old man our father would be much delighted and satisfied to be here but the undertaking of such a journey would be hard and tiresome to come in a unsettled place where we

\(^4\) The defendant pleaded not guilty; “thereupon came a jury” which found him guilty and assessed damages of $40. The defendant appealed and made a showing but his appeal was denied.


\(^6\) Sources of our information are: Minutes of the Perquimans County, N.C., monthly meeting; the Western Branch m.m. of Perquimans County; the Cane Creek m.m. of old Orange County, N.C.; and others. See Wm. Wade Hinshaw, *Excurs. of American Quaker Gen.*, I.
hant [sic] at this time meetings and other conveniences he might wish for."

Hosea Smith's pious hope went unfulfilled and no meeting was ever organized at White Oak Springs. It is not for us to raise the whys and wherefores of the will of Providence in this matter, but from a strictly human point of view there were obvious obstacles to the observance of the Friends' discipline. Joab Chappell violated it immediately upon his arrival and Moses Harrell later by their engagements in militia service. Marriage within the society was foreclosed to them, as members of their own group were already closely related, and they were isolated from other groups. The plain language of Friends was ill-adapted to frontier situations which required rough dealing, and the stricture of plain dress lost pertinence in an economy which prescribed linsey-woolsey and leather. The difficulties of first-comers to a wilderness were hardly met by arbitrary rules of meticulous conduct.

Religious observance at White Oaks Springs was not, however, to depend wholly upon any one group of its settlers. Contemporary with the coming of the natives of the Albemarle from the ancient tide-water stronghold of American civilization, there was an assemblage of seasoned pioneers from the wide-spread outposts of its latest frontiers. Many were straight from the camps of the Great Revival which had rocked the South, and from the headquarters of the Cumberland revolt against Calvinism. Among them were evangelicals of the old and the new doctrines which had lately undergone the fire of volcanic phenomena and emerged in variety and temper suited to frontier needs. Certain of these doctrines gripped the people of White Oak Springs, including the Quakers, and shook them into action for the salvation of their souls. Only brief scenes of this drama have been preserved for us. From them and from its final outcome we may conceive something of its intensity and its importance to those taking part.

Archibald Campbell was an ardent believer in Methodism and promoted camp meetings for the propagation of his faith. His family and those of his two brothers (possibly three),

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51 Gabriel Elliot was the husband of Mrs. Hosea Smith's sister, Mary. Hosea Smith's reference to "the old man our father," may therefore be to Silas Harrell, Mrs. Smith's father, rather than to John Smith, Hosea Smith's father.
52 See Catherine C. Cleveland, Great Revival in the West, 1797-1805 (Chicago, 1916).
53 See Robert V. Foster, A Sketch of the History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church (New York, 1911).
and the family of Henry Marrick were the original members of the "class," which was formally organized in 1828, and has had continuous existence from then until 1940 as the Methodist Episcopal Church of Petersburg. It is now, of course, just the Methodist Church.

David Hornaday fell under the influence of the Baptist Church of Christ and became an expounder of its principles and an exhorter before its congregations. This church grew out of the Elk and Duck River Association which was organized in 1808 by the Baptists of the Muscle Shoals neighborhood on the Tennessee River. It held generally to Calvinism and practiced closed communion and foot washing. Other practices are revealed by the contents of the following church document:

Pike Co., State of Indiana, May 8, 1825.
To those it may concern, etc.—
We the Presbytery being legally called by the Baptist Church of Christ to examine the qualifications of Br. David Hornida for the Gospile Minnistry and after exam'n-fasting, praying and the Imposition or laying on of hands, the said David Hornida is authorized to go forth in the full funktean [function] of a Gospile Minnester to preach the word of God, administer baptism, and the Lord's supper and perform minnester's dutys as directed in the Scriptures of truth etc. where God may cast his lot.

Attested by
Alexander Devins
Jeremiah Cash

David Hornaday's first lot was cast at Highbanks, and during his lifetime of service his "funktean" as "Minnester of the Gospile" was performed among congregations in the Pike County area. The Hornaday Baptist Church of Petersburg is a memorial to this pioneer preacher and has within its keeping the above "authorization."

The Cumberland Presbyterians were another Tennessee group of separatists. They subscribed to strong Arminian modifications of the Calvinistic doctrine, and their influence was felt at White Oak Springs fresh from its headwaters in the person of Nancy Lindsay Gladish. She was the wife of Jeremiah Gladish and the daughter of James Lindsay. Both her own family and that of her father arrived at White Oak

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64 Alexander Devin was a Regular Baptist minister who moved from Virginia to the neighborhood of Princeton in 1808. See Gil R. Stormont, History of Gibson County (Indianapolis, 1914).
65 Jeremiah Cash was a Regular Baptist elder. He belonged to the church at Patoke (Gibson County) which was organized about 1810. He was its third pastor and served as such for a number of years. See Stormont, op. cit.
Springs in the very year of the Cumberlands' final break with the main Presbyterian body (1810). All, or most of the members of these families were, then or later, Cumberland Presbyterians, but tradition, doubtless for good and sufficient reason, singles out the young wife and mother (she was twentyone and had a one year old son, James) for the distinction of being "the first Cumberland Presbyterian ever to cross the Ohio River." Her faith spread swiftly to many families, including the Alexanders, Dillins, Johnsons, Meads, Weases, and Mileys. Their early congregation was organized as a church at Petersburg in 1821, and claim is made that it was the first of the denomination in the state.\textsuperscript{66} It continued to be a well supported and flourishing church until, following the national movement of 1906, it united with the Petersburg Presbyterian church.\textsuperscript{67}

David Parks signed himself "Minister of the Gospel" in 1817, being the first citizen of White Oak Springs to be so designated in any record, but of what denomination we have been unable to learn. He is probably but one of the many whose toil in the vineyards is long forgotten.

Many of the newcomers were men of gifts and skills and all joined in the common objective of creating a civilization. They were not content with life as Dennis Hanks described it in Spencer County, when he said: "We lived the same as the Indians, 'ceptin' we took an interest in politics and religion."

Hosea Smith was a surveyor, and the services of no profession were more acutely needed. Government surveys completed in 1805 were marked by mile posts and blazed bearing and line trees, into sections and quarter sections, but into no smaller tracts. Moreover, "county towns" were to be laid out in the near future, of which Hosea Smith was to lay out at least three—Portersville, Petersburg, and Jasper. Henry Marrick and Thomas Milbourn were carpenters and builders, the former also a cabinet and coffin maker. There is comfort in the thought of what the skill of these men contributed to the decencies of living and dying at White Oak Springs. J. W. Loan started a general store. David Miley was a wheelwright, his specialty being spinning wheels.

\textsuperscript{66} Shiloh Church in Dubois County claims to have been the second. Ashberry Alexander was one of its founders. See George R. Wilson, History of Dubois County.

\textsuperscript{67} The Presbyterian Church of Petersburg was not organized until 1848, and its founders were mainly members of lately arrived families from Ohio and Pennsylvania.
Archibald Campbell, James Lindsay and Elijah Lane were blacksmiths. Campbell, of stalwart frame and evangelistic fervor, became a sort of mythical hero in the folklore of White Oak Springs. There is evidence that the other two did their share of the blacksmithing business. James Lindsay owned a set of tools including bellows, an anvil, a vise, and two sledge hammers. This equipment sold for $143.95 following his death in 1817. The useful nature of Elijah Lane’s services are suggested by the items of a bill which he submitted for collection (estate of Daniel Adamson, 1830). Some of them were:

- To make a spade .25
- To sharp a plow .12½
- To one clove’s pinn (clevis?) .25
- To irone a well bucket off 1.25

Moses Harrell had set up a horse mill by 1815, possibly as early as 1812. In the March term of the Gibson County Court of 1816, he applied for a writ of *ad quod damnum* for a water mill on Pride’s Creek (NE 21), to which he and James Campbell had entered claim in 1815. Although water mills of the period were commonly used for both grinding and sawing, we think it likely that this was exclusively a grist mill, as Thomas Milbourn set up a sawmill on Pride’s Creek in 1822.

The periodic journeys of menfolk to mill through the vicissitudes of winter weather and bad roads, and the distress of women left alone with their children in terror of Indians and wild animals, compose a classic chapter in the history of most pioneer communities, and that of White Oak Springs is no exception. Mrs. Zachariah Selby (Mary Ann Wease) whose husband and two brothers had moved from Kentucky in 1807 to a location “about six miles west of White Oak Springs” told her granddaughters, Mrs. Mary Ann Selby Colvin and Mrs. America Selby Pomerneck, that at the time she had her first baby the Indians “lived in the same yard” with them. When her husband went to mill at Wheeling (Knox County) or Vincennes, he feared to leave her alone among them and so she and her baby would ride behind him and the grain sacks as far as the White Oak Springs Fort, where she would wait the two or three days until his return. Later, when the Indians had proved themselves friendly, she remained at home. Just when Moses Harrell’s
mill went into operation we do not know, but let us hope it was promptly.

As a tribute to sentiment, attention is called to the fact that upon the same day that Moses Harrell got the writ issued for his mill site (March 12, 1816), he also acquired a license to marry Miss Mary Miley, and that Justice Hosea Smith subsequently made them man and wife.

Life and liberty were not yet secure in the new county of Gibson, township of Madison, and civic progress and the pursuit of happiness did not proceed without alarms and interruptions. The Indian tribes, heartened by British successes at Detroit and Fort Dearborn (Chicago) in the war that Congress had declared on Great Britain in June, 1812, and restocked with British food and ammunition, resumed their former assaults on the frontiers in August.

Militia service was compulsory for every free, able-bodied, white, male citizen of the territory between the ages of 18 and 45, with few provisions for exemption and refusal subject to fine by the courts. Called for service on August 11, in the First Regiment commanded by Col. Ephraim Jordan were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jacob Pancake</th>
<th>Silas Risley</th>
<th>Thomas Pride</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>David Wease</td>
<td>Jacob Scamahorn</td>
<td>John Tislow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Miley</td>
<td>John Risley</td>
<td>Joshua Selby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaiah Gladish</td>
<td>Jacob Harbison</td>
<td>Lemuel Baldwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Coleman</td>
<td>John Miley</td>
<td>Sebastian Frederick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Coleman</td>
<td>John Butler</td>
<td>Peter Frederick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Bass</td>
<td>John Cummins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Serving from August 13 to November 19, were: James Lindsay, Sergeant, and William Coleman

In early September, Fort Wayne and Fort Harrison (Terre Haute) were surrounded and threatened, and a number of persons were shot from ambush. Nearer home, on the third of the month, twenty-three members of the unprotected Pigeon Roost settlement (within the present limits of Scott County) were cruelly murdered. Reserves were thereupon called out and White Oak Springs was stripped of men of the

---

58 Laws of Indiana Territory, 1801-1809, edited by Frank S. Philipse, 399.
59 Col. Jordan was an early settler of Palmyra Township, Knox County. He engaged in public service throughout the territorial period, as a judge of the Courts of Quarter Sessions, and as an officer in the Knox County Militia in every rank from Lieutenant to Colonel.
60 These names appear upon the Muster, Pay and Receipt Rolls of Indiana Territory, War of 1812. (Photostat copies, Indiana State Library).
specified qualifications for the militia. Serving from September 6 to November 9, in Captain Beckes' Company, were:

John Chambers, second corporal
Hugh Shaw Jr.
Thomas J. Withers

Serving September 10 to 21, in Captain John Johnson's Company of mounted riflemen, were:

George Teverbaugh, Lieutenant
Ashberry Alexander, Ensign
Joab Chappell
James Walker
John Butler
Robert Brenton
Jonathan Walker
Moses Harrell
John Tislow
Daniel Coleman

Henry Brenton
Jacob Harbison
John Risley
Francis Coleman
Isaiah Gladish
Joshua Selby
Henry Coonrod
Lemuel Baldwin
Henry Coleman
Peter Frederick

In 1813 there were fewer militia duties performed by the men of White Oak Springs. We are at loss to account for this, inasmuch as the need was as great as in 1812, and in fact, the territory-wide enlistment was larger. Moreover, the militia law remained as strict as in 1812. The few who were called saw some interesting service, however, for, by this time, the militia was on the offensive, scouring the Territory clean of Indians and their villages. From February to April, in Captain John Johnson's Company, were:

Jacob Pancake
Jeremiah Arnold
John Wease
Zachariah Selby
James Butler

From April to August, in Captain William Hargrove's Company, were:

Jacob Pancake
John Risley
Hugh Shaw Jr.

From May to August, in Captain Craven Peyton's Company of mounted rangers, were:

Henry Miley
Thomas Pride

John Butler
James Butler

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61 William Hargrove was a South Carolinian who settled in the neighborhood of the later town of Princeton about 1804. He had served three years in the Kentucky Militia, and proceeded to hold every rank from Captain to Colonel in the Indiana Militia. Letters exchanged between him and Governor Harrison are one of the few sources of knowledge concerning White Oak Springs in the period previous to 1810.
Jacob Harbison
Thomas Milbourn
William Gray
John Miley

It was the mounted rangers of Captain Peyton's Company with picked men from several other companies under Col. Joseph Bartholomew who made a tour of the Delaware towns on the upper west fork of White River, engaging in several skirmishes, destroying the grain of the Indians and burning what was left of their villages after their owners had deserted them."

During the latter part of 1813 successes were all on the American side, an armistice was signed in October, and in 1814 the militia law was relaxed. On October 14, 1814, Ashberry Alexander was appointed captain in the First Regiment, Second Battalion; Robert Brenton lieutenant; and Thomas Pride ensign. There were also other short single periods of service; but the frontier was practically clear of Indians, the worst of their threat to the pioneer existence was ended and the need of the militia was about over. In 1816 the Gibson County Court (May term) recognized the existence of local companies when it formed the new Harbison Township from "all that portion of Madison lying east of the present line dividing Capt. Hope's and Capt. Harrell's companies." The chief purpose of the militia service was now accomplished, and it subsequently declined in importance until membership required little more than muster day attendance.

For the benefit of any curious person who may wonder what the pay was for militia service, we cite the following pay voucher items:

David Miley, private, Aug. 11 to Sept. 20, 1812, $ 8.88
David Wease, corporal, Aug. 11 to Sept. 20, 1812, 9.17
Jacob Pancake, sergeant, Aug. 11 to Sept. 20, 1812, 10.66

Along with threat of violence from the Indians, White Oak Springs suffered violence from the forces of nature."

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63 The authors were unable to learn exactly who these captains were. Jason and Moses Harrell resided at White Oak Springs, and the Hope family in the area of Harbison Township, Dubois County. The latter family included James, Thomas, Richard and Adam, the last named the first sheriff of Pike County.
64 See Logan Esrey, History of Indiana (I. p. 496).
65 It seems pertinent to report that the authors found no recorded information and heard no tradition that could be construed to mean that White Oak Springs ever suffered from any hostile Indian attack. This was a great disillusionment for one of the authors of this article, who spent many exciting childhood hours re-enacting the bloody defense of the Fort from behind the portholes of the two story log house which remained of the buildings that had stood within the stockade. This has now been razed, and there is no reminder of White Oak Springs to appeal to the historic sense or the imagination of the present generation of children.
Earthquakes were felt in June and September of 1812, caused, according to Hosea Smith, "by the burning mountains of the Western ocean." Floods in April, 1813, sent the streams out of their banks, drowned stock, washed away homes, and prevented the passing of the mails for more than a month. "The greatest fresh in White River known since settled," Hosea Smith called it.

The untoward behaviour of Nature and natives was not, however, the worst that hindered the orderly and satisfactory progress of personal and community affairs at White Oak Springs. In March, 1813, Gibson County was formed from the Knox County townships of Madison and White River, plus some additional territory to the north and south (See map III). (Madison was still "all that portion east of Congo's Creek," and White River "the tract west of Madison lying between White River and Pattocco.") White Oak Springs seems to have had no hand or voice in the new county organization. Isaac Montgomery and Daniel Putnam of Princeton were named associate judges, James Crow of the David Robb settlement (later Hazelton) sheriff, and the out-of-the-way, new-begun village of Princeton was chosen for the county seat. The appointment of Hosea Smith Justice of the Peace was, moreover, an unpopular one. Most of the ensuing cases in the Gibson County Court which involved the gentlemen from White Oak Springs were actions of "contemp" for refusal to attend court at the new county seat, or appeals from the jurisdiction of Justice Hosea Smith. A few quotations from the docket indicate the trend of feeling:

October, 1814—Wm. McDonald vs. Hosea Smith, case dismissed.

March, 1815—(Henry Miley and Peter Brenton on the jury)
An attachment ordered issued against Ashbury Alexander and Moses Harrell for contempt of this court by their nonattendance at the present term to give evidence.


October, 1815—Ordered that Henry Brenton, John Brenton, and James Brenton show cause why they should not be fined for not attending the present term of court as grand jurors.

*William McDonald was the head of the pioneer family of that name. The McDonalds were the first settlers of the DuBois County area (1801). See George R. Wilson, *History of DuBois County.*
June, 1816—Paul Tislow vs. Samuel Kinman, an appeal from judgment of Justice Smith. Appeal dismissed for want of proper security.

Inasmuch as frontier justice is commonly the laughing stock of sophisticated generations, it seems that an instance which commands respect today is worthy of report. In the case cited above Paul Tislow vs. James Brenton, the judge handed down an opinion which for sound reasoning, clear-cut language, and adherence to the point might well serve as a model for present day judges. The conclusions, moreover, are a statement of law which would stand in the higher courts of the state of Indiana, in 1940, as firmly as in the territorial courts of 1813.67 From the GIBSON COUNTY CIVIL ORDER BOOK A:

March term, 1815—Paul Tislow vs. James Brenton
On certiorari on motion of G. W. Johnston counsel for defendant for a writ against Hosea Smith Esqr. Justice of the Peace for the County of Gobson to show cause by and upon the first day of ensuing term of court, if any he hath, why a mandamus should not issue against him to certify to this court records of his judgment in the above cause whereupon the same is granted and it is ordered that a copy of this order be served on the said Hosea Smith Esqr. by the sheriff.

In this cause the court delivered the following opinion:

This writ of certiorari has been brought by Paul Tislow to reverse a judgment obtained against him on James Brenton in a court for the trial of small causes before Justice Smith. It appears from the record that the deft. appeared and attended to the trial.

The reasons assigned in the reversal of the judgment are 1st, that the warrant is defective, 2nd., that the Justice refused to permit the deft. upon his own request to swear to the truth of his account.

As to the 1st. ground:—In the assignment it was suggested by this court and admitted by Tislow’s counsel that the appearance of a deft. and proceeding to trial cured any defect in the procesa. But it was contended that this doctrine does not apply in Justices’ Courts because as was said they are not courts of record. They have authority to fine and imprison: besides, they are directed and obligated by express words in the statute to keep a docket in which must be entered all the proceedings in the cause—R. C. 220—and further the statute of 1811 authorizes the courts of common pleas to issue writs of certiorari and makes it the duty of the Justice to whom a certiorari is directed to send up a fair transcript of his record, which requisition of the law would be absurd if there were no records belonging to the court. As therefore it is admitted that appearances and proceeding to trial cures defect in process in court of record the same circumstances cure defects of process in Justices’ Courts, which are to all intents and purposes,

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67 For comment on this opinion, we are indebted to the Hon. Walter E. Treanor, Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Seventh Circuit, Chicago.
courts of record. With respect to the second ground urged for reversal has been argued that the Justice committed error in refusing to permit the defdt. at his own request, to swear to the truth of his account, the Justice giving as reason for such refusal that he was appraised it could be proved that defts. account had been paid.

This court consider it totally immaterial whether the reasons given by the Justice for the refusal are sound or not; the only question is —did he commit an error in not complying with defts. request? We are of the opinion he did not; the defdt. had no right nor had the Justice any Authority to permit him, to swear to the truth of his account, unless particularly requested so to do by the adverse party—Acts of 1813, page 115—but it does not appear from the record that any such request was made.

The judgment of the Justice is therefore affirmed with costs."

The author of the above was none other than Isaac Blackford, then President Judge of the Gibson County Court, later Justice of the Supreme court of the state of Indiana from 1817 to 1853.

An event occurred in 1813 (May 1) which was even more distressing than the change of a county seat. This was the removal of the territorial capital from Vincennes to Corydon by order of the territorial legislature. Whatever character and importance White Oak Springs had, or might have, it owed to its propinquity to the territorial capital and its situation on the main traveled road thereto. The effect of this act of the legislature was to reduce it to a condition of provincial isolation, and to remove from its reach the world of affairs. Hosea Smith could no longer write the news of public men and events in Indiana territory to the folks back in Carolina with the authoritative and familiar preface "I heard the Governor say. . . ." Corydon was almost as inaccessible as a foreign capital, and the trip there was too difficult and too expensive to make for any except necessary and urgent business. George Chambers made it in 1824 to settle the estate of his father, John Chambers, and among his expense items filed, "two trips to Cordden—$18."

In 1814, the post road was rerouted and White Oak Springs left off, the new route passing to the north by way of Washington Courthouse (Salem, 1814) and Lindley's Mills (Paoli, 1816). In 1815, however, a post office was granted

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to White Oak Springs, but it cannot be reported that communication with the outside world was assured thereafter, for alas, not so. From the content of the following letter we infer that in its new status White Oak Springs merely suffered a new ignominy, that of having the post rider go by without stopping:10

Dec. 12, 1815

The Postmaster General to
Hosea Smith, Esqr. P.M. White Oak Springs, I. T.
Sir, I have received yours of the 16th Ult. I wish you to inform the mail carrier that it is his duty to call at your office with the mail—and you can show him this letter as your authority.

R. J. M. [Melges]

Transportation and communication were beginning to take other roads and other directions and to pass by and around the little community south of White River, a trend which continued over a period of years and finally left it in the remote seclusion of the backwoods. Except for the alleviation furnished by the limited service of the Evansville and Terre Haute Railroad (1881), this condition was suffered for a century. Only since modern transportation and state highway building have penetrated its isolation has Petersburg had the easy rapport with affairs of state and nation that White Oak Springs enjoyed in the period 1807 to 1814; and the little city of Petersburg has never achieved the relative importance in the days of Indiana's statehood that distinguished White Oak Springs in the early territorial period.

Time crept on, and death and taxes took their toll. The tax rates as prescribed by the Gibson County Court for 1813 were:11

For each 100 acres first rate land 25¢
For each 100 acres second rate land 18¾¢
For each 100 acres third rate land 6¾¢
For each horse creature over 3 yrs. old 31¼¢

The first coroner's jury in Gibson County was impanelled on November 27, 1813, for the purpose of an inquest on the body of Walter Jerrel. It held that his death was occasioned by the accidental fire of his own gun. On the jury were:

10 Territorial Papers of the United States, edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington, D.C., 1939), VIII.

11 The odd and fractional sums chosen for the tax rates suggest that Spanish coins, the "fip," 6¼¢, and the "bit," 12¼¢, were in common circulation.
James Lindsay, foreman
Henry Brenton
Henry Miley
David Miley Sr.
Wm. Craton
Jonathan Walker
Jacob Harbison
Peter Brenton
John Butler Jr.
David Weace
Thomas Milburn
Henry Miley Jr. [son of David Miley]

Among the Gibson County Court’s appointments and orders for Madison Township were:

1813—Assessor Hosea Smith
Constable Abraham Pea

1814—Road Supervisors James Brenton and James Lindsay
Election Superintendent John Johnson
Election to be held at Hosea Smith’s.

1815—Overseers of the poor Jacob Pea and Henry Brenton
Election Superintendent Henry Brenton
Election to be held at Hosea Smith’s.

“Hosea Smith’s” was of course the Fort, still, as ever since its founding, the center of community affairs. Theophila Smith Alexander often told her granddaughter, Mrs. Anna Alexander Brenton, of the visits of Indians to the Fort. She said they would crouch in a ring around the walls of her mother’s kitchen, each with his dog at his side. When her mother passed refreshments, all shared with their pets, while not one, to her amazement and indignation, ever asked for food to take to his wife and children, or carried away any of his portion for them.

The only available first-hand accounts of life at White Oak Springs are the brief comments of Hosea Smith in his letters. It was not the time nor the place for any effort approaching the literary. In fact, there was a high percentage of illiteracy, as may be noted from the many signatures on Pike County records followed by “his (x) mark.” There were numerous and notable exceptions, however. John Coonrod signed his name in beautiful German script, “Johannes Coonrod,” and the Miley family owned, and surely some could read, a small library of German books. James
Brenton acted as secretary for public meetings and was the author of petitions and resolutions. Hosea Smith kept accounts of his personal and official business, his big walnut desk being stuffed, as his grandchildren remembered, with correspondence and legal papers. Paul Tislow made scrupulous reports to the Court of an estate which he administered. David Miley gave expert clerical service to Pike County for many years in every county office. Thomas J. Withers and Henry Brenton served as associate judges, their office elective and presupposing superior wisdom and common sense rather than knowledge of law. David Kinman was the only poet among them, as well as can be learned. Unfortunately in the one example of his work preserved, his "Journey Song," he did not describe life at White Oak Springs. He did, however, describe experiences and give utterance to emotions shared by all who joined him there, for which he may properly be called The Poet of White Oak Springs. All had suffered the same sadness and anxiety of leave-taking of which he wrote:

Farewell my old neighbors, I bid you adieu
I am going to travel the wilderness through
I am going to travel the desert all through
So farewell my old relation, I bid you adieu.

Almost all had travelled the same westward road and felt the rebirth of hope and the new vision which Cumberland, of which he wrote, symbolized:

We crossed over Tennessee, we crossed over Clinch,
Pursuing our journey, determined not to flinch
We scaled the high mountain, on the summit did stand
And traveled down the western side to sweet Cumberland.

Life was undoubtedly very real and very earnest at White Oak Springs, but it had its lighter moments and days. According to the stories prefaced by "my grandmother used to tell," or "my grandfather told us," phrases which may be quoted from interviews with a number of grandchildren of White Oak Springs, camp meetings and muster days were the most memorable occasions. Play-parties must have been a form of amusement for the young, as Skip-to-my-Lou and Weevily Wheat were still being played at parties in Petersburg in the first decade of the twentieth century. Infarces also survived to the near-present, and prove that weddings were oc-
casions for celebration. Opportunities were not lacking as the number of marriages which Justice Hosea Smith performed during his tenure of office show a far departure from the little series of Arnold to Coonrod, Coonrod to Miley, Miley to Pride, Pride to Brenton marriages which Squire Henry Brenton performed in the cozy old days of 1809. The new justice performed marriage ties for the following:19

July 25, 1813, Lemuel Baldwin to Jane Lynn
July 28, 1813, David Hornaday to Hannah Whitehead
October 26, 1813, James Ashby to Charlotte Decker
August 18, 1814, John Luster to Rachel Pea
July 10, 1814, Robert McClure to Phoebe Jerald
December 10, 1814, Henry Coleman to Sarah Jerrald
April 27, 1815, Charles Alexander to Theophila Smith
January 7, 1816, Jeremiah Kinman to Hannah Pride
January 14, 1816, Daniel Coleman to Huldah Jerrel
March 12, 1816, Moses Harrell to Mary Miley
March 21, 1816, John Miley to Mary Ricks
August 8, 1816, James Walker to Polly Martin
November 27, 1816, John Tislow to Rebecca Miley

Licenses were also issued, but without record of the officiating justice or minister, to the following:

March 12, 1816, Thomas Williams to Hannah Lindsey
April 18, 1816, Henry Brenton to Mary Borders
August 31, 1816, John Brenton to Degeneracy Caldwell

Perhaps next in interest to the occasions mentioned above was a public sale. A sort of side-wise glimpse of one is afforded by the estate papers of William C. Brenton (sometimes signed Willie) who died in 1815, leaving no heirs. Paul Tislow was appointed administrator of his estate, and as such itemized his transactions for the court to the last detail. The following are typical:

Wm. Brenton Deceased to J. Kuykendall,20 December 10, 1815,
Sundrey Medicin ......................................................$1.37½
Received the above in full, J. A. Kuykendall.

December 16, 1815, the Est. of Wm. Brenton, de.
to Robert McCoy Dr.24
For making his coffin and furnishing part of plank and nails $2.50.

Personally appeared before me, one of the justices assigned to keep

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19 Gibson County Marriage Licenses.
20 Dr. Joseph Kuykendall was coroner of Knox County from 1802 to 1810. Executive Journal of Indiana Territory, July 9, 1802.
24 Robert McCoy, a Revolutionary soldier, belonging to the Virginia family of that name which settled in Harrison Township, Knox County, between 1790 and 1800. History of Knox and Daviess Counties.
the peace for the county of Gibson, Indiana Territory, James Lindsey and Peter Brenton, and made oath that the appraisement of the estate of Wm. C. Brenton had been done by them according to law. Given under my bond and seal the 29th of December, 1815. Hosea Smith.

**Inventory of the Sale of Estate of William Brenton, late of Gibson Co.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James Brenton</td>
<td>one cow</td>
<td>$12.62½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Butler</td>
<td>one loom</td>
<td>12.62½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Sovens</td>
<td>one waist coat</td>
<td>1.62½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one pair pantaloons</td>
<td>4.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one close body coat</td>
<td>11.13½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one waistcoat</td>
<td>11.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one shirt</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Coleman</td>
<td>one pair pantaloons</td>
<td>4.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Brenton</td>
<td>one waistcoat</td>
<td>1.06½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. D. Sovens</td>
<td>one pot</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one trunk</td>
<td>5.12½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silas Sovens</td>
<td>one mare</td>
<td>24.82½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Cummin</td>
<td>one pr. saddle bags</td>
<td>2.84½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. Milburn</td>
<td>one saddle</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Conrod</td>
<td>one great coat</td>
<td>10.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Tislow</td>
<td>one improvement</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Parks</td>
<td>one gun</td>
<td>24.37½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To cash rec'd 58.  

117.85

Rec'd for ranging service 151.00

263.85

Paul Tislow Administrator.

Received of Paul Tislow 75¢ for being clerk at the sail  
Received of Paul Tislow 75¢ for being clerk at the sail of the goods of Wm. Brenton Deceist by me. David Parks

Received of poll tislo one dollar for criing the sail of William brenton's estate dezzeast 1815. Thomas Milburn

Received of Paul Tislow $1.25 for whisky applied to the use of sale of the property of Wm. Brenton, Deceased.  
J. W. Loan.

A year after the administrator had made his supposedly final report to the court, he sent the following notice:

One reed came into my hands as the property of William Brenton sometime in the summer of 1817 not accounted for in the appraisement of said Brenton's property. The reed is now in my possession and subject to the order of the court.
Willie Brenton was, we should say, fairly well stocked with this world's goods, as measured by the standard of his time and place. He had the first two of what his contemporary, Daniel Boone, called the three necessities of a man's existence—a good rifle-gun, a good horse, and a good woman. Brenton's possession of a loom, a reed and an "improvement," suggests moreover, that his menage may have been at one time graced by the presence of the third of Boone's necessities.

There are a number of household inventories of the period on record, all of which emphasize the scarcity and high intrinsic value of personal property. Counterpanes and camphor bottles, chopping axes and razor cases were traded, mortgaged and disposed of by will as carefully as rifle-guns, horses, and quarter sections. By far the most pretentious of these inventories is that of Hosea Smith's chattels recorded in connection with a mortgage. In contrast to the one-man outfit of the "Lone Ranger," Willie Brenton, and to the property described in most such recorded lists, Smith's array of wealth seems grand indeed:

All the cattle and hogs in my mark
All the beds and bed clothing
all the pot metal and kitchen furniture
3 axes
1 clock
1 walnut desk
2 tables
12 chairs
2 trunks
1 loom
gears of harness
all the flax and spinning wheels
all my books
all my delf ware and tin and pewter with knives
and forks and grindstone and tools
bacon and hog's lard and all the crop of corn
and wheat now in the house and growing
2 head of horses one called Ball and the other Bonaparte
all the plows and gears and all the hoes.

The foregoing picture of people and events in and about White Oak Springs has been drawn from every source known and available to the authors. Even so, it is indistinct and uncertain. One feature is clear, however, and that is the resemblance of the early community to that of today. No student of the community's past who is also an observer of
its present could escape the conclusion that Petersburg is the heir of the flesh and spirit of White Oak Springs.

More than thirty of the family names of White Oak Springs (about 50 in all) survive in Petersburg today, as does the blood of some families whose names have disappeared. The authors, being neither native nor kin to natives, had no especially favorable opportunity to observe this phenomenon. Yet during the fraction of the author's lifetimes spent there, they knew personally the descendants of at least thirty of the original immigrants; and, as was learned while making this study, as many as thirty descendants of one immigrant. It is a statistical project to compute the descendants of ancestors such as Stanton Lamb, one of whose children is reported to have complained that "not one of my father's children ever got acquainted with all the others"; or such as the Kinman brothers, David, James, Levi, and Jeremiah, to members of whose families forty-nine marriage licenses were issued by the clerks of the Pike County Court between 1817 and 1847.

Perusal of the locals and personals in any past or current issue of the Petersburg Press or the Pike County Democrat discloses that the descendants of pioneers still make the news. They are the "substantial citizens" of the town and surrounding farms. They practice law, carry the mails, teach in the city and country schools, keep store, hold county and state offices, and engage in banking, farming and business. They send their sons and daughters to Indiana University, lead a church choir or the city band, grow flowers and play bridge for amusement, and belong to Kiwanis and D.A.R. Yes, and if the whole truth be required, there are those who loaf upon the street corners, disagree with one another as did their forefathers of old, get themselves locked in the county jail, and help to fill the docket of the Circuit Court of Pike and DuBois Counties.

Petersburg has, of course, had other accreditations of population. The immigration that first populated White Oak Springs continued for another decade. The arrival from eastern states in the eighteen-forties of other pre-Revolutionary American families resulted in the founding of the Pres-

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98 A descendant of Moss and Mary Miley Harrell, and also of James Dillin, was elected to the Indiana University chapter of Phi Beta Kappa upon her graduation last year, and she is but one among many descendants of the First Families of White Oak Springs who have received similar academic honors.
byterian Church, and Blythewood Academy, a school for young ladies. A few German and Jewish families came after the Civil War, and enough German, Irish, and other Catholics to form a congregation, though not enough to the present date to support a resident priest. In late years, the accents of a few French and Italian newcomers fall strangely on ears so long accustomed only to English.

The town has had other extraneous influences also which should not be overlooked. Many of its educators, preachers, newspaper editors, and other cultural leaders have been outsiders. Development of natural resources and public improvements have depended largely upon imported capital and labor. The Wabash and Erie Canal, Maysville to Petersburg to Evansville section (1850), the Evansville and Terre Haute Railroad (1881), deep vein coal mining (1896), the telephone (1897), oil and gas production (1897), macadamized roads (1901), the glass factory (1903), modern highways (1930), and strip coal mining in the present decade have brought in executives and workers. But a surprising majority of these people turned out to be transients performing their labors for a while and departing. The comparative few who have remained were chiefly those who fused their lives and fortunes with the never-failing main source of population that had its roots at White Oak Springs.

All things considered, it seems proper to state that Petersburg is the issue of White Oak Springs, and that its civic morals, culture levels and social standards are the accumulation of currents of thought and action which were set flowing between 1800 and 1817, and still flow in 1940—broadened some, but with little change in course and with few ripples and eddies to mark tributary influences.

This account may fittingly close with an account of the tragic-comic proceedings which wrought the change of the community's center and name from White Oak Springs to Petersburg. Hosea Smith had a prominent part in it, of course, although the outcome was exactly contrary to his calculations. Foreseeing the imminent formation of a new county, he prepared to meet the ensuing demand for a suitable county seat. On the White Oak Springs quarter section he laid out a town, named it Alexandria in honor of his son-
in-law, Charles Alexander, and advertised it in the Western Sun (Vincennes):

ALEXANDRIA

This town is laid out in a liberal plan and convenient form as it respects streets, alleys & with a spacious public square. It is most delightfully situated on elevated ground, (at the White-Oak Springs, Indiana State, Gibson County) on a sandy soil, which is pleasant and agreeable even in wet seasons—it is situated one and a half miles from White River, where is an elegant situation for a warehouse, and 5 below the forks of the river, from Princeton 23, from Vincennes 20, from the Mudholes 20, and 50 from the Ohio, near the mouth of Sinking or Clover Creek, from which place a good road may be had on high ground.

ALEXANDRIA is well watered with never failing springs, suitable for tanneries and distilleries, and situated in the centre of a populous settlement, surrounded by the most fertile soil, and on the main road leading from Princeton to Louisville—and by an experience of ten years is found to be as healthy as any place on the western waters—to men of enterprise and industry it offers as many advantages as any place in the state—the sale of lots will commence on Friday the sixth of September at 9 o'clock, A.M.—a credit of 18 months will be given to all purchasers of lots—due attendance will be given by

July 17, 1816

H. Smith, Proprietor

The lot sale was held as per the advertisement and the lots were purchased at prices ranging from $17.75 to $120. Alexandria's lamps were trimmed and burning. It awaited only the coming of the bridgroom in the person of the committee to be entrusted with choosing the site for the new county seat. This committee was named in section five of the acts of the legislature which created the new county of Pike (December 21, 1816). The members were instructed "to convene at the house of Hosea Smith in Alexandria on February 2nd next." It was further enacted that, "until suitable accommodations can be had, all the courts of justice shall be held at the house of Hosea Smith." Everything certainly looked favorable to Hosea Smith's well laid plans.

However, while Hosea Smith had gone much farther with his preparations than any other, he was not the only person with the conviction that his site was the ideal choice for the commissioners. Peter Brenton was possessed with the selfsame notion in regard to the quarter section he had acquired from Silas Risley in 1812. Moreover, he was willing to donate it. All that motivated Peter Brenton to this burst of generosity may never be known. It may have been solely public spirit, but a guess may be ventured that, un-
less he was more saintly than human, incentive must have been added to his original motive by the thought of beating Hosea Smith at his own game.

There were present in the situation all the components of a first rate factional line up and squabble, with Alexandria lot purchasers on the side of Hosea Smith and the unbiased friends of public economy and personal supporters of Peter Brenton opposing. No inkling of such survives, however, and only the bare factual conclusions of the conflict are known.

Came the commissioners—and who should they be but Benjamin V. Beckes of Vincennes, under whose lieutenantcy Peter Brenton had served his brief term as corporal in the Tippecanoe campaign; Ephraim Jordan of Vincennes, the old militiaman with whom James Brenton had seen eye to eye since 1807,” a lieutenant-colonel in the same campaign; William Hargrove of Princeton, veteran of the ranger service, a familiar visitor at White Oak Springs since 1807, a captain at Tippecanoe; George Rogers Clark Sullivan, a former Kentuckian active in territorial affairs, at this time postmaster at Vincennes, also a veteran of Tippecanoe; and Geo. W. Boone of Harrison County. For a number of excellent reasons, according to their report, including, “its eligible and beautiful situation,” “its natural advantages,” and “with due regard to its present and future population,” the commissioners favored Peter Brenton’s site.

At that moment, white Oak Springs received its commitment to obscurity, and Alexandria to ghostly oblivion; but Hosea Smith was on hand with his indispensable services to plan and survey the new town to be named “Petersburgh” (modern spellers drop the h) for Peter Brenton. Though it may have been a heavy task, he did it handsomely, with Main Street a hundred feet wide running the picturesque ridge course of the Buffalo Trace northeast by southwest for a third of a mile, “from Henry Miley’s ash tree to Peter Brenton’s new building.” In order to give the town this beautiful setting and at the same time plat it in symmetrical form, additional acres to those offered by Peter Brenton were required. Henry Miley responded to the public need with a grant of twenty-six acres and John Coonrod with two and a half acres, neither it appears asking recompense or recog-

77 "The First Families of White Oak Springs," loc. cit.
nition. To Peter Brenton who gave the rest of the total of one hundred twelve acres, went all the distinction.

The first meetings of the Pike County commissioners were held in February and March, 1817, and the first terms of the Pike County Court in April and July, "at Hosea Smith's." By November, however, the new courthouse was completed, according, as we hope, to the specifications, "24 x 32, 2 stories high, of well hewn logs with a good joint shingle roof, well chinked and daubed, with good floors tongued and grooved. . . ." Court convened therein, and Peter Brenton's town entered upon the full enjoyment of its rights, powers and privileges as the seat of justice of the new county of Pike, of the state of Indiana.

Thus was defeated the ambition of Hosea Smith to found a new Alexandria in the valley of White River. But there remained to him other of the "consolatine blessings of Providence," to use his own phrase. There was for instance the postoffice, which he held at White Oak Springs until it was discontinued in 1823, and a new one established at Petersburg with Moses Harrell as postmaster.79 There was also the opportunity re-opened to him to expand White Oak Springs into a large and beautiful estate such as he had known well in the south; such perhaps, as the manor plantation of his grandfather, Abraham Hosea, in Pasquotank County, North Carolina. This he proceeded to do, entering upon a series of transactions that involved a thousand acres of land and which spread the Pike County records with his name and the names of his holdings. In addition to the White Oak Springs estate, there were the peach plantation, the walnut grove, the sugar camp quarter, the forge, the horse-mill tract, and others.

On the twenty-second of June, 1845, Hosea Smith recorded the departure from this life of his wife, Huldah, and noted that, "She lived at the White Oak Springs 35 yr. 17 days." On November 1, 1846, Hosea himself departed this life, and it should be noted, as he would have it, no doubt: "He lived at the White Oak Springs 36 yr. 4 mo. 22 days." It would seem that these events of the years 1845 and 1846, rather than those of 1817, mark the final passing of the breath and spirit of White Oak Springs.

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79 List and Card Index of Post Offices established in Indiana from the beginning to 1920, compiled by Newton D. Mereness from records of the United States Post Office Department (Indiana State Library).