Settlement of the Whitewater Valley, 1790-1810

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An account of a journey through the Whitewater Valley which was made almost ten years before the formation of Indiana Territory has been written by Jacob Parkhurst, who visited the southern part of the valley in the winter of 1790-1791 on a hunting expedition. After crossing the Ohio River from Tanner’s Station on the Kentucky side by means of a canoe in an icy river, he described his trip, stating that there were no white settlers in the vicinity:

We then took a course across the hilly country, towards where Brookville now stands, and camped out in the snow and frost. As there was a tracking snow, and cold weather, we killed one deer, which supplied us for meat. The next day we struck White Water, and followed down to where it enters the Miami, which brought night upon us—as there was no white inhabitants west of the Miami, we struck fire, but soon found that the trees in the bottom were abounding with turkeys and the moon was about the full . . . 1

Nearly a year later, on October 11, 1791, Ebenezer Denney of Pennsylvania, an officer in St. Clair’s army, probably referred to the upper portion of the Whitewater Valley when he wrote that the country was “very level, well watered and timbered.” 2

No portion of the Whitewater Valley was won from the Indians until Anthony Wayne defeated them at Fallen Timbers in 1794. This battle was followed on August 3, 1795, by the Treaty of Greenville (Ohio) by which, in addition to other tracts, the following strip was ceded to the United States; territory bounded by a line running northeast from the point opposite the place where the Kentucky River empties into the Ohio to Fort Recovery, bounded on the east by a line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami River and intersecting the previous line near Fort Recovery, and on the south by the Ohio River. This triangular section was not specifically mentioned in the treaty, yet it may be roughly considered as the Whitewater Valley at that time. 3 It remained a part of the Northwest Territory until 1802.

While the recently acquired land was not offered for sale until 1801 at Cincinnati, squatters had already entered the

1 Jacob Parkhurst, Sketches of the Life and Adventures of Jacob Parkhurst . . . [Knightstown, Indiana, 1893], 21-22.
3 United States Statutes at Large, VII, 49.
territory in large numbers. In a letter written from Cincinnati, January 8, 1798, Winthrop Sargent told Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, of the great increase in the number of intruders upon United States lands. According to Sargent, there were nearly two hundred families just over the Great Miami. Many of them had fled to that place to escape from their creditors. Sargent indicated that these settlers were cutting and wasting timber.4

A year later a petition was presented to Congress by the people who had settled on public lands lying below the mouth of the Great Miami between that river and the Greenville Treaty line. They complained of having their horses stolen by the Indians since the beginning of the recent Indian war. Many had been disappointed in getting land in Kentucky. The settlers asked permission to purchase the land on which they had settled, in quarter sections if possible.5

We learn from the diary of three Moravian missionaries that by the spring of 1801 the settlers had advanced further up the valley. Entering the Whitewater River from the Great Miami, they said of the inhabitants, whom they found six miles up the Whitewater: “They told us the Indians buy all their cattle from them and that they are frequently about here . . . .” Most of the inhabitants seem to have migrated from Kentucky and had already become engaged in agricultural pursuits. “Almost every mile there are farms, the owners of which have nearly all moved here from Kentucky. In the evening we came to an Irishman by the name of Harper. He is a good, old man and seems to be an active Presbyterian.”6

The forks of the Whitewater, the present site of Brookville, provided a place for a large Indian campground, and they camped with them for a while.7

When Indiana became a separate territory in 1800, the “Gore,” the triangular strip referred to earlier, was not included in the territory. Not until the Ohio Enabling Act was passed, April 30, 1802, did the “Gore” settlers become

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4 Clarence E. Carter (comp. and ed.), The Territorial Papers of the United States (Washington, 1834- ), III, The Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, 1787-1803, p. 497. Winthrop Sargent was Secretary of the Northwest Territory.

5 Ibid., III, 49-52.


7 Ibid., 86.
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citizens of Indiana Territory. This act placed them under the jurisdiction of Clark County and since the seat of government proved to be too far away, the “Gore” was formed into Dearborn County, March 7, 1803.8

William H. Harrison proclaimed the formation of Dearborn County on the aforementioned date:

Whereas, I have received a petition from a number of citizens, inhabiting the south-east corner of the territory, stating the inconveniences they labor under for the want of a county establishment in that quarter, and praying that a new county be laid off.

And whereas, I have received satisfactory evidence that there are a sufficient number of inhabitants within the proposed limits to justify a compliance with their request. I have thought proper to erect into a separate county all the lands lying and being within the following lands and lines and bounds, viz. Beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami thence north along the line separating the Indiana Territory from the state of Ohio, to the intersection thereof with the Indiana boundary line running from a point opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River, thence, along the last mentioned line to the Ohio river and up the said river to the place of beginning; and the said county shall be known as . . . [the] county of Dearborn . . . .9

Lawrenceburg was selected as the county seat and proved to be more conveniently located than the previous one, even though it was still a considerable distance from the northern part of the county.10

Logan Esarey pictures some of the early settlers as hunters in search of more plentiful game. Not even the presence of Indians was enough to deter their onward march.

There was no waiting for Indians to become quiet, no waiting for roads to be built, no waiting until the government had built stockades, or sent troops to furnish adequate protection. As game became scarce in the woods of Kentucky and Ohio, the hunters crossed into Indiana. When they found suitable locations, they became squatters. When the land office opened in the neighborhood, they became settlers, and when a few more joined them, a government was organized and they became citizens.11

John Conner, the founder of Connersville, opened a store about three-quarters of a mile above Big Cedar Grove Creek in 1803, near the present site of Cedar Grove. Conner had


10 Ibid., 85.

11 Esarey, History of Indiana, I, 205.
a reputation as an Indian trader and was always desirous of being on the frontier in order that he might be in an advantageous position to pursue his Indian trade.\(^{12}\)

The first land entry within the present limits of Fayette, Franklin, Union, and Wayne counties was made in what is now Whitewater Township, Franklin County, in May, 1803, by Benjamin McCarty. Eight months later, on January 15, 1804, Robert Green purchased land in Fairfield Township.\(^{13}\)

The "Carolina Settlement" which was composed of a group of people from Laurens, South Carolina, was located in what is now northern Franklin County and Union County. Between 1801 and 1804, these people lived near Harrison, Ohio, and explored the new land while it was being surveyed for the Wayne Purchase. They blazed a trail to the Whitewater Valley, known as the "Carolina Trace," in 1804. They built nine cabins along the East Fork of the Whitewater River extending from Fairfield Township, in Franklin County to Harmony and Liberty townships in Union County.

The group was composed of the families of Robert Hanna, Sr., John Templeton, George Leviston, William Logan, John Hanna, Robert Templeton, Sr., John Logan, Joseph Hanna, John Ewing, and Robert Swann. It is not known whether or not they emigrated as a group from South Carolina, but they probably did not. Swann and Leviston may not have settled this early. The Templetons and the Hannas were related and emigrated together from South Carolina in 1801. John Templeton was a native of Ireland and had come to America as a small boy. George Leviston was also born in Ireland. Joseph Hanna and John Templeton made the first actual land entries within the present limits of Union County, September 24, 1804.\(^{14}\)

Land was first purchased in what is now Brookville Township, Franklin County, by Robert Templeton, September 24, 1804, but he was not the first to build. In the following month John Remy entered land within the present limits of Springfield Township. The first settler of Brookville was

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\(^{13}\) August J. Reifel, *History of Franklin County, Indiana* (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1915), 128, 156; *Atlas of Franklin Co., Indiana* (Chicago, 1882), 92, 100.

Amos Butler, a young Quaker from Chester County, Pennsylvania, and the grandfather of Amos W. Butler, who came to Lawrenceburg in 1803. Selecting some bottom land near Elizabethtown, he returned the next spring, only to find it covered with water. He made his way up the Indian trail along the Whitewater River to the present site of Brookville. He was so pleased with the region that he entered a quarter of a section at the land office at Cincinnati, December 4, 1804. It is interesting to note that Butler brought his wife by keelboat to Lawrenceburg, and from there to Brookville on horseback. Jesse Brooks Thomas was another early settler, entering land July 3, 1805. Butler built a sawmill and a gristmill, bringing the millirons and stones from Cincinnati on pack horse. John Allen, a Quaker, started a mill about the same time as Butler. Trouble with the Indians, however, retarded settlement.15

Allen Wiley, a Virginian and pioneer Methodist minister in southeastern Indiana, migrated from Kentucky to Indiana in 1804 and settled about three miles above the present site of Harrison. He described that area as being "somewhat densely settled" to a point six or seven miles above where the Whitewater leaves Indiana and enters Ohio. He characterized the settlers in the following words: "The first settlers in the White Water bottoms (for few settled elsewhere) were in many respects a charming people. When I became acquainted with them in 1804, they were generally a sober, industrious, harmless, and kind-hearted people." Wiley also stated that most of the settlers were able to make only the one-fourth cash payment on their land and that many could not meet the remaining payments within the allotted four years, so they had to sell and buy a tract of land farther in the wilderness.16

In spite of the presence of Indians and other hardships imposed by the wilderness, the lower and central Whitewater Valley continued to fill up during the year 1805. In what is now Bath Township, Franklin County, land was entered in that year. Further up the Valley, within the present limits of Union County, the first land purchases were made in what are now Center and Union townships. In Union Township

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the emigrants came from Virginia, the Carolinas, New Jersey, and Maryland, the majority emigrating from New Jersey and the Carolinas. Among the settlers were John Miller, from Franklin County, Virginia, Abraham Darst, and Christian Kingery, also Virginians.17

During the same year, Wayne County attracted its first settlers in the person of George Holman and Richard Rue of Kentucky. Holman and Rue selected their sites about two miles below the present site of Richmond early in 1804 and returned early in the next winter to erect cabins and bring their tools and cooking utensils. Leaving their sons behind, they returned to Kentucky, where they met two Pennsylvanians, Thomas McCoy and a Mr. Blount. All four of these men returned to the Wayne County site and brought their families and equipment on pack horses since wagon travel was impractical. McCoy and Blount settled near the others. This group of settlers comprised the Kentucky settlement.18

Nearby, on Elkhorn Creek, the Coxes and Endsleys settled in the same year. Soon Lazarus Whitehead, a Baptist minister, Aaron Martin, and Charles Hunt arrived with their families.19

Hugh Cull, a Methodist minister, who was born in Havre de Grace, Maryland, settled in what is now Boston Township. At the age of four he came to Pennsylvania, and in 1777 he moved to the present site of Lexington, Kentucky.20

An event which transpired in 1805 was to reduce further the Indian lands and open them for white settlers. This was the Treaty of Grouseland, which was signed at Grouseland, near Vincennes, August 21, 1805. By the terms of this treaty the Indians ceded the southeastern portion of Indiana lying between the Vincennes Tract and the Greenville Treaty line. Parts of Ray, Butler, Highland, and Brookville townships in Franklin County were affected by its terms.21

17 Reife, History of Franklin County, Indiana, 117; Atlas of Union County, Indiana, 38.
18 Interstate Publishing Co., History of Wayne County, Indiana (2 vols., Chicago, 1884), I, 354-355; Andrew W. Young, History of Wayne County, Indiana (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1872), 27, 343-345.
21 “The said Miami, Eel river, and Wea tribes, cede and relinquish to the United States, forever, all that tract of country which lies to
Accounts of migration during the year 1806 and afterwards are numerous due to the fact that the Quakers, who were the largest single body to migrate in this and succeeding years, were farsighted enough to record their movements and activities. Before considering Wayne County, about which the majority of accounts were written, a word should be said about the progress of migration in what is now Union County. Brownsville Township was settled in this year, chiefly by people from the Carolinas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia, the Carolina immigrants predominating. The first settlers were Henry Miller and Adam Eli of Virginia. To Harmony Township came Alexander Dubois, Isaac Dubois, and William Dubois from New Jersey in 1806. Their arrival was referred to as the Dubois immigration. Harrison Township was settled in the same year by Carolinians.22

Thomas Bulla selected a site in Wayne County in 1805 but did not enter it until March 7, 1806, at Cincinnati. He was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, April 19, 1780, and migrated with his father to Randolph County, North Carolina, during the Revolutionary war. After living in that state for a few years, he migrated and described his journey westward in the following words:

I lived in that county a few years, when I left with my family in a two-horse wagon, to move to the West on the 11th day of September, 1804; and on that day four weeks [later] crossed the Ohio River and landed at Cincinnati, where I saw but three brick houses at that time. When I landed on the [other] side of the Ohio, I had but twenty dollars to support my family, consisting of a wife and two children, during the winter. On the day following I got to my journey's end (for that time) in the settlement of Germantown, Ohio, where my wife's father, mother, brothers and sisters lived.

Bulla went on to say that they picked out land in 1805 and entered it on March 7, 1806, at Cincinnati. His wife died in September, but he moved to his new land during the following winter.23

the south of a line to be drawn from the northeast corner of a tract ceded by the treaty of fort Wayne, so as to strike the general boundary line, running from a point opposite to the mouth of the Kentucky river to fort Recovery, at the distance of fifty miles from its commencement on the Ohio river. "Treaties between the United States of America and the several Indian Tribes, from 1778-1837 (Washington, D.C., 1837), 118-121, see 118-119; United States Statutes at Large, VII, 91-92; Reifel, History of Franklin County, Indiana, 77.

Smith Hunt, who, with his father and three brothers, settled in the Whitewater Valley in March, 1806, stated that he found an indistinct road from Clermont County, Ohio (his point of departure), to Fairhaven. From there to Elk-horn, however, they found it necessary to cut out a road for their teams. Hunt gives an idea of the speed with which cabins were erected in those days. “On the evening of our arrival we cut a board tree—the next day we cut the logs, hauled them, raised a cabin 16 by 18 feet, made the clap boards, covered our cabin, and moved into it that evening.” The cabin completed, they cleared five acres of land and planted a crop of corn. The next achievement was to build a mill, which was ready for use in August.24

David Hoover and four others traveled from Ohio to inspect the Whitewater in search of a suitable place in which to live in February, 1806. Hoover was born in Randolph County, North Carolina, in 1781. His grandfather, Andreas Huber, was a German immigrant who landed at Philadelphia on September 9, 1738, settled in Maryland in 1740, and emigrated from there to North Carolina. David’s father, Andrew Hoover, and five of his brothers set out on horseback to inspect the Northwest Territory. They crossed the Blue Ridge, went down the Kanawha to the Ohio, crossed that river, thence to Chillicothe, and from thence to Waynesville. After examining the country, they recrossed the Ohio at Cincinnati, went on to Lexington, thence to Crab Orchard, through Cumberland Gap, and on to Randolph County. The brothers returned to Ohio the following year. Andrew, however, did not bring his family until 1802. David Hoover’s memoir relates that they set out in a wagon for the Northwest Territory and reached Cincinnati—“then a mere village”—in five weeks. They proceeded to Stillwater, twelve miles north of Dayton. After failing to find suitable lands in Ohio, they set out for Indiana in the spring of 1806.25

When David and his companions left their home in Ohio, they traced a section line about eight or ten miles north of Dayton through an unbroken forest for more than thirty

miles to the present site of Richmond. With the exception of Richard Rue, George Holman, Thomas McCoy and a few others, there were very few settlers within twenty miles of the present site of Richmond. They selected a site, returned to Ohio and came back about three weeks later. David and his men are supposed to be the first white explorers of the territory north of Richmond. The land in and about Richmond was settled chiefly by Friends from North Carolina and by others who went from there to Ohio for a brief stay. The things which attracted the men were: pure spring water, prospective mill sites, large quarries of limestone, and rich soil. In May or June, 1806, Andrew Hoover entered several quarter sections. During the summer, John Smith built a cabin on the south side of what is now Main Street, Richmond, and Jeremiah Cox entered a quarter section north of Main Street.26

Hoover stated that from this time on (1806) immigration was rapid. Cabins went up quickly. The East Fork of the Whitewater was settled chiefly by people from Kentucky, among whom were the Wassons, Maxwells, Flemings, and Irelands. Near the mouth of the Elkhorn were the Endsleys, Hunts, Whiteheads, and others.27

Jeremiah Cox, Jr., stated that his father's family was the first family of Friends in what is now Wayne County. At the opening of the first meeting in 1807, there were 265 Friends in the Whitewater Valley. This meeting was held in Cox's rude blacksmith shop. William Williams, an itinerant Quaker minister, visited the Cox home at Whitewater, July 15, 1807, and described the settlement and the state of religion:

This was a new settlement, where a few families of Friends who live together, have requested a meeting; had a meeting there next day. This was a time of deep travail of soul, and large gospel service: some in this place being too whole in their minds, to know that they have need of a physician to heal them.28


27 David Hoover to Charles F. Coffin, October 20, 1855; Fox, Memoirs of Wayne County and the City of Richmond, Indiana, I, 545; Young, History of Wayne County, Indiana, 30-31.

28 Letter of Jeremiah Cox, Jr., Middleborough, Indiana, dated February 27, 1856. A typewritten copy of this letter is in the William
The two principal reasons for the migration of the southern Friends appears to have been a desire for economic betterment and opposition to slavery. Stephen Grellett, a famous Quaker preacher, visited North Carolina in 1800 and described conditions there. Many of the Friends in the Contentnea Quarter were living on “poor, sandy, and unhealthy soil.” Some from Core Sound had migrated to Ohio to try to find suitable places in which to live. Of slavery he said: “Another great inducement to Friends to wish for a change of their residence, was the great sufferings of the poor slaves around them.” Continuing, he related the many obstacles to travel in his journey to Tennessee:

...a mountainous, unsettled country, having deep waters to ford, their being neither bridges nor ferries over them. ... When encamping during the night, which we did several times, we kept up a good fire to protect us from the panthers, bears, and wolves. The latter were numerous ... We travelled slowly on account of the difficulties of the roads; sometimes they were so steep, that with our empty carriage, the horses could get only a few steps forward at once. Frequently, indeed, we had to open a road by cutting down the trees and removing them out of the way.

The opening of the Wilderness Road and Boone’s previous passage through the Cumberland Gap (1775) opened a gateway for travel to the Northwest. The Quaker migration was a part of the westward movement. Provisions of the Northwest Ordinance were attractive to the Friends. The Miami Monthly Meeting as organized in 1803, and Quakers in Indiana were later under it. Between 1803 and 1807, there were four hundred removal certificates transferring 1,826 memberships to it. Another factor which alienated the Quakers and drove them to the Northwest was the proslavery features of Tennessee’s constitution of 1796 and Kentucky’s of 1799.

Julia Henderson Levering described the Quakers migrating to escape slavery, forming meetings, and establishing schools for their children:


Owing to their disapproval of slavery, many of the early settlers from the Carolinas, who came into the free State of Indiana, were Quakers. Wherever this peace-loving people formed a settlement, they immediately established a "meeting," and at the same time, a school for the instruction of their youth. The southeastern part of the state, particularly, felt the high moral influence of the Friends, in the development of social conditions. Their churches and schools were a controlling, repressing, quieting elevating influence, over the boisterous element of the frontier.31

As slavery became increasingly important in the economy and social life of the South after the cotton gin was introduced, laws were passed which put Friends in a position where it was difficult to free their slaves and likewise made it difficult for slaves to retain their freedom. The Quaker soon found himself in an untenable position.

Friends came to be looked upon by their slave-holding neighbors as an alien and hostile influence in their social system. It became more and more difficult for them to support themselves in a slave-holding society, which put a social stigma upon manual labor; and to bring up their children according to their principles in such an environment.32

Exhaustion of the soil continued to be an important factor in migration in Maryland and Virginia just as it had been in past years. Faulty agricultural methods had resulted in such a depletion of the soil that it was not profitable for the farmer to remain on his land. A factor which brought a loss to the parent state and worked to the advantage of the state to which he migrated was the fact that it was often the most ambitious and energetic men who migrated to the West. Migration resulting from this cause decreased in the decade 1800-1810, but increased greatly after the War of 1812.33

The Whitewater Valley's proximity to Ohio made it easily accessible to settlers from that region. Many settlers migrated first to Ohio, then came to Indiana later. The Ohio River was utilized as a route of travel, even before the days of the steamboat. It has been noted that Amos Butler, the founder of Brookville, brought his wife from Pennsylvania to Lawrenceburg in a keelboat and from there on horseback to Brookville.34

There were three main routes of travel used by settlers emigrating from the Southern states, especially the Carolinas and Virginia. One route was the Kentucky Road, which led through the Blue Ridge at Ward's Gap, crossed New River, near Wythe Court House, Virginia, thence by way of Abingdon, along Boone's Wilderness Road through Cumberland Gap, and across Kentucky to Cincinnati. Those who followed the Kanawha Road, traveled across the Dan River, by Patrick Court House, Virginia, to Markey's Gap in the Blue Ridge Mountains, thence across Clinch Mountain, by way of Parke's Ferry on New River, thence over White Oak Mountain, by way of the Kanawha River; and down that river to the Ohio, crossing at Gallipolis. Another approach to this road was by way of the Virginia turnpike, which had been built westward from Richmond and which joined the older route along the Kanawha. This was known as the Magadée Route and as a favorite from 1810 until the era of the railroads. Those settlers emigrating from eastern North Carolina sometimes went direct to Richmond, while others struck the pike at Lynchburg or Fincastle, while still others would turn off the pike at Lewisburg, travel by a second pike route to Wheeling and cross the Ohio River there. It is estimated that as many used this route as all the others.\textsuperscript{35}

Edward Bond followed the Kentucky Road when he journeyed on horseback from near Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to visit his sons in July and August, 1809. He passed through Salem, proceeded to the Blue Ridge Mountains, crossed the New River, thence to Abingdon, crossed the Holston River and Clinch Mountain, ferried the Clinch and Powell rivers, passed through Cumberland Gap, went by way of Richmond, Lexington, and Georgetown to Big Eagle Creek, near the Ohio River. He ferried the river at Cincinnati and went the remainder of the distance overland to Whitewater, where his sons lived. The trip required twenty days and cost eight dollars and seventy cents.\textsuperscript{36}

The newcomer to the Whitewater Valley during the first decade of settlement enjoyed few conveniences when it came to traveling. Even the poorest type of road was not common. One of the earliest routes of travel was the Indian trail along


\textsuperscript{36} Edward Bond Collection, Notebook, 45-55. A copy of this notebook is in the William Henry Smith Memorial Library of the Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.
the Whitewater River. It followed the river up to the forks and then went along the East Fork to Eli Creek, from there it took a northwesterly direction, passing through what was later Connersville, and then on to the Delaware towns. Increased use made it a common highway in 1804 and 1805 especially between what is now Cedar Grove and Fairfield.37

It has been pointed out that the “Carolina Colony” blazed a trace in 1804 from their temporary home near Harrison, Ohio, to the “Carolina Settlement.” Smith Hunt’s description of roads has already been noted and will be described further elsewhere.38 Stephen Grellett, who was in the Whitewater Valley in 1809, wrote of traveling “over bad roads, or rather Indian paths, through an uninhabited country, from one settlement to another. One afternoon we had not even an Indian path to direct our course.”39

One moderating influence upon the uncouthness and boisterousness of the frontier was the pioneer church. As soon as a few of the same denomination settled in a particular place, they held some sort of service and effected an organization. The Baptists were the first to organize a church in the Whitewater Valley. The first meetinghouse was probably built on Lee’s Creek, a branch of the Dry Fork of the Whitewater, and three miles east of Harrison about 1804. The next place of worship was about a mile and a half above Johnson’s Fork at Jacob Hackleman’s house in 1805 or 1806. Not long after this, in 1806, another church was organized three miles below Brookville, near Little Cedar Grove Creek. This was the famous Little Cedar Grove Baptist Church. Several of the inhabitants of the “Kentucky Settlement” were Baptists, and they soon organized a church. The “Carolina Settlement” was composed of Baptists and Presbyterians, but it is not likely that they had very early church organizations.40

The Methodists were also one of the earliest religious groups to become active in the valley. Hugh Cull, who later served as a local preacher, settled south of Richmond in 1805. A few months later Arthur W. Elliot came from Hamilton,

38 See ante pp. 27, 31, and post p. 38.
40 Wiley, “Methodism in Southeastern Indiana,” *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXIII, 14-17. There is a legend to the effect that a building was erected in 1812 as a result of a warning given by the great earthquake which occurred in the Mississippi Valley in 1811.
Ohio. The day after his arrival he delivered the first sermon ever heard in that region. He organized a church of six members. Since the Whitewater Circuit is mentioned in the Journal of the Western Conference, 1800-1811, edited by William W. Sweet, for the year 1806, one may assume that it was formed in that year. This Circuit embraced all the country along the eastern line of the territory from the Ohio River north as far as white settlements extended. Joseph Williams was the preacher in charge in 1808. The roads which he traveled were mere Indian trails and newly blazed paths. One of the earliest, if not the first Methodist meetinghouse to be erected in Indiana was built near what was later Salisbury in 1808. Hezekiah Shaw of the Ohio Conference in 1809 held services at the house of Eli Adams, two miles above Brookville, which resulted in the formation of the first class organized within a radius of twenty or thirty miles of Brookville.41

Fernandez C. Holliday, in his Indiana Methodism, visualized the early itinerant as a man of faith and vision, laboring under almost impossible conditions.

The mode of travel was on horseback. The streams were unbridged, and could often be crossed only by swimming. The roads were mostly bridle-paths, "blazed," as the backwoodsmen called it, by hatchet marks on the trees. The country was full of Indians, some of them friendly, but many of them exasperated by the encroachments of the white men. Salaries were scarcely thought of; they lived among the people, sharing their scanty, but cheerful hospitality, encountering perils in the wilderness, from floods and swamps and savage men, often compelled to sleep in the woods. Their meeting-houses were the rude cabins of the pioneers, where one room served as a kitchen, bed-room, and chapel. These were lion-hearted men; they "endured as seeing Him who is invisible;" they saw that these fertile valleys were to be seats of empire, that populous cities would rise on the margin of these mighty rivers, that commerce would burden the navigable streams, knowing that they were laying the foundations of Christian civilization that should bless uncounted millions in after years.42

As the population increased, Methodism kept abreast of the times.

The growth of Methodism was keeping even pace with that of


the population. Every settlement and block-house was visited by these bold itinerants, who did not scorn to preach in the bar-rooms of the taverns, in the towns, in forts, in block-houses, and in the groves, as well as in the cabins of the early settlers.43

It has been pointed out that the first Quaker meeting in the Whitewater Valley was held in Jeremiah Cox’s blacksmith shop in 1807. During this same year a meetinghouse was erected. At the opening of the first meeting there were 265 Quakers in the Whitewater Valley. William Williams stated that he conducted a meeting in the vicinity in July, 1807.14

Not much accurate information has been handed down about schools during this period, yet it is known that the pioneer made honest attempts to educate his children. The first schools were either voluntary ones taught by some public-spirited pioneer or subscription schools. In Wayne County most of the early settlers were Southern Quakers who were intensely interested in providing an education for their offspring. The first school was taught in Wayne County by Joseph Cox in 1807. A second school was conducted by Isaac Julian in 1808-1809, southeast of Richmond.45

An idea of the progress of migration near the end of this period is given by Smith Hunt, a member of the Kentucky Settlement, who described that vicinity about 1809. "By this time there was quite a number of new comers [who] had landed in our neighborhood, and the small strip of territory [Greenville Treaty] was nearly all taken up—cabins were built all over the woods and wherever a cabin was put up, the string of the latch always hung on the outside."16

Trading centers had not yet been established except on a very small scale and Cincinnati was still the closest market. It was far from being easily accessible. Hunt related that their surplus produce had to be hauled over an almost impassable mud road. Wheat was marketed for $3.75 a bushel and salt had to be purchased at three dollars a bushel. If there had been taverns, the wagoners would have been too poor to put up at them, so they were forced to camp out on the ground.17

43 Ibid., 51-52.
46 Richmond, Indiana, Palladium, October 18, 1855.
47 Ibid.
Migration into the Valley and the subsequent filling up of available lands resulted in pressure being brought to bear upon the government for further Indian cessions. On September 30, 1809, the Treaty of Fort Wayne was signed, ceding the following territory which affected the Whitewater Valley:

That tract which shall be included between the following boundaries, viz: beginning at Fort Recovery, thence southwardly along the general boundary line, established by the treaty of Greenville; to its intersection with the boundary line established by the treaty of Grouseland; thence along said line to a point from which a line drawn parallel to the first mentioned line will be twelve miles distant from the same, and along the said parallel line to its intersection, with a line to be drawn from Fort Recovery, parallel to the line established by the said treaty of Grouseland. 48

There is no accurate method of determining the population of the Whitewater Valley at the close of this period. The federal census of 1810 stated that there were 7,310 persons in Dearborn County. 49 This figure means little since the southern part of the original Dearborn County is not within the Whitewater Valley. Results, however, of an election for the General Assembly held in Dearborn County in 1809 may provide a rough method for determining the 1810 population. 50 Returns were made for the seven numbered townships of the county, and by examining the names of the voters in each township it may be calculated that seventy-five per cent of the voters lived in the region included in this study. Assuming that the election turnout was about the same percentage to the 1810 census figure, a result of 5,500 persons is obtained. It must be remembered that this figure is, at best, rough, but it will provide an idea of the extent of the population of the region.

An examination of the age groups of the Dearborn County census of 1810 reveals some very interesting facts. These early settlements were beyond a doubt made by young men and women. Seventy-four and four-tenths per cent of the white people were twenty-five years of age or less and ninety-one and seven-tenths per cent were under forty-five.

48 United States Statutes at Large, VII, 113-114; Treaties between the United States of America and the several Indian Tribes, from 1778 to 1837, p. 149. This cession is commonly called the Twelve Mile Purchase.
49 Third Census of the United States, 1810, p. 86.
50 The original copy of the returns of the Dearborn County election for the General Assembly, held April 3, 1809, is in the William Henry Smith Memorial Library of the Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.
These figures prove conclusively that it was the young, hardy individual who was the first to migrate.\textsuperscript{51}

The American frontiersmen seem to have discovered for themselves the Whitewater Valley while it still belonged to the Indians. Very shortly after the Treaty of Greenville, the portion of territory between the treaty line and the Miami Valley was occupied by squatters. Not until 1801 did the federal government place any of the Whitewater land on sale. The year following, the eastern boundary of Indiana Territory was moved eastward from the treaty line to a line drawn north from the mouth of the Great Miami and Governor Harrison soon organized this new acquisition into Dearborn County. Here came, John Conner, the Indian trader, the immigrants from South Carolina who founded the Carolina Settlement, numerous Kentuckians, and many Quakers from North Carolina and Pennsylvania. Although most of the settlers came from the South, they were largely from the nonslaveholding class, and many left that region in order to escape slavery. They formed a white man's civilization, which they buttressed with schools and churches. Their economic life tended to center in Cincinnati towards which their main roads led. Most of the settlers probably came after the land sales began, and most of them were young in years. Although they were not more than five or six thousand in number by 1810, they did not yield to the Indian menace which their acquisition of additional land helped to stimulate, but on the contrary they founded one of the important districts of Indiana Territory.

\textsuperscript{51} Third Census of the United States, \textit{1810}, p. 86.